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Preface

This journal came out for the first time in 2015. Its foundation was built upon our belief that although Poland has a strong presence among second language acquisition and multilinguality researchers, which is demonstrated by the large number of conferences and also book publications appearing every year, academic journals like this one, concerned with both theoretical issues and the practical concerns of SLA, are not that numerous. The initial success of the journal is demonstrated by the fact that despite its short life, it is already indexed in several databases, and it made its first appearance in Scopus in 2018. Thanks to this, it is also recognised by the Polish Ministry of Higher Education as a scholarly journal in linguistics. It is of importance that the *Theory and Practice of Second Language Acquisition* journal is published by the prestigious Polish academic publisher, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego (University of Silesia Press). We should also ascribe the origins of our journal to the success of the International Conference on Foreign/Second Language Acquisition (ICFSLA), an academic event that has been organized for over thirty years by the Institute of English at the University of Silesia in Katowice (Institute of Linguistics since 2020). ICFSLA brings together many Polish and foreign academics regularly every May. Its focus is on new trends in SLA research, but it also prides itself on promoting fairly unresearched and new issues in SLA. Although the conference always has a leading theme, scholars are also invited to present their research even if it falls outside the scope of the main topic. Our journal has become an accepted channel for the publication of selected conference papers of high academic standard. At the same time, we warmly welcome other contributions, those not connected with the conference itself. We also accept for inclusion in each volume reviews of academic books recently published in Poland and abroad, which would be of interest to our readers. It is additionally an important vehicle for promoting SLA research carried out by Polish academics and published by Polish publishers, who maintain high

academic standards, but who are not that easily accessible abroad and so not tending to reach a wider academic audience. The whole process of paper submission is automated via an Open Journal System (OJS) and this embraces the article submission, referee assignment, and double blind-review processes as well as the revision, copyediting, and production stages. The production process is in the hands of a team of experienced professionals from the University of Silesia Press, who do their best to make the whole procedure smooth and effective. All the issues of our journal are available free via the OJS system for reading and PDF download. The open access policy allows for the availability of the most recent research in the field at zero cost, thus promoting the articles published in its issues to global readerships.

We strongly believe that our journal serves an important need in disseminating new and interesting research projects and studies in SLA of both Polish and foreign scholars in the field. We have noted a palpable increase in submissions from all over the world, which is reflected in the contribution to the most recent volumes. The journal is published bi-annually and the contributions can be uploaded by the prospective authors continuously, without any calls for paper. The selection of articles and book reviews for the upcoming volumes is done on the basis of acceptance of the text on completion of the process of reviewing and revising. As mentioned earlier, each text is peer-reviewed in a double-blind reviewing process by referees selected by us from the Editorial Board, but also beyond. The Editorial Board itself consists of Polish scholars and foreign experts in the area and represents the wide range of research interests of its members. All updated information on the journal is available on the journal webpage at www.tapsla.us.edu.pl.

The present issue consists of texts which are miscellaneous in their focus, however, the opening article continues the theme of the previous one, code-switching and translanguaging. Sarah Cox—in her text "Can an Ecological, Multilingual Approach Help Us to Better Support Reunited Refugee Families in Scotland with Language Learning?"—focuses on the language learning experiences of refugee families in Glasgow reunited through the British Red Cross and investigates in her pilot study the relationship between academic literature, policy and the practice of language learning—drawing on the translanguaging theories of Garcia and Kleifgen (2010) and Norton (2013). The author comments on an ecological multilingual approach implemented in refugee classrooms to demonstrate empowerment, identity, and the need for recognition of their linguistic repertories. Also, the second article in the volume by Teresa Maria Włosowicz entitled "The Influence of Living and Working Abroad on the Identities of Researchers and Native Speaker Teachers" draws readers' attention to issues of identity as functioning in foreign context, but this time the subjects are academics and native speaker teachers. Using extensive sources (among others Block, 2009; Hall, 2012; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Dewaele &

Li, 2012), the author defines and describes the construct of identity, and identity in abroad contexts. Włosowicz intended to demonstrate that an open-minded hybrid identity mentioned in other studies of such subjects would be also present in her project participants. However, this is not entirely the case, as what is observed in the present study is that the native language and the family are more dominant aspects of the subjects' identity than the foreign context in which they live, but at the same time not denying its positive value for their personal enrichment. In the next text by Meihua Liu entitled "A Study of Chinese University English Majors' L2 Motivational Self," the author looks at one of the most important affective dimensions of SL/FL learning that is motivation and presents an interesting empirical study investigating Chinese English majors' L2 motivational self. The study follows the L2 Motivational Self System as presented by Dörnyei (2005, 2009). The positive results of the study demonstrate not only Chinese students' high motivation to learn English but also their positive attitudes towards learning it, which leads the author to offer some pedagogical implications for the EFL classroom and a proposal for new avenues of research. Arkadiusz Rojczyk and Andrzej Porzuczek in their text "Detection of Non-native Speaker Status from Backwards and Vocoded Content-masked Speech" investigate speech rhythm as a cue to non-native pronunciation and describe two methods of speech manipulation that allow us to identify native versus non-native speech, otherwise inaccessible to listeners. Unfortunately, it was observed that the subjects in their study were not able to detect non-native accent in Polish learners of English in their manipulated samples. In his text "The Dynamics of Needs in a Course in English Phonetics for In-Service Primary School Teachers of English," Oleksandr Kapranov discusses the developmental character of the needs expressed by a group of in-service teachers participating in a course of EFL phonetics as part of their professional qualifications. These teachers' needs evolve from just getting formal qualifications at the beginning to becoming real role models for their learners in terms of fluency of speech and intonation as well as sources of exposure to English towards the end of the course. Also, Katarzyna Holewik, in her text "Peer Feedback and Reflective Practice in Public Service Interpreter Training," looks at the educational settings in which future public interpreters are being trained. Her major focus is on the role of self-assessment (self-reflection) and peer feedback (peer-reflection) in this process as the stimuli for development of analytical/critical thinking skills, active participation, and collaboration in the learning process. This pilot study conducted among M.A. trainee interpreters aimed to assess their interpreting performance by means of peer feedback and self-assessment and compare their outcomes. The analysis demonstrated visible differences between peer feedback and reflection in the assessment of strengths and weaknesses of students' performance in a cycle of simulated public interpreting session.

The present issue also contains two reviews of recent book publications in SLA. The first one, *The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingualism*, edited by Annick De Houwer and Lourdes Ortega (2019) (reviewed by Anna Ewert) is a valuable addition to the series of *Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics*, dedicated to the memory of Jules Ronjat, who is considered a pioneer of bilingualism studies. As a handbook, consisting of six parts (27 chapters), it offers a broad range of topics in the field of individual bilingualism in a lifespan from an all-inclusive, developmental and socially contextualised perspective. All the texts are written by experts and renowned scholars in the field. The second review is of the monographic volume by Dorota Werbińska *The Formation of Language Teacher Identity. A Phenomenographic-Narrative Study* (2017) (reviewed by Joanna Rokita-Jaśkow). The book discusses an important issue in (FL) teacher professional development, which is (emerging) teacher identity and the development of teacher knowledge. Using extensive sources on teacher development, her own observations as a teacher trainer and pre-service teacher's narratives, the author proposes her own original framework for developing language teacher identity.

We sincerely hope that the readers will find the present issue of interest and value to their own research in the field of second language acquisition, foreign language teaching and learning. At the same time, we would also like to ask Polish and foreign academics to keep supporting the journal by sharing their scholarly research with us, by submitting their original work and book reviews of recent high level publications for the next few volumes.

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Articles

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Can an Ecological, Multilingual Approach Help Us to Better Support Reunited Refugee Families in Scotland with Language Learning?

Abstract

This paper seeks to explore the relationship between academic literature, policy, and practice in terms of language learning within the specific context of refugee families who have recently reunited in Glasgow through the British Red Cross Family Reunion Integration Service. The paper presents research findings from a pilot teaching study, working collaboratively with participants within their first few weeks of arriving in Scotland to explore whether an ecological, multilingual approach to language learning is effective in this context. Building on principles of translanguaging with participants using their full "linguistic repertoire" (Garcia & Kleifgen, 2010) and drawing on Norton's construct of "investment" (2013) the paper explores key themes of empowerment and identity in the classroom. The results enable us to draw conclusions regarding the balance of power in the classroom and the impact of the recognition of refugees' own languages within the learning process.

Keywords: ecological approach, translanguaging, family reunion, multilingualism

Research Context

Rising immigration into Europe and the current shifting political climate in the UK have placed immigration and the corresponding support services for migrants at the centre of current public and political discourses. The increase in migration into Europe which peaked in 2015–2016 is often referred to as the refugee crisis but is framed differently by Phipps as the "crisis of hospitality" (2018). In 2015, this international humanitarian crisis saw the number of people forcibly displaced worldwide reach 65.3 million, including 4.9 million people

newly displaced from Syria (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 14). This is the highest number of forcibly displaced people since World War Two.

In 2012, in response to rising immigration figures, Theresa May in her position as Home Secretary announced plans "to create here in Britain a really hostile environment for illegal migration" (The Guardian, 2018) with the expressed aim of reducing immigration. The introduction of the policies of the hostile environment set the scene for much of the negative discourse concerning immigration in the years that have followed, establishing a narrative that was used very effectively by politicians within the campaign to leave the EU in the 2016 referendum. By leaving the UK, pro-Brexit politicians stated the UK could 'take back control' of its borders and reduce immigration with this being seen as a necessary and desirable outcome.

The negative discourse on immigration is also frequently linked to the debate on language learning which publicly emphasises the need for migrants to learn and speak English as a priority. The use of languages other than English is viewed with suspicion and projected as a threat to national identity with the implication that social cohesion can only be achieved if the UK shares one common language. In reality, the UK has never been a monolingual country and recent years have seen increased support for indigenous minority languages such as Gaelic, Scots, and Welsh. However, the dominant narrative in the UK media reinforces the prioritising of English with the expressed aim that everyone should learn English.

Political discourses emphasise these ideas. In a report to the UK government on immigration, Dame Louise Casey, government official, stated that the UK should set a date by which time everyone in the country "should speak English," claiming that a "common language" would help to "heal rifts across Britain" (BBC, 2018). Two consecutive UK Prime Ministers have publicly reinforced this narrative. In 2011, David Cameron, then Prime Minister, warned that "immigrants unable to speak English or unwilling to integrate have created a kind of discomfort and disjointedness which has disrupted communities across Britain" (The Guardian, 2011), the previous year, he expressed the need to reduce immigration to "tens of thousands" (The Telegraph, 2010). In 2010, he also publicly stated that Muslim women should learn English to help tackle extremism and that those who do not should be deported (The Telegraph, 2010). David Cameron is not alone in his view. In July 2019, just months before becoming Prime Minister, Boris Johnson stated "there are too often parts of our country [...] where English is not spoken by some people as their first language […] and that needs to be changed." He continued that the most important priority for immigrants should be "to be and to feel British […] and to learn English," claiming that "in many parts of England you don't hear English spoken anymore" and "this is not the kind of community we want to leave to our children and grandchildren" (O'Grady, 2019). These discourses

are consistently given media attention in the UK, placing the responsibility of language learning solely with 'the other,' creating a sense of 'them' and 'us.' This emphasises the necessity for newcomers to adapt to the host community in terms of culture and language, promoting an assimilation style of integration.

There is a stark contrast between the UK wide anti-immigrant sentiment and the way that Scotland welcomes 'New Scots.' Scotland's integration policies and language learning strategy evidence a more inclusive approach with 62% of the population of Scotland voting to remain in the EU in the 2016 referendum. As immigration is a reserved matter under the control of the UK Government, and the support services are devolved to Scottish Government, this can create tension in terms of the balance between UK policy and local support services. This is particularly relevant for Glasgow, where this research took place, as it has the highest concentration of migrants in Scotland.

The Policy Context

Scotland has a well-established history of welcoming newcomers. As Scotland's largest city, Glasgow has played a key role in this since becoming Scotland's only dispersal centre for newly arrived asylum seekers in 2000. Glasgow is currently home to approximately 11% of the total dispersed asylum seeker population in the UK (Migration Scotland, 2019). Scotland has also welcomed 2,500 Syrian refugees in all 32 of its local authorities as part of the Syrian resettlement program and continues to welcome refugees and asylum seekers with a range of support services for education, housing, benefits, and employment. Whilst the policy context for ESOL delivery in England might be described as "assimilationist" (Han, Starkey, & Green, 2010) and monolingual, Scottish approaches to integration emphasise a multilingual environment and a multilateral approach to language learning (Phipps, 2018) cited in (Meer, Peace, & Hill, 2018). I will focus here on two policies which inform refugee integration and language learning in Scotland: the New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy 2018–2022 and Scotland's ESOL Strategy 2015–2020.

The New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy 2018–2022

Based on the "indicators of integration" framework (Ager & Strang, 2004), the New Scots strategy provides a holistic model of refugee integration with the aim of supporting integration from day one (Scottish Government, 2018). The strategy sees integration as a "long-term, two-way process, involving positive change in both individuals and host communities, which leads to cohesive, diverse communities" (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 10). Scotland

"values diversity, where people are able to use and share their culture, skills and experiences, as they build strong relationships and connections" (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 10). The policy values a collaborative approach requiring effective engagement with refugees; "for approaches to integration to succeed, they must be about working in and with local communities, as well as with refugees and asylum seekers" (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 11).

In terms of language, the two-way integration process reflects that "refugees have the opportunity to share their language and culture with their local communities [to] promote good practice, in which the home language of refugees is used in positive ways" (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 54). It is recognised that language skills are not limited to improving English. The principle of sharing languages is promoted by supporting English as an Additional Language (EAL) pupils in schools with the national strategy, Learning in 2+ Languages, which highlights the importance of ensuring ongoing development of pupils' home languages, recognising that this can also help with the acquisition of a second language.

Although EAL provision effectively supports the inclusion of home languages for children of school age, the situation for adult learners is different with no recognised strategy for how to incorporate learners' own languages within English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) provision. It is important that "Scotland's linguistic diversity is promoted and as a result is valued, enabling refugees to contribute effectively to Scottish society" (Scottish Government, Convention of Scottish Local Authorities, & Scottish Refugee Council, 2017, p. 55) yet no specific guidance on how this relates to classroom practice is given. Most current ESOL provision and training courses for new ESOL teachers remain focused on predominately monolingual teaching methods. The imbalance between opportunities for adults and children to incorporate their home languages into the learning of English also adds to the varied experiences of family members following family reunion (I will consider these factors in further detail under Family Reunion and the need for a Multilingual Approach). With no funding directly linked to the 'New Scots' strategy, its success is dependent on existing support services. In terms of language learning this includes Further Education colleges, local authorities, and voluntary sector organisations.

Welcoming our Learners: Scotland's ESOL Strategy 2015–2020

The importance of language learning for integration is recognised within Welcoming Our Learners: Scotland's ESOL Strategy 2015–2020: "Language skills are central to giving people a democratic voice and supporting them to contribute to the society in which they live" (Education Scotland, 2015, p. 6).

It highlights the need for "relevant, accessible provision" and for the "right kind of ESOL" (Education Scotland, 2015, p. 3). The strategy aims for "the continued growth of Scotland as a diverse, complex, multicultural and multilingual nation" (Education Scotland, 2015, p. 2) and "recognises and values the cultures of learners and the contribution that New Scots make to society and the economy" (Education Scotland, 2015, p. 9).

There is an established practice of using only English in the classroom underpinned by the longstanding belief that using solely the target language is the best way to teach. Traditionally, languages have been kept separate in the classroom with little or no acknowledgement of the natural interaction between them, both internally (cognitively) and externally (interpersonally) (Cook, 2001). There is a belief that teaching in this way gives maximum exposure to English, increases opportunities for learners to use the language they are learning, and makes full use of the time spent in class as learners may have limited opportunities to practise their English outside of class. As this is the accepted norm, teachers have little need or motivation for integrating learners' own languages into their teaching. It is also based on practical reasons as ESOL classrooms in Scotland are typically very mixed in terms of languages.

Multilingual teaching methods such as translanguaging are relatively new concepts and require further development in specific contexts to allow teachers to gain confidence in using them. With the importance of heritage languages recognised at policy level within New Scots and the ESOL Strategy, the large refugee/asylum seeker community in Glasgow and the strong ESOL community already in place, Scotland is in a strong position to lead on the development of translanguaging within specific contexts. Academic literature signals that teaching monolingually may no longer be the best fit for our changing communities; "the increasingly multilingual and multicultural nature of global exchanges is raising questions about the traditionally monolingual and monocultural nature of language education" (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008, p. 654). There is a need to recognise the "multilingual realities" of our ESOL learners' lives (Simpson & Cooke, 2017). This research provides an opportunity to explore these themes within the specific context of reunited refugee families in Scotland. I will outline the context for family reunion in the following section.

British Red Cross Family Reunion Integration Service

Family Reunion is a key legal route through which high numbers of refugees obtain legal protection in the UK with one in three refugees currently arriving in this way (British Red Cross, 2018), more than the combined total of refugees arriving through all other resettlement programmes. However, the BRC report that family reunion has received inadequate funding with programs

such as the Syrian Resettlement Programme receiving significantly more financial support. In response to this, the BRC established the Family Reunion Integration Service in September 2018. This is the first time that UK wide funding has been allocated for this specific need. The service is expected to support 3,000 people in eight locations in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland over the next three years providing much-needed specialist support for these families.

During the difficult process of coming to the UK and seeking asylum, families can be separated for extended periods, causing distress and anxiety for family members who may lose touch. BRC research highlights that due to the slow process of reunion "family reunion is a goal and aspiration that many live with for years, as they endure periods of extended separation and often anxiety about other family members' safety" (Harris, 2015, p. 40). Being reunited with family members is recognised as key to well-being and is "an important step towards successful integration" (British Red Cross, 2018). Within the UK wide project, Glasgow has a specific focus on "rebuilding the family unit." BRC research indicates that "the longer the period of separation, the poorer the outcomes when the family reunites" (Harris, 2015, p. 40). Arriving in the UK at different times can result in family members having significantly different experiences in terms of integration and access to support services. The first family member to arrive has additional time to adjust, to learn the language and to establish a life before the joining members (most usually wife/partner and children) arrive. In addition, all benefits are paid to the 'sponsor,' creating a financial dependency for the joining family members who are not granted refugee status in their own right. Discussions with BRC staff highlighted the significant challenges faced by women who arrive in the UK in this way including accessing support services and childcare responsibilities which can make it difficult to attend activities outside the home, putting them at an increased risk of isolation. New Scots highlights barriers to integration for women as: "lack of confidence; disrupted or no previous access to education; less time available, due to other caring responsibilities or lack of childcare; and family opposition to socialising, learning or working" (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 17). The BRC highlight that these barriers may be felt even more keenly by women whose partners have already settled in the host country.

At the time of writing, the current UK political crisis and the possibility of a no-deal Brexit threatens existing family reunion rules. A recent article in *The Guardian* revealed that the Home Office plan to end family reunion for children the day after Brexit "if the UK leaves the EU without a deal, the Dublin Regulation, which allows for the transfer of asylum-seeking children and adults within the EU to join family members, will no longer apply to the UK." The same article warns that "if the government fails to protect family reunification, the consequences could be fatal" (The Guardian, 2019).

This research provides a close-up view of the challenges faced by these families and their integration experiences from day one. Glasgow has a strong partnership of ESOL providers working to support New Scots with language learning. Current ESOL classes provide opportunities for integration through inclusive approaches for people at all stages of their integration experiences with reunited refugee families accessing classes in the same way as other migrants. In the following section I will consider the ways in which the needs of these families may be different to other ESOL learners, particularly at the point of reunion and shortly afterwards.

Family Reunion and the Need for a Multilingual Approach

Family members may have different experiences with language learning, and this can impact family dynamics as children may have more opportunities to integrate through school. In contrast, adults may have fewer opportunities to socialise and learn the language, particularly if they do not work outside the home. As a result, situations may arise where a parent has to rely on their child to communicate, creating parent-child role reversal which can place strain on relationships (Harris, 2015, p. 75). In some cases, parents may also encourage children to speak English rather than their home language, which can also lead to conflicting views of how/when to use each language. The BRC have highlighted the need for further research into the impact of language learning on family dynamics due to an increase in the numbers of reunited families accessing support services, suggesting that difficulties do not end at the point of reunion. BRC research also shows that women benefit from learning language with their children (Harris, 2015), a recommendation also made by The British Council (2017). These recommendations provide a starting point for this research.

In addition to the policy context and the BRC work, there is a significant body of academic research which recognises the benefits of multilingual learning (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008; Simpson & Cooke, 2017) suggesting a valid alternative which may be particularly beneficial within this context. In this paper I put forward the case for how an ecological, multilingual approach can better meet the needs of reunited refugee families in Scotland. I will begin by situating the research within the relevant literature which underpins my theoretical framework before presenting the pilot study and its findings.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework is informed by drawing together key literature on language ecology (Haugen, 1972, van Lier, 2004), multilingualism (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), translanguaging (García, 2010) and identity (Norton, 2013; Block, 2007; Canagarajah, 2011). In this section I will consider each of these in turn and their relevance for this study.

An Ecological Approach to Language Learning

Haugen defines language ecology as "the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" (Haugen, 1972, p. 35). An ecological approach focuses on the interaction of factors within a given context, seeing language learning as connected to the physical and social context: "language only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature i.e. their social and natural environment" (Haugen, 1972, p. 35). It is also internal "part of ecology is psychological as the interaction with other languages is in the minds of bi and multilingual speakers." Language is viewed as dynamic in nature rather than having defined, inflexible boundaries. Van Lier states, "in ecology, practice and theory are closely interrelated, dynamic and emergent, never finished or absolute" (van Lier, 2010, p. 1). Van Lier explains that "an ecological theory holds that if you take the context away, there is no language left to be studied […] with language it's context all the way down" (van Lier, 2004, p. 20). It considers the learning process, the actions of teachers and learners, "the multi-layered nature of interaction and language use, in all their complexity and as a network of interdependencies among all the elements in the setting" (van Lier, 2010, p. 2).

The Place of "Linguistic Hospitality" within an Ecological Approach

By incorporating learners' own languages and acknowledging their significance we provide "linguistic hospitality" (Phipps, 2012) for New Scots, supporting the 'two-way' integration process and countering some of the effects of the current UK hostile environment. The approach values learners' existing linguistic resources allowing us to draw on what is already known and build on this by tapping into the interaction between languages which Haugen describes. As many ESOL learners already know several other languages, viewing these as a resource has significant benefits for language learning and confidence. Acknowledging these skills also enables us to reassure learners that they are not starting

at the very beginning of language learning and that the languages they already know have value and significance: "the meaning of a new piece of knowledge will emerge not from the syllabus but from the connections the learner will make with his/her own prior knowledge and experience" (Kramsch, 2006, p. 104).

Multilingualism and Translanguaging within an Ecological Framework

We are beginning to see a gradual paradigm shift towards the inclusion of multilingual perspectives in foreign and second language learning environments (Prada & Turnbull, 2018). This shift enables new perspectives in terms of critically analysing monolingual teaching methods and considering new ways forward.

Translanguaging (García, 2010; Simpson, 2017) complements an ecological framework by promoting the use of learners' full "linguistic repertoire" to complete tasks "without regard to watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages" (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015, p. 281). It gives scope for learners to co-construct meaning, mirroring the way languages are used outside the classroom. The fact that translanguaging occurs naturally among multilinguals, whether teachers teach it or not (Canagarajah, 2011; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Wei, 2014) has led to its popularity. Cenoz and Gorter recognise translanguaging as "a recent and extremely successful concept in the area of bilingual and multilingual education that has gained wide acceptance in the literature in a short period of time" (2017, p. 910).

Translanguaging recognises that people bring their own knowledge and experience to the learning process; a key feature of an ecological approach. It places learners firmly at the centre of their own learning in "a system which orients toward the user rather than the linguistic code" (Simpson, 2017), it promotes a sense of self-worth that is not linked solely to English language level, echoing the priorities of New Scots in recognising refugees' own skills.

Translanguaging as Practice

It is recognised that further consideration of how to embed translanguaging in practice is needed as it has been criticised as pedagogically underdeveloped (Canagarajah, 2011, García & Kleyn, 2016). Further research is needed to establish how it may be implemented as a suitable teaching approach in a multilingual context (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012).

In practical terms, guidance on how to implement translanguaging activities is presented in the CUNY-NYSIEB-guide (Celic & Seltzer, 2011). Simple adaptations can be made to incorporate activities such as empowering learners

to use their languages and increasing visibility of other languages in the classroom, for example, by learning to say 'hello' in each other's languages (García & Wei, 2014). Other suggestions include learners working together in 'language pairs' using the language of their choice. Actively contrasting languages is also considered helpful to build vocabulary, improve reading comprehension and promote metalinguistic awareness, which is associated with enhanced language learning (Rauch, Naumann, & Jude, 2012).

Focus of the Current System

Current support systems for refugees focus on getting people in to 'the system', to prepare people for work, college or study. These goals are seen as key to integration but are called into question within a recent report on refugee integration in Glasgow (Meer et al., 2018): "the governance of language provision becomes technocratic, managerial, or disciplined towards a single goal" (Wood & Flinders, 2014, p. 161) namely "to facilitate language training in order to build capacity and readiness to enter the labour market" (Meer, Peace, & Hill, 2018, p. 32). Such an approach measures success of language provision in terms of employability, contradicting the holistic approach laid out in New Scots.

For those newly arrived, such goals can seem out of reach as they adjust to their new lives. In the case of Glasgow, this new environment might be a significantly different climate and the reality that any English you might have learnt before arriving may not resemble the variety of English you hear in the local community. It is difficult to think about longer term plans when facing such profound change and in the case of reunited families these adjustments are taking place when families may be living together again after a period of many years. In this context an ecological, multilingual approach can be particularly beneficial to support those who have come to the UK under the most difficult of circumstances and are now placed within the system of our hostile environment. For many forcibly displaced persons, language is quite literally the only thing they may bring with them from their home, making its recognition incredibly important.

Power, Balance, and Identity

In considering issues of power and identity, I turn to Norton's construct of investment, which counters the idea that motivation is an intrinsic character trait of the language learner and ignores the significance of unequal teacher/learner power relations (Norton, 2013). Norton suggests that if learners invest in the

learning process, they understand the benefits of improved language skills and the symbolic (language, education, friendship) and associated material resources (capital goods, money) which in turn increase cultural capital and social power (Norton, 2013). Norton's construct recognises the connection between investment and identity in the classroom (Norton, 2013). The learning environment and approach to learning has significant implications for how invested learners feel in the learning process.

Norton recognises that "pedagogical practices in language classrooms can either constrain or enable students in their reimagining of possibilities for both the present and the future" (Norton, 2013 p. 17) and that "classroom practices can recreate subordinate student identities, thereby limiting students access not only to language learning opportunities but also to other more powerful identities" (Norton, 2013, p. 17). Classroom practices where English is dominant and privileged above all other languages may not be the best way to foster the 'investment' which Norton describes, and there are also implications for social justice. Language classes have an important role in adapting to the new context a process which Block refers to as "reconstruction and repositioning" (2007, p. 75). In the following sections, I will illustrate how these key themes were embedded in the pilot study and reflected in the findings.

Methodology

Research Design

The research is situated within an interpretivist paradigm. The aim of the study is to consider whether an ecological, multilingual approach to language learning is effective in supporting reunited refugee families in Glasgow. The main teaching study, which followed the pilot, took place over a period of six months engaging three families within their first few weeks of arriving in Scotland. The pilot study formed the first part of this research project and I will present the findings from this initial phase in the next section.

The aims of the pilot study were to deliver four two-hour learning sessions using translanguaging methodology with three women and their children who had recently arrived in Glasgow through the BRC Family Reunion Integration Service and to evaluate these teaching methods and materials before leading into the main study. The content of the learning sessions was decided in collaboration with the research participants in line with the principles of collaboration within the New Scots Strategy, allowing participants to co-design the project.

Data was collected via ethnographic observation during the learning sessions, field notes, participant feedback, and semi-structured interviews at the end of the pilot. The BRC provided interpreters to assist with ensuring informed consent and the interviews. Key findings were checked with research participants with the support of an interpreter. At the end of the pilot, the data was analysed using the six-step process of thematic analysis laid out in Braun and Clarke (2006). The interview data, my own observations and fieldnotes will be discussed under Key findings and Discussion.

Learning Sessions

The study incorporated translanguaging methodology with learners working together and using their full linguistic repertoire to complete tasks, participants worked with family members in their own language to do this. The characteristics of a co-learning relationship were embedded in the study… (Brantmeier, in García & Wei, 2014, p. 113):

– all knowledge is valued;
– reciprocal value of knowledge sharers;
– care for each other as people and co learners;
– trust;
– learning from one another.

Our learning environment was based on:

– shared power among co learners;
– social and individualised learning;
– collective and individual meaning-making and identity exploration;
– community of practice with situated learning;
– real world engagement and action.

Participant Profiles

Participant L

L is from Eritrea and speaks Tigrinya. She has a ten-year-old daughter. They were separated from L's husband for five years before reuniting in Glasgow two weeks before the pilot. L attended Primary School in Eritrea for three years then was unable to continue due to the war.

Participant U

U is a Tamil speaker from Sri Lanka. She is here with her husband and two children aged 10 and 17 who also attend the sessions. U finished secondary school in Sri Lanka and learnt English as a foreign language for a few years at

school. Their family was separated for several years and reunited in Glasgow a month before the pilot study.

Participant K

K is from Sudan. She arrived in Glasgow two weeks before the project started. She speaks Arabic and attends learning sessions with her two sons aged 10 and 12. They were separated from her husband for several years before coming to Glasgow.

Key Findings and Discussion

Day One: Situating the Learning

I had very little information about the participants before the pilot project. Two days before the first meeting the BRC confirmed a few key details which helped me to plan the first session. I knew the families came from Eritrea, Sudan, and Sri Lanka, the ages of their children and how long they had been in Glasgow. I did not know how much English they knew or how much education they had been able to access prior to coming to Scotland. With this is mind I planned the first session would cover the aims of the research and a few introductory activities to illustrate the kind of tasks I hoped to do in the sessions with the hope of engaging the learners' *investment*. I wanted to find out what the participants wanted from the sessions so that I could make them as tailored and collaborative as possible. The BRC provided interpreters for the last hour of the first session to enable me to explain informed consent and to make sure the participants could ask any questions.

As the participants had been in Glasgow for just a few weeks, it was necessary for me to meet them at the BRC office for the first session so I could travel with them to the University and show them the way. Three women and four children (aged 10–17) were waiting for me when I arrived at the BRC. Two of the husbands had accompanied their wives and children to the BRC and they helped me check names on a list. I noticed how nervous and uncomfortable the women and children looked. None of the group could speak more than a few words of English and outside each family group the participants did not share a language which limited their interaction with each other.

The first session focused on the practicalities of getting from the BRC office in central Glasgow to the University. This also served the purpose of introducing participants to bus numbers, the location of the bus stops and how to use the travel tokens provided by the BRC and it situated the learning within the context of Glasgow. As the participants followed me to the bus

stop, I tried to chat to them and explain where we were going using maps provided by the BRC and a lot of body language. We arrived at the School of Education and stopped at the multilingual 'welcome' sign at the entrance to identify all the languages we knew, taking time to try to pronounce each other's. I wanted to give everyone a sense of the University being a place where all languages were welcome as a starting point for our project. This activity also allowed me to get an idea of whether participants could read in their own language before we reached the classroom. Negotiating the bus journey to and from the class proved to be a significant challenge and formed an important part of the learning within the pilot study. I also accompanied participants to the bus stop after our sessions and waited with them for the bus, but reduced this gradually to ensure a balance between support and creating dependency. Learning to use the bus, including recognising the bus number, timetables, tickets, the location of the bus stop are major barriers for those newly arrived not only in terms of language but also cultural differences such as maps, buying a ticket, and money. Support at this stage proved to be vital as were the travel tokens as the participants were not yet receiving benefits and would have struggled to cover the bus fare (£4.60 for an all-day ticket). Without the travel tokens, it is doubtful the participants would have been able to attend.

Working with the participants in real-life situations and physically being on the bus with them allowed us to use language in an authentic, practical way. It allowed me to understand first-hand how people cope in such situations and this informed the content of the learning sessions. It took the learning beyond language into more practical life skills. Participants decided they wanted to focus on such practical topics to help them with their daily lives. Via interpreters I asked participants whether this approach was useful, and they confirmed that these were topics they needed. U told me in the group interview: "Yes, it's very practical." The Tamil interpreter continued: "They're going on the bus and they don't know how to buy a ticket or how to talk to the driver… for example, I'm going to this place. I need a ticket to… which type of ticket?" Cultural differences were also highlighted as the participants told me in Sri Lanka return tickets do not exist and thus they expected to buy one ticket for each single journey.

Van Lier describes the classroom as a 'niche' and recognises that although this can be a safe environment, it can create a "barrier between education and the rest of living" (Little, 1991, in Kramsch, Levine & Phipps, 2010, p. 38). This is a two-way process, "an ecological approach is where what happens in the classroom responds to aspects of the context and the context is also created out of learning, teaching and language use" (Kramsch, Levine, & Phipps, 2010, p. 8). Such practical topics may be covered in community ESOL classes and by incorporating multilingual approaches the learning can be made more

accessible at the early stages. Teachers may not see the connection between recognising heritage languages and how to bring this into the classroom in an active way.

Mapping Single Lexical Items across Languages to Build Confidence

I incorporated learners' own languages in simple ways to enhance metalinguistic awareness and make the learning accessible at this early stage. This included establishing learners' interests and building multilingual activities around the topics they suggested. Food and cooking proved to be a topic of universal interest and one that, we agreed, would help in their daily lives. This topic gave us plenty of material to work with. We began by introducing vocabulary for individual food items using images, relating each item back to learners' own languages and bearing in mind the ideas about language comparisons noted earlier. We made a note of vocabulary, sorting pictures into piles of 'I like' and 'I don't like.' Subsequent sessions allowed us scope to work on shopping, money, and prices with roleplays with the children taking roles such as shopkeepers.

Connecting new words in English to lexical items in learners' own languages helped to provide clarity and make the learning inclusive. I created simple worksheets with images of each item and space for the participants to record vocabulary in both English and their own language. As these worksheets were simple, they were also suitable for the children in the group. At first, I questioned the use of such materials as I wanted to ensure the sessions were fun and interactive rather than having everyone sit and write but I noticed that participants made notes in class and I wanted to support this. Participants told me that having a written record gave them a chance to take their learning away with them and as they were working with their family members they could also practise together at home. Identifying the equivalent word for each item and recording it in a structured way allowed us to slow the pace to suit everyone in the group. In the interviews, I asked if this was helpful and L told me "Yes, it's kind of like a dictionary," U agreed, "It's very practical." Incorporating all the learners' languages took participants a few sessions to get used to. When we managed to get something right in each other's language everyone seemed pleased and although progress was slow, setting up activities in this way from the start laid a solid foundation for subsequent sessions.

Learning to Facilitate Translanguaging in Languages I Do Not Speak

One of the main questions I encountered in conversation with other teachers concerned how we can use a multilingual approach if we do not speak the same languages as the learners. ESOL classes in Scotland are typically diverse and multilingual. This is a key point to address if teachers are to become confident using translanguaging regardless of how many different languages are spoken in class and regardless of our knowledge of these languages. The pilot saw me teach using Tamil, Tigrinya, and Arabic when I do not know more than a few words in each of these languages and with a few adjustments I found this to be possible and productive. As García states, "A teacher who uses translanguaging as pedagogy participates as learner" (García & Wei, 2014, p. 92). I became a learner within the group, facilitating and guiding the sessions but relying on the participants for input in their own languages, working with family members to complete tasks. I could not always understand what was being said, it gave me less control and although this felt strange at the start, we all adapted and committed to this way of working. Participants had a more equal and active role within the learning process as a result, it shifted the balance of power away from English and away from me.

These multilingual practices drew on the participants full linguistic resources and all of mine as I related each word back to Tamil, Tigrinya, and Arabic with the use of online dictionaries and images on the screen. I relied on the participants to let me know if the definitions were correct, which also gave them a more active role in the sessions. I needed to know a few key words in each language from the very beginning and preparing a few basic phrases and flashcards helped me to facilitate the initial sessions. Despite feeling that my knowledge of Tamil, Tigrinya, and Arabic was severely lacking this also became a leveller, placing us all on a more equal footing as we tried to communicate in bits and pieces of each other's languages. I asked learners how they felt about this and U told me: "It's comfortable for us."

García provides strategies for how to overcome these issues; suggesting that learners support each other with the teacher trying to meet learners halfway: "The teacher makes an effort to make herself understood using Spanish, and the students try to make themselves understood using English. In so doing, more English is being added to the linguistic repertoire of the students, and more Spanish to that of the teacher' (García, 2014 p. 112). This puts the 'two-way' process of New Scots into practice in a very real sense, taking it away from policy and into everyday life as a collaborative process. Monolingual teachers can find ways to incorporate translanguaging into their teaching: "It shows students how to privilege interaction and collaborative dialogue over form and thus develops their voice" (García, 2014, p. 112).

‘Linguistic Hospitality’ and Participant ‘Investment’

Norton’s construct of investment was central to the project. I knew the challenges the participants faced to come to class, particularly as we started the pilot project at the beginning of February when it was already cold and dark at the time when participants needed to travel to the sessions. During the interviews at the end of the pilot I emphasised how well everyone had coped with this. L told me: “Yes, because it’s a good experience for us and we’re hoping to learn more, that’s why we have to do that. I come because this is helping me.” Their attendance and enthusiasm to come to the sessions despite a challenging journey echoes the ‘investment’ that Norton describes (Norton, 2013) and was evidenced further by my observations of their participation in the sessions, their enthusiasm, their patience and respect for each other. In bringing learners’ own languages into the sessions I observed that the participants appeared comfortable and relaxed. They appeared to enjoy taking turns to tell each other words in their languages, we looked for similarities in each other’s languages and when we found something in common everyone exclaimed “oh, same!”

By the third session the women seemed comfortable with the way we were working together. Partway through the session L removed her headscarf and I noticed the contrast between her body language in this session (relaxed, laughing, sitting close to me while we worked together) and the first time we met in the BRC waiting room when she sat alone in the corner, making very little eye contact and looking uncomfortable. She laughed frequently at my poor pronunciation of Tigrinya and corrected me patiently many times. García found the use of learners’ own language “enhanced personal interaction” (García, 2014, p. 81) and I also had a strong sense of this. Hearing how difficult it was for me to get the pronunciation of their languages right provided a direct example of the effort and repetition needed to learn a new language. During the interviews L told me: “You and me we’re the same. You struggle with Tigrinya and I struggle with English.” Although the context and the need for each of us to learn each other’s language was vastly different, I felt it was a real success of the project that a sense of symmetry was evident to the participants and that L felt we faced similar challenges in learning each other’s language.

L’s ‘investment’ in the project was clear to me when she started to initiate interaction with me in Tigrinya. On leaving the second session, she touched my hand and said, “ciao ciao” (‘goodbye’ in Tigrinya), this became our way of saying goodbye at the end of all subsequent meetings. I had the sense that she was trying to remind me of the words she had taught me in Tigrinya, and I was careful to always respond in Tigrinya rather than English.

At the next session L arrived 30 minutes early, to find me setting up the classroom, she smiled widely and greeted me confidently in Tigrinya with

"Selam!". I was pleased that she seemed comfortable enough to spend an extra half an hour with me before class started with only the few words of Tigrinya and English that we shared. L continued to coach me in Tigrinya as we set up the room together, boiled the kettle, put out snacks, and learnt the words for each item in each other's language. L's increased confidence was significant to me as I knew she had had the fewest opportunities to attend formal education and the least opportunities to learn English in the group. During the interview L told me the sessions were important to her, evidenced by her willingness to spend additional time in the learning environment. Our sessions prioritised what she *could* do rather than what she could not. I felt that reaching this level of comfort had happened more quickly than it might have done had we worked solely in English.

L's role as co-collaborator was highlighted during the interviews when I asked if she thought my Tigrinya was improving and she told me "you're doing ok" and continued that she thought it would get better one day. We acknowledged the time it takes to learn a new language. Despite our vastly different opportunities to access education, she could see how it was equally difficult for me to learn Tamil, Tigrinya, and Arabic as it was for her to learn English, and I felt this boosted her confidence with coming to our learning sessions. This style of learning suited her, she *invested* in in our way of working together and found confidence in her role as co-collaborator and as a teacher of Tigrinya.

Learning Language Together to Support the BRC Aim of 'Rebuilding the Family Unit'

Once families are reunited in the host community, children are more likely to have opportunities to integrate, make friends, and learn the language through school but their mothers may be left at home with limited opportunities to socialise. Families also need time to reconnect with each other and repair familial bonds after separation. Therefore, by creating learning sessions to include both mothers and children I hoped to create a space in which they could learn together and interact away from the family home, supporting each other with language learning. Having learning sessions together also removed the need for additional childcare as the children could attend the sessions as an after-school activity.

The families appeared to enjoy the time spent together in the sessions. In the interviews U told me that she found it helpful that her daughter could help her in class when she did not understand something. I also observed that some mothers lacked confidence with written activities, waiting to see what their children had written, then copying their work. Children also translated

for their mothers in class, which the participants explained happens in their daily lives and I questioned the effect of this on the mothers' confidence and whether this reaffirms this dynamic.

In the interviews, participants felt "fine" or "ok," as they admitted, to work with people of different ages in the sessions. L told me that she "doesn't have strong feelings either way." The family who attended most regularly felt it was good for them to learn as a family but that they preferred to learn with older children: "This age groups will be fine compared to kids." U told me this was because "Older age group people they will talk more so they would like to improve their communications, that's their priority and this age groups people she is thinking will be helpful." U continued, "They can grasp quickly compared to younger age groups so they can pick up what you're teaching very easily." U also told me she appreciated her daughter being in the class with her: "My daughter is picking up very quickly and I can learn from her."

Support from family members outside the class was also vital. On the first day I met U's and K's husbands at the BRC as they helped them to travel to the BRC offices and I also received text messages and phone calls from them during the pilot study to check meeting times and arrangements. This support enabled us to work together to support everyone to come to the sessions and countered the barrier of lack of support from family members highlighted in New Scots (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 17).

Identity, Power, and Voice

The BRC provided interpreters for the first session which proved essential to explain the research and to ensure that participants understood how the data would be used so they could give informed consent. Interpreters also assisted with the interviews at the end of the pilot but were never present during the learning sessions. Working with interpreters for the interviews allowed me to ask participants about their views of the research in their own language which, I felt, underpinned a multilingual approach and enabled more detailed discussion. I questioned how I could authentically capture the voices of the people I was working with if their words were always spoken and interpreted by a third party. The dynamics were also altered when the interpreters returned for the fourth session. I felt we (the participants and I) became very comfortable with each other and had got used to our limited ways of communicating across languages. When the interpreters returned for the interviews it felt slightly intrusive to have a third party through whom we needed to communicate, and it made me question the balance of power during the interaction.

During the interviews, the participants told me how important language learning was in their lives, and how the ability to speak English gave them power and more control. L told me: "The most important thing is to learn the language because in this country we can't communicate if we don't have the language. This class is really useful for us." The participants told me the sessions were helping them with their daily lives. L told me "This is all useful today learning the names for food, for everyday items and cultural things." Everyone seemed keen to participate in the activities and it seemed that this was enhanced by using learners' own languages. U told me "Tamil and English together is better." I was encouraged that despite my lack of knowledge of Tamil, this was still helpful: "We prefer to have Tamil as well in the class because if you just use English, we don't understand what you're speaking so we are not able to follow you, it's better if you use Tamil." Participants also felt that having more participants in the class would help them to work together in their own languages outside the family group. U told me: "If there are more Tamil speakers we can work together." L stated: "From the beginning the class is good. It's helping me like a dictionary between Tigrinya and English," adding that she liked the approach and the way of teaching. U also said: "Yes, it's comfortable for us to use our language, it's useful for us to use Tamil in the class because that helps us to learn quickly, what are you telling us in English. It is useful for us to know the exact definition." L also found this helpful: "It's very useful to explain things in our language… it's very good for explanation it's really good to use my language and English here."

As part of the group interview, we revisited the aims of the research and the reasons for working multilingually. I asked learners how they felt about this and they told me "It's very useful, it's a bit like having a dictionary." None of the participants have started other English classes yet and it will be helpful if they do, as I think this will allow them to see the differences between other classes and our multilingual sessions.

Conclusions

The pilot study consisted of only four sessions, yet it highlighted some of the benefits of an ecological, multilingual approach to language learning for reunited families. The data evidences that this was welcomed by the participants. By incorporating learners' own languages into our own instructional practices and supporting families to learn together we can ensure language learning classrooms reflect the multilingual realities of Scotland's communities. Such

an approach enables better connections between academic literature, policy, and practice, allowing a more holistic approach and bringing learners into the centre of the collaborative learning process.

Support is needed to enable people to gain confidence in their own abilities to function within the new community, including practical support with getting to know the city and local travel. This could be supported by orientation style language classes in the first few weeks which allow scope for taking the learning outside the classroom to practise in real world situations such as travelling on the bus, buying a ticket and shopping in the supermarket. Building these essential survival skills at this crucial part of the integration process builds confidence and reduces the risk of isolation at the point when it is needed most. It is challenging to meet these needs quickly within current ESOL provision due to demand outstripping what is available.

By harnessing existing skills and recognising the significance of identity in language learning we can create an improved sense of balance and power in the language learning process which brings learners into the heart of co-collaboration in line with the New Scots strategy. Facilitating such multilingual learning sessions can bridge the gap to connect reunited families with the local context, supporting these New Scots to feel part of the community from day one through a two-way approach which also allows further skills development for those working in language teaching.

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Sarah Cox

Wird uns ein ökologischer, mehrsprachiger Ansatz dabei helfen, das Sprachenlernen von zusammengeführten Flüchtlingsfamilien in Schottland zu unterstützen?

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Artikel wird die Beziehung zwischen akademischer Literatur, Sprachpolitik und Sprachlernpraxis im spezifischen Kontext von Familien untersucht, die durch den Familienzusammenführungsdienst des Britischen Roten Kreuzes in Glasgow zusammengeführt

wurden. Dargestellt werden die Ergebnisse der Studien zum Lehrprozess, der in Zusammenarbeit mit Teilnehmern in den ersten Wochen nach ihrer Ankunft in Schottland stattfand. Ziel der Untersuchung war es herauszufinden, ob ein mehrsprachiger, ökologischer Ansatz beim Sprachenlernen in diesem Kontext effizient ist. In Anlehnung an die Prinzipien der Translingualität und unter Berücksichtigung der Nutzung des gesamten „sprachlichen Repertoires“ durch die Probanden (vgl. Garcia, 2010) ergründet der Artikel, in Bezug auf den von Norton (2013) vorgeschlagenen Begriff der „Investition“, die Schlüsselfragen des Selbstständigmachens und der Identität in der Klasse. Die gewonnenen Ergebnisse ermöglichen es, Schlussfolgerungen hinsichtlich der Gestaltung des Gleichgewichts der Einflüsse in der Klasse und der Bedeutung der Akzeptanz der ersten Flüchtlingssprache, die als ein wichtiges Element des Lernprozesses gilt, zu formulieren.

Schlüsselwörter: Zweitspracherwerb, Mehrsprachigkeit, Translingualität, Familienzusammenführung

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The Influence of Living and Working Abroad on the Identities of Researchers and Native Speaker Teachers

Abstract

The study investigates the influence of living and working abroad on the identities of researchers and native speaker teachers. Following Block (2009), Hall (2012), and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), identity is assumed here to be dynamic and multiple, where the different identities of a person can be more or less relevant in a given context (Hall, 2012, p. 33). Moreover, identities at the time of globalization tend to be hybrid (Marotta, 2011) and, in the case of migration, they can be bicultural (Comănaru, Noels, & Dewaele, 2017), but as Comănaru et al. (2017, p. 539) observe, each bicultural person's identity is different, depending on his or her life history, language proficiency, psychological traits, etc. Simultaneously, there is evidence that multilingualism increases cognitive empathy (Dewaele & Li, 2012) and makes people more open-minded (Włosowicz, 2019), so it could be assumed that the participants would recognize their hybrid identities as an enrichment rather than a threat to their native identities, even though identification with their native languages and cultures, with their families, etc. would remain an important part of their identity. The research tool used in the present study was a questionnaire completed by forty native speaker teachers and researchers living abroad. As the results show, the participants' identities are indeed highly complex, hybrid, and influenced by different factors, however, the native language and the family remain very important components of identity, unlike, for example, one's profession. Still, they also admitted that foreign language knowledge enriched them culturally, intellectually, and emotionally.

Keywords: identity, multilingualism, mobility, linguistic and cultural awareness

Introduction

The purpose of the study has been an investigation of the identities of researchers and native speaker teachers working abroad. The target group (language teachers and researchers) was chosen on purpose. It was assumed that they would have higher linguistic and cultural awareness connected with their professions and that they would thus be more aware of the changes in their identity produced by constant contact with another language and culture, or even with other languages and cultures, since many native speaker teachers move from one country to another, as in the case of some English teachers or German teachers sent by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (the German Academic Exchange Service). In fact, such changes might be assumed to be relatively subtle. More precisely, as a hybrid identity (cf. Marotta, 2011) develops, it is gradually enriched by the language user's intercultural experience, but while some elements of identity may change, others may remain stable. As Marotta (2011, p. 197) observes, in reference to Anthias (1999, as cited in Marotta, 2011, p. 197, see Section Identity and Mobility below), a hybrid identity does not have to mean greater openness, but in some cases, it may just involve the incorporation of minority cultural ideas and practices by members of the dominant culture. Certainly, here the situation is more complex: even though foreign language teachers and researchers belong to a minority in the country where they live, they may actually be regarded as members of a dominant culture, for example, teachers of English as a global language in a country whose language is hardly ever studied abroad.

The study focused, in particular, on how living in a foreign country on the one hand, and knowledge of foreign languages on the other, influenced the respondents' identity, their perception of their native language and culture, as well as their objectivity in both research (in the case of researchers) and teaching, and in their approach to their native language and culture. Indeed, the participants were all bilingual (one person) or multilingual (i.e., at least trilingual), although their language repertoires varied both in terms of the languages known and the proficiency levels. It could therefore be assumed that, while the participants would be aware of the changes in their identity, their identities would also be very complex and varied, which would be reflected in their responses to the questionnaire. Special attention was paid to the dynamic process of identity development and the different elements of identity which had changed due to the participants' residence in non-native countries and, to some extent, due to their multilingualism and contact with other cultures, as well as to those elements of their identity which they perceived as stable and relatively immune to such influences. It was also attempted to find out what

the participants generally identified with, and which elements of identity varied to a greater extent and were thus more individual.

Identity and Mobility

By and large, identity seems to be quite difficult to define and, while different definitions have been proposed, they vary considerably. On the one hand, some researchers equate identity with ethnicity or cultural identity and thus regard it as pre-determined and stable. For example, Friedman (1994, pp. 29–30, as cited in Tong & Cheung, 2011, p. 58) defines "cultural identity" as "the attribute of a set of qualities to a given population," which is "not practiced but inherent, not achieved but ascribed." He adds that it is "expressed as heritage, or as cultural descent" (Friedman, 1994, pp. 29–30, as cited in Tong & Cheung, 2011, p. 58), which is learnt by all individuals and reflected in their individual behavior. In a similar vein, Hall (2004, p. 3, as cited in Block, 2009, p. 218) claims that "one's identity can be thought of as the particular set of traits, beliefs, and allegiances that, in short or long term ways, gives one a consistent personality and mode of social being." On the other hand, Gee (1999, p. 39, as cited in Block, 2009, p. 218) distinguishes between "socially situated" and "core identities." While he defines socially situated identities as "the multiple identities we take on in different practices and contexts," core identities, in his view, constitute "whatever continuous and relatively "fixed" sense of self underlies our continually shifting multiple identities" (Gee, 1999, p. 39, as cited in Block, 2009, p. 218).

However, as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p. 5) remark, assuming a one-to-one correlation between language and ethnic identity reflects a monolingual and monocultural bias. An example of that approach is the definition of ethnic identity as "a subjective feeling of belongingness to a particular ethnic group" (Noels, Pon, & Clément, 1996, p. 246, as cited in Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 15). Identity is not fixed, but rather, it evolves over time, and it can be negotiated, asserted, challenged, defined, etc. in different social contexts. Block (2009, pp. 218–219) questions Gee's (1999) concept of a fixed, underlying sense of self and suggests that a better definition of identity is that proposed by Weedon (2004, p. 19, her emphasis, as cited in Block, 2009, p. 219): "the 'limited and temporary fixing for the individual of a particular mode of subjectivity as apparently what one *is*.'" Thus, identity can only temporarily be perceived as fixed, but it changes over time. From the point of view of the so-called "left" theories of identity based on Lacan's (1977, as cited in Block, 2009, p. 225)

work, identity is "fluid and unstable" (Block, 2009, p. 225), in response to both changes in the environment and to certain emotions.

Indeed, just as a speaker's dominant language can change as a function of his or her country of residence (Elwert, 1973, as cited in Hoffmann, 2001, p. 15), identity can also be influenced by moving to another country or even becoming multilingual. As Maines (1978, p. 242, as cited in Panicacci & Dewaele, 2017, p. 421) observed, "identities migrate every bit as much as bodies." If, following Weedon (2004, as cited in Block, 2009, p. 219), one assumes that identity is subjective and can be defined by what one apparently is, it can be supposed to be connected with one's self-perception, which can certainly change. As Panicacci and Dewaele (2017, p. 423) conclude on the basis of a body of earlier research:

> In summary, the literature suggests that migrants' personality profiles, cultural orientation and self-perception are pieces of a complex puzzle. While no researcher would disagree that migration experiences trigger changes across all aspects of an individual's psyche (Dewaele, 2016), nobody has yet—to our knowledge—investigated the cumulative effects of personality, cultural orientation and sense of feeling different. Such a research is challenging since the directionality of the relationship between the variables can never be completely established.

It can therefore be seen that identity and personality are interconnected. As has been remarked above, Hall (2004, p. 3, as cited in Block, 2009, p. 218) regards identity as the set of traits which contribute to a consistent personality. Still, as Mijatović and Tytus (2016, p. 231) have shown, the relationship between bilingualism and biculturalism on the one hand and a changed self on the other is highly complex. While bilinguals are sensitive to feedback from their interlocutors and adjust to it, bilingualism and biculturalism do not necessarily mean feeling different while using one language or the other. One trait which contributes to a feeling of a changed self is Agreeableness, which makes speakers seek harmony and thus change one's behavior to please the interlocutor. Last but not least, as Mijatović and Tytus (2016, p. 231) observe, "[a] crucial role could further be attributed to cultural differences, a bilingual's proficiency in the L2 as well as varying emotionality of both languages." While, in the course of time, one acquires experience with two or more languages and cultures, one also tries to keep that experience coherent. As Drabarek (2018, p. 13) observes, one "strives towards a sense of continuity and inner identity by integrating past and present experiences." In her view, "the content of identity will include individual beliefs, interests, needs, motivations, but also one's way of thinking determined by axiological criteria" (Drabarek, 2018, p. 13). According to her (Drabarek, 2018, p. 14), identity might be regarded as synonymous with identification, which is related to social bonds, common

interests, and the internalization of certain values. In the case of multilingual and multicultural individuals, these relationships can be even more complex, as their proficiency in the different languages varies even more and the language users' experience with different cultures can be more varied too.

However, language is a salient marker of identity (Giles & Byrne, 1982, as cited in Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, pp. 4–5), therefore, minority groups whose ethnolinguistic vitality (including the boundaries between the native and the second language) is weaker, learn the L2 and assimilate more easily than those whose ethnolinguistic vitality is stronger. Even so, identity does not have to be connected with a single language. Sometimes it is even difficult to determine a person's native language and some multilingual participants indicate two native languages (Kashema, 2003, pp. 163–164; Müller-Lancé, 1999, p. 86; Włosowicz, 2011, p. 496). As Boutan (2003, pp. 138–139) has concluded, it is the language of the mother rather than that of the country. Certainly, learning the national language is a necessity for the country's citizens, but, at the same time, their native, minority languages should not be neglected (Boutan, 2003, p. 149).

Undoubtedly, there are differences between immigrants and other minority language speakers whose languages are not prestigious and who experience language anxiety and even subtractive bilingualism and L1 loss (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Sharwood-Smith, 1989; Van Gelderen et al., 2003), and native speaker teachers and researchers, but exposure to the foreign language and culture and everyday contact with its speakers are likely to influence the foreign teacher or researcher, too. At this point, it is worth mentioning that this may also differ according to the person's native language and the language of the country. Following Giles and Byrne's (1982, as cited in Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, pp. 4–5) suggestions concerning the role of ethnolinguistic vitality, there might be supposed to be a difference between a speaker of a less prestigious and less widely taught language (for example, a Romanian researcher in France) and a native speaker teacher of a more prestigious language (such as a native speaker of English in Poland), as well as a speaker of a language of a comparable status (for instance, a Spanish speaker in France).

At this point, it can be concluded that not only are identities dynamic and change over time, but they are also multifaceted or even multiple if different aspects of our identity are regarded as a number of "intersecting social identities" (Hall, 2012, p. 33). According to Hall (2012, p. 33), the relevance of our identities changes from one context to another, for example, a person's identity as an American tourist is more relevant in one context, while in another the same person's most relevant identity is that of an English language teacher.

The fact that identities can be multilingual and multicultural has given rise to the notion of hybrid identity. According to Marotta (2011, p. 189), in the contemporary, globalized world, identities are often hybrid, or based on

"the intermingling or mixture of people from different cultural backgrounds." Similarly, in their study on migrants' acculturation, personalities and self-perceptions, Panicacci and Dewaele (2017, p. 434) observe:

> the coexistence of different cultures and languages in migrants' minds might induce a sense of hybridity, especially visible in individuals' psyches. However, migrants' appreciation of local practices and their ability to regulate emotional responses have the potential to minimise the sense of alienation emerging from switching languages, possibly transforming it in a sense of enrichment.

Undoubtedly, migration—including employee mobility, student mobility, etc.— influences individuals' identities very strongly. As Comănaru, Noels, and Dewaele (2017, p. 526) point out, migration

> contributes to the complex dynamics of current societies, and individuals living in these changing contexts need to juggle their affiliations with the various social and cultural groups with which they interact, and, if possible, integrate them into a coherent sense of self.

One of the kinds of hybrid identity is bicultural identity, which is the result of the integration of two cultures. In their model of bicultural identity integration, Roccas and Brewer (2002, as cited in Comănaru et al., 2017, p. 528) propose four different orientations in managing multiple cultural identities:

1. Hyphenated identities (a fusion of both the heritage and the host culture);
2. Cultural dominance (the host culture perceived as preferable);
3. Compartmentalization (alternating between both groups, as a function of contexts);
4. Integrated biculturalism, or "the formation of the identity as a world citizen, rather than belonging to one or more cultural groups" (Comănaru et al., 2017, p. 528).

On the basis of their study, Comănaru, Noels, and Dewaele (2017) conclude that bicultural people are different, and the patterns of bicultural identity are influenced by such factors as "life histories, family dynamics, language proficiency" (Comănaru et al., 2017, p. 539), as well as other personal, psychological, and contextual factors. It can be supposed that also the participants in the present study had developed largely bicultural identities or even, given their increased linguistic and cultural awareness as linguists and/or language teachers, they had reached "integrated biculturalism."

Increased Language Awareness and Tolerance in Multilinguals

In general, multilingualism is not limited to the knowledge of foreign or second languages, but it is connected with a number of cognitive and affective effects. Following Grosjean (1992), it is assumed here that a bilingual is a person who uses two languages regularly, but is not necessarily fluent in both. For example, a native speaker teacher living in a foreign country may possess basic competence in the country's language, but contact with that language and culture enriches him or her intellectually and, arguably, can also influence his or her identity. In fact, even a minimal knowledge of L2 means that one is no longer monolingual (De Angelis, 2007, p. 127). Similarly, a multilingual does not have to be fluent in all three or more languages. Therefore, assuming that there are different degrees of bi- and multilingualism, including, for example, minimal bilinguals (cf. Safont-Jordà, 2005, p. 26), it must be stated that all the participants in the study were bilingual or multilingual.

However, it must be remembered that there are qualitative differences between bilingualism and multilingualism, which is why models of multilingual competence should be based on multilingualism and not on bilingualism (Hufeisen, 2018). According to the Factor Model 2.1 (Hufeisen, 2018, pp. 184–186), in contrast to L1 acquisition, based on neurophysiological factors and such learner-external factors as the learning environment and input, the factors involved in L2 learning additionally include educational aims, the cultural heritage, the L1, which is already in place, affective factors (motivation, attitudes towards languages and cultures, life experiences, the perceived language distance, etc.) and cognitive ones, such as language awareness, metalinguistic awareness, learning strategies and experiences, etc. On the other hand, L3 learning includes, apart from the factors already involved in learning L1 and L2, "Foreign Language Specific Factors" (Hufeisen, 2018, p. 186), for example, the previous interlanguage(s) and the L3 interlanguage, as well as "foreign language learning experiences and strategies," such as "the ability to compare, transfer, and make interlingual connections" (Hufeisen, 2018, p. 186), which means increased language awareness developed while learning the L2. Indeed, as shown by Jessner (1999), multilingual learners possess increased language awareness. Yet, as the present study focuses on identity, language awareness is relevant here only to the extent to which it allows multilingual teachers and researchers to reflect on their language biographies and on the influence of foreign language learning, and especially mobility, on their identity, while the awareness of language structures is beyond the scope of this paper.

Moreover, as shown by Dewaele and Li (2012), multilinguals have a higher level of cognitive empathy, defined as "the intellectual/imaginative apprehen-

sion of another's mental state" (Lawrence et al. 2004, p. 911, as cited in Dewaele & Li, 2012, p. 355). Yet, mere knowledge of multiple languages is not enough, as the effect is stronger in the case of frequent use of those languages (Dewaele & Li, 2012, p. 362). As Dewaele and Li (2012, p. 363) conclude, multiligualism, combined with the frequent use of multiple languages, increases cognitive empathy and thus the ability to adopt the interlocutor's point of view, which makes multilinguals more skillful in conversation.

In fact, multilinguals perceive themselves as more open-minded and tolerant thanks to their knowledge of multiple languages (Włosowicz, 2019). However, as admitted by the participants, tolerance of other cultures is not unlimited, for example, if tormenting animals is a part of another culture, it cannot be tolerated. Similarly, even though knowledge of other languages increases openness and tolerance and can contribute to international understanding, it is not legitimate to assume that it can lead to peace in the world, as international relations are highly complex and peace depends, in particular, on political and economic factors (Włosowicz, 2019, p. 225).

Therefore, as multilingualism increases different aspects of language awareness and, given greater cognitive empathy and the ability to see the world through the interlocutor's eyes, also cultural awareness, it can be assumed that the participants in the present study were aware of the effects of multilingualism and mobility on their identity and that their answers would provide interesting insights into the role of mobility in multilingual identity development. However, taking into consideration the complexity and dynamics of language biographies, it must be remembered that, while certain observations might be common to a number of respondents, individual experiences could vary considerably and might not necessarily depend on the language repertoires or the status of the languages involved.

The Study

Participants

The study was carried out with 40 participants teaching languages and/or academic subjects such as linguistics, literature, language teaching methodology, etc., doing research or teacher training. One respondent (L1: Polish), in addition to teaching academic subjects and English as a foreign language in Norway, teaches history and philosophy in Norwegian at a secondary school. Similarly, an L1 Spanish speaker teaches Spanish geography and history in Spanish at a bilingual secondary school in Poland. One Frenchman living in

Poland, in addition to teaching and research, makes professional translations and works as a consultant for French language examinations and advertisements. Only one person (a Polish L1 speaker living in Slovakia) is a manager and administrator in an international NGO, rather than a teacher or a researcher.

The participants' language biographies are indeed complex. Their L1s include: English (9), Polish (7 participants, 4 of whom chose the questionnaire in English and 3 in French), Spanish (5; in fact, two indicated Spanish and Galician) and one Spanish-English bilingual, German (5), Russian (4), French (2) and one French-Dutch bilingual, Hungarian (2, they filled in the English questionnaire), and Portuguese (1), Uzbek (1, questionnaire in English), Greek (1; she lives in France, but she chose the English version) and Romanian (1; questionnaire in French). As was mentioned above, only one of them is bilingual (in Grosjean's (2012) sense), as she is a native speaker of English living in Poland and possesses a communicative (by her own admission) level of Polish. All others possess various levels of competence in three or more languages, from the beginner level (A1) to near-native (C2). The second or foreign languages in their language repertoires include: English (28 respondents), French (24), German (18), Polish (12), Italian (12), Russian (11), Spanish (10), Latin (5), Portuguese (4), Norwegian (3), Catalan (2), Ukrainian (2), Swedish, Dutch, Chinese, Japanese, Slovak, Czech, Finnish, Breton, Irish, Korean, Bosnian, Esperanto, Belarusian, Serbian, Croatian, Greek, Welsh, Hebrew, and Yiddish (one person each).

They live and work in the following countries: Poland (14 participants), France (11) Austria (4), Spain (2), Italy (2), the United Kingdom (1), Norway (1), Slovakia (1), the Czech Republic (1), Portugal (1), Finland (1), and Kazakhstan (1). One (L1: English) respondent wrote he lived in Germany but worked in Poland and, similarly, one German L1 participant wrote: "Poland (and Germany)." By the time of the study, they had lived there from 1.3 years to 36 years (mean 15.67 years, SD = 9.944). However, for twenty-four of them, the current country of residence is not the first foreign country they have lived in, as they used to live and work or study in other countries as well, both in Europe (for example, in Norway, Germany, Denmark, Russia, Italy, France, Spain or Sweden) and on other continents (the United States, Japan, South Korea, Georgia). It can thus be assumed that their experience of living abroad was sufficient to exert some effects on their identity and also to make them aware of those effects.

Method

The research tool used in the study was a questionnaire sent to the participants be email. As identity is a highly personal matter, the participants had

the possibility of filling out the questionnaire in their native languages, or at least in their dominant foreign languages (they had a choice, but the English version was the basic one and they all received it as a point of reference). The questionnaire was written in five language versions: English, French, German, Spanish, and Portuguese. (The English one is presented in the Appendix at the end of the article.)

The questionnaire included two kinds of questions: closed (both multiple choice questions and marking responses on a five-point Likert scale, from 1—completely disagree, to 5—fully agree) and open ones, which involved commenting on the influence of knowing foreign languages and living abroad on their identity. Such a form was chosen in order to allow a combination of mixed methods—both qualitative and quantitative—which, according to Dörnyei (2007, pp. 45–46), is better than qualitative or quantitative methods alone, by eliminating the weaknesses of both approaches and increasing their strengths. While quantitative research is regarded as "systematic, rigorous, focused and tightly controlled" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 34) and enjoys a high reputation, averages do not reflect the complexity of individual lives, "[s]imilar scores can result from quite different underlying processes" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 35) and they are not sensitive enough to explain the reasons for the phenomena observed. By contrast, qualitative research can better make sense of complex and dynamic phenomena and answer "why" questions, but at the same time it may focus on individual stories and not be sufficiently generalizable, and there is a risk of creating theories that are either too complex or too narrow, based on individual cases (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 42). In the case of mixed methods, complex issues can be analyzed on multiple levels and the qualitative component adds depth to the results of the quantitative analysis, so the validity of research and the generalizability of results are improved (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 45–46). In the present study, general tendencies revealed by the mean values of responses marked on the Likert scale can be supplemented with the participants' autobiographical narratives. As Gabryś-Barker and Otwinowska (2012) have shown, personal narratives can reveal a lot about the development of multilingual systems, of learning strategies, language awareness, motivation, etc. It can thus be assumed that even short narratives (because of time limits, answering the open-ended questions) could provide interesting insights into the development of the participants' identities.

The research questions were as follows: First, what factors can be observed to influence the participants' identities and to what extent? Second, how do they perceive the development of their identities? Third, what do the results reveal about the identities of multilingual teachers and/or researchers living in foreign countries?

Results

First of all, the participants were asked what they did in the foreign countries, that is, whether they were teachers of their native language or another language, teachers of academic subjects, researchers, or whether they did something else (Table 1). As they could indicate more than one kind of work, the sum of the percentages is more than one hundred. However, as was remarked in Section "Identity and Mobility" above, it could be supposed that the status of the participants' native languages in their countries of residence could also play a role in the development of their identity and their perception of it, as well as in the kind of work they did. For example, a Polish L1 speaker in France was more likely to be a researcher and/or a teacher of academic subjects (linguistics, literature, language teaching methodology, etc.) than a teacher of Polish. By contrast, an English or a French L1 speaker in Poland could be a teacher of his or her native language as well as a researcher or a teacher of academic subjects. However, a foreigner may not necessarily teach his or her native language, but also a non-native language, such as English. Therefore, the participants were divided into three groups: "more prestigious L1 speakers," "less prestigious L1 speakers," and "speakers of comparably prestigious languages." Certainly, this division is relative, as different factors can influence the status of a language, but it can be assumed that English as the world language is the most prestigious and the most desired language abroad, also in terms of the demand for native speaker teachers (Holtzer, 2001; Szczurkowska, 2007), so all native English speakers were classified as "more prestigious L1 speakers." The same category included, for example, French, German, and Spanish teachers and researchers in Poland and in other countries whose languages are not widely studied, such as Finland or the Czech Republic, and consisted of 21 participants. By contrast,

Table 1

The types of work done by the participants in the foreign countries

Work type	All (40)		More prestigious L1 (21)		Less prestigious L1 (15)		Comparable languages (4)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Teaching academic subjects	27	67.50	15	71.43	9	60.00	3	75.00
Research	25	62.50	13	61.90	11	73.33	1	25.00
Teaching one's native language	19	47.50	17	80.95	1	6.67	1	25.00
Teaching a foreign language	6	15.00	2	9.52	4	26.67	0	0.00
Other	7	17.50	5	23.81	1	6.67	1	25.00

speakers of less popular and less widely taught languages than those of the countries of their residence (e.g., native speakers of Polish, Greek or Russian in France) were classified as "less prestigious L1 speakers" (15 participants), while speakers whose languages had comparable prestige (e.g., a native Spanish speaker living in France or a Polish speaker in Slovakia) were labelled "speakers of comparably prestigious languages" (4). The percentages are calculated for all the participants and for each group separately.

As the figures indicate, the type of work done by the participants seems to depend on their native languages. While 80.95% of the more prestigious L1 speakers teach their native languages abroad, this is done by only one less prestigious L1 speaker (6.67%) who teaches Portuguese in France. On the other hand, the percentage of participants doing research abroad is higher among the less prestigious L1 speakers (73.33%) than among the more prestigious L1 speakers (61.9%). Because of the demand for their native languages, more prestigious L1 speakers are more likely to work abroad as language teachers, but, as the results show, they also tend to teach academic subjects (71.43%) more often than speakers of less prestigious L1s (60%). For example, academics who are native English speakers can teach English linguistics or literature abroad. In order to find out whether the type of work actually depended on the participants' L1s, a chi-square analysis was carried out for the three groups and the results proved marginally significant at $p = 0.01088$ (df = 8). (The difference would not be significant at $p < 0.01$, but admitting $p < 0.02$, it might still be regarded as significant.) Therefore, there is a certain relationship between the status of one's native language and the kind of work done abroad.

The next question concerned the languages they used in their countries of residence, as it was also assumed that language use played a role in the development of multilingual repertoires and could also influence the participants' perception of their identity, for example, as more hybrid. The results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

The participants' language use in their countries of residence

Language use	All (40)		More prestigious L1 (21)		Less prestigious L1 (15)		Comparable languages (4)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
English as L1	9	22.50	9	42.86	0	0.00	0	0.00
English as a foreign language	20	50.00	9	42.86	8	53.33	3	75.00
Native language (not English)	16	40.00	11	52.38	5	33.33	0	0.00
The country's language	32	80.00	18	85.71	10	66.67	4	100.00
Other	8	20.00	2	9.52	4	26.67	2	50.00

Again, they are calculated for all the forty participants as well as for each group separately, and the sums of the percentages exceed one hundred, as the respondents could indicate more than one language.

As the results show, most of them (80%) do use the language of the country they live in, whether their native language is more (85.71%) or less (66.67%) prestigious than the country's language, or comparable in status (100%). English is certainly also used, whether as a native or a non-native language (in the case of one participant, English is also the country's language, but he marked it only once, "English as a non-native language"), but, apparently, in the long run it is not enough if one lives in a foreign country, which supports Szczurkowska's (2007, p. 42) observation on the limitations of English as a global language. Not surprisingly, speakers of more prestigious L1s use their native languages more often (52.38%) than speakers of less prestigious ones (33.33%), but they cannot use them everywhere either. Undoubtedly, a French L1 speaker can use French at the university department where he or she teaches, but he or she would be unlikely to communicate in French in Poland, for example, in shops. By contrast, the "other" category included languages used only in particular contexts, for example, Esperanto, or Spanish as the native language of a participant's husband. The chi-square analysis comparing the use of languages by the three groups did not show any statistically significant difference between them, $p = 0.08152$, df = 8. This can be explained by the fact that, even though native speakers of English and other international languages were more likely to use their mother tongues abroad, they also used the languages of their countries of residence, just like the speakers of less widely used L1s, and that English as a foreign language was used by all groups.

As for their attitudes towards the languages and cultures of their countries of residence, the participants were asked whether the language had become a part of their identity, whether they felt more emotionally attached to their native language or to still another foreign language, etc. (see questions 2b and 2c in the questionnaire). They could mark more than one answer because, given the complexity of the phenomena under investigation, one could, for example, know very well a language and regard it as a part of one's identity, but still be more strongly attached to one's native language. The percentages of their attitudes towards the countries' languages are presented in Table 3.

As the results indicate, for most of the participants (57.5%), the language of the country of residence has become part of their identity, especially in the case of speakers of less prestigious L1s (86.67%). It is possible that, while integration into the target society involves the use of its language, which, in turn, influences one's identity, speakers of less prestigious languages, who cannot use their L1s in the foreign countries, are more likely to integrate the country's language into their identities. However, regular use of a language

does not have to mean emotional involvement, as 20% of the speakers of less prestigious L1 and 25% of the speakers of languages of a comparable status claimed they were not emotionally attached to the country's language, while only 4.76% of the more prestigious language speakers claimed not to be emotionally attached to it. Quite surprisingly, the proportion of the participants less attached to the country's language than to their native languages was relatively low (22.5%), and highest among the speakers of more prestigious L1s (33.33%), which suggests that, even though the native language remains an important part of one's identity (see below), one also becomes emotionally attached to the language of one's country of residence. (It could have been supposed that a higher percentage of the participants would stress the fact that, despite knowing the country's language well, they were less attached to it than to their native languages.).

Table 3

The participants' attitudes towards the languages of their countries of residence

Attitudes towards the languages	All (40)		More prestigious L1 (21)		Less prestigious L1 (15)		Comparable languages (4)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
It is a language I know very well, so it has become a part of my identity.	23	57.50	8	38.10	13	86.67	2	50.00
It is just a language I teach or write in, but I do not feel emotionally attached to it.	5	12.50	1	4.76	3	20.00	1	25.00
I know it very well, but I feel less emotionally attached to it than to my native language.	9	22.50	7	33.33	2	13.33	0	0.00
I know it well, but I am more emotionally attached to another foreign language.	5	12.50	1	4.76	3	20.00	1	25.00
It is reserved for particular situations, such as talking with friends, but I do not teach or write in it, so my attitude towards it is quite personal.	5	12.50	4	19.05	0	0.00	1	25.00
I only have basic competence in it, so I can make myself understood in everyday life, but I do not identify with it.	3	7.50	3	7.50	0	0.00	0	0.00
I do not know it at all.	2	5.00	2	9.52	0	0.00	0	0.00

Table 4

The participants' attitudes towards the cultures of their countries of residence

Attitudes towards the cultures	All (40)		More prestigious L1 (21)		Less prestigious L1 (15)		Comparable languages (4)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I have adapted to it very well and, in a way, I feel at home here.	32	80.00	15	71.43	13	86.67	4	100.00
I have adapted to it well enough to live in this country, but I still regard it as a foreign culture.	8	20.00	5	23.81	2	13.33	1	25.00
I do not feel the need to adapt to it, as I only work here as a researcher and/or a teacher.	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
I have tried to adapt to it but I have failed.	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
I identify only with my native culture and I feel completely alienated here.	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
I identify only with my native culture, but this country's culture is interesting and I enjoy discovering it.	2	5.00	2	9.52	0	0.00	0	0.00
Other	3	7.50	3	14.29	0	0.00	0	0.00

It can be seen (Table 4) that the overwhelming majority of the participants (80%) became adapted to the foreign cultures, especially the speakers of comparable languages (100%; here the cultures were also to some extent similar, for example, Polish and Slovak) and those of less prestigious L1s (86.67%). Certainly, even respondents who had adapted to the foreign cultures could still regard them as foreign (20%), but no-one felt alienated, no-one felt any need to adapt to the country's culture, and no-one had failed to adapt to it, which suggests that foreign language teachers and researchers' high levels of linguistic and cultural awareness help them to recognize the need for adaptation and to adapt to the target culture better.

The three groups' answers were then compared by means of a chi-square test, but the difference between them did not prove to be statistically significant, $p = 0.116$, df = 12. Similarly, the three groups' attitudes towards the cultures of the countries they lived in were compared by means of a chi-square test and, again, the difference between them was not statistically significant, $p = 0.51217$, df = 6 (the three items with 0% of positive responses in all groups were excluded). This indicates that neither the participants' attitudes towards the languages nor towards the cultures of their countries of residence depended on the relative status of their native languages, and that members of all the groups had adapted to the foreign languages and cultures.

To investigate the participants' views on identity, they were asked, first, what they immediately thought of in connection with their identity, and, second, what they associated it with. The first question seems to have been quite difficult and, as one participant remarked, it was not a matter of an immediate decision. However, many participants did provide some immediate associations and wrote such things as: "work," "Irish, followed by Polish and European," "Belgian European Londoner," "multicultural, multilingual, traveller, teacher," "Earthling," "unclear question: first of all, an educated European Catholic," "Orthodox Christianity, Romania" (my translation from French), "my family (a difficult question)," "Russia and France" (my translation from French), "it depends on many factors, it can be Spanish, English or French" (my translation from Spanish), "my native region" (my translation from German), "Polish, but also a little French" (my translation from French), "nationality, customs, habits" (my translation from Spanish), "[I think] about perspective/perspective-taking and, through the stay abroad, about a change of perspective" (my translation from German), etc. As the responses show, their identities are not only varied, but also often hybrid.

Table 5 shows the percentages of the things the respondents identify with, calculated both for all the participants and for each group. Again, the percentages exceed a hundred percent, as the participants could indicate more than one answer.

Table 5

Things the participants identify with

Element of identity	All (40)		More prestigious L1 (21)		Less prestigious L1 (15)		Comparable languages (4)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Their nationality	22	55.00	12	57.14	8	53.33	2	50.00
Their native language	25	62.50	11	52.38	12	80.00	2	50.00
Their family	22	55.00	9	42.86	12	8.00	1	25.00
Being an international researcher or language teacher	12	30.00	7	33.33	4	26.67	1	24.00
Their profession or specialization	15	37.50	9	42.86	6	40.00	0	0.00
The country where they work	16	40.00	9	42.86	6	40.00	1	25.00
The university, school or company where they work	7	17.50	4	19.05	2	13.33	1	25.00
Being a citizen of the world	12	30.00	4	19.05	6	40.00	2	50.00
A hybrid identity	23	57.50	10	47.62	11	73.33	2	50.00
Difficult to say	3	7.50	1	4.76	2	13.33	0	0.00
Other	10	25.00	9	42.86	1	6.67	0	0.00

It can thus be observed that the participants identify most strongly with their native language (62.5%), especially among the speakers of less prestigious L1s (80%). This might be surprising, as speakers of more prestigious L1s might be supposed to be proud of their languages and cultures, and only 52.38% of them claimed to identify with their native languages. It is possible that speakers of less prestigious L1s regard the mother tongue as a salient marker of identity, or else they might lose their identity and simply become members of the dominant society. At the same time, it is possible that more international languages, especially English, are no longer such strong markers of identity; for example, English might be regarded as the global language in the first place, rather than a marker of British, Irish, etc. identity, that is why its native speakers might identify with it less strongly than, say, Poles with Polish. However, taking into consideration the next result, the former interpretation seems more plausible. The majority of the participants (57.5%) marked a hybrid identity, yet, while this tendency was particularly pronounced among the speakers of less prestigious L1s (73.33%), only 47.62% of the speakers of more prestigious L1s indicated a hybrid identity. Thus, one may agree with Giles and Byrne (1982, as cited in Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, pp. 4–5) that the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language plays a role here: prestigious languages such as English or French may have enough ethnolinguistic vitality to prevent their speakers from being "absorbed" by the dominant society. Still, some caution is needed here because, as was mentioned above, the status of an L1 in a foreign country is relative. For example, Portuguese is a relatively international language, as it is spoken in Portugal, in Brazil, in Mozambique, etc., but in France it is obviously less prestigious than French.

The next, equally strong points of identification, were the family and one's nationality (55%). However, there are visible differences between the groups: while the speakers of less prestigious L1s very strongly identified with their families (80%) and less strongly with their nationalities (53.33%), those of more prestigious L1s showed the opposite pattern: 57.14% identified with their nationalities and only 42.86% with their families. By contrast, the percentages of the participants who identified with the countries where they lived and worked (40%), with their professions (37.5%) and with being international researchers or teachers (30%) are undoubtedly lower. This suggests that the profession is not a salient point of identification. Still, also only 30% identified with being citizens of the world (only 19.05% of the speakers of the more prestigious languages, more among those of less prestigious (40%) and comparable (50%) languages), which indicates that, while a hybrid identity may incorporate one's nationality and identities related to one or a few countries one has lived in, being a citizen of the world is too broad a concept to identify with. Even so, while speakers of the more prestigious L1s rarely thought of themselves as citizens of the world, such a broad identity was more acceptable for speak-

ers of less prestigious L1s and those of a comparable status, so the status of a language may also play a role in one's identification with one's nationality or, on the contrary, with being a world citizen. Finally, the "other" category included a number of different things, from religion, being European or being a EU citizen, gender, hobbies, books, personal experience, ancestry, regional identity, or even the local people's attitude towards foreigners.

However, the chi-square test carried out in order to check whether the participants' identification with particular things depended on the status of their native languages (more prestigious, less prestigious or of a comparable status) did not reveal a statistically significant difference between the three groups, $p = 0.78$, df = 20. Thus, even though some differences can be observed, they are not significant and the participants' identity (following Drabarek, 2018, it is assumed here that identity can be regarded as identification) does not depend on the status of their native languages.

The next part of the questionnaire focused more precisely on the participants' perception of the influence of living and working abroad on their identities. The means and standard deviations of the results marked on the Likert scale are presented in Table 6, both for all the participants and for each of the three groups.

In general, the participants' identities have been enriched by all the languages they know and they are quite unanimous about it, as the mean is 4.6923 (SD = 0.655). This is particularly visible in the case of the speakers of less prestigious L1s (mean = 4.8667, SD = 0.5164), but even speakers of more prestigious L1s recognize the identity-enriching potential of multilingualism (mean = 4.5714, SD = 0.7464). It has also been influenced by all the languages they know (mean = 4, SD =1.1239), in particular, by the best-known language (mean = 4.2, SD = 0.964) and, especially in the case of the impact of the best-known language, the respondents are fairly unanimous. However, living in a foreign country, regardless of their fluency in the country's language, seems to have had less impact on their identities, but there are bigger differences between them (mean = 3.667, SD = 1.352). It is possible that, either, the very fact of living abroad has a lesser effect on a person's identity than the character of his or her interactions with people, the length of his or her stay, the cultural differences between the native and the foreign countries, or that such effects are subtle and more difficult to notice than the effects of multilingualism, especially if the native and the foreign cultures are not very different. This hypothesis might be supported by the high standard deviation: while some participants noticed considerable changes in their identities brought about by living abroad, others did not. In fact, the way in which the statement was formulated, that is, that residence in a foreign country had an effect on one's identity regardless of one's fluency in the language, seems to support this result too. It can be supposed that knowing the country's language allows one to make friends and to integrate

better into the society than, for example, speaking only English as an international language (Szczurkowska, 2007, p. 42), that is why in the former case the effect on identity is greater. Another possibility might be that the participants agree that living in a foreign country influences one's identity, but some of them disagree that the influence is independent of their language proficiency. An example might be a German living in Poland, who used to live in Georgia for three years, and who indicated no proficiency in Polish or Georgian. He marked "1" ("completely disagree"), which suggests that language competence is an important factor and its lack makes it more difficult to experience an impact of living abroad on identity.

Table 6

The participants' perception of the influence of living abroad on their identities

Statement		All	More prestigious L1	Less prestigious L1	Comparable languages
Knowing a foreign language/foreign languages has enriched my identity.	Mean	4.6923	4.5714	4.8667	4.667
	SD	0.655	0.7464	0.5164	0.57735
My identity has been influenced by all the languages I know.	Mean	4	3.6	4.333	4.75
	SD	1.1239	1.095	1.1127	0.5
My identity has been influenced the most by the language(s) I know best.	Mean	4.2	4.056	4.4615	4.5
	SD	0.964	0.8726	0.9674	0.577
My identity has been influenced the most by living in a foreign country, regardless of whether I am fluent in its language or not.	Mean	3.667	3.7895	3.231	4.25
	SD	1.352	1.357	1.235	1.5
Living in a foreign country has changed my perception of my native language and/or culture.	Mean	4.1842	4.222	4.4	3
	SD	1.159	1.2154	0.91	2
Because of living in a foreign country and having some experience of its culture, I can look at my native culture more objectively.	Mean	4.3077	4.3	4.4667	3.75
	SD	0.922	0.65695	0.9155	1.893
Speaking or writing in a foreign language, I can be more objective as a researcher or a teacher than while using my native language, because I am less emotionally involved.	Mean	2.368	2.238	2.3077	3
	SD	1.344	1.261	1.3156	1.633
Because of living in a foreign country, I feel even more strongly attached to my native language and culture than I would be if I lived in my native country.	Mean	2.8	2.619	2.8	3.75
	SD	1.471	1.4655	1.373	1.893
I identify with the international academic community more than with any particular language and culture.	Mean	2.7632	2.05	3.4286	4
	SD	1.4225	1.05	1.4525	1.1547

At the same time, living in a foreign country does have an effect on one's perception of one's native language and culture. Taking a distance and changing one's perception of one's native language and culture is a fairly visible result of living abroad (mean = 4.1842, SD = 1.159). More precisely, one acquires a more objective look at one's own native culture (mean = 4.3077, SD = 0.922), and in this respect the participants seem quite unanimous. This applies especially to the speakers of less prestigious L1s (mean = 4.4667, SD = 0.9155), but also to those of the more prestigious L1s (mean = 4.3, SD = 0.65695), which suggests that, because of contact with another culture, speakers of international languages (especially English, but also French, German or Spanish) can develop more objective views of their native cultures. However, such a changed perception of one's native culture can be a mixture of both positive and negative observations. As a Greek L1 respondent living in France remarked, she was aware of Greek flaws and Greek habits to which she had not paid attention before, but she had also got to appreciate Greek culture more and was becoming more and more nostalgic with time.

However, in the participants' opinion, living in a foreign country and using a foreign language rather than the native one does not necessarily influence one's objectivity as a researcher or a foreign language teacher (mean = 2.368, SD = 1.344). While looking at one's native culture from a distance, one acquires a more objective approach to it, in contrast to people living in their native country and speaking their native language all the time, but a researcher has to be objective, whether he or she lives in his or her country or abroad. Thus, they may have learnt to be objective at the time of learning research methodology (during their studies, doctoral studies, etc.) and living abroad did not have much influence on their objectivity as researchers. Similarly, being a foreign language teacher requires some objectivity and the participants acquired it during their studies or teacher traineeships, rather than during their residence abroad. It is also possible that what they disagree with is the suggestion that they are more objective because of lower emotional involvement than if they used their L1s. A researcher should be objective and avoid an emotional bias while writing in any language, whether native or non-native. Yet, as the standard deviation is quite high, the participants' opinions differ and some of them regard themselves as more objective teachers and/or researchers thanks to their residence abroad and foreign language use, while others do not.

In contrast to the above statements, which presupposed some changes in one's identity or some distance towards one's native culture, the next one concerned the opposite question: whether, because of living abroad, they actually felt more attached to their native cultures. It was possible that, because of some cultural differences and misunderstandings, they were more aware of belonging to a different culture and thus felt more emotionally attached to it. However, as the results show, living in a foreign country does not generally make one

more strongly attached to one's native culture than if one lived in one's native country (mean = 2.8, SD = 1.471).

On the other hand, identity is more strongly connected with one's language and culture than with being a member of the international academic community. The participants do not generally identify more with the international academic community than with any language and culture: mean = 2.7632, SD = 1.4225. The highest level of identification with the international academic community was observed among the speakers of languages of a comparable status (mean = 4, SD = 1.1547), but, possibly, it is because three of them are academic teachers and/or researchers and one works for an international NGO. Indeed, the lowest mean (2.05, SD = 1.05) was observed among the speakers of more prestigious L1s, who are often teachers of their L1s but not necessarily researchers, so they may not necessarily identify with the international academic community. However, as was already mentioned above (see Table 5), the participants did not generally claim to identify with the international academic community, so both these results are consistent.

The participants were also asked to evaluate on a five-point Likert scale statements concerning their emotions and attitudes towards the languages of their countries of residence. Item 3b was aimed at respondents being able to speak the language, and item 3c—at those who did not speak the country's language sufficiently well, but, as it turned out, participants with a basic knowledge of the country's language filled in both 3b and 3c, at least partly. Moreover, only in the more prestigious L1 group were there respondents who admitted to no or insufficient knowledge of the languages of their countries of residence, so the earlier division into groups could no longer be used in the analysis. Rather, the means and standard deviations were calculated for the responses to items 3b and 3c. While speaking the language of the country they live in, the participants do not feel much different than while speaking their native languages, though their opinions in this respect differ (mean = 3.083, SD = 1.5). However, they no longer think the same way as a typical native speaker of their L1s (mean = 4.147, SD = 0.9888). They generally disagree that speaking the foreign countries' languages they feel less authentic than when they speak their mother tongues (mean = 2.556, SD = 1.4029), and they even more strongly disagree that they do not feel authentic at all (mean = 1.7059, SD = 1.0597). At the same time, they generally admit that, while their identities are multilingual and multicultural, as language teachers and/or researchers, they can look at all those languages and cultures more objectively (mean = 4.09, SD = 0.9799).

On the other hand, respondents who do not speak the country's language (sufficiently), do not really identify with their countries of residence (mean = 3, SD = 1.095). Yet, they disagree that they identify only with their L1s and feel no need to learn the language of the country (mean = 1.5, SD = 0.83667). By contrast, they would rather integrate into those cultures better, but here their

opinions differ (mean = 3.833, SD = 1.472). To some extent, their knowledge of other languages allows them to observe the foreign countries' cultures better and adjust to them (mean = 3.6, SD = 0.8944), and also, arguably, as teachers and/or researchers they can look at their native cultures more objectively, even though they do not speak the languages of their countries of residence well (mean = 3.75, SD = 0.957). The former result suggests that, while the knowledge of foreign languages increases cultural awareness, getting to know a particular culture well requires learning its language. The latter indicates that being a researcher or a language teacher might theoretically make one more objective about one's native culture and related cultures, but this is not necessarily the case.

Last but not least, the participants' comments reflect their experiences, attitudes and to some extent the development of their identities. Some examples are presented below.

Example 1 (a Polish L1 speaker living in Spain):

> […] As a English young learner in England and an adult Spanish learner in Spain I have always identified myself with the target community which resulted from the need to communicate and integrate. Consequently, I developed various language identities from Polish (native) being affected by and developed into English which in turn has been influenced by the Spanish one. This complex transition process made me look at various cultural differences in perspective. I became more tolerant and objective. Moreover, I feel significantly less emotionally attached to my native language. Finally, the experience of living in different countries has considerably enriched my international identity, at the same time decreasing the level of attachment to any particular […] language or culture.

Example 2 (a Polish L1 speaker living in Norway):

> Knowing other languages helps to see how my native language is a member of the European family of languages—with all the mutual influence on the form of loan words etc. It makes my perception of my country's culture as less special, less exceptional but, on the contrary, as part of the common European tradition and an important contributor to this tradition. More inclusive rather than exclusive.

Example 3 (an English L1 speaker living in Poland):

> Learning Polish has had a huge impact on my self-awareness. I now realize that I can learn other languages and, as a result, learn about new cultures. While I sometimes get a bit frustrated with certain aspects of Polish culture,

> it has given me fresh insights into the things I take for granted as a British citizen, and I do have more of an objective position when I reflect on my own country.)

Example 4 (a Hungarian L1 speaker living in Austria):

> I believe all the listed things have an impact on one's identity, or to be more personal, they have had an impact on mine, and it is also true that languages are important for me, but I do not identify myself with any or all languages I know. I use the language as a tool, I enjoy using it to have access to "new worlds" and people.

As the examples indicate, foreign language learning and living abroad increase one's cultural awareness and influence one's identity, but the effects can differ from one person to another. While some people's identities become more hybrid, others just take a more objective look at one's native culture. Similarly, for one person a foreign language can become part of his or her identity and for another just a tool. Therefore, even though the impact of foreign languages and cultures on identity is generally undeniable, its role in the development of particular people's identities is highly individual.

Conclusions

In general, the participants' identities are indeed highly complex and influenced by a number of factors. To answer the research questions, first, the most important factors seem to be the knowledge of foreign languages, especially that of the language of one's country of residence, and language use during one's stay abroad. Living in a foreign country definitely influences one's identity, but, as the participants themselves admit, not independently of one's proficiency in the country's language. On the one hand, multilingualism has been associated with a number of benefits, such as cognitive empathy and improved social skills (Dewaele & Li, 2012) as well as increased open-mindedness and tolerance (Włosowicz, 2019), so it can be assumed that, being multilingual, the participants were able to adapt to the foreign cultures better, which, in turn, affected their identity. On the other hand, knowledge of the country's language, rather than just English as the global language, allows one to make friends and to integrate into the foreign society more easily (Szczurkowska, 2007), so those who knew or learnt (as in the case of the Englishwoman who learnt Polish in Example 3) the language of the

country of residence could, arguably, understand the culture better and thus adapt to it. Undoubtedly, multilingualism is connected with higher linguistic and cultural awareness, so as a factor influencing one's identity, it should be considered more broadly, not only as the knowledge of several languages, but also as a complex system of linguistic and cultural knowledge, combined with increased awareness. In fact, as the participants admitted, multilingualism had enriched their identities.

A certain role is also played by the status of the native language in relation to the language of the foreign country, but it must be remembered that there was considerable variation among the participants. The fact that more speakers of less prestigious L1s indicated a hybrid identity than speakers of more prestigious L1s suggests that, on the one hand, a less prestigious L1 speaker more strongly needs to learn the country's language because he or she is unlikely to use his or her native language there, which allows him or her to integrate into the dominant society and develop a hybrid identity. On the other hand, to avoid being absorbed by the dominant culture, one needs to preserve one's identity, for example, by maintaining one's native language. However, such factors as nostalgia and identification with one's family help one to preserve one's native identity to some extent. Even though there were visible differences between the three groups in terms of the percentages of particular answers, the differences proved not to be statistically significant, so the status of the native language turned out to be a less important factor than it might have seemed.

Second, the development of the participants' identities appears to be both complex and dynamic and, at the same time, largely individual. Generally, they admit that the foreign countries' languages have become part of their identities (57.5%), especially in the case of speakers of less prestigious L1s (86.67%), who had to learn the languages well in order to communicate. They also adapted to the foreign cultures well, and no-one failed to adapt or felt no need to. Especially at the cultural level, the results indicate a subtle interplay between the linguistic and cultural awareness of the participants as both multilinguals and teachers or researchers, the interest in the target culture and the need to adapt to it, and, finally, an effect on their identities. They also notice a change in their perception of their native cultures, in particular, the development of a more objective approach.

Third, the most important component of the identities of teachers and researchers living abroad seems to be the native language, as indicated by 62.5% of the participants, which confirms Giles and Byrne's (1982, as cited in Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) statement that language is a salient marker of identity. What is particularly interesting is the fact that more participants indicated a hybrid identity (57.5% of all the respondents, and as many as 73.33% of the speakers of less prestigious L1s) than claimed to identify with their nation-

alities (55% of all, 57.14% of the more prestigious L1 speakers, 53.33% of the less prestigious L1 speakers, and 50% in the case of languages of a comparable status). However, a hybrid identity does not necessarily mean being a citizen of the world: rather, one identifies with one's native language/nationality and the country one lives in. The family is also a very important component of identity, while one's profession or workplace is much less important, just like being a member of the international academic community. Moreover, some participants provided their own responses, ranging from religion, through the native region on the one hand and being a European or even an Earthling on the other, to such personal items as books and clothes. Therefore, while a hybrid identity may be characteristic of teachers and researchers working abroad and the native language may also serve as a salient marker of identity for them, identification with one's family seems to be a rather universal component of identity.

What is particularly salient is the complexity of the participants' identities, which cannot be easily generalized and summarized in a few sentences. As one of them remarked, if the present author wanted a simplified answer, he could just quote the nationality indicated in his passport. Indeed, the respondents themselves perceive their identities as very complex and, as the comments show, they admit that learning languages increases one's awareness of other cultures, tolerance, as well as awareness of the place of one's native language among other European languages, and it enriches one culturally, intellectually, and emotionally. At the same time, it makes one more objective, especially as regards one's native language and culture, because objectivity as a teacher or researcher is acquired mainly through study and professional work.

This might offer some implications for the training of foreign language teachers and researchers, who are mostly also academic teachers. First, apart from acquiring detailed knowledge of the language one is going to teach, some multilingual competence combined with linguistic and cultural awareness would be advisable. In fact, one may learn practical grammar, vocabulary, language teaching methodology, etc., but awareness-raising activities do not seem to be frequently included in the program of philology studies. Second, as living abroad and taking a different perspective makes people more objective, it might be capitalized on more in teacher and researcher training. For example, student exchange programs, such as Erasmus scholarships, might include more traineeships abroad for future teachers, rather than just lectures and classes. Similarly, there might be more exchange programs for doctoral students where they would learn to do research in other countries, broadening their perspectives as future researchers and academic teachers.

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Appendix

The questionnaire used in the study (English version)

QUESTIONNAIRE

Sex: F_____/M_____

1a) L1: _____
L2: _____ Level of proficiency: _____
L3: _____ Level of proficiency: _____
What other languages have you studied? Please, indicate your proficiency levels:

1b) Which country do you live and work in? _____
How long have you lived there so far? _____
Have you lived and worked in other countries in the past? If so, please, indicate where you lived and how long you lived there.

1c) What do you do in the foreign country? (You can choose more than one answer.)
□ I teach academic subjects such as linguistics, literature, etc.
□ I do research.
□ I teach my native language to foreigners.
□ I teach a foreign language (not my native language).
□ something else (please specify) _____

1d) What language(s) do you use in the foreign country, both at work and in other situations? (You can choose more than one answer.)
□ English (as a native language)
□ English (as a non-native language)
□ my native language (if it is not English)
□ the language of the country (if it is a bilingual or a multilingual country, please, specify which one: _____)
□ another language (please specify) _____
If you use more than one language, which of these languages do you use the most often?

2a) If you think of your identity, what do you immediately think of?
What do you associate your identity with? (You can choose more than one answer.)
□ my nationality
□ my native language
□ my family
□ being an international researcher or language teacher
□ my profession or specialization
□ the country where I live and work
□ the university/school/company where I work
□ being a citizen of the world
□ a hybrid identity (partly my nationality and partly the country I live in)
□ difficult to say
□ something else (please, specify) _____

2b) What is your attitude towards the language of the country you live in? (You can choose more than one answer.) If it is a bilingual or a multilingual country, please, specify which language you are referring to. _____
□ It is a language I know very well, so it has become a part of my identity.
□ It is just a language I teach or write in, but I do not feel emotionally attached to it.
□ I know it very well, but I feel less emotionally attached to it than to my native language.
□ I know it well, but I am more emotionally attached to another foreign language. If so, please, specify the language and explain why. _____
□ It is reserved for particular situations, such as talking with friends, but I do not teach or write in it, so my attitude towards it is quite personal.
□ I only have basic competence in it, so I can make myself understood in everyday life, but I do not identify with it.
□ I do not know it at all.

2c) What is your attitude towards the culture of the country you live in? (You can choose more than one answer.)
□ I have adapted to it very well and, in a way, I feel at home here.
□ I have adapted to it well enough to live in this country, but I still regard it as a foreign culture.
□ I do not feel the need to adapt to it, as I only work here as a researcher and/or a teacher.
□ I have tried to adapt to it but I have failed.
□ I identify only with my native culture and I feel completely alienated here.
□ I identify only with my native culture, but this country's culture is interesting and I enjoy discovering it.
□ other (please, specify) _____

3a) To what extent do you agree with the following statements? (1 – completely disagree, 5 – fully agree)
□ Knowing a foreign language/foreign languages has enriched my identity. 1 2 3 4 5
If so, in what way?
□ My identity has been influenced by all the languages I know. 1 2 3 4 5
□ My identity has been influenced the most by the language(s) I know best. 1 2 3 4 5
□ My identity has been influenced the most by living in a foreign country, regardless of whether I am fluent in its language or not. 1 2 3 4 5

□ Living in a foreign country has changed my perception of my native language and/or culture. 1 2 3 4 5
If so, in what way?
□ Because of living in a foreign country and having some experience of its culture, I can look at my native culture more objectively. 1 2 3 4 5
□ Speaking or writing in a foreign language, I can be more objective as a researcher or a teacher than while using my native language, because I am less emotionally involved. 1 2 3 4 5
□ Because of living in a foreign country, I feel even more strongly attached to my native language and culture than I would be if I lived in my native country. 1 2 3 4 5
□ I identify with the international academic community more than with any particular language and culture. 1 2 3 4 5

3b) To what extent do you agree with the following statements? (1 – completely disagree, 5 – fully agree.) **Please, answer these questions only if you can speak the language of the country where you live, at least to some extent.**
□ Speaking the language of the country where I live, I feel different from when I speak my native language. 1 2 3 4 5
□ I know more than two languages and speaking each of them makes me feel different (not only in terms of possible communication difficulties, such as insufficient vocabulary knowledge, but mainly in terms of the emotions the language makes me feel). 1 2 3 4 5
□ Because of living in a foreign country and knowing a foreign language/foreign languages, I no longer think the same way as a typical native speaker of my Ll. 1 2 3 4 5
□ Speaking the language of the country where I live, I feel less authentic than when I speak my native language. 1 2 3 4 5
□ I only use this country's language as a tool for teaching, lecturing, writing, etc., but when I speak it, I do not feel authentic at all. 1 2 3 4 5
□ The main problems I have encountered here are caused by cultural, not linguistic, differences. 1 2 3 4 5
□ My identity is to some extent multilingual and multicultural, but at the same time, being a researcher or a foreign language teacher, I can look at all these languages and cultures more objectively. 1 2 3 4 5

3c) To what extent do you agree with the following statements? (1 – completely disagree, 5 – fully agree.) **Please, answer these questions only if you CANNOT speak the language of the country where you live, or if you only have basic competence in it.**
□ Even though I do not speak its language (well), I identify with this country and its language to some extent. 1 2 3 4 5
□ I identify with my native language and culture only, that is why I feel no need to learn the language of this country. 1 2 3 4 5
□ I only use this country's language for basic communication, so I cannot identify with it. 1 2 3 4 5
□ I would like to learn the language in order to integrate into this culture better. 1 2 3 4 5
□ Even though I do not speak this particular language well, I know a few other languages and this allows me to observe this country's culture more accurately and adjust my behaviour to it. 1 2 3 4 5
□ Even though I do not speak this particular language well, as a researcher or a foreign language teacher, I can look at it and at my native language, as well as at the related cultures more objectively. 1 2 3 4 5

4) In a few sentences, please, comment on the impact of learning languages, travelling abroad, doing research in linguistics/literature/culture, working in a foreign country, etc. on your sense of identity. You can do it in your native language even if it is not English.

Teresa Maria Włosowicz

Der Einfluss der Fremdsprachenkenntnisse und des Kontakts zu einer fremden Kultur auf die Identität von wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeitern und Lehrkräften – im Ausland lebenden Muttersprachlern

Zusammenfassung

Der Untersuchungsgegenstand ist der Einfluss des Lebens und Arbeitens im Ausland auf die Identität von wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeitern und Lehrkräften – Muttersprachlern. In Anlehnung an Block (2009), Hall (2012) sowie Pavlenko und Blackledge (2004) wird angenommen, dass die Identität dynamisch und vielfältig ist, wobei unterschiedliche Identitäten derselben Person mehr oder weniger relevant in einem bestimmten Kontext sein können (Hall, 2012, S. 33). Darüber hinaus können Identitäten in Zeiten der Globalisierung hybrid (Marotta, 2011) und im Fall der Migration bikulturell sein (Comănaru, Noels & Dewaele, 2017). Die Identität jeder bikulturellen Person variiert allerdings, wie Comănaru et al. (2017, S. 539) betonen, in Abhängigkeit von ihrer Lebensgeschichte, ihren Sprachkenntnissen, ihren psychologischen Merkmalen usw. Außerdem gibt es Hinweise darauf, dass die Mehrsprachigkeit die kognitive Empathie (Dewaele & Li, 2012) und die Aufgeschlossenheit des Geistes erhöht (Włosowicz, 2019), so dass man davon ausgehen kann, dass die Probanden ihre hybriden Identitäten eher als Bereicherung und nicht als Bedrohung für ihre einheimischen Identitäten betrachten, obwohl die Identifikation mit ihrer Muttersprache und Kultur, mit ihrer Familie usw. ein wichtiger Teil ihrer Identität bleibt. Das Forschungsinstrument war ein Fragebogen, der von vierzig wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeitern und Lehrkräften – im Ausland lebenden Muttersprachlern – ausgefüllt wurde. Wie die Forschungsergebnisse beweisen, sind die Identitäten der Befragten in der Tat sehr komplex, hybrid und werden durch viele Faktoren beeinflusst. Muttersprache und Familie bleiben jedoch, z.B. im Gegensatz zum Beruf, sehr wichtige Komponenten der Identität. Die Probanden gaben auch zu, dass die Fremdsprachenkenntnisse sie kulturell, intellektuell und emotional bereichert hatten.

Schlüsselwörter: Identität, Mehrsprachigkeit, Mobilität, sprachliches und kulturelles Bewusstsein

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A Study of Chinese University English Majors' L2 Motivational Self

Abstract

As a highly important affective variable, motivation has always been a focus of research in second/foreign language (SL/FL) learning and proved to play a critical role in SL/FL learning. Even so, considering the complex and dynamic nature of SL/FL motivation, it always deserves research. Guided by the newly proposed framework of L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), the present mixed-method study hence explored Chinese English majors' L2 motivational self. One hundred and one English majors from a prestigious university in Beijing answered the questionnaire and 15 of them were interviewed in the present study. Analyses of the data revealed the following main findings: (l) the participants were generally highly motivated to learn English, had vivid images of themselves as proficient English users in the future, had positive appraisals of their L2 learning experiences, and had a moderately good perception of their ought-to L2 self, (2) senior students reported having significantly higher ideal L2 self and held more positive attitudes towards English learning experience. Based on these findings, some pedagogical implications and suggestions for future research are discussed.

Keywords: L2 motivational self, L2 motivation, ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience

Introduction

As one of the most important individual variables in second/foreign language (SL/FL) learning, motivation has been investigated by researchers from different perspectives (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009; Gardner, 1985; MacIntyre & Charos, 1996). Meanwhile, because of globalization, English has become a lingua franca for international communication in various fields, while intercul-

tural communication and education in other languages have also been growing fast. Along with these, research on SL/FL motivation prospers. Under such circumstances, the dominant SL motivation theory—the socio-educational and then socio-psychological model—loses its explanatory power (Lamb, 2004). Researchers thus have been trying to reconceptualize SL/FL motivation. The major change during this process is the explicit inclusion of the contemporary notions of self and identity into the core of SL/FL motivation. Consequently, L2 (second language) Motivational Self System proposed by Dörnyei (2005, 2009) has received great attention among researchers and educators. Based on the results of a large scale longitudinal study (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei, Csizér & Németh, 2006), Dörnyei and his colleagues reinterpret Gardner's integrativeness as "an internal process of identification within the person's self-concept" rather than "identification with an external reference group" (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, p. 3). Dörnyei (2005) further develops this reinterpretation by drawing on the theory of possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987) to build a new model of L2 motivation, namely L2 motivational self system (L2MSS), which provides researchers with a systematic framework of how to interpret learner's motivation through a self system perspective. Thereafter, L2MSS has been tested and examined on diverse groups of learners in various contexts either via the L2 Motivational Self System Questionnaire developed in Dörnyei et al. (2006) or interviews (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei et al., 2006; Pawlak, 2016a, 2016b; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi, Magid, & Papi, 2009). Even so, more research on L2MSS is needed considering the diversity of learners, complexity of SL/FL learning and motivation, and increasingly faster globalization (Boo, Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015; Dörnyei, 2014). Thus, the present study aimed to explore Chinese university English majors' L2 motivational self via a mixed method.

Literature Review

Situated in Anglophone and Francophone communities in North Canada, the social-educational and then socio-psychological approach proposed by Gardner and Lambert (1972; Gardner, 1985) was based on the tenet that learners' attitudes toward the target language and the language community greatly affect their final SL/FL learning outcomes. This approach distinguishes two distinct constructs in L2 motivation—instrumentality and integrativeness and claims that integrativeness plays a more important role in L2 learning. Instrumentality refers to "the practical value and advantages of learning a new language" (Gardner, 1985, p.133) and integrativeness is the desire to "come closer to the

other language community" (Gardner, 2001, p. 5). Countless research has confirmed the importance of learners' attitudes toward the target language and roles of instrumental and integrative motivation (Allard & Landry, 2009; Clement & Gardner, 2001; Liu, 2007; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Noels, 2001). Meanwhile, the research shows that instrumentality and integrativeness cannot capture the complex and dynamic nature of SL/FL motivation and that instrumental and integrative motivation are not opposite ends of a continuum either.

Hence, along with the development of Gardner's motivation theory, a number of theories have been advanced to expound the role of motivation in SL/FL learning, such as self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1986), attribution theory (Weiner, 1986, 1992), self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2002), expectancy of success theory (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000), and goal theory (Locke & Latham, 1990). Correspondingly, more motivational concepts emerge like intrinsic, extrinsic motives, external regulation, introjected regulation, and identified regulation. As defined by Gardner and Lambert (1972), integrativenesss reflects language learners' genuine interest in the target language and its community (sometimes even complete assimilation with native speakers). In this sense, there should be a clearly identifiable L2 community for the learners (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). This, nevertheless, is definitely impossible for a vast number of FL learners. In many FL, including EFL (English as a foreign language) contexts such as China, language learners seldom have direct contact with any L2 group, where integrative motivation seems to hardly account for their learning of the target language. For them, integration with L2 community does not make any sense (Kaylani, 1996; Lamb, 2004; Liu, 2007). On the other hand, it is often desirable for them to meet with native speakers, to study or travel abroad, and/or find a more satisfying job, all of which interact with one another and work on their SL/FL motivation (Lamb, 2004). This is further evidenced in the results of a 10-year long longitudinal study on Hungarian students' attitudes towards learning five foreign languages (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei et al., 2006). This study not only highlighted the importance of integrativeness but also demonstrated considerable overlapping impacts of the underlying factors of L2 motivation (Dörnyei et al., 2006). Based on these results, Dörnyei (2005) expands its original definition and reinterprets it as a language-specific facet of a learner's ideal L2 self. Correspondingly, Dörnyei (2005, 2009) incorporates the notion of self into L2 motivation with reference to the concept of possible selves proposed by Markus and Nurius (1986), which represents how individuals think about their desired or future selves.

As discussed in Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 954), possible selves fall into three types: (1) "ideal selves that we would very much like to become," (2) "selves we could become," and (3) "selves we are afraid of becoming." Since the notion of possible selves centers on a person's view of his/her future, it manifests his/her enduring hopes, goals, aspirations, and fears. Hence, possible

selves act as 'future self-guides,' which helps explain "how someone moves from the present toward the future" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 11). This concept thus provides a conceptual link between possible selves and motivation. Meanwhile, Higgins's (1987) self-discrepancy theory explains how this self system functions, according to which the domains of the self cover the actual self, the ideal self and the ought self. The actual self is the representation of the qualities that one or people important to him/her believe he/she possesses (Higgins, 1987). The ideal self refers to the representation of the attributes that one hopes to possess (e.g., wishes and aspirations), and the ought self is the representation of the attributes that others think he/she should possess (e.g., duties and obligations) (Higgins, 1987). This theory assumes that there is often a discrepancy between one's actual self and the ideal/ought self, which drives people to make efforts towards their self-guides. Alternatively, motivation derives from people's desire to reduce the discrepancy between one's actual self and the ideal/ought self (Higgins, 1987).

Drawing on these theories of selves, Dörnyei (2005, 2009) proposes the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) theory which involves three components: Ideal L2 Self, Ought-to L2 Self, and L2 Learning Experience. Ideal L2 Self refers to the L2-specific facet of one's ideal self, which is a powerful motivator to learn the L2 because of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between one's actual and ideal selves (e.g., traditional integrative and internalized instrumental motives). Ought-to L2 Self concerns the attributes that one believes one ought to possess to meet expectations and to avoid possible negative outcomes. This dimension corresponds to Higgins's ought self and thus to the more extrinsic types of instrumental motives. L2 Learning Experience involves situated and executive motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience (e.g., classroom atmosphere, teacher-student relationship, and experience of success/failure).

To explore this L2 motivation, the L2 Motivational Self System Questionnaire (L2MSSQ) was developed (Dörnyei et al., 2006; Taguchi et al., 2009), which generally has 56 items and covers eight dimensions: L2 motivation, ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience, integrativeness, instrumentality-promotion, instrumentality-prevention and international posture. Then both the L2MSS and the L2MSSQ have been tested and validated in various studies with a primary focus on English as the target language (Alshahrani, 2016; Chen, 2015; Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Islam, Lamb & Chambers, 2013; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012; Pawlak, 2016a; Pawlak, 2016b; Rajab, Far, & Etemadzadeh, 2012; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009; Yashima, 2009). These studies reveal that: (1) the ideal L2 self correlates strongly with integrativeness; (2) L2MSS' components all correlate with learners' intended efforts to learn English, (3) instrumentality can be divided into two distinct types—instrumentality-promotion and

instrumentality-prevention, with the former having higher correlation with the ideal L2 self; and (4) L2MSS' components all correlate with learners' intended efforts to learn English.

For example, Liu's (2010) study of Chinese EFL learners found that the ideal L2 self had stronger explanatory power in learners' motivation than integrativeness. The study also showed that the ideal and ought-to L2 selves contributed more to L2 motivation for higher level learners while the L2 learning experience mattered more for lower level learners. Kim's (2011) longitudinal study of two Korean ESL students' ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self showed that instrumentality could be merged to either the ideal L2 self or the ought-to self based on the internalized degree of instrumentality. One hundred and seventy-two Chinese students aged 13–15 participated in Dörnyei and Chan's (2013) study of the relationship between learner characteristics, learners' future L2 self-guides and learning achievement in English and Mandarin Chinese. The study revealed a consistently positive relationship between the ideal self and the criterion measures and confirmed the importance of a broad imagery capacity in the development of individuals' future self-identities. The study also showed that the ideal-self images associated with different languages formed different L2-specific visions, which might affect the potential interaction of learners' self images. Yu's (2015) research of 190 Chinese college students showed that most college students had high ideal L2 self and positive L2 learning experience, that the ideal L2 self explained more variance in students' motivation, and that English majors' ideal L2 self was higher than that of non-English majors' while there was no significant difference in their ought-to L2 self.

Even though many studies have been done within the framework of L2MSS which have revealed interesting findings, more research is required considering its explanatory power and the complex and dynamic nature of SL/FL motivation (Boo et al., 2015; Dörnyei, 2014). Hence, the present study sought to examine Chinese English majors' L2 motivational self within the framework of L2MSS.

Research Design

Participants. One hundred and one English majors (thirty male and seventy-one female) from a prestigious university in Beijing answered the questionnaire in the present study, of whom 33 were first-year students, 35 second-year students, and 33 third-year students. As English majors, they all were (quite) proficient in English, and the higher their years of study, the more proficient in English they tended to be. At the time of data collection, the participants had been learning English for an average of 13.7 years. Among them, 69 (68.3%)

had been to English-speaking countries for short-time travel or study and 25 (24.8%) had stayed in English-speaking countries for more than three months. Meanwhile, 15 (thirteen female and two male) survey respondents (five from each year) participated in semi-structured interviews.

Instruments. Data in the present research were collected via questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, as detailed below.

The L2 Motivational Self System Questionnaire (L2MSSQ). To explore Chinese English majors' L2 motivational self, a short form L2MSSQ was adapted from that used in Taguchi et al. (2009) and Yashima (2009) in the present study: only items centering on ideal and ought-to selves were selected. Since L2 motivation and learning experience are highly related to ideal and ought-to selves, items on these two dimensions were also included in the present study. Hence, with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.901, the resultant short form L2MSSQ (See Appendix) had 25-item and included four dimensions: (1) Criterion measures (six items) (a = 0.784) assessing learners' L2 motivated behaviors toward learning English, (e.g. ,'I think I am doing my best to learn English'), (2) Ideal L2 Self (seven items) (a = 0.819) indicating students' view of themselves as successful L2 speakers (e.g., 'I often imagine myself speaking English as if I were a native speaker of English'), (3) Ought-to L2 Self (seven items) (a = 0.746) suggesting students' or significant others' view of the importance of learning English in order to avoid negative outcomes (e.g., 'I study English because close friends of mine think it is important'), and (4) L2 Learning Experience (five items) (a = 0.844) reflecting the extent to which students liked English learning (e.g., 'I like the atmosphere of English classes'). All the items were placed on a six-point Likert scale ranging from 1 ('Strongly Disagree') to 6 ('Strongly Agree'). The higher the score, the greater the motivation.

The Background Information Questionnaire. This questionnaire aimed to collect demographic information about the participants such as age, gender, and year of study.

Semi-structured Interview. The interview guide was developed based on the questionnaire items to elicit more of the participants' inside views of their motivation to learn English. The leading questions involved their perceptions of ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, and L2 learning experience, such as "Describe the efforts you have made in order to improve your English ability," "Describe the person with high English proficiency," and " Describe a situation where you use English fluently."

Procedure. The study was conducted during the second term of an academic year. All the questionnaire items were translated into Chinese and double-checked, which was then administered to students online along with a consent form. Concurrently, five students from each grade were recruited for the semi-structured interview (Creswell, 2009). Each interview lasted for about 15 minutes. All interviews were conducted primarily in Chinese, with

a mixture of English, so that students could express their ideas freely (Kim, 2011). All the interviews were audio-recorded.

Data Analysis. All the survey data were analyzed with SPSS 20.0. Means and standard deviations of L2MSSQ were calculated to explore the profiles of the participants' L2 motivational self, and one-way ANOVA was run to reveal differences in L2MSSQ among students in different years of study. The interviews were transcribed, double-checked, and then were subjected to thematic content analyses (Richards, 2009) conducted by two raters with an inter-rater reliability score of .92. Example themes were strategies to improve English proficiency, perceptions of ideal L2 self, and future career plans. To protect interviewees' privacy, a number was assigned to each interviewee, which was then used when their remarks were reported in this paper.

Results

Survey results

To explore the profiles of the participants' motivational self system, means, and standard deviations (SD) of L2MSSQ subscales were computed, the results of which are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.

Means and SDs of L2MSSQ Subscales

	The whole sample (N = 101)		Year 1 (N = 33)		Year 2 (N = 35)		Year 3 (N = 33)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
L2 Motivation	3.84	0.74	3.80	0.75	3.93	0.66	3.79	0.86
Ideal L2 Self	4.94	0.71	4.71	0.75	4.93	0.71	5.18	0.69
Ought-to L2 Self	3.30	0.83	3.16	0.80	3.39	0.89	3.34	0.87
L2 Learning Experience	4.25	0.82	4.25	0.85	4.21	0.64	4.29	0.98

As shown in Table 1, the participants scored 3.30 to 4.94 on the L2MSSQ subscales, generally (far) above the scale midpoint 3.5, especially on Ideal L2 Self (mean = 4.94) and L2 Learning Experience (mean = 4.25). This finding indicated that the students had high expectations of themselves as being successful L2 speakers, had quite positive attitudes towards English learning, had high motivation to learn English and had a moderately good expectation of their ought-to self. A similar pattern was observed for the participants in

three different years of study. Meanwhile, comparison of L2MSSQ subscale scores revealed that, for both the whole sample and the subsamples of different years of study, Ideal L2 Self scored the highest, followed by L2 Learning Experience and L2 Motivation respectively, and Ought-to L2 Self scored the lowest. Alternatively, the participants highly believed that they would become successful speakers of English, enjoyed learning English, had moderately high motivation to study English, and were moderately affected people surrounding them (e.g., teachers, parents, and friends, etc.) in learning English.

In addition, comparison of L2MSSQ subscale scores across years of study showed that the 2nd-year students scored the highest (mean = 3.93) while their 3rd-year peers scored the lowest (mean = 3.79) on L2 Motivation, that the 3rd-year students scored the highest (mean = 5.18) while their 1st-year peers scored the lowest (mean = 4.71) on Ideal L2 Self, that the 2nd-year students scored the highest (mean = 3.39) while their 1st-year peers scored the lowest (mean = 3.16) on Ought-to L2 Self, and that the 3rd-year students scored the highest (mean = 4.29) while their 2nd-year peers scored the lowest (mean = 4.21) on L2 Learning Experience. Yet post hoc one-way ANOVA (Duncan's) results showed that significant difference occurred only between 1st-year and 3rd-year students in Ideal L2 Self (F = 3.31, p = 0.04), as shown in Table 2.

Table 2.

ANOVA Results of L2MSSQ Components

	Mean Square	df	F	p	Location of Sig. difference (p = .05)
L2 Motivation	0.26	2	0.42	0.66	/
Ideal L2 Self	1.74	2	3.31*	0.04	1st-year & 3rd-year
Ought-to L2 Self	0.92	2	1.21	0.33	/
L2 Learning Experience	0.11	2	0.08	0.92	/

Interview results

When asked about how to study English well (better), the interviewees listed a series of motivational efforts, as summarized in Table 3. The most frequently mentioned efforts were accomplishing compulsory assignments (13/86.7%), reading English books and novels (10/66.7%) and watching programs in English (e.g., English movies, TV series, talk shows, etc.) (6/40%). For example, "I try to improve my reading ability by reading English books and novels, through which I can develop my sense of English. I have been reading English a lot." (No.5, 1st-year).

Table 3.

Interviewees' Self-reported Motivational Efforts to Study English (N = 15)

Interviewees' motivational efforts	Frequency/percentage [%]
1. Accomplishing compulsory assignments	13/86.7
2. Reading English books and novels, etc.	10/66.7
3. Watching programs in English (e.g., English movies, TV series, talk shows, etc.)	6/40
4. Listening to programs in English	4/26.7
5. Practicing English language tests	4/26.7
6. Communicating with native speakers	3/20
7. Learning English vocabulary (words, phrases and idioms, etc.)	3/20
8. Reciting English texts	2/13.3
9. Writing diaries in English	2/13.3

Meanwhile, the interviewees voiced their perceptions of their ideal L2 self in terms of language, culture, and career, as reported in Table 4. Linguistically speaking, the interviewees hoped to speak English fluently (13/86.7%), to speak English like native English speakers (9/60%), to be good at English writing (6/40%), and to think in English directly (6/40%). The following are some examples of their remarks: "I will speak English better and better in the future and will be able to communicate with professors and discuss academic topics fluently in English with them" (No. 12, 3rd-year), and "I expect to write confidently in English and be proficient at academic writing" (No. 3, lst-year). In terms of culture, the interviewees expected themselves to understand more about English cultures (8/53.3%) and native English speakers' way of thinking (5/33.3%), to get along with people from different cultures (5/33.3%) and be more tolerant to different cultures (4/26.7%), and to expand their worldview (4/26.7%). In terms of career, most respondents expected to take careers directly related to English (7/46.7%) or those requiring (high) proficiency in English (7/46.7%). As reported by No. 11 from year 3, "I imagine myself communicating fluently and freely with interviewers in a job interview. I understand all the questions and make quick responses." "I imagine myself discussing with my professors on academic topics confidently and fluently" (No. 12, 3rd-year). To summarize, their idealized L2 self was generally a person who could use English well or even freely, understand English cultures and use English in their future careers.

Table 4.

Interviewees' Self-Reported Ideal L2 Self (N=l5)

Aspect	Interviewees' self-reported ideal L2 self	Frequency/percentage [%]
Language	1. Speaking English fluently	13/86.7
	2. Speaking English like native English speakers	9/60
	3. Being good at English writing	6/40
	4. Thinking in English directly when using it	6/40
	5. Discussing academic topics fluently in English	4/26.7
	6. Understanding various types of materials written in English	3/20.0
	7. Speaking English beautifully	3/20.0
	8. Being good at academic English writing	2/13.3
	9. Being a highly proficient English user	2/13.3
Culture	1. Understanding more about English cultures	8/53.3
	2. Understanding native English speakers' way of thinking	5/33.3
	3. Getting along well with people from different cultures	5/33.3
	4. Being more tolerant to different cultures	4/26.7
	5. Expanding the worldview	4/26.7
Career	1. Having careers directly related to English (e.g., translators, interpreters, English professors and teachers)	7/46.7%
	2. Having careers requiring (high) proficiency in English (e.g.,)	6/40
	3. No specific ideas	4/26.7
	4. Having careers which don't require English proficiency	2/13.3

Table 5 summarizes the respondents' perceptions of their ought-to L2 self. As many as 46.7% of the interviewees reported that their parents played a significant role in motivating them to learn English. As No. 1 (1st-year) recalled, "my parents want me to learn English well because they think learning English is really meaningful." 40% of them confided that they studied English and chose to major in English to get admitted to their ideal university in China.

Concurrently, most interviewees reported enjoying English learning in general (11/73.3%), liking content courses (9/60%), and feeling dissatisfied with language courses (8/53.3%), as reported in Table 5. As No. 11 from year 3 remarked, "I'm quite involved in learning English because it gives me a sense of accomplishment"; and "I always enjoy learning English because it is interesting" (No. 6, 2nd-year). Even so, it was worth noting that junior students complained a lot about the courses offered by the Department of English, especially language courses, when asked about their attitudes towards specific English courses. They attributed this to three reasons: too simple content, unsystematic design of certain courses, and unpleasant classroom atmosphere.

Table 5.

Interviewees' Self-Reported Ought-to L2 Self and Learning Experience (N = 15)

Dimension	Self-reported ought-to L2 self and learning experience	Frequency/percentage [%]
ought-to L2 self	1. Studying English because my parents think it is good.	7/46.7
	2. Learning English in order not to be rejected by my ideal university.	6/40
	3. Learning English because my friends think I can learn it quite well.	3/20
L2 learning experience	1. Enjoying English learning.	11/73.3
	2. Enjoying content courses (e.g., linguistic courses).	9/60
	3. Being dissatisfied with language courses.	8/53.3
	4. Enjoying the classroom atmosphere.	3/20

Since many students were already (quite) proficient in English, most language courses available to them were too simple for them, as an interviewee commented, "I think the language courses for us English majors are too simple and sometimes I have a feeling that I am taking courses designed for non-English majors. To be honest, I am disappointed" (No. 5, 1st-year). The interviewees were not satisfied with the design of certain courses either, just as No. 6 from year 2 commented, "…Let me take writing courses as an example. We have four writing courses in a series. Of course, I expected this series to be systematically designed. To my surprise, there is quite much overlapping in the contents of these 4 courses." Some students complained that "there is not enough interaction between teachers and students in language classes, which is boring and makes me sleepy" (No. 4, 1st-year). As fewer language courses and more content courses were provided in senior years, students' negative comments on language courses decreased and more positive comments were remarked. For instance, No. 13 from year 3 said, "…Content courses like Sociolinguistics, Introduction to Linguistics, American Literature are so interesting. They are all good and I learn a lot from them."

Discussion

The present study revealed that the respondents were generally highly motivated to learn English, consistent with the findings in similar studies both in and outside Chinese EFL contexts (Allard & Landry, 2009; Alshahrani, 2016; Chen, 2015; Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Noels, 2001). This was largely because

as English majors, they had clear goals about English learning and were more obliged to study English well to understand information documented in English, which in return helped enhance their English proficiency and made them more motivated to study the language. To improve their English proficiency, they adopted a number of strategies varying from accomplishing compulsory assignments to meeting course requirements, to reading English books and novels, similar to those reported in existing studies (Lu & Liu, 2015).

Meanwhile, this study showed that the students saw themselves as successful English users in the future. They had quite vivid images of themselves as successful L2 users in terms of language ability, culture, and career. The participants not only had a general idea of being proficient English users but had more specific expectations of their English ability, such as communicating with professors on academic topics fluently in English and speaking English as well as native speakers did. They also expected themselves to understand English cultures and English way of thinking. At the same time, most interviewees clearly stated that English would play an indispensable role in their future professional lives. They envisioned themselves having careers which required high proficiency in English, such as English teachers, professors, translators or business consultants in international companies. In summary, as found in Csizér and Kormos (2009), Alshahrani (2016) and Pawlak (2016a, 2016b), the respondents of the present study had a high vision of their L2 ideal self. This might be partly because as English majors, they had much more exposure and access to English and English-speaking people and thus integrated themselves more with English and the English culture than other EFL learners, as reported in Yu (2015).

In addition, most participants reported having positive appraisals of their general English learning experience, as found in similar ESL/EFL contexts (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Liu, 2010; Yu, 2015). The respondents also voiced factors that could affect their attitudes towards classroom learning, such as course content being simple and having inadequate interaction between the instructor and students. This indicates that it is necessary to design courses substantially and appropriately, plan lessons properly, and create a friendly and supportive classroom atmosphere (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012). This also further confirms that students' in-class experience plays a significant role in their evaluation of L2 learning experience, thus affecting their L2 motivation.

In addition, the participants reported having a moderate view of their ought-to L2 self, similar to their peers in other Chinese EFL contexts (Liu, 2010; Yu, 2015). This might be largely because the respondents chose to study English well themselves and were less affected by people around them, indicating that personal interest and one's own ideal self play a more significant role in L2 motivation and SL/FL learning.

Lastly, although not a focus in the present research, the present study revealed that the 3rd-year students scored significantly higher in the L2MSS scales than their 1st-year peers, indicating that they had significantly more vivid and potent images of themselves as being successful English users than the latter. Interview remarks also revealed certain differences in L2 motivation self such as perceptions of future careers and L2 learning experience between students in different years of study. This might be probably due to the difference in their years of study: students become more concerned with the future when approaching graduation. Nevertheless, other factors such as personality and instructors might also play a role. Consequently, differences in L2MSS among students with different backgrounds are worth exploring and should be a focus for future research.

Conclusions and Implications

The present mixed-method study explored Chinese English majors' L2 motivational self within Dörnyei's (2009) L2MSS framework. The main findings were:

1. the participants were quite motivated to learn English and exploited a variety of learning strategies to improve their English proficiency;
2. they had (fairly) high expectations of their ideal L2 self: they generally envisioned themselves as successful English users in terms of language ability, culture and career;
3. they generally had positive attitudes towards their English learning experience;
4. they had moderate expectations of their ought-to L2 self; and
5. the 3rd-year students had significantly higher expectations of their ideal L2 self than their 1st-year counterparts. The interviewees in different years of study also expressed different opinions about their L2 motivational self, as shown by their remarks previously presented, though the difference was not detailed in the present paper.

The importance of motivation in language learning has already been confirmed by a plethora of studies (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012; Liu, 2010; Alshahrani, 2016). Hence, it has always been an important issue to enhance students' motivation to study the target language. Various strategies can be implemented by course instructors to increase students' SL/FL motivation, such as encouraging positive self-reflection and evaluation, creating a pleasant and supportive classroom atmosphere, providing motivational feedback, and setting realistic and achievable goals, as discussed in the current

literature (Guilloteaux & Dörnyei, 2008; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012) and reported by the participants in the present research. Meanwhile, it is important to understand students' needs, design courses accordingly and systematically, substantiate course content, and conduct classroom instruction constructively and friendly. This can be done by organizing formal and informal seminars and talks between teachers and students to design course syllabi and lesson plans of high quality. This will not only help students learn more but also increase their positive attitudes towards learning of the target language and their satisfaction with their learning experience, ultimately enhancing their motivation to study the language, as reported by the interviewees in the present study and discussed in Dörnyei (2009). Moreover, the present study showed that students in senior years had higher expectations of their ideal L2 self than those in junior years. Therefore, it might be helpful to guide students to make subtle adjustments to their desired selves to make different aspects of their ideal L2 self more harmonious with each other. For example, career guidance activities where graduates can share their views on the role of English in their future career can be held. Through such activities, students can strengthen the link between different aspects of their ideal L2 self, thus not only being highly motivated to learn English but also taking more specific strategies to operationalize their vision.

Despite these interesting findings, some limitations existed in this study due to various constraints. The main limitation was that the present study only examined the participants' L2 motivational self while ignoring other aspects of L2 motivation such as integrative, instrumental motivation and international posture. A more comprehensive examination of L2 motivation would have helped better understand the participants' English learning motivation and reveal interrelationships between L2 motivation components, which should be done in future research. Moreover, though the present study revealed certain differences in the measured L2MSSQ scales, the differences were not detailed (systematically). Future research can focus on this to reveal a fuller picture of SL/FL motivation in learners of various backgrounds. Finally, since L2MSS involves various aspects of SL/FL learning, it offers a new window for research on FL/SL motivation. Coupled with the complex and dynamic nature of SL/FL motivation (Boo et al., 2015; Dörnyei, 2014), this issue deserves various continuous research with learners of diverse backgrounds.

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Appendix

The L2 Motivational Self System Questionnaire (LMSSQ)

Directions: This part has 25 items (1–25), please tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements by simply circling a number from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 6 (Strongly agree)

LMSSQ items	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. I'm working hard at learning English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. I spend lots of time and energy studying English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. I think that I am doing my best to learn English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. I can overcome the difficulties and remove interferences when I learn English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. If my teacher would give the class an optional assignment, I would certainly volunteer to do it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Compared to my classmates, I think I study English relatively hard.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. I can imagine myself living abroad and using English effectively for communicating with the locals.	1	2	3	4	5	6

9. I can imagine myself speaking English with international friends or colleagues.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. I can imagine a situation where I am speaking English with foreigners.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. I can imagine myself writing English e-mails frequently.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. I always imagine myself communicating in Chinese as if I were a native speaker of Chinese.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. I study English because close friends of mine think it is important.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. If I fail to learn English, I'll let other people down.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Studying English is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Studying English is important to me in order to gain the approval of my peers/ teachers/ family.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. It will have a negative impact on my life if I don't learn English.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. I consider learning English important because the people I respect think that I should do it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Learning English is necessary because people surrounding me expect me to do so.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21. I like the atmosphere of my English classes.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. I find learning English really interesting.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. I always look forward to English classes.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Learning English is one of the most important aspects of my life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. I really enjoy learning English.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Meihua Liu

Eine Studie zur Ego-Motivation beim Erwerb einer Zweitsprache bei chinesischen Studierenden der englischen Philologie

Zusammenfassung

Als eine bedeutende affektive Variable hat die Motivation immer die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher des Lernprozesses einer Zweit-/Fremdsprache (SL/FL) auf sich gezogen und spielt dabei eine Schlüsselrolle, was in den bisherigen Untersuchungen nachgewiesen wurde. Angesichts der Komplexität und Dynamik verdient die Motivation dennoch Aufmerksamkeit. Angeregt durch das vor kurzem von Dörnyei (2005, 2009) vorgeschlagene „Modell der motivierenden Persönlichkeit der Zweitsprache" untersucht diese Studie das „motivierende Ego" von chinesischen Studierenden der englischen Philologie, indem die gemischten Forschungsansätze angewendet werden. 101 Studierende der renommierten Peking-Universität nahmen an der Umfrage teil, und 15 davon beteiligten sich auch am Interview. Die Analyse der gesammelten Informationen ergab Folgendes: 1) die Probanden waren im Allgemeinen

zum Lernen hoch motiviert, hatten ihre deutlich herauskristallisierte Vision von sich selbst als künftig kompetente Verwender des Englischen, schätzten ihre bisherigen Erfahrungen mit dem Sprachenlernen positiv ein und bewerteten ziemlich zuverlässig die Mängel ihres eigenen „zweitsprachlichen Ichs“; 2) Studierende der letzten Jahre erklärten einen deutlich höheren Sprachstandard als ihre gewünschte „zweitsprachliche Identität“ und stellten eine positivere Wahrnehmung ihrer eigenen sprachlichen Erfahrung dar. Diese Schlussfolgerungen ermöglichen es, die Diskussion über pädagogische Implikationen zu entwickeln und die Richtungen für weitere Studien zu umreißen.

Schlüsselwörter: motivierende L2-Persönlichkeit, Motivation zum Erlernen einer Zweitsprache, ‚Ideales Ich‘, Sprachlernziele, Spracherfahrung

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Detection of Non-native Speaker Status from Backwards and Vocoded Content-masked Speech

Abstract

This paper addresses the issue of speech rhythm as a cue to non-native pronunciation. In natural recordings, it is impossible to disentangle rhythm from segmental, subphonemic or suprasegmental features that may influence nativeness ratings. However, two methods of speech manipulation, that is, backwards content-masked speech and vocoded speech, allow the identification of native and non-native speech in which segmental properties are masked and become inaccessible to the listeners. In the current study, we use these two methods to compare the perception of content-masked native English speech and Polish-accented speech. Both native English and Polish-accented recordings were manipulated using backwards masked speech and 4-band white-noise vocoded speech. Fourteen listeners classified the stimuli as produced by native or Polish speakers of English. Polish and English differ in their temporal organization, so, if rhythm is a significant contributor to the status of non-native accentedness, we expected an above-chance rate of recognition of native and non-native English speech. Moreover, backwards content-masked speech was predicted to yield better results than vocoded speech, because it retains some of the indexical properties of speakers. The results show that listeners are unable to detect non-native accent in Polish learners of English from backwards and vocoded speech samples.

Keywords: accent detection, non-native accent, content-masked speech, vocoded speech, backwards speech

Introduction

Non-native speech is usually easily detected not only by native speakers but also by most non-native speakers of a language. Accent identification may

be important for legal (e.g., forensic analyses in speaker identification), sociological and pedagogical reasons. Previous research on accentedness in a non-native language has shown that most EFL learners (e.g., Waniek-Klimczak, Porzuczek, & Rojczyk, 2013) as well as L2 learners prefer to suppress foreign accent traces in order to approach native-like pronunciation patterns. Their motivation may range from signalling higher language competence in their speech to avoiding problems or even discriminatory attitudes in some language communities (Anisfeld, Bogo, & Lambert, 1962; Arthur, Farrar, & Bradford, 1974; Lippi-Green, 1997; Ryan & Carranza, 1975; Schairer, 1992). Suppressing heavy foreign accent also helps speakers to appear more credible to listeners (Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010), which improves interpersonal communication in both professional and private affairs. Although non-native accent detection is a relatively easy task, it is not clear how various individual cues contribute to its recognition. Such knowledge may help EFL learners to approach the process of learning pronunciation in a more systematic way.

There is evidence that segmental/subphonemic deviations from native speech, such as substitutions, insertions or deletions (see Munro, Derwing, & Burgess, 2010) are the primary cues to foreign accent (Flege & Port, 1981; Kolly, Boula de Mareüil, & Dellwo, 2017). Prosody is also an important factor investigated by researchers, especially intonation, despite its variability across speakers (Mennen, 2004; Trofimovich & Baker, 2006). The temporal properties of speech, or rhythm, form another individually variable cue to accent identification (Tajima, Port, & Dalby, 1997; White & Mattys, 2007). Fluency is indicated by Riggenbach (1991) and Derwing, Munro, and Thomson (2008), while Raupach (1980) points out to articulatory rate, which is supported by Munro and Derwing (2001), who found that digitally accelerated speech is rated as more native-like. Finally, there are also extralinguistic parameters of speech that are said to facilitate accent recognition, such as voice quality (Laver, 1980), related to long-term laryngeal and supralaryngeal setting, which is often carried over from L1 articulatory habits (Esling, 2000; Wilson, 2006) as well as and ethnic vocal tract differences (Andrianopoulos, Darrow, & Chen, 2001).

Needless to say, the listener also has access to the lexical and grammatical structures used by the speaker, which may alone clearly indicate their native or non-native status. For this reason, researchers use content-masked speech, such as vocoded and backwards speech in order to investigate individual cues to foreign accent. Backwards speech retains the temporal properties of the sample in terms of syllable length variation as well as voice quality, intonation (pitch variation), and rhythm understood as the timing relations between prosodic units (Black, 1973; Van Lancker, Kreiman, & Emmorey, 1985; Ramus et al., 2000; Toro, Trobalon, & Sebastián-Gallés, 2003; Munro et al., 2010). With regard to segmental information, according to Black (1973), fricatives and

nasals are perceptible, unlike glides or laterals, or vowel quality in general. Vocoded speech, in turn, displays intensity variation, with the salient peaks corresponding to syllable nuclei (Kolly & Dellwo, 2013; Kolly et al., 2017). The rhythm of utterances is thus observable as the temporal distribution of intensity peaks. Vocoded speech retains no intonation in terms of pitch variation and there remain scarce spectral characteristics of speech, depending on the vocoding parameters. Table 1 compares features provided by backwards, vocoded, and natural speech.

Table 1.

Potential foreign accent cues in two types of content-masked speech

Speech characteristics	Backwards	Vocoded	Natural
Segmental	degraded	no	yes
Pitch variation	yes	no	yes
Intonation	no	no	yes
Vowel duration	yes	no	yes
Phrasal rhythm	no	yes	yes
Voice quality	yes	no	yes

Previous Studies

In this section we report the findings provided by recent studies using the two methods. The discussion provided by Munro et al. (2010) suggests that the speech characteristics observable in backwards-masked speech are usually sufficient for the identification of familiar voices and may also help listeners recognize a foreign accent. The results of their experiments show above chance levels of foreign (Mandarin, Cantonese, and Czech) accent detection in backwards speech samples. These experiments have also shown a moderate effect of speech rate. The influence of pitch has not been ruled out although no statistically significant differences were observed for monotonized and randomly-spliced backwards speech samples, which made it impossible for listeners to use pitch and temporal properties as possible cues to foreign accent. The authors also admit that the results were not sufficient to assess the role of individual voice quality in accent evaluation.

Kolly and Dellwo (2013) and Kolly et al. (2017) investigated how temporal and rhythmic cues alone can be used to identify French- and English-accented German speech in a number of tasks, including *sasasa*-speech, 1-bit requantized speech, 6-band noise vocoded samples and in recordings where native segments

were transplanted into sentences featuring non-native speech unit timing. The authors found that only monotone *sasasa*-speech, displaying the timing of alternate voiced and voiceless speech intervals alone (Fourcin & Dellwo, 2009) was insufficient for listeners to make accent judgments, while they performed above-chance levels in tasks using the 1-bit-quantized and noise vocoded samples. The latter, only offering listeners access to the temporal characteristics of syllable beats, proved to be more problematic than the former, where the listeners were able to perceive segment durations.

The Current Study

This study deals with the detection of Polish-accented content-masked speech. The content is masked by means of (1) reversing the acoustic signal and (2) four-band white-noise vocoding of the recorded samples. In particular, we want to find out whether native English and Polish listeners can detect Polish-accented speech on the basis of temporal cues or rhythm alone. Rhythm is operationalized in our experiment as vowel length variation which can be measured in natural and backwards speech as rate-normalized standard deviation from mean vowel duration using VarcoV (White & Mattys, 2007) and a similar measure, Vowel Reduction Quotient (VRQ), calculated individually by dividing the speakers mean unstressed vowel duration by mean stressed vowel duration (Porzuczek, 2012). Obviously, both VarcoV and VRQ values are identical for natural and backwards speech.

Vocoded speech samples do not reveal vowel duration but it is possible to measure the time intervals between consecutive syllable peaks (vowel mid-points), still perceptible to listeners, and calculate their variability, using VarcoPeak (Dellwo, 2012). Thus manifested temporal speech organization is the only auditory cue that the listeners may rely upon in their judgments.

Backwards speech, though characterized by the same VarcoPeak quotients, cannot be rated with respect to rhythm since the reversed prominence distribution becomes meaningless. In effect, in vocoded speech we can observe the rhythm roughly understood as syllable length variation, but this property is inaccessible in backwards speech, which, in turn, features vowel length variation, pitch variation and range, and some spectral (segmental) information.

Following the results from previous studies, we hypothesize that with respect to predicted ceiling efficiency of Polish-accented speech recognition, listeners may still show an above-chance level of judgment efficiency in the case of both types of content-masked speech samples.

Materials

The speakers were three male native users of Standard Southern British English (SSBE), aged approximately 20, 40, and 60 (E1, E2, E3 respectively), and three Polish second-year students of English (P1, P2, P3) aged 20, one female and two males, recruited at the Institute of English, University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland. Their proficiency, confirmed by regular curriculum tests, was B2 to C1 in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CERFL). The learners' target pronunciation model was also SSBE, typical of Polish EFL education system. They had detectable segmental, rhythmic, and prosodic features of Polish-accented English. All speakers were asked to read a short passage of 124 words describing theft in a shop (Alexander, 1967). The recording took place in a sound-proof booth in the Acoustic-Phonetic Laboratory at the University of Silesia. The signal was captured at 44,100 Hz (24-bit quantization) through a headset dynamic microphone Sennheiser HMD 26 fed by a USBPre2 (Sound Devices) amplifier.

The test materials included three phrases extracted from the passage:

– *that the shop assistant was her daughter* (10 syllables; Mean duration = 1,558 ms);
– *she chose one of the most expensive dresses in the shop* (14 syllables; Mean duration = 2,474 ms);
– *the temptation to steal is greater than ever before* (14 syllables; Mean duration 2,682 ms).

These phrases were selected, because their syntactic and prosodic structure provided contexts for the greatest expected rhythmical variability between native and Polish-accented productions. More specifically, they include several strings of two and three consecutive reduced syllables, which strongly contribute to the prototypical English stress-timing. The phrases were normalized for intensity (70 dB) and duration. The mean phrase duration was calculated for all speakers and each phrase was digitally stretched or compressed to the mean using Pitch Synchronous Overlap and Add (PSOLA) in Praat (Boersma, 2001). Importantly, although PSOLA temporal manipulation alters raw durations of individual segments, it retains their proportional durations, thus maintaining the rhythmical structure of the phrases. At the same time, it rules out the possibility that slower productions will be rated as non-native irrespective of their rhythmical properties, because speaking rate has been shown to significantly influence native/non-native accent ratings (Munro & Derwing, 2001).

The backwards-masked phrases were created by digitally reversing the natural phrases, using the 'reverse selection' in Praat. The vocoded phrases were created using Praat script. Noise vocoding relies on extracting amplitude envelopes from several frequency bands to modulate white noise in those

frequencies (Shannon, Zeng, Kamath, Wygonski, & Ekelid, 1995). Most of the spectral information critical for accent identification, such as vowel quality or voicing, is degraded or completely absent and listeners have access only to speech rhythm represented by syllable beats in the form of white noise pulses (Cummings & Port, 1998; Kolly & Dellwo, 2014; Lee & Todd, 2004; Tilsen & Arvaniti, 2013). The actual degree of spectral degradation depends on the number of bands in vocoding. As reported by Kolly and Dellwo (2014), 6-band noise vocoded speech retains some spectral information that allows discrimination of vowels. On the other hand, 3-band noise vocoded speech degrades all spectral information that may facilitate identification of individual segments. Importantly, Kolly et al. (2017) showed that 6-band noise vocoded speech carries enough spectral information for listeners to identify French- and English-accented German above chance even if durational cues are absent due to duration transplantation. On the other hand, 3-band noise vocoding did not allow any identification of French- and English-accented German from durational cues (Kolly & Dellwo 2014). As a result, we decided to use intermediate 4-band noise vocoding of the test phrases. The perceptual impression was a sequence of white noise pulses without any clearly identifiable properties of vowels and consonants. Figures 1 and 2 show the natural and vocoded phrase *that the shop assistant was her daughter.*

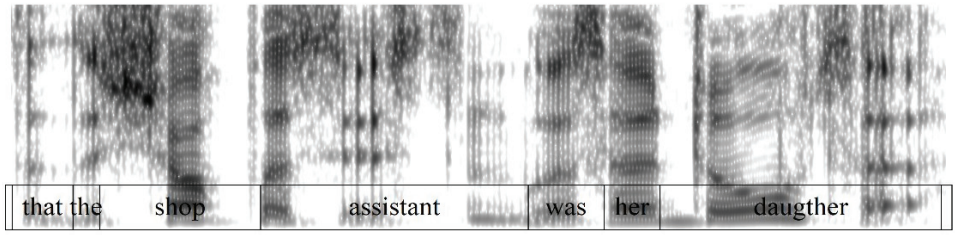

Figure 1. Spectrogram of the natural phrase *that the shop assistant was her daughter.*

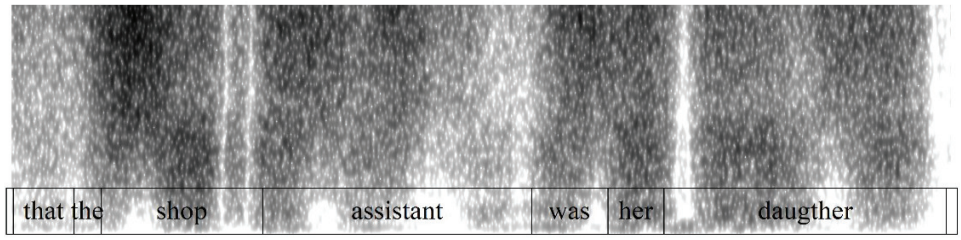

Figure 2. Spectrogram of the 4-band noise vocoded phrase *that the shop assistant was her daughter.*

Using VarcoV and VRQ for natural and backwards speech, we indicated the different rhythmic tendencies in native and Polish-accented speech. These are illustrated in Figures 3–5 below. VRQ figures have been multiplied by 100 for more direct comparison with VarcoV.

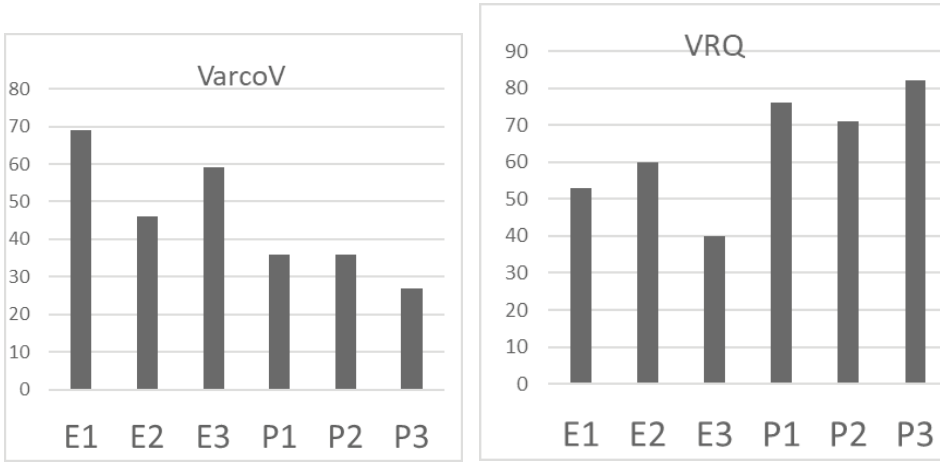

Figure 3. VarcoV and VRQ values for natural and backwards speech in *that the shop assistant was her daughter.*

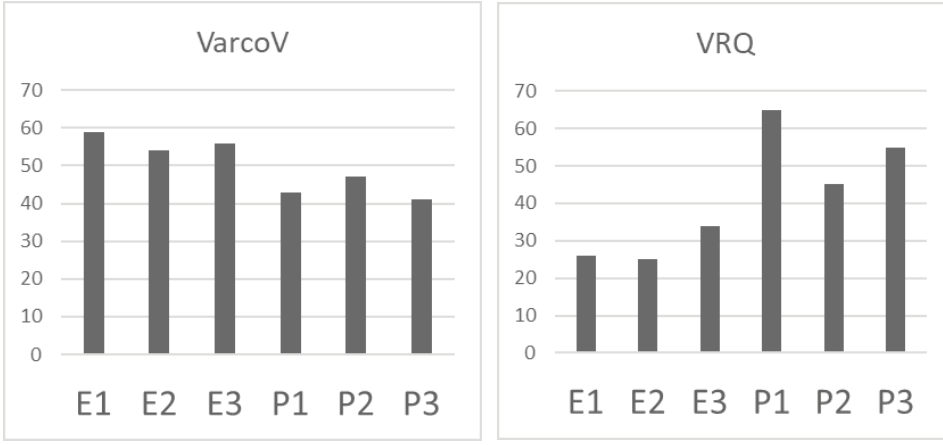

Figure 4. VarcoV and VRQ values for natural and backwards speech in *she chose one of the most expensive dresses in the shop.*

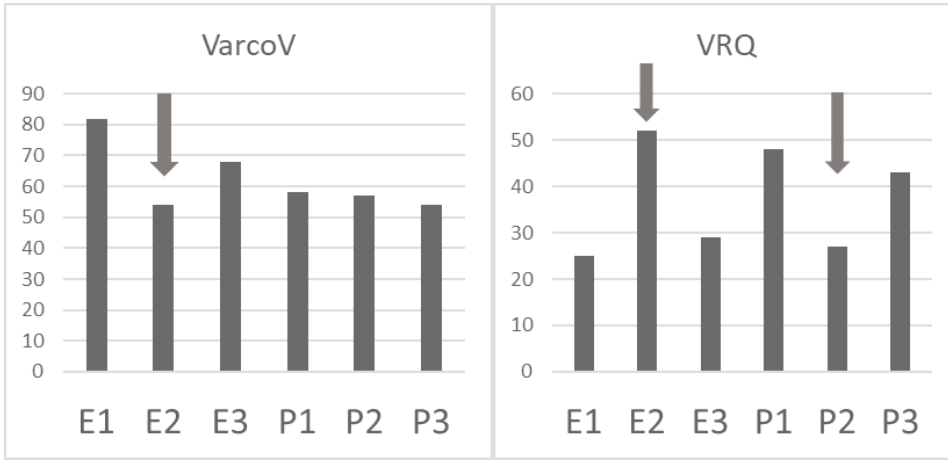

Figure 5. VarcoV and VRQ values for natural and backwards speech in *the temptation to steal is greater than ever before*. The values indicated by arrows are untypical of the group the speaker represents.

The untypical VarcoV and VRQ quotients observed in participants E2 and P2 performing phrase (T), indicated by vertical arrows, made these samples potentially interesting in the context of the study, by suggesting the opposite status of the speakers.

VarcoPeak has proved to be even more robust in separating Polish-accented from native English samples (Figure 6), with the exception of speaker E2 reading the phrase *that the shop assistant was her daughter.*

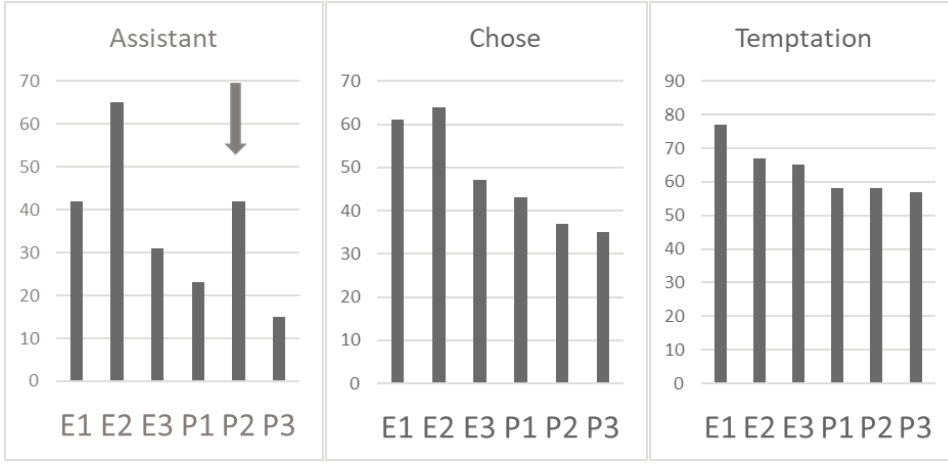

Figure 6. VarcoPeak values for vocoded speech in *that the shop assistant was her daughter* (Assistant), *she chose one of the most expensive dresses in the shop* (Chose), and *the temptation to steal is greater than ever before* (Temptation).

Procedure

The online experiment was designed using script in PsyToolkit (Stoet, 2010, 2017). The stimuli were blocked into vocoded, backwards, and natural. The blocks were presented in a fixed order so as to (1) expose the listeners to the most difficult task of identifying the vocoded speech at the beginning, and (2) to avoid carry-over influences from natural speech to vocoded and backwards speech. The stimuli in each block were randomized for each listener. The experiment started with collecting personal information, followed by three familiarization trials, each trial representing one of the three speech types. In every experimental trial, the listeners played a phrase by clicking on a 'play' button. The re-play option was not limited and the listeners were allowed to listen to each phrase as many times as they needed. All acoustic stimuli were accompanied by orthographic transcripts to allow access to the semantic content by parsing the acoustic information and thus facilitate the processing of temporal patterns (Davis, Johnsrude, Hervais-Adelman, Taylor, & McGettigan, 2005). After stimulus exposure, the listeners had to decide if they had heard a native speaker by clicking on 'yes' or 'no' buttons. They also had to indicate the certainty of their response on a 1–5 linear confidence scale by answering a question 'How sure are you?' from 1 'not at all' to 5 'very much.' Figure 7 shows the experiment interface.

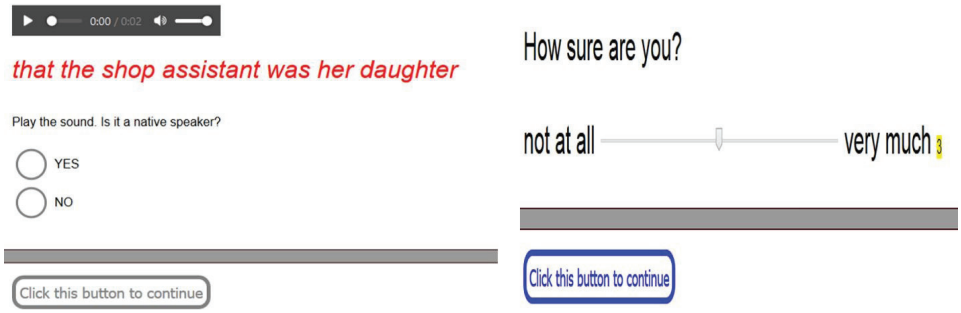

Figure 7. The experiment interface.

Altogether, there were 54 trials (6 speakers x 3 phrases x 3 speech types). The mean duration of all completed sessions was 18.5 minutes. The listeners were informed to use headphones or loudspeakers at a comfortable listening level.

Participants

Two groups of listeners were recruited to participate in the study. Sixteen native speakers of English, ten females and six males, who were recruited using social media. Fourteen of them reported British and three American accent. Another group were 14 advanced learners, 11 females and three males, recruited from the fifth year of the major English program at the Institute of English, University of Silesia in Katowice. Their proficiency in English ranged from C1 to C2 in CERFL, confirmed by regular curriculum tests. Out of the 30 recruited participants, only 14 completed the whole experiment. We will discuss the reasons for such a low completion rate in the Discussion section. We decided to include only the participants that had attended to all 54 trials. As a result, the analysis was carried out using the data from eight native speakers and six Polish advanced learners of English. The native speakers were five females and three males with the mean age of 36.6 years. British accent was indicated by six and American accent by two speakers. The advanced learners of English were five females and one male with the mean age of 24.1 years. Three of them claimed to be teachers of English. None of the listeners reported any speech or hearing disorders.

Analysis and Results

Listeners' responses were transformed to an *A'* sensitivity value (Donaldson 1992, 1993), which derives from the Signal Detection Theory (Green & Swets, 1966). It quantifies responses in terms of hits and false alarms. A value of 1 indicates perfect sensitivity and a value of 0.5 indicates performance at chance level. A value of 0 shows systematic confusion of all stimuli.

Initially, we planned to compare the performance of native speakers and advanced learners to see if there are significant differences between the two groups. However, due to the fact that only 14 listeners had completed all the trials, we ran independent-sample t-tests for each speech type to find if the results for the two groups might be pooled. The tests showed that the advanced learners did not perform differently from the native speakers in all three speech types: vocoded speech [$t(12) = 1.68$, $p = .12$], backwards speech [$t(12) = .62$, $p = .55$], natural speech [$t(12) = 1.46$, $p = .17$]. Consequently, we will analyse the data as collected from one group.

The Mixed Model ANOVA was designed with listener as a random effect and performance as a fixed effect (experimental level vs. chance level). The chance level was set at *A' M* = .05. The dependent variable was *A'* calculated for each listener and speech type. This model estimates the variance of random factors by constructing sums of squares and a cross products matrix for independent variables using Satterthwaite's method of denominator synthe-

sis (Luke, 2017; Searle, Casella, & McCulloch, 1992). The analyses revealed that the vocoded stimuli were not identified significantly above a chance level (M = .50; SE = .05) [F(1, 13) = .002, p = .96]. The mean confidence rating on a 1–5 scale with 1 'not certain at all' and 5 'very much certain' was 2.39 (SE = .09). The backwards-masked stimuli were not identified above chance level either (M = .59; SE = .05) [F(1, 13) = 4.03, p = .07]. The mean confidence rating was 2.85 (SE = .08). Predictably, natural speech was identified highly accurately (M = .96; SE = .01) [F(1, 13) = 2402.7, p <.001], with the mean confidence rating of 4.6 (SE = .04) (Figure 8).

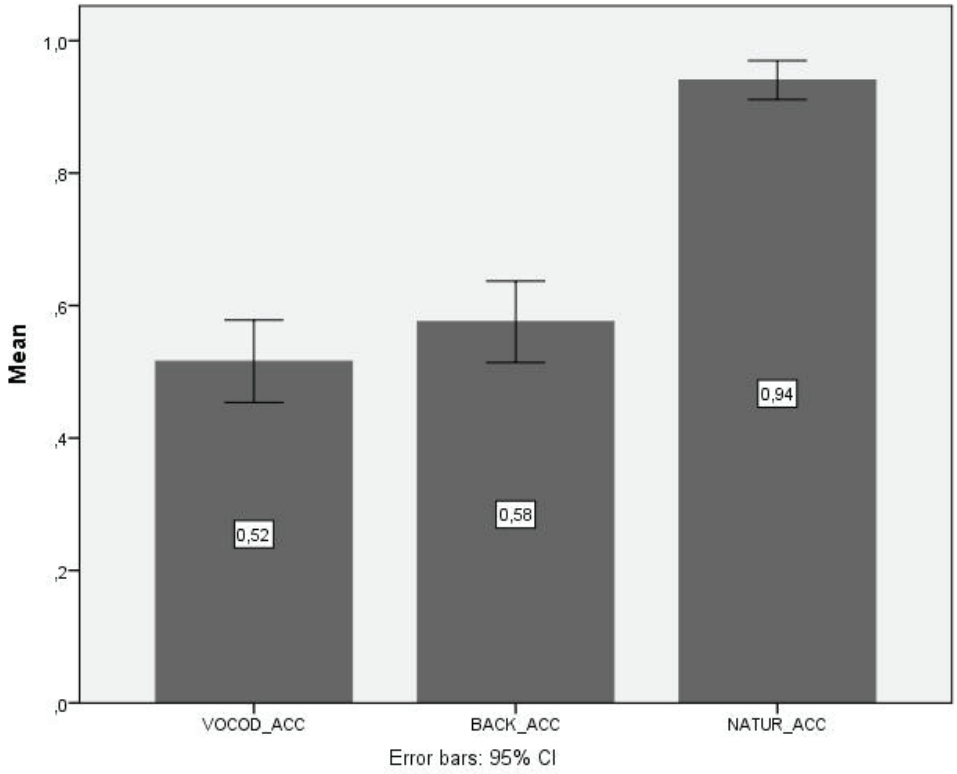

Figure 8. Mean *A'* scores for vocoded (VOCOD_ACC), backwards (BACK_ACC), and natural (NATUR_ACC) speech.

In order to explore more thoroughly the obtained results, we calculated the proportion of identification as native speaker for each speaker used in the experiment. The purpose was to investigate between-speaker variation to see if there were native speakers who were observably identified more frequently as non-native speakers and, by analogy, if there were Polish speakers who were more frequently identified as native speakers. We suspected that the listeners' global inability to identify the native/non-native status of the speakers may have

been contributed to by variation in individual speaker's scores. For the vocoded speech, the one-way ANOVA with speaker as an independent variable and proportion of identification as a native speaker as a dependent variable was not significant [$F(5, 12) = .77$, $p = .58$]. Figure 9 shows the values for each speaker.

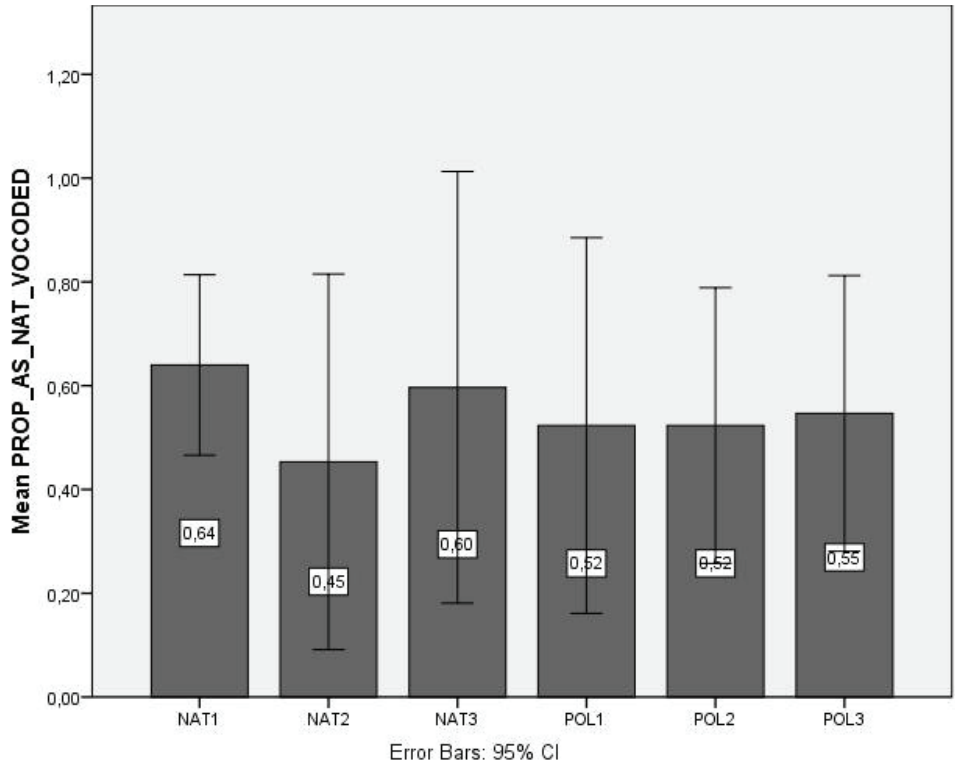

Figure 9. Proportion of identification as a native speaker in vocoded speech.

Although between-speaker variation was not significant, two patterns emerge from the data. Firstly, one native speaker (NAT 2) was identified as native less frequently than the other two. Secondly, error bars indicate relatively large deviations from the mean in all speakers except for NAT 1.

The same analysis for the backwards-masked speech revealed significant between-speaker variation [$F(5, 12) = 3.14$, $p = .049$]. Figure 10 presents the values for each speaker.

The results of this task show that two speakers stand out from the general confusion pattern. NAT 2 and POL 2 were more correctly identified as native and non-native speakers respectively. Strikingly, two other native speakers, NAT 1 and NAT 2, were reported to be native speakers only 43% and 45% of the time.

Finally, as discussed earlier, measures of temporal variability such as VarcoV, VRQ and VarcoPeak separated Polish-accented and native phrases

fairly robustly, so we ran Pearson correlations of those measures with the proportion of identification as a native speaker to find if they predicted the listeners' decisions in individual test phrases. Table 2 shows that none of these measures were significantly correlated with the listeners' performance in any of the three test phrases, indicating that the listeners were insensitive to temporal variation captured by these measures.

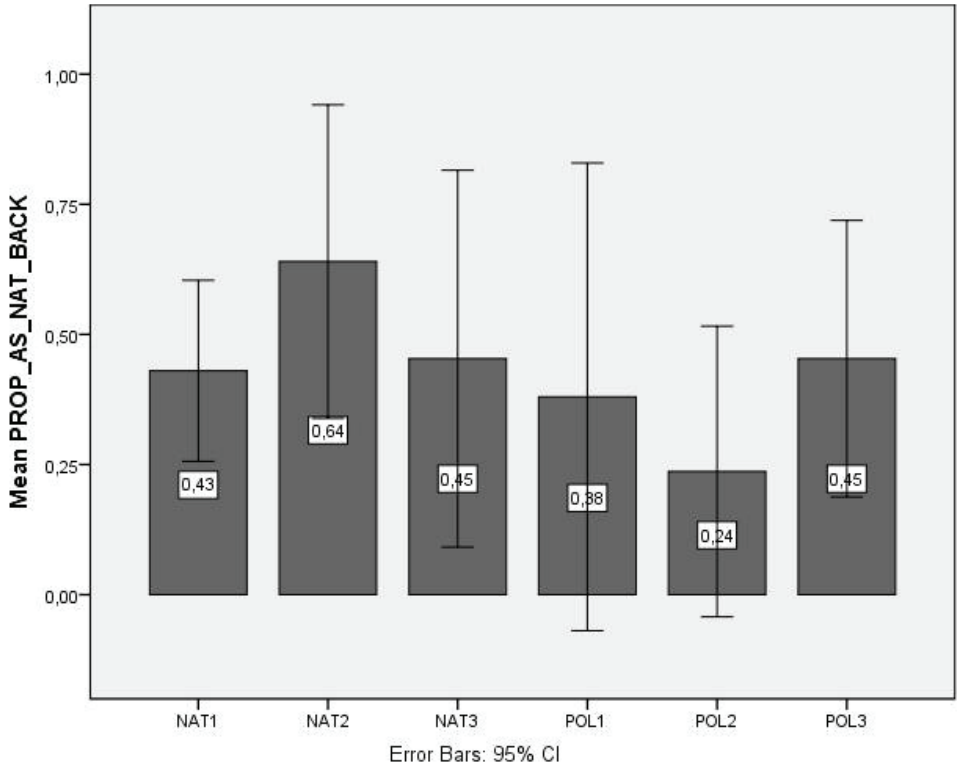

Figure 10. Proportion of identification as a native speaker in backwards-masked speech.

Table 2

Correlations of rhythm measures with the proportion of identification as a native speaker for each test phrase

	Backwards speech				Vocoded speech	
Phrase	VarcoV		VRQ		VarcoPeak	
	r	p	r	p	r	p
Assistant	–.09	.86	.17	.75	–.17	.74
Chose	.11	.83	–.14	.80	–.17	.74
Temptation	.04	.04	.09	.88	.35	.50

Discussion

In the present paper, we report findings that (a) Polish-accented and native English are not identified above-chance level from 4-band noise vocoded stimuli, (b) Polish-accented and native English are not identified above chance level from backwards-masked stimuli. In the following, we will relate the current results to the previously reported results.

Speech vocoding in accent recognition was used by Kolly and Dellwo (2014). They found that French-accented German and English-accented German could not be recognized above chance from 3-band vocoded speech samples and from 6-band vocoded samples without a speech transcript. However, above-chance performance was observed for 6-band vocoding with transcripts. It must be remembered that 3-band vocoding completely degrades the segmental make-up of speech, while 6-band vocoding may leave some spectral information about the quality of individual sounds. More recently, Kolly et al. (2017) showed that 6-band noise vocoded speech carries enough information for listeners to identify French- and English-accented German even when temporal cues are eliminated by means of duration transplantation, which further confirms that 6-band vocoding does not sufficiently degrade spectral cues. The contribution of the current study is that we used 4-band vocoding, which is not as degrading as 3-band vocoding, but is more effective in masking spectral cues than 6-band vocoding. The explanation for the current results that Polish-accented and native English were not identified successfully may be that 4-band vocoding is as degrading as 3-band vocoding and thus listeners are not able to separate Polish-accented and native English by syllable peaks only, without access to any spectral information.

Backwards-masking was used by Munro et al. (2010), who found that listeners distinguished native from non-native speech at above-chance levels with Mandarin, Cantonese, and Czech L2 speakers. The effect was robust enough to emerge from stimuli as short as one word as well as from randomly-spliced and monotone stimuli. The authors concluded that the listeners may have had access to the remnants of some sub-phonemic features or voice quality. In the current study, we provided the listeners with longer stimuli (more than seven words) and with authentic intonational contours and yet Polish speakers were not detected above chance. The difficulty with relating the current results with those in Munro et al. (2010) is the degree of accentedness that may be different between the tested groups. In the case of Mandarin and Cantonese speakers, it may be assumed that their accentedness was relatively high, because speakers of those languages are characterized by strong deviations from a native norm in segmental and prosodic realiza-

tions. Consequently, their successful detection may have been contributed to by their high degree of accentedness. On the other hand, Czech speakers, because of typological similarity of Polish and Czech, should be more comparable to Polish speakers; however, they were still successfully distinguished from native speakers with the mean *A'* score of .805.

A possible explanation for the differences between the current study and the previous studies is that this is the first study to test listeners outside a laboratory setting. The listeners in this study performed the task at home, using their own audio equipment, which means that the level of surrounding noise and specific parameters of the signal may have been different across listeners. This fact may have been responsible for the observed lower detection accuracy in this compared to the previous studies. However, it is not warranted to claim that the experimental conditions were not sufficiently optimal, because the mean *A'* score for natural speech was .94, which indicates that our listeners were able to detect non-native speakers highly effectively without content masking. Although laboratory conditions allow full control over the quality of stimulus delivery, it must be remembered that natural accent detection occurs in the real world, outside laboratory conditions, and still listeners perform highly effectively. If vocoded and backwards-masked speech provides sufficient cues to the speaker status, we should expect above-chance performance in and outside laboratory setting.

A methodological issue we want to raise is the level of engagement of listeners in tasks with content-masked stimuli. In this experiment, out of 30 recruited participants only 14 completed the whole session. We contacted some of them to ask for their motivation to quit before the experiment was finished. They reported that the blocks containing vocoded and backwards stimuli were confusing, irritating, and that, in their opinion, making a decision made no sense, because the signal contained no information about the speaker status. For this reason, although the statistics have been calculated on the basis of fourteen participants' responses, the information gathered from the remaining sixteen and the sheer fact of their withdrawal after some unsuccessful attempts to complete the task are clearly indicative of their inability to recognize the speaker's status, and in this way these respondents also contribute to the study and confirm its general results.

Although detection of speaker status from vocoded and backwards-masked speech was not overall successful, there was observable between-speaker variation in detection rate, especially in backwards speech. This may suggest that speakers may differ in robustness of individual acoustic cues that may or may not be masked. One of such cues, as suggested by Munro et al. (2010), may be voice quality, which is left intact in backwards speech. Future studies should attempt to directly correlate acoustic measures of speakers' global voice quality with accent detection.

Conclusions

The major limitation of the study is the fact that despite extensive research into speech rhythm, the notion still remains without a clear definition that would allow precise, objective description. The measures that we have employed, Varco and VRQ, may be criticized for not taking into account the non-temporal properties of rhythm, especially those related to prominence. On the other hand, they appear to be fairly efficient in separating non-native from native speech. Another problem is that any instrumental rhythm measures are sensitive to rather frequent timing deviation from prototypical values, which do not necessarily affect the listeners' accent judgements. To eliminate this type of variation, the experiment should include a large amount of stimuli, which in turn would make it even more strenuous for participants.

Bearing the limitations in mind, we argue that our study provides some new data concerning non-native accent detection. The results of the experiment show that neither native speakers nor Polish learners of English, who can easily recognize regular foreign-accented English speech samples, are able to detect native or non-native English accent from 4-band noise vocoded speech or backwards-masked speech. None of the tested rhythm measures of temporal variability, such as VarcoV, VRQ, and VarcoPeak, were correlated with the listeners' performance. Even though these rhythm measures are fairly robust for non-native accent detection, the speech characteristics that they refer to are not sufficient on their own for the listeners to identify the speaker's status. The general conclusion is thus that the rhythmic properties of speech alone, preserved in vocoded speech, or the temporal properties understood as syllable length variation together with voice quality, preserved in backwards speech, are not sufficient cues to foreign accent identification. This conclusion further implies that FL learning, which tends to focus on language detail more often than L2 acquisition, should not go too far in isolating individual aspects of pronunciation for classroom practice. Although focus on selected features of speech may be beneficial, the teacher must be aware that some of them may only perform their linguistic functions properly in interaction with other pronunciation components. The findings may therefore contribute to the debate on the approach to the relations between segments and prosody in foreign language teaching.

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Erkennung eines fremden Akzents in der vokodierten und rückwärts gerichteten Sprache

Zusammenfassung

Die Studie befasst sich mit der Erkennung eines fremden Akzents in der englischen vokodierten und rückwärts gerichteten Sprache. Beide Verarbeitungsverfahren eliminieren eine semantische Information und teilweise (rückwärts gerichtete Sprache) oder vollständig (vokodierte Sprache) eine Spektralinformation, während die rhythmischen Merkmale der Sprache beibehalten werden, die als Differenzierungsgrad der Dauer von prosodischen Einheiten verstanden werden, die zur Unterscheidung von Proben des einheimischen und fremden Akzents dienen könnten. An der Untersuchung nahmen englische Muttersprachler und Polen teil, die diese Sprache auf fortgeschrittenem Niveau gebrauchen. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass weder Engländer noch Polen in der Lage sind, einen fremden Akzent in den verarbeiteten Sprachproben nur aufgrund der zeitlichen Verteilung der Akzente (vokodierte Sprache) und des Differenzierungsgrades der Länge von prosodischen Einheiten (rückwärts gerichtete Sprache) zu erkennen.

Schlüsselwörter: Akzenterkennung, nicht-muttersprachlicher Akzent, rückwärts gerichtete Sprache, vokodierte Sprache

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The Dynamics of Needs in a Course in English Phonetics for In-Service Primary School Teachers of English

Abstract

This article presents a study that seeks to explore the dynamics of needs experienced by a group of in-service primary school teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) who are enrolled in a course in English phonetics at a regional university in Norway. The course in English phonetics is designed for the group of EFL teachers (further – *participants*) who combine working full-time with taking in-service EFL courses. The aim of the study is to explore how the dynamics of the participants' needs change within the time frame of two semesters. The study is based upon theoretical premises of needs analysis (further – NA) formulated by Hyland (2006), who regards EFL learners' needs as a continuous process that changes over time. The results of NA indicate that whereas initially the participants explicitly express the need for obtaining tertiary-level education in English to be able to teach English at primary school, their needs change towards the end of the course to involve the focus on becoming role models in an EFL classroom, paying attention to speech fluency, intonation, and conducting English-only EFL classes. These findings will be further discussed in the article.

Keywords: English as a Foreign Language (EFL), in-service teachers, needs analysis (NA), phonetics, primary school

Introduction

This article presents and discusses a study that seeks to explore a dynamic account of needs experienced by in-service primary school teachers (further – *participants*) during their enrollment in the university course in English phonetics at a regional university in Norway. The participants are certified

primary school teachers with at least three years of tertiary education who teach English to young learners in Years 1–7 within primary school settings in Norway, in addition to teaching other subjects in Norwegian as the language of instruction, for example, literacy, numeracy, the Norwegian language, and digital skills. Even though the participants are university educated and certified teachers, they have no prior tertiary education in English as a Foreign Language (EFL). In order to be able to continue teaching EFL at primary school, they need to complete a university program in English that is comprised of such courses as functional grammar of English, English phonetics, and children's literature.

The study further discussed in this article is embedded in a broad area of teaching English pronunciation to EFL learners. However, whereas the majority of the studies seem to focus upon EFL learners' pronunciation (Waniek-Klimczak, 2015), little is known about the acquisition of English pronunciation by adult in-service primary school teachers and the associated needs they might experience in the process of acquisition (Henderson et al., 2015). A novel facet of the present study rests with the scarcity of research publications that address the needs of those in-service EFL teachers (Gaye, 2020; Hyland & Wang, 2019; Pérez Cañado, 2016, p. 268) who combine a dual role of EFL primary school teachers and adult EFL students enrolled in an in-service EFL course. Moreover, little is known about the needs of those in-service EFL primary school teachers who are enrolled in a tertiary course in English phonetics. The present study seeks to provide more insight into this under-researched issue by means of exploring the participants' needs in the course. Specifically, the focus of the investigation involves the question of potential dynamic changes in the participants' needs during their course enrollment.

The notion of needs analysis (henceforth – NA) is central in this study. It should be noted that the importance of NA is routinely mentioned in research in applied linguistics, EFL and English for Specific Purposes (ESP) studies, respectively (Li, 2018, p. 8). Prior literature indicates that NA involves a systematic collection and analysis of data necessary for the course curriculum development (Belcher, 2006; Brown, 2009; Flowerdew, 2013; Hyland, 2006; Li, 2018; Malicka, Guerrero, & Norris, 2019; Paltridge & Starfield, 2013). The methodological and theoretical premises in this study are based upon Hyland's (2006) approach, who refers to NA as

> the techniques for collecting and assessing information relevant to course design: it is the means of establishing the *how* and *what* of a course. It is a continuous process, since we modify our teaching as we come to learn more about our students, and in this way it actually shades into *evaluation*—the means of establishing the effectiveness of a course. (Hyland, 2006, p. 73)

Hyland's (2006) view of needs as a continuous process is especially relevant to this study, since its specific aims involve an account of how the participants' needs change throughout their enrollment in the course in English phonetics. In this regard, it should be mentioned that scholarly attention to the foreign language (FL) learners' needs as a dynamic process has been growing in applied linguistics, EFL and ESP research communities (Larsen-Freeman, 2016). A relatively recent interest in dynamic aspects of EFL teaching and learning is evocative of the dynamic systems approach towards the teaching and learning of a foreign language in general (De Bot, 2008; Larsen-Freeman, 2016; Van Geert, 2008; Waninge, Dörnyei, & De Bot, 2014). The main concept that is present in the Dynamic Systems Theory approach towards EFL is that language acquisition and language learning are operationalized as non-linear, often chaotic, and liable to change due to a host of variables that are dynamically distributed and redistributed in time (Larsen-Freeman, 2016; Van Geert, 2008). Following this line of argument, it could be reasonable to suggest that EFL learners' needs as a continuous process as posited by Hyland (2006) are dynamic, liable to change, non-linear and marked by the presence of adaptation, and variability on the part of an EFL learner (Larsen-Freeman, 2016), as well as, presumably, on the part of other stake-holders involved in EFL teaching and learning.

The study that is further described in this article is grounded in the aforementioned construal of EFL learners' needs as a continuous and dynamic process as postulated by Hyland (2019). The specific aim of the study is to explore how the participants' needs change over the period of two semesters of study. Further, this article is structured as follows. First, theoretical background notions associated with NA will be given. Second, a literature review of prior studies of NA in EFL contexts will be outlined. Thereafter, an overview of the application of Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) to EFL teaching and learning will be discussed. The literature review will be followed by the context of EFL teaching and learning at Norwegian primary schools. Then, the present study, its hypothesis, participants, methodology, and major findings will be provided. Finally, the article will be concluded with the summary of the findings and their implications.

NA: Theoretical Background

As previously mentioned in the introductory part, NA is extensively employed as a means of collecting and analyzing data in conjunction with course development, especially in applied linguistics and ESP studies (Li, 2018; Malicka, Guerrero, & Norris, 2019; Romanowski, 2017), and, quite recently, in

EFL studies that are associated with pre- and in-service EFL teachers (Barrios-Arnuco et al., 2018; Kang, 2018; Zein, 2017). As indicated by Flowerdew (2013), NA "has a long history and is constantly evolving and redefining itself" (Flowerdew, 2013, p. 326) since its inception in the early 1960s. While it is beyond the scope of this article to present an exhaustive account of NA in terms of its development (see, e.g., Belcher (2006), Flowerdew (2013), Hyland (2019), & Romanowski (2017) for detailed meta-analyses), it should be mentioned that traditionally there has been a variety of approaches towards the definition of the term. Specifically, it is often used as a synonym for *needs assessment* in the literature (Widodo, 2017, p. 128). Concurrently with this view, however, there is an alternative approach to the definition of NA, which posits that *needs assessment* involves obtaining data, whereas *needs analysis* involves assigning value to the data (Graves, 1996, p. 12). It should be noted that further in the article, the term *needs analysis* abbreviated as NA will be referred to as a synonym for *needs assessment*. As far as the definition of NA is concerned, the present research follows Hyland (2019), who regards NA as a series of interlinked techniques that are comprised of (i) the initial "fact-finding stage to discover the current proficiencies and wants of the students and the constraints of the learning situation in terms of time, resources, and so on" (Hyland, 2019, p. 57), and (ii) the subsequent identification of the competencies and tasks that will be required of students and/or desired by the students. By means of expanding upon this definition, Hyland (2019) further argues that NA

> is actually an umbrella term that embraces many aspects: What are learners' goals, backgrounds, and abilities? What are their language proficiencies? Why are they taking this course? What kinds of teaching do they prefer? What situations will they need to write in? How are writing knowledge and skills used in these situations? Needs can be perceived objectively by teachers or subjectively by learners, can involve what learners know, don't know, or want to know, and can be analyzed in a variety of ways.
>
> (Hyland, 2019, p. 58)

An approach which is similar to that formulated by Hyland (2019) is found in Brindley (1989), who distinguishes between objective NA on the one hand and subjective NA on the other hand. The former involves factual data concerning the learners, their current language use and language proficiency inclusive of the challenges posed EFL acquisition (Brindley, 1989, p. 70). The latter is regarded as the learner's context-situated cognition that is associated with the data that are informative of personality, attitudes, and expectations (Brindley, 1989). More specifically, subjective NA is thought to reveal the leaners' "self-knowledge, awareness of target situations, life goals, and instructional expectations" (Belcher, 2006, p. 136).

Brindley's argument concerning the role of the learner's context-situated cognition in subjective NA (1989) is commensurate with the approach proposed by Hutchinson and Waters (1987), who refer to the context-bound target situation needs that are associated with the necessities, wants and challenges in the learning process in a given target situation. In addition to the target situation needs, Hutchinson and Waters (1987) argue that there is a separate set of needs, which is referred to as learning needs that are comprised of the learner's algorithm of action in order to learn. Arguably, learning needs involve a host of variables that include the learners' backgrounds, their motivation, individual learning styles, and other factors.

Among a number of potential variables involved in the learners' needs, Romanowski (2017) emphasizes the consideration of the types of needs. Romanowski (2017), as well as Hyland (2019), and Li (2018) seem to share a contention that the types of needs in NA involve perspective and/or perspectives, and contextual environment of the learners' needs that can be analyzed from the vantage points of various stake-holders. For instance, Romanowski (2017) indicates that NA can be conducted from the learner's, teacher's, and institutional perspectives, respectively.

In addition to the aforementioned types of needs, a NA procedure may focus on the considerations of the learners' language needs as a product or as a process. In this regard, Tzotzou (2014) suggests that NA involves objective needs and subjective needs, such as motivation and personal learning preferences. It should be observed that a subjective process-oriented perspective to NA is employed in the present study. Following Tzotzou (2014), a process-oriented aspect of NA allows to gain insight into how learning as a time-bound process takes place in a variety of EFL teaching and learning contexts. One of the contexts involves the teaching and learning of English in primary school with, arguably, a context-specific set of needs that an EFL learner as well as an EFL primary school teacher might experience. The next section of this article presents an outline of prior studies of NA in EFL contexts that involve EFL teaching and learning in primary school.

NA in EFL Contexts

There is a growing body of current research literature on NA in different EFL contexts that are associated with primary schooling (Barrios-Arnuco et al., 2018; Kabilan & Veratharaju, 2013; Kang, 2018; Nieman & Hugo, 2010; Nijakowska, Tsagari & Spanoudis, 2018; O'Sullivan, 2003; Tzotzou, 2014; Walker, 1999; Zein, 2017). In the literature on NA in primary school contexts, it seems possible to identify several research themes associated with NA that focus on (i) the use of the English language in an EFL classroom (Nieman &

Hugo, 2010; O'Sullivan, 2003; Tzotzou, 2014; Walker, 1999), (ii) professional development of in-service EFL teachers (Kabilan & Veratharaju, 2013; Zein, 2017), (iii) EFL learners with special needs in an EFL classroom (Nijakowska, Tsagari, & Spanoudis, 2018), and (iv) the needs and challenges experienced by pre-service primary school EFL teachers (Barrios-Arnuco et al., 2018; Kang, 2018).

The needs that involve the use of the English language in an EFL classroom are investigated by Nieman and Hugo (2010), O'Sullivan (2003), Tzotzou (2014), and Walker (1999). In the study conducted by Nieman and Hugo (2010), primary school teachers are asked to comment on the main problems and needs that they experience in using English as the medium of instruction in their classrooms. It has been established by Nieman and Hugo (2010) that the needs involve variables that are associated with the learners' awareness of correct English pronunciation and their comprehension of oral communication in English. Other needs, according to Nieman and Hugo (2010), are related to the teachers' needs for a more sophisticated vocabulary and confidence in teaching English.

The classroom use of the English language is the focus of NA conducted by Tzotzou (2014), who investigates primary school learners' attitudes towards EFL learning and their learning preferences in a Greek L1 EFL classroom (Tzotzou, 2014, p. 59). Tzotzou's NA (2014) is suggestive of a desired focus upon those activities that are relevant to the EFL primary school context. In addition, Tzotzou (2014) argues that EFL teaching and learning in Greek primary school contexts would benefit from a focus on teacher development programs. In concert with Tzotzo (2014), Walker (1999) has found that EFL teachers in Spanish primary schools are in need of further in-service training that, in particular, involves attention to English pronunciation. Walker (1999) has established that Spanish L1 EFL primary school teachers are "keen or very keen that their students pronounce English well" (Walker, 1999, p. 25). Whereas EFL primary school teachers in Spain need attention to pronunciation in EFL, the NA conducted by O'Sullivan (2003) in the United Arab Emirates highlights primary school teachers' sensitivity to the flexibility in EFL curriculum that allows them "to use whichever methods and available resources best enable the development of their students' English language skills" (O'Sullivan, 2003, p. 454).

The research theme of primary school English teachers' needs that involve their professional development is explored by Kabilan and Veratharaju (2013), and Zein (2017), respectively. Kabilan and Veratharaju (2013) seek to establish the needs associated with professional development of primary school EFL teachers in Malaysia. Kaliban and Veratharaju (2013) indicate that the participants in their study express the need for professional development programs and activities that reflect their own needs and their students' needs. The study suggests that primary school teachers' and their students' needs are construed as a fluid and dynamic discursive space that is comprised of the verbally ex-

pressed needs for planning, development, and engaging teachers in their professional development (Kaliban & Veratharaju, 2013). Similarly to Kaliban and Veratharaju (2013), professional development needs of primary EFL teachers are addressed in an empirical study by Zein (2017). That study aims at elucidating the needs of primary school EFL teachers by means of combining the teachers' and teacher educators' perspectives. Notably, the findings in Zein (2017) are evocative of those reported by Kaliban and Veratharaju (2013). Specifically, these two investigations are indicative of the focus on knowledge of primary school students in addition to the needs of primary school EFL teachers' own needs. Among other needs reported by Zein (2017), there is a need for introducing a course on children psychology that is seen as playing a facilitative role in a primary school teacher's professional development.

The topic of primary school teachers' willingness and preparedness to include dyslexic learners into an EFL classroom is examined by Nijakowska, Tsagari, and Spanoudis (2018). The authors report that statistically significant effects are observed in relation to the teachers' training and previous experience with dyslexic EFL learners. Nijakowska, Tsagari, and Spanoudis (2018) indicate that the needs of those primary school teachers who have to teach English to dyslexic EFL learners are associated with the teachers' preparedness to successfully include these learners in an EFL classroom. Additional facets of the NA that have been discovered by the authors involve the need for professional training in EFL and dyslexia.

The NA conducted by Barrios-Arnuco and the colleagues (2018), and Kang (2018) focus upon the needs of pre-service primary school EFL teachers. Specifically, Kang's (2018) study has established that EFL primary school teachers in South Korea express the need for EFL teaching methods, whereas their needs do not appear to reflect the importance of EFL proficiency. The NA in the study by Kang (2018) highlights the importance of practical English teaching courses and EFL classroom-related courses that are prioritized by the pre-service teachers. In contrast to the studies by Kaliban and Veratharaju (2013), and Zein (2017), the NA in Kang (2018) does not indicate the presence of needs that focus on the knowledge base of primary school students. It also should be mentioned that whereas in the study by Kang (2018) EFL didactics and teaching methods appear to be among the main needs of pre-service primary school teachers, the investigation by Barrios-Arnuco et al. (2018) points to the pre-service primary school teachers' need for EFL literacy assessment. Particularly, they have found that the participants in the study express the need for the alignment of assessment practices with the national classroom assessment reform policy in the Philippines.

It is evident from the present literature review that while there are numerous studies associated with in-service and pre-service primary school EFL teachers' needs, research that focuses upon NA related to in-service primary

school EFL teachers who lack formal qualifications in EFL is not sufficiently represented. The study further described in the article seeks to address that issue. However, prior to proceeding to the present study, it seems pertinent to provide (i) a brief outline of dynamic systems theory in relation to needs in EFL teaching and learning and (ii) the background context of the teaching and learning of English in Norway.

Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) in Relation to Needs in EFL Teaching and Learning

As previously indicated, needs are thought to be specific to EFL learners' (e.g., primary school EFL learners, EFL learners with special needs) and/or EFL teachers' cohorts (e.g., in-service teachers, pre-service teachers), context-dependent (e.g., primary school, college), and liable to change due to a myriad of competing needs and stake-holders' interests (Widodo, 2017). These characteristics of needs in EFL contexts are evocative of the theoretical approaches to EFL teaching and learning which are found in the Dynamic Systems Theory (DST).

In general, a complex dynamic system is characterised by "(a) […] at least two or more elements that are (b) interlinked with each other but which also (c) change independently over time" (Dörnyei, 2011, p. 81). One of the principal contentions in DST is that complex dynamic systems involve variables and elements, or sub-systems, which are non-linear and interact in a difficult-to-predict and chaotic manner, whereby the result of their interaction and change appears to significantly disproportionate to its cause either in qualitative or quantitative terms, or both (Dörnyei, 2011; Kruk & Zawodniak, 2019; Larsen-Freeman, 2016). The variables and/or sub-systems in a complex dynamic system evolve in the space-time continuum (Dörnyei, 2011) by means of undergoing a sequence of states, for example, relatively stable states, or those states that are marked by instability and an abrupt change or a series of chaotic changes (Dörnyei, 2011; Waninge, Dörnyei, & De Bot, 2014). In its relatively stable state, the complex dynamic system is stabilized and anchored by a strong attractor that renders it less dynamic (Mercer, 2016). In contrast to that state, a complex dynamic system may be influenced by an agent of change (e.g., one variable or several variables that simultaneously impact upon the system). In this regard, change is construed in DST as the repeller state of a system that alters its stability and enters a period of flux or an abrupt catastrophic change (Kruk & Zawodniak, 2019; Mercer, 2016).

Having originated in cognitive sciences and the philosophy of mind (Van Gelder, 1995), there is a fairly recent application of DST to the realm of applied linguistics (Cameron & Larsen-Freeman, 2007), bilingualism (Shook & Marian, 2013), second language acquisition (SLA) and EFL studies (De Bot, Lowie, &

Verspoor, 2007; Larsen-Freeman, 2016). From the DST perspective, an EFL learner can be regarded as an open-ended contextualized and context-dependent complex system that dynamically changes in the process of EFL acquisition (Larsen-Freeman, 2016). The EFL learner as a complex dynamic system is conceptualized as an "interplay of multiple, temporally and spatially situated systems, including motivation and learning styles" (Kruk & Zawodniak, 2019, p. 179). The EFL learner's motivation could be conceived of as a complex dynamic system that undergoes changes from a state of flux to stability and vice versa, and interacts in a difficult-to-predict manner with other variables in the EFL classroom (Kruk & Zawodniak, 2019; Ghafarpour & Moinzadeh, 2019; Mercer, 2016). EFL classrooms can be regarded as complex dynamic communicative systems "in which behaviours are primarily determined by situation, context and class atmosphere" (Ghafarpour & Moinzadeh, 2019, p. 3).

Similarly, EFL students' needs could be seen through the lenses of DST. Presumably, an EFL learner's desirable future needs to deepen their EFL proficiency could be regarded as a repellent state that acts as an agent of change, which shifts the leaner's stable zone into a new and often chaotic trajectory of language growth and development. At the same time, if an EFL learner's needs are stable as an attractor state, they can facilitate the maintenance of relative stability of the learner's language development. As far as contextual needs are concerned, it could be argued that from the DST perspective they are conducive to variability on the part of the learner, since macro- and micro-contexts in a typical EFL classroom are comprised of a multitude of interactive variables that contribute to variation in the classroom dynamics and, in their turn, impact upon the trajectory of EFL acquisition by an individual learner (Larsen-Freeman, 2016; Mercer, 2016).

EFL Teaching and Learning in Norwegian Primary School Contexts

In Norwegian primary schools, English is taught as an obligatory school subject from Year 1 or from grade one in American terminology to Year 7 (Krulatz, Neokleous, & Henningsen, 2016, p. 142). Thereafter, students study English in lower secondary school (Years 8–10), which is compulsory to attend (Udir, 2018). From Year 1 to Year 4 of primary school, there are 138 teaching hours allocated for English, whereas in the upper primary school (from Years 5 to 7) the number of teaching hours increases to 228 (Scheffler, Horverka, & Domińska, 2018, p. 134). With this allocation of teaching hours, primary schools in Norway typically offer English lessons at least once a week (Rugesæter, 2014).

Current research suggests that English is regarded as an essential international language in Norway (Rugesæter, 2012, p. 120). The teaching and learning

of English in Norwegian primary school contexts is marked by a prestigious status of the English language. In this regard, Bøhn and Hansen (2017, p. 55) indicate that while "English does not have status as a first or an official language in Norway, it has a strong position in Norwegian society." The growing importance of English and its prestigious status are reflected "in the tendency for national school systems to start teaching English from an increasingly early age" (Coburn, 2014, p. 1). This situation creates a current demand for EFL teachers in Norwegian primary schools (Udir, 2018). To meet the growing demand for EFL teachers, Norwegian universities and university colleges offer teacher education programs, where pre-service primary school teachers can choose whether or not they want to teach EFL in Years 1–7 of primary school, or Years 5–10 that combine upper primary and lower secondary school (Krulatz, Neokleous, & Henningsen, 2016).

Whereas there are teacher education programs that are tailored to the needs of pre-service primary school teachers, a significant number of in-service primary school teachers "teach English to children on a regular basis without formal qualifications or preparation" (Coburn, 2014, p. 1). This observation is specifically topical for the age bracket of primary school teachers between 40 and 67 years of age. Typically, primary school teachers in that demographic group (i.e., 40–67 y.o.) did not have to study English as an obligatory part of their teacher training. According to Coburn (2014), "it is safe to say that many thousands of primary school teachers in Norway currently teach English without formal competence in the subject" (Coburn, 2014, p. 2). To reiterate the point, Coburn (2016) posits that

> In Norway, EFL teaching in primary school is done almost exclusively by generalists in the 1st–4th grades, with more semi-specialists in the 5th–7th grades. As indicated, a high proportion of those who teach English to children in Norway have no specific EFL teacher education.
>
> (Coburn, 2016, p. 7)

In order to address the issue of primary school teachers' competence in the English language, the Norwegian government has introduced a scheme which is commonly referred to as *Kompetanse for Kvalitet* (in English "Competence for Quality") program of in-service training for those teachers who need formal university-level education in English (Udir, 2019). Usually, these in-service programs are co-financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research and local municipalities (Coburn, 2014) and administered by local universities and university colleges. However, the municipality is responsible for the selections of primary school teachers to participate in the course (Coburn, 2014; Udir, 2019).

The Present Study

The present study is contextualized within an in-service EFL program that is offered at a regional university in Norway to in-service primary school teachers, who are referred to as *participants* further in the article. It should be emphasized that the participants are generalist primary school teachers without formal tertiary education in EFL. However, they are all certified primary school teachers who completed university teacher training programs.

In terms of its design, the in-service program in EFL is comprised of the courses in children's literature, functional grammar of English, and English phonetics, respectively. The program's duration is two semesters, or one academic year. The course in English phonetics follows the book "English Phonetics for Teachers. Third Edition" written by Nilsen and Rugesæter (2015). The course in English phonetics involves in-mural sessions, two obligatory written assignments that are expected to be written individually and submitted by the participants online via the study platform *Canvas*, and two written exams in functional grammar and phonetics, where the mark is equally distributed between these two subjects (i.e., 50% of the total mark is for grammar and 50% is for phonetics). The exams are the so-called *take-home exams*, that is, after the participants have been provided with the exam questions on the digital platform, they are expected to work on the exam individually at home and submit it via the digital platform within one week. The outline of the course design in English phonetics is summarized in Table 1.

The course design outlined in Table 1 allows the participants to combine full-time employment with the in-mural and extramural forms of EFL training at tertiary level. The participants are given a work-free paid week during the examination period. In addition, their study-related costs, such as course books, study materials, hotels and transportation for those who reside far from the university campus are paid for by the state via the municipality.

Table 1.

Course design in English Phonetics

N	Course design	Topics
1	Autumn semester, in-mural seminar 1.	Introduction to the course. The participants' writing of their course-related expectations and needs
2	Autumn semester, in-mural seminar 2.	Chapter 2 in Nilsen and Rugesæter (2015). Introduction to phonetics. Sound foundation. Introduction to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)
3	Autumn semester, in-mural seminar 3.	Chapter 3 in Nilsen and Rugesæter (2015). Consonants. IPA

4	Autumn semester, in-mural seminar 4.	Chapter 4 in Nilsen and Rugesæter (2015). Vowels. IPA
5	Autumn semester. An obligatory assignment either in grammar or phonetics (extramural). Take-home written exam in grammar and phonetics (extramural).	The participants are free to choose one topic either in grammar or phonetics. They are expected to write a reflective essay of approximately 1000 words upon a topic in English phonetics in relation to the teaching and learning of EFL phonetics in Norwegian primary schools. The essay writing is carried out individually within the timeframe of one month. The take-home exam consists of two halves, for example, functional grammar of English and phonetics, respectively. The time frame of the take-home exam is one week.
6	Spring semester, in-mural seminar 1.	The participants' writing of their mid-course expectations and needs. Chapter 5 in Nilsen and Rugesæter (2015). Stress, rhythm, and sounds in company. IPA
7	Spring semester, in-mural seminar 2.	Chapters 6–7 in Nilsen and Rugesæter (2015). Intonation. Varieties of spoken English. IPA
8	Spring semester, extramural seminar 3 delivered online via the study platform Canvas	Feedback on the participants' pronunciation problems
9	Spring semester. An obligatory assignment either in grammar or phonetics (extramural). Take-home written exam in grammar and phonetics (extramural). The participants' writing of their course assessment (extramural)	The participants are free to choose one topic either in grammar or phonetics. They are expected to write a reflective essay of approximately 1000 words upon a topic in English phonetics in relation to the teaching and learning of EFL phonetics in Norwegian primary schools. The essay writing is carried out individually within the timeframe of one month. The take-home exam consists of two halves, for example, functional grammar of English and phonetics, respectively. The time frame of the take-home exam is one week.

As far as the hypothesis in the present study is concerned, it is based upon an assumption that the participants' needs are reflective of the dynamics associated with their in-service study contexts, learning trajectory, individual internal needs and needs that are external to the participants. Specifically, the hypothesis involves a contention that the participants' needs could be regarded as a continuous process that changes over time throughout the course in English phonetics. Following the DST approach to EFL teaching and learning (Larsen-Freeman, 2016; Mercer, 2106), it is hypothesized in this study that the participants' needs would be liable to change and would exhibit variability throughout the duration of the course in English phonetics. Based upon the hypothesis, the following research question has been formulated:

RQ: Would the participants' needs be stable during the course in English phonetics or would they be subject to change and variability?

In conjunction with the aforementioned research question, the present study involves the following specific research aims:

i) to conduct the analysis of the participants' needs at the beginning (NA 1), mid-course (NA 2), and the end of the course (NA 3);
ii) to analyze the participants' needs by means of a NA procedure;
iii) to juxtapose the participants' needs at the beginning (NA 1), mid-course (NA 2), and the end of the course (NA 3) in order to establish whether or not they are marked by the presence dynamic changes.

Participants

In total, this study involves 32 participants (30 females, 2 males, M age = 43 y.o., standard deviation = 8.3). Whereas all participants are university educated primary school teachers, none of them reports prior EFL studies at college/university. All participants are speakers of Norwegian as their first language (L1). There are neither native speakers of English nor bilinguals among the participants. Given that none of the participants is a university-trained EFL specialist teacher, it is assumed in the study that the participants can be regarded as adult EFL students, who need to obtain formal instruction in EFL for work purposes.

The participants' experience with the learning of the English language appears to be confined to primary and secondary school (M years of learning English at school = 8, standard deviation = 2.3). To reiterate, all participants are in-service primary school teachers who are enrolled in the in-service EFL course concurrently with full-time employment at their respective primary schools. Thirty-two participants signed the consent form allowing the author of the article to collect and analyze their needs associated with the course in English phonetics. To ensure confidentiality, the participants' real names are coded as P1,…, P32, where the abbreviation P stands for *participant* and the number from 1 till 32, respectively.

Methods and Procedure

NA in the present study is regarded as a means of collecting and examining data associated with the participants' needs, inclusive of their "perceived and present needs, as well as their potential and unrecognized needs" (Tzotzou, 2014, p. 59). As previously mentioned in the introduction, the methodological premises of this study are based upon Hyland's (2006) contention that NA should be treated as a continuous process. Following that contention,

the methodological design in the study involves a series of analyses of the participants' needs, for example, (i) prior to the beginning of the course (NA 1), (ii) upon the completion of the first semester (NA 2), and (iii) at the end of the second semester of their studies (NA 3).

In accordance with Hyland (2006), NA procedure in the study reflects the methodological approach that involves the foci on what the participants know, do not know and want to know. Following Hyland (2006), who posits that NA can be collected and analyzed in a variety of ways, the procedure of NA in this study is conducted by means of soliciting the participants' written reflections upon their needs at the very beginning of the first semester (NA 1), upon the completion of the first semester (NA 2), and at the end of the second semester after the completion of the course (NA 3). In each of the NA (i.e., in NA 1, NA 2, and NA 3) the participants are asked to reflect upon their current needs (what they know and do not know) and their future needs and expectations and write their reflections down in the form of short reflective essays written in the English language. Apart from those open-ended and general instructions, the participants are given no specific support questions in conjunction with their essay writing. The corpus of the participants' essays in total is comprised of 9 545 words (the total number of words in NA 1 = 3 328, number of words in NA 2 = 2 119, and in NA 3 = 4 098).

Methodologically, the analysis of the corpus of the participants' reflective essays in NA 1, NA 2, and NA 3 is based upon the premises that are embedded in a discourse-analytical framework described in Garzone (2018). In accordance with Garzone (2018), the analysis of needs in the present study is associated with the attitudes and evaluation on the part of the participants. Following Garzone (2018), attitudes and evaluation are conveyed by various elements in written discourse, such as lexis and textual constructs that are explicitly found in the text.

Since the present data are comprised of the participants' written reflections on their needs, it can be argued that the reflections are subjective, value-laden and as such are based on the "criteria of "what is good" and "what is bad" defined in terms of goals, achievement, and/or parameters of certainty, expectedness, and importance" (Garzone, 2018, p. 18). In the analysis, the notions of certainty, expectedness, importance, positivity and negativity were investigated contextually in the corpus of the participants' written reflections. In order to facilitate the analysis, the participants' reflections were merged into one file per each NA (e.g., NA 1, NA 2, NA 3) and analyzed quantitatively by means of using the software program WordSmith (Scott, 2012). In accordance with Garzone (2018), it was assumed in the study that the computer-assisted word frequency analysis would be suggestive of lexico-semantic categories in the corpus of the participants' written reflections. Once the word frequencies of the words associated with attitudes, certainty, evaluation, expectedness, nega-

tivity, and positivity were compiled in WordSmith (Scott, 2012), the frequency lists were examined qualitatively by means of establishing correspondences between the most frequent lexical words and possible themes in the corpus of the participants' written reflections. Then, the participants' written reflections were analyzed in WordSmith (Scott, 2012) again with the data being reduced by means of omitting articles, pronouns, discourse markers, and auxiliary verbs. Afterwards, a meticulous reading of the reflections followed. It was executed with the help of the aforementioned word frequency lists in order to identify possible themes and cluster those themes into the categories that represented the participants' in English phonetics. Afterwards, the categories were manually checked again with the frequent words lists. The labeling of the categories was executed by the author of the article and verified by a university lecturer in didactics, who confirmed the coding.

Results and Discussion

The analyses of the participants' needs in NA 1, NA 2, and NA 3 have yielded several categories that, in accordance with Hyland (2006), can be classified into two discursive spaces, such as (i) current needs that reflect the state of affairs, that is, what the participants know and do not know and (ii) future needs, that is, what they want to achieve in the course. Table 2 summarizes the results of the data analysis in NA 1.

Table 2.

The participants' needs in NA 1

N	NA 1	Percentage of participants %
1	**The participants' current needs**:	
	Do not have university education in English	91.00
	Do not feel confident in teaching English	9.00
	Worry about the course	6.00
	Struggle with English pronunciation	3.00
2	**The participants' future needs:**	
	To get university education in English	56.00
	To become a better teacher of English	53.00
	To speak English confidently in class	31.00
	To improve English pronunciation	22.00
	To be inspired by the course	13.00
	To teach English pronunciation to dyslexic students	3.00

The results of NA 2 are presented in Table 3. Analogously to the data summarized in Table 2, the needs in Table 3 fall under two broad discursive spaces, namely the participants' current and future needs.

Table 3.

The participants' needs in NA 2

N	NA 2	Percentage of participants %
1	**The participants' current needs:**	
	Realize the importance of pronunciation in EFL	100.00
	Like to study problematic English sounds	88.00
	Know relevant terminology	66.00
2	**The participants' future needs:**	
	To improve English pronunciation	97.00
	To listen to authentic audio texts in English	88.00
	To practice difficult English sounds	56.00
	To be corrected when they make mistakes	34.00
	To master English rhythm and intonation	22.00

Similarly to Tables 2–3, Table 4 provides an account of the participants' current and future needs in NA 3, which the participants express at the end of the course.

Table 4.

The participants' needs in NA 3

N	NA 3	Percentage of participants %
1	**The participants' current needs**:	
	Confidence in using English in the classroom	78.00
	Awareness of their own pronunciation difficulties	38.00
	Improved self-esteem in relation to English	38.00
	Awareness of the varieties of the English language	31.00
	Increased speech fluency in English	28.00
2	**The participants' future needs:**	
	To be a role model in EFL classroom	59.00
	To improve English pronunciation	34.00
	To use IPA in EFL classroom	28.00
	To continue working on English intonation	25.00
	To change how they teach English pronunciation	25.00
	To use English-only instruction in EFL classroom	18.00

As previously mentioned, the participants' needs in the present investigation are regarded as a continuous process in the sense posited by Hyland (2006). It is seen in Tables 2–4 that the needs change over time from NA 1 (the beginning of the first semester) to NA 3 (the end of the second and final semester). In particular, the change is evident from the juxtaposition of the participants' needs. Further in the discussion section of the article, the participants' needs will be compared by means of juxtaposing NA 1 and NA 2, NA 2 and NA 3, and NA 1 and NA 3, respectively.

Juxtaposing Needs in NA 1 and NA 2

As mentioned in the hypothesis in the present study, the participants' needs would be reflective of the dynamics of their in-service study contexts, learning trajectory, as well as internal and external needs. The juxtaposition of NA 1 and NA 2 seems to support the hypothesis. In particular, the change in the dynamics of needs related to the course in English phonetics is evident from the comparison of the participants' current needs (i.e., what they know and do not know) in NA 1 and NA 2. Specifically, it is seen in Table 2 that the major current need in NA 1 is the participants' lack of university education in English (91%). Arguably, this need maps onto the participants' future need in NA 1 to obtain tertiary education in English (56%). These findings are further illustrated by excerpts (1)—(2) below:

> (1) I am an English teacher with very little formal training. I have to take some courses to be allowed to continue to teach English. I expect to be able to speak English in a comfortable and relaxed way, without having to doubt myself when I speak English in front of my students. I would also like to learn some tips and tricks on how to teach phonetics in an appropriate way to small children. I have already read that this course is going to be closely tied to our jobs as English teachers. Also I hope I will become more confident in speaking English, which is crucial to my job as an English teacher. (Participant P 2, female)

> (2) I chose this course because I have been teaching English in school for about 15 years, although I have no formal education in English. I think the course was an opportunity I couldn't miss. I think the course will make me confident when it comes to spoken English. In the classroom I often use soundtracks to let the pupils hear the audio file of the text. After this course, I will hopefully be able to speak more myself, instead of presenting the text through soundtracks on the pc. (Participant P 5, male)

Whereas the need to be university educated in EFL could be regarded as fulfilling a dual role of both an internal need and an external need, another set of the participants' current needs in NA 1 appears to be associated with internal factors, such as anxiety. For instance, the participants report that they do not feel confident in teaching English (9%), worry about the course (6%), and struggle with English pronunciation (3%). For example, one of the participants indicates that "I never studied English at university. I am a bit worried about homework and studies. Will I manage?" (Participant P 25, female). Notably, the needs associated with anxiety are not reported in the previous literature (Kabilan & Veratharaju, 2013; Kang, 2018; Nieman & Hugo, 2010; O'Sullivan, 2003; Walker, 1999; Zein, 2017). While anxiety as a variable is present in NA 1,

the anxiety-related needs are not observed in the participants' current needs in NA 2. Instead, the current needs in NA 2 are predominantly internal and oriented towards the participants' learning trajectory that involves the realization of the importance of pronunciation in EFL (100%), the focus on problematic English sounds (88%), and the awareness of relevant terminology (66%).

The juxtaposition of the participants' future needs in NA 1 and NA 2 reveals a substantial difference between what the participants desire and want at the beginning of the semester and at mid-semester. Whereas there is one category of future needs that is common to the participants in NA 1 and NA 2 (their desire to improve their English pronunciation), all other future needs in NA 1 and NA 2 appear to be qualitatively different. There is a substantial change in the most frequent future need between NA 1and NA 2. Whereas in NA 1 the most frequent need is to be university educated in EFL (56%), in NA 2 it is the internal need to improve English pronunciation (97%). In contrast to NA 1, we can observe in NA 2 that the participants' future needs involve language-related considerations, such as listening to authentic audio texts in English (88%), practicing difficult English sounds (56%), mastering English rhythm and intonation (22%), as well as the need to be corrected by the course teacher when the participants make mistakes in pronouncing English words (34%). The EFL-specific and internal future needs in NA 2 are in opposition to the participants' future needs in NA 1 that are centered, predominantly, on more general notions, such as becoming a better teacher of English (53%), speaking confidently in class (31%), and being inspired by the course (13%). It can be inferred from these findings that the participants' trajectory of needs changes from the dominant need to obtain higher education in EFL to the participants' wants and desires to focus upon their individual EFL-related problems.

Juxtaposing Needs in NA 2 and NA 3

Whereas there is a substantial change in the needs between NA 1 and NA 2, the juxtaposition of the participants' current needs in NA 2 and NA 3 does not reveal a major dynamic change. On the contrary, it can be argued that the participants' current needs in NA 2 and NA 3 exhibit a relatively stable state in the sense postulated by DST (Larsen-Freeman, 2016). Presumably, this stable state is explicable by the participants' needs being anchored in EFL-related variables that are internal to the participants. At the same time, while the future needs in NA 2 and NA 3 are generally EFL-related, they are different in terms of the application of the needs. It follows from the data analysis that the participants' future needs in NA 2 are primarily associated with their own EFL-related issues, for instance, listening to authentic audio texts (88%), practicing difficult-to-pronounce sounds (56%), mastering English intonation and rhythm (22%),

and being corrected by the course teacher when mistakes in pronunciation are made (34%). Arguably, these EFL-related future needs are concomitant with the dominant future need of improving the participants' pronunciation (97%). These findings are in concert with the prior research conducted by Nieman and Hugo (2010), who argue that EFL teachers' needs involve awareness of correct English pronunciation. Additionally, the findings in the present study provide indirect support to Walker (1999), who indicates that EFL teachers in primary school are in need of a substantial focus on English pronunciation. Similarly to the observations made by Nieman and Hugo (2010), and Walker (2010), the participants' attention to pronunciation in this study can be exemplified by excerpt (3), for example:

> (3) It has been great to learn about the theory of phonetics, and especially to learn about how the different sounds are pronounced in English. This course has shown me what I need to work more with to improve my English in relation to pronunciation. (Participant P 1, female)

Whereas the need of improving English pronunciation is present among the participants' future needs in NA 3 (34%), the future needs with the EFL-focus in NA 3 are in contrast to the future needs in NA 2, since they involve the considerations of being a teacher, who is a role model in an EFL classroom (59%), who uses IPA in their teaching (28%), changes how they teach English pronunciation (25%), and employs English-only approach to EFL teaching and learning in Norwegian primary school contexts (18%). These needs are exemplified by excerpts (4) and (5) below, for example:

> (4) I guess I am much more conscious of how to pronounce English sounds correctly and my awareness of correct sounds has improved considerably. This is particularly important when it comes to the fact that the meanings of many words depend upon the use of one specific sound, for instance in minimal pairs. This awareness will definitely help me in my teaching career. I find myself much more capable of teaching my students how to pronounce correctly. I am much more confident as a teacher. This is an important aspect of my life. I feel that I have improved my knowledge, and that makes me a better teacher, and it is something that both I and my students will benefit from. (Participant P 21, female)
>
> (5) I have learned a lot about phonetics. That said, I still have a lot to learn. I had previously minimal knowledge of phonetics, so I almost started from scratch. The content of the course in phonetics has been a little difficult for me since I never studied phonetics before. Still, I can now say that I am quite sure that this knowledge I have acquired in phonetics will help me in my teaching career. To a much greater extent, I will be concerned with

> my own pronunciation of words. This will in turn lead to better learning outcomes by the students. I've got a much better overall picture of teaching English. It is an advantage for both me and the students. (Participant P 29, female)

The aforementioned future needs represent a change in the participants' focus from their own EFL-related needs as EFL learners to EFL-related needs as EFL teachers. The qualitative change in future needs from NA 2 to NA 3 eventuates within the same domain of knowledge and experience, namely EFL pronunciation. As future needs in NA 3 show, pronunciation by an EFL teacher should be continuously addressed by the participants even after their graduation from the course. These findings are commensurate with the results that are reported in Kabilan and Veratharaju (2013), and Tzotzou (2014), who suggest that EFL teaching in primary school contexts should involve a specific focus on continuous in-service EFL teacher development which is aimed at ameliorating teachers' language skills.

Juxtaposing Needs in NA 1 and NA 3

By means of juxtaposing the participants' needs in NA 1 and NA 3, it is possible to note a series of substantial qualitative changes. One of the major changes is associated with the initial need to obtain formal qualifications in order to be able to teach English at school in NA 1 (56%), which is superseded by the need to become a role model in EFL classroom in NA 3 (59%). Arguably, the need of obtaining formal qualifications can be described as both internal and external to the participants. Its external aspect eventuates from the requirements of the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research. However, the external as well as internal aspects of obtaining formal qualifications in EFL in NA 1 are overridden by the internal dominant need to become a role model in teaching English in NA 3. This finding is exemplified by the following quote made by the participant: "Mainly, the course in phonetics has made me being a more fluent speaker and wanting to be a better role model in speaking English" (Participant P 4, female). The participants' need to be a role model for their primary school students is evocative of the findings that are discussed in Kabilan and Veratharaju (2013), and Zein (2017), respectively, who suggest that the needs of primary school teachers of English involve the focus not only on their immediate personal needs, but also on the needs of primary school students in terms of their EFL acquisition. In addition, the findings in the present investigation lend indirect support to Walker (1999), who has also observed EFL primary school teachers' need to provide the best example in terms of pronunciation to the students.

As far as the participants' internal needs are concerned, it can be argued that the dynamic changes in the participants' future needs are associated, to an extent, with the learning trajectory they have experienced between the start of the first semester and the end of the second (i.e., final) semester. The major change involves the participants' generic needs in NA 1 of becoming better EFL teachers (53%) and speaking confidently in class (31%), which are overridden by specific needs in NA 3, such as using IPA in EFL classroom (28%), continuing working on English intonation (25%), changing the ways how they teach English pronunciation (25%), and using English-only instruction in their EFL classrooms (18%).

In contrast to NA 1, the analysis of the participants' future needs in NA 3 indicates that they seem to prioritize their teaching of English phonetics and pronunciation by referring to English-only instruction, the use of IPA, and changing the way they teach English pronunciation. However, the participants do not specify how these future needs will eventuate from a didactic perspective. This finding is explained by the fact that Norwegian primary school teachers are flexible in choosing any teaching methods they deem necessary provided that they ensure the learning outcomes that are prescribed by the Ministry of Education and Research (Udir, 2019). Notably, this finding appears to be in contrast with the NA reported in the study by O'Sullivan (2003), who argues that flexibility in EFL curriculum is regarded among the desirable needs by EFL primary school teachers in the Persian Gulf.

The juxtaposition of the participants' needs in NA 1 and NA 3 reveals a dynamic change in what they know, what they have achieved, and what they consider desirable. In particular, whereas 9% of all participants do not feel confident in teaching English and explicitly express a future need of speaking English confidently in class (31%) in NA 1, 78% of them indicate that they are confident in using English in classroom in NA 3. The participants' current confidence in using English by the end of the course is reinforced by the increased level of self-esteem (31%) in relation to speaking English in NA 3.

Similarly, while 22% of the participants express the future need for improving English pronunciation in NA 1, 28% of them report the increase in speech fluency in English as the current need in NA 3. This increase seems to be concomitant with other current needs in NA 3, such as awareness of their own pronunciation difficulties (38%), as well as the varieties of the English language (31%). Presumably, these findings are suggestive of the dynamic changes in the participants' needs that involve a trajectory of desirable future needs that turn into achievable and internalized needs by the end of the course. In other words, it could be argued that certain aspects of the participants' future needs in NA 1 have been mapped onto the current needs in NA 3.

By means of comparing NA 1 and NA 3, it is possible to observe the disappearance of the need of teaching English pronunciation to dyslexic students

(3%) that is present in NA 1 and absent from NA 3. This finding provides indirect support to the study conducted by Nijakowska, Tsagari, and Spanoudis (2018), who have found that typically primary school EFL teachers experience insufficient awareness of young EFL learners with dyslexia. Judging from the present data, the participants' awareness and professional needs associated with dyslexic EFL learners appear to change from epiphenomenal (3%) in NA 1 to non-existent in NA 3.

Similarly, the change in needs from epiphenomenal to none at all is evident from the juxtaposition of the participants' anxiety concerning the course (6%) and struggle with English pronunciation (3%) in NA 1 with their needs in NA 3. It seems that their initial worries and anxieties have undergone a substantial change by the time of NA 3, since they appear to be non-existent in NA 3. This finding could be taken to reflect a substantial change in the participants' learning trajectory that has progressed from internally motivated needs associated with anxiety in NA 1 to a qualitatively different internal need of being confident in speaking English.

Conclusions

The article discusses a study that aims to identify the participants' needs in the course in English phonetics that is offered to EFL primary school teachers at a regional university in Norway. The NA in the study is conceptualized as a continuous and dynamic process in accordance with Hyland's (2006) methodology. Following that view of NA, the analyses of the participants' needs have been carried out during the course, for example, at the beginning of the course (NA 1), mid-course (NA 2), and at the end of the course (NA 3). The series of NA reveal dynamic changes in the participants' needs. In particular, it has been established that NA 1 is focused upon the participants' lack of prior tertiary education in English and the need to obtain it. It could be concluded that initially the participants' needs are associated with the requirements of the external stake-holders, such as the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Science that mandates primary school teachers of English to be formally educated in order to be able to teach English in primary school. However, the needs that are dominant in NA 1 have undergone a dynamic change towards the end of the course. Specifically, in NA 3 the participants' needs are internal, such as their need to be a role model in teaching English and, in particular, English pronunciation. In contrast to NA 1, in NA 3 the participants exhibit such internally motivated needs as the future need to focus on improving their pronunciation, intonation and fluency in English.

The findings in the present study are taken to indicate that NA reflect dynamic changes in the participants' needs. Consequently, it could be concluded that the hypothesis in the study is supported. Namely, it is assumed in the hypothesis that the needs of in-service primary school teachers would be dynamic and subject to change due to a host of variables. From a linguo-didactic perspective, it could be concluded that the in-service primary school teachers' needs in the present study are subject to change from externally motivated (i.e., the desire to obtain university-level qualifications in teaching English to be able to work at school) to internally motivated (i.e., the participants' ambitions to become role models in terms of English pronunciation in an EFL classroom). Taking the present findings into consideration, a course design in English phonetics for in-service primary school teachers should involve externally and internally motivated components that would be reflective of the dynamic changes in the participants' needs. Another suggestion that could be drawn from the NA in this study involves a contention that a course design in English phonetics for in-service primary school teachers should be receptive to the teachers' (i) course-initial anxieties concerning the course content, (ii) course-final motivation to share their acquired knowledge with the primary students, and (iii) course-final motivation to introduce changes in the current EFL teaching practices, such as English-only teaching.

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Oleksandr Kapranov

Dynamik der Bedürfnisse in den Kursen zur englischen Phonetik für eine Gruppe berufstätiger Englischlehrender

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel stellt eine Studie zur Dynamik der Bedürfnisse von berufstätigen Lehrenden für Englisch als Fremdsprache (EFL) in der Grundschule vor, die an einem Kurs zur englischen Phonetik an einer regionalen Universität in Norwegen teilnehmen. Der Kurs richtet sich an Englischlehrende (im Weiteren als „Teilnehmer" bezeichnet), die ihren Vollzeitunterricht mit der Beteiligung an Kursen für Englisch als Fremdsprache verbinden. Ziel der Untersuchung ist es herauszufinden, wie sich die Dynamik der Bedürfnisse der Teilnehmer über einen Zeitraum von zwei Semestern ändert. Die Forschung basiert auf den theoretischen Prämissen der Bedarfsanalyse (NA) von Hyland (2006), der die Bedürfnisse von Fremdsprachenlernenden als einen kontinuierlichen Prozess betrachtet, der sich im Laufe der Zeit ändert. Die Ergebnisse der Bedarfsanalyse verweisen darauf, dass die Teilnehmer am Anfang ein starkes Bedürfnis nach Abschluss des Sprachunterrichts auf einem höheren Niveau zum Ausdruck bringen, um eine Fremdsprache an der Grundschule zu unterrichten. Diese Einstellung entwickelt sich jedoch gegen Ende des Kurses dahingehend, dass der Rolle des Lehrers, der als nachzuahmendes Vorbild für Lernenden im Bereich der Geläufigkeit, der Intonation und des Unterrichtens nur in der Fremdsprache fungiert, mehr Gewicht beigemessen wird. Diese Beobachtungen bilden eine Basis für weitere Überlegungen in dieser Arbeit.

Schlüsselwörter: Englisch als Fremdsprache, berufstätige Lehrkräfte, Bedarfsanalyse, Phonetik, Grundschule

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Peer Feedback and Reflective Practice in Public Service Interpreter Training

Abstract

The paper discusses the importance of student-generated feedback, that is, peer feedback and self-assessment in public service interpreter training. The importance of peer feedback and self-assessment is widely recognised in teaching and learning and benefits include: promoting analytical and critical thinking skills, students' active participation in the learning process, promoting a collaborative model of teaching and learning, students' responsibility and autonomy, to name but a few. However, their beneficial character can also be observed in public service interpreter training**.** The aim of the pilot study conducted among trainee interpreters (MA students) of public service interpreting course was to examine interpreting quality and compare positive (strengths) and negative aspects (weaknesses) of trainee interpreters' performance identified by them by means of peer feedback and reflection (self-assessment). The trainees participated in simulated public service interpreting sessions and later were asked to reflect on their own as well as their peers' performance. As seen from data analysis, there are discrepancies between peer feedback and reflection in the perception of students' strengths and weaknesses and a negative trend can be observed in the case of reflection.

Keywords: self-evaluation, peer evaluation, reflection, public service interpreting training, interpreting quality

Introduction

Assessment is considered an essential aspect of the process of teaching and learning. The aim of assessment, when used effectively, is to assist students to learn, enable teachers to monitor students' progress, identify their strengths and areas for improvement as well as inform teachers whether students achieved their learning objectives, to name but a few. An aspect which is inextricably

linked to assessment is feedback, which can be provided by a teacher, peers or students themselves. It is vital to note that "the responsibility for learning is in the hands of the teacher *and* the learner, and therefore they both must act to have the best outcomes for learning" (McFadzien, 2015, p. 17, emphasis added K. H.). Therefore, it is essential to allow learners to take a certain amount of control of their learning. This can be achieved by peer feedback and students' self-assessment. Learner independence, which is one of the goals of student-conducted feedback, appears to be particularly crucial at the tertiary level, where students are required to take the initiative and responsibility for their own learning.

There are mutual benefits of student-conducted assessment both for students and teachers, as rightly stated by Brew (1999):

> Assessment and learning must increasingly be viewed as one and the same activity; assessment must become an integral part of the learning process. […] When teachers share with their students the process of assessment—giving up control, sharing power and leading students to take on the authority to assess themselves—the professional judgment of both is enhanced. Assessment becomes not something done to students. It becomes an activity done with students. (Brew, 1999, p. 169)

The fact that assessment should be "an activity done *with* students" appears to have applicability particularly in the context of public service interpreting classes, which are practical in nature and where trainee interpreters need to obtain hands-on experience useful in their future practice. Not only do they need to possess knowledge and skills in interpreting, but also ability to reflect critically on their own performance in order to identify and evaluate the areas for improvement and devise their own action plan, as well as listen to, understand and respond to the remarks of their future clients about their performance. It is argued in the paper that those skills can be learnt and achieved by means of reflection and peer feedback, which are the scope of the paper.

Considering the importance of the topic in the interpreter training, there appear to be limited comparative studies on peer feedback and self-assessment (Bartłomiejczyk, 2009; Fowler, 2007; Hartley et al., 2003), particularly in the field of public service interpreting training, which is the scope of the paper. Previous studies, mostly related to conference interpreting, generally tend to concentrate on one method, that is, either self-evaluation (Russo, 1995; Bartłomiejczyk, 2007; Postigo Pinazo, 2008; Z. Lee, 2015; Y. Lee, 2005) or peer feedback (Wang & Han, 2013; Pallero Singleton, 2015; Su, 2019) or compare self-assessment and teacher's assessment (Y. Lee, 2016; J. Lee, 2018).

The aim of the pilot study conducted among trainee interpreters was to examine interpreting quality and compare positive (strengths) and negative

(weaknesses) aspects of trainee interpreters' performance by means of reflection (self-assessment) and peer feedback. The study aimed to address the following research questions:

– What aspects of their own and their peers' performance do trainee interpreters perceive as strengths and weaknesses?
– Are there any discrepancies between peer feedback and reflection? Which components of trainee interpreters' performance tend to be prioritized over others?
– Do trainee interpreters tend to be critical and report more negative than positive aspects of their own and their colleagues' performance?

The paper is organized in the following way. The paper begins by describing the role of assessment and feedback in the process of teaching and learning. Then, it discusses the importance of peer feedback, self-assessment and reflective practice in public service interpreting together with their limitations. Next, the paper describes the pilot study used, its analysis and results. Concluding remarks and suggestions for further research are discussed in the final part. It should be noted that it is beyond the scope of this paper to examine in detail the reflective practice applied during classes, which is a part of a larger study. Only the evaluation stage of Gibbs' (1988) reflective cycle, which focuses on identifying strengths and weaknesses, will be commented upon.

The Role of the Assessment and Feedback

Assessment is a crucial element of education and an essential part of the teaching and learning process. Summative assessment, which tends to be most frequently applied in the classroom, allows teachers to establish students' knowledge and skills (Taras, 2005), achievement and progress (Anderson, 1989, 1990) as well as identify their strengths and weaknesses. Formative assessment, on the other hand, given to students throughout the course, enables teachers to observe how and if they are progressing and assists in improving their performance. It also allows teachers to reflect on their teaching, adjust the methods used or modify the content of the course (Harmer, 2007). Both types of assessment play a pivotal role in students' motivation, their achievement of goals and can contribute to their level of satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, with the course. The paper focuses on formative assessment, which in the context of interpreter training, is used to provide continuous feedback on trainee interpreters' progress (Z. Lee, 2015).

However, when it comes to motivating students and contributing to their progress, it seems it is not merely assessment itself that counts, but feedback they receive (McFadzien, 2015; Shin et al., 2016). Feedback, which is considered "the most powerful single moderator that enhances achievement" (Hattie, 1999), can be teacher- as well as student-conducted. While the importance of teacher feedback is unquestionable, it is often suggested to complement it with student-conducted feedback, that is, peer feedback and self-assessment (Black & Wiliam, 1998). Not only does it actively involve students in the process of learning and fosters "a relationship of engagement between lecturer and students" (D'Hayer 2013, p. 328), but also contributes to the overall amount of feedback students are exposed to (Black & Wiliam, 1998). There is ample evidence of the advantages of student-conducted feedback such as, student autonomy and responsibility, "a reflective approach to learning" (Cao, 2017), problem detection and solving or mutual learning both for those receiving and providing feedback, to name but a few. A more detailed discussion is provided in the next section with reference to Interpreting Studies.

Importance and Benefits of Peer Feedback, Self-assessment and Reflective Practice for Public Service Interpreters

The paper argues that the ability to reflect on one's own performance and evaluate others should become a part of formative assessment and interpreter training. They are as crucial as systematic maintenance and improvement of interpreter's knowledge and skills—due to the fact that interpreting is a practice profession (Dean & Pollard, 2013), where reflective practice is considered a pivotal element of everyday practice. Highlighting the unquestionable value of training and formative assessment, Niska rightly states: "I don't think any test can be a substitute for proper training, nor is testing per se a remedy for a lack of interpreters. Tests don't produce interpreters; *proper education does*" (1998, p. 275, emphasis added K. H.). There are numerous benefits of student-conducted feedback which can be observed in the case of interpreter training and these are detailed below. First, attention is drawn to peer feedback and next reflective practice is commented upon.

Peer feedback creates a learning environment which is learner-centered and collaborative, and knowledge becomes constructed through social sharing and interaction (Liu et al., 2001). The need for a constructivist approach to translator training has been observed by Kiraly (2000, p. 194) who maintains that it aims at "emancipating learners and to making them able to think for themselves and

to depend on each other, on their individual capabilities for independent learning." In such an environment, trainee interpreters become actively involved with their peers and learning becomes "an interactive constructive process" (Kiraly, 2000, p. 39) and "takes place as the outcome of active mental processing and when learners perceive meaningful connections between new and acquired information" (Moser-Mercer, 2008, p. 10). As a result, trainees identify problems and attempt to solve them and therefore feedback becomes beneficial both for its recipients and providers. This in turn, leads to increasing trainees' responsibility and autonomy in the learning process and also enables them to concentrate on their own learning.

In her study, Pallero Singleton (2015) aimed to obtain opinions of conference interpreting students on peer feedback and its usefulness by means of an online survey and an email interview. When it comes to interpreting skills, students in Pallero Singleton's study noticed the benefits of peer feedback in terms of language skills, analytical skills, interpersonal skills, and speaking skills (i.e., presentation and delivery). She has also found out that students hold positive opinions and recognise the value of peer feedback since it contributes to learner autonomy and self-reflection and that it is "mutually beneficial." Some of the comments given by the participants were as follows:

> "Giving feedback can help you to reflect on your own performance or on techniques."
>
> "Feedback is something positive—regardless its content—and it is interesting even for the person giving it."

The educational value of peer feedback for both parties is also recognised by Fowler (2007, p. 261), who claims that "[a]ssessing one's peers also makes one more aware of the shortcomings in one's own work, and so this task acts as a learning instrument for the assessor. It is just as challenging a task as doing the translation […]."

Due to the fact that peer feedback tends to engage a group of students, which was the case in the current study, comments which interpreting students receive are likely to be more individual (Bijami et al., 2013) and personalized. Students may express their opinions in a distinctive way and focus on different aspects of the same skill or behaviour. Not only may peer feedback be considered more individual, but also more comprehensible, since it is conducted by peers, not the teacher. Students are likely to use less metalanguage, and thus their comments may be better understood, especially by weaker students. Furthermore, as Clarke (2008, as cited in Cao, 2017) notes, "looking at the work of others can help pupils to understand the different approaches they could have taken [...] that there are different ways of achieving success." In other words, by analyzing strengths and weaknesses of their peers, students are likely to either

aim at avoiding their mistakes or incorporating their peers' strengths into their own practice, which leads to active learning. Finally, receiving peer feedback (and also teacher feedback) can develop in trainee interpreters the ability to respond to constructive feedback, a skill which is highly beneficial for future interpreters. In their future career, the trainees will need to possess the ability to accept criticisms and dissatisfaction from their clients, be open-minded as well as learn how to respond to them. It is also crucial to develop their awareness of low quality feedback that may be merely negative or "in the form of complaints" (Lee, 2005), thus hardly constructive. Trainee interpreters should learn how to respond to such feedback and not get discouraged by it.

As regards self-assessment, many of the benefits are akin to peer feedback, such as ensuring student autonomy (Hartley et al., 2003), greater understanding of learning objectives, standards and goals they are aiming for (Clarke, 2008; Y. Lee, 2005), contributing to students' progress due to their active involvement (Cao, 2017) or awareness of both strong and weak points of their own performance (Russo, 1995).

Given that self-assessment applied in the study focuses on reflective practice, benefits of reflection in the context of interpreter training will be commented upon here. Reflection, as noted by Boud, Keogh, and Walker (1985, p. 19), "[…] is an important human activity in which people recapture their experience, think about it, mull it over and evaluate it. It is this working with experience that is important in learning." However, since the experience alone does not automatically need to lead to learning (Gibbs, 1988), the aim of reflective practice is to have a careful look at one's own experiences and analyse them to improve one's own performance as well as avoid the mistakes and decisions that have been made. There are numerous tools for reflection such as portfolios, logs, logbooks, peer discussion, group discussion, reflective journals, and reflective essays (Z. Lee, 2015), guided commentaries (Norberg, 2014), self-assessment reports (Y. Lee, 2005), blogs or diaries.

The reflective model suggested by Gibbs (1988), applied in the study, can be considered useful for trainee interpreters. The model (Figure 1) promotes experiential learning and by means of reflection "learners can gain new insights into the experience" (Z. Lee, 2015, p. 38). Due to its cyclical nature, students are able to focus on the experience step by step and in detail. It is argued that it is the stages of evaluation, analysis, conclusion and action plan which are particularly important for students to actively explore the experience (Gibbs, 1998). Learners consider strong and weak points of their performance (evaluation), draw conclusions from the experience (analysis), consider alternative steps which they could have taken (conclusion) and think how they can act in the future should a similar situation happen (action plan). The current paper does not aim to investigate all of the stages of the reflective cycle, but draws attention only to the evaluation stage, that is, describing

positive (strengths) and negative (weaknesses) aspects of trainee interpreter's performance.

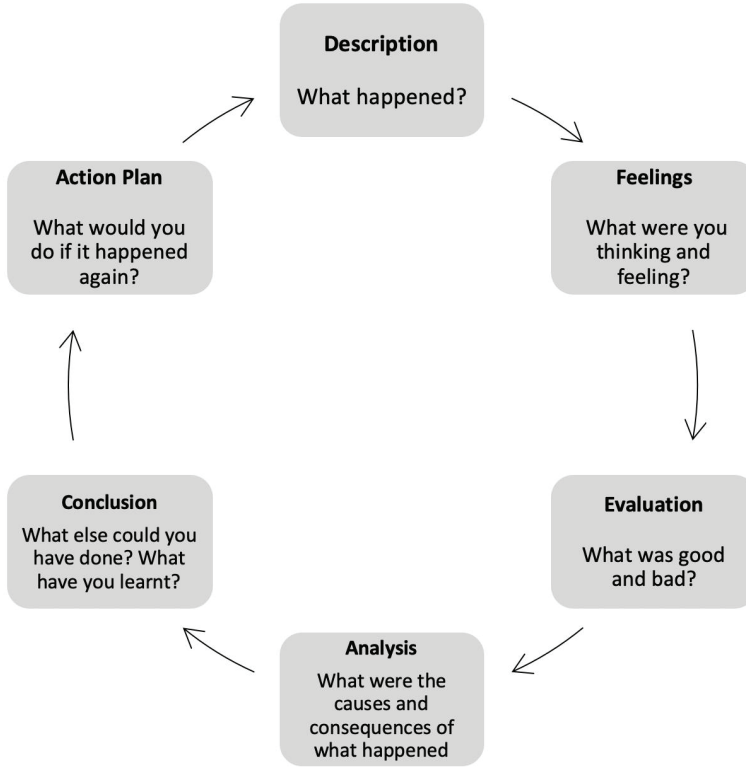

Figure 1. Gibbs' reflective cycle (Gibbs, 1988)

In addition to autonomy and active involvement, reflective practice promotes trainee interpreters' responsibility for their own learning, since it is only for them to decide how much they will learn from the experience. Their success depends on how specific and clear they are when describing their experience to start with, how well they identify their strengths and weaknesses and alternative steps to be taken, and finally how clear and specific their action plan will be. Consequently, reflective practice focuses on problem detection, problems solving and critical thinking skills, and can also assist interpreters making informed and balanced decisions. Such skills are fundamental for interpreters, particularly in public service settings, where interpreters are often faced with dilemmas, not necessarily of a linguistic nature.

It is important to stress that not only does reflective practice contribute to trainee interpreters' learning, but also plays a crucial role in professional development since it can promote good professional behaviour and routines.

Self-evaluation enables trainees as future interpreters, to become reflective practitioners and raises their awareness of how vital it is for practice professions (such as teachers, doctors, and public service interpreters) to reflect on their action for the purposes of "professional growth and improved work outcomes" and effective decision-making in their everyday practice (Dean & Pollard, 2013, p. 140).

As described above, peer feedback and self-assessment can be considered highly beneficial for interpreters. However, what might bring even more benefits would be combining them together with teacher feedback, because then "[…] the trainee has the opportunity to gather feedback about her own performance from a *range of different sources*, all of whom may have a different perspective" (Fowler, 2007, p. 257, emphasis added K. H.). Incorporating all types of feedback is also likely to contribute to increasing students' confidence in their own skills and to a belief that "they have the potential to perform better tomorrow than today" (Choi, 2004, as cited in Lee, 2016, p. 93). Three-dimensional feedback, however, which is a part of a larger project of the author, is beyond the scope of the paper.

Student-conducted feedback can have numerous benefits for interpreting trainees and teachers alike, as was demonstrated in this section, provided that certain conditions are fulfilled. These include knowledge of "the theoretical aspects of interpreting" (Fowler, 2007, p. 261), students' knowledge and understanding of the assessment criteria (Fowler, 2007; Y. Lee, 2005; Pallero Singleton, 2015), clear and transparent assessment criteria (Bartłomiejczyk, 2007; Fowler, 2007; Su, 2019; Y. Lee, 2005; Z. Lee, 2015), prior instruction by the teacher and student training in how to provide peer and self-assessment (Fowler, 2007; Y. Lee, 2005, p. 4; Black & Wiliam, 1998), and "careful coaching and supervision" (Y. Lee, 2005, p. 3). These conditions are vital since learner autonomy is not an automatic skill for every student (Y. Lee, 2005). Moreover, "the fear of the unknown" and lack of experience and/or knowledge may result in students' lack of interest or discouragement in such types of feedback.

Having discussed the importance and benefits of student-conducted feedback in the context of public service interpreting training, let us now turn to the next section, which attempts to outline the design of the study.

The Study

The intent of the study was to examine interpreting quality and compare positive (strengths) and negative (weaknesses) aspects of trainee interpret-

ers' performance by means of reflection (self-assessment) and peer feedback. Qualitative data collection methods applied in the study were retrospection and observation. The study, as stated in the introduction, aimed to address the following research questions:

– What aspects of their own and their peers' performance do trainee interpreters perceive as strengths and weaknesses?
– Are there any discrepancies between peer feedback and reflection? Which components of trainee interpreter's performance tend to be prioritized over others?
– Do trainee interpreters tend to be critical and report more negative than positive aspects of their own and their colleagues' performance?

Purposive sampling was employed to select the participants. Participants in the study were final year postgraduate students (n = 40) attending the Translation and Interpreting program with Chinese, German, and Arabic at the Institute of English (University of Silesia in Katowice). Trainee interpreters were attending a public service interpreting course, which runs for one semester during their final year. Due to a large group size, during public service interpreting classes trainees were divided into three groups. The trainees were familiar with the teacher, who delivered translation and interpreting classes for them in the previous years. They had prior interpreting experience and had attended simultaneous and consecutive interpreting classes for six semesters (at the undergraduate and postgraduate level). They also took translation classes (general and specialized translation) and subjects such as theory of translation and interpreting and methodology of translation and interpreting research. The students' working languages were Polish and English.

For the purpose of the study, trainee interpreters participated in simulated scripted role plays (healthcare setting) performed in a triad. The interpreters provided bi-directional translation (English-Polish, Polish-English) and the mode of interpreting was consecutive with or without notes. The average length of a simulated role play was seven minutes. For the purpose of the study, due to a large group size, trainees were divided into three groups of ten students.

The scripts for the role plays belonged to similar genre (medical interpreting) and had similar degree of difficulty and length for all students. Trainees had freedom in the selection of primary participants for their role plays. Since the aim of the study was to investigate positive (strengths) and negative (weaknesses) aspects of trainee interpreter's performance, they were asked to undertake self-assessment in the form of written reflection as well as provide written peer feedback to their colleagues.

In order to provide peer feedback, participant observation was employed. While watching the performance of their colleagues, trainees were asked to note down comments focusing on strengths and weaknesses (as many as, in

their opinion, would be observable). Rules of peer feedback were made explicit to students (Cao 2017). They were asked to provide constructive, specific, and honest feedback for every trainee who acted as a public service interpreter and advised to avoid vagueness. It is worth noting, however, that trainees had prior opportunities for peer and self-assessment, observing and assessing their peers during simulated role plays practiced throughout the semester, since, as Fowler (2007, p. 257) rightly states, "in general, the more opportunities for observation of interpreted role-plays they have, the more they will learn." They also had prior experience in providing feedback during simultaneous interpreting classes in the past. What is more, trainees were familiar with the assessment criteria for the course (Fowler, 2007; Su, 2019; Y. Lee, 2005; Z. Lee, 2015) and aspects of the public service interpreter's role and behaviour, and were asked to apply them while providing peer feedback. Such knowledge is essential so that students are aware of what to comment upon (Norberg, 2014). Introducing peer feedback ahead of the introduction of reflective practice is recommended by the author of the paper on the grounds that providing peer feedback is likely to be easier for students (Cao, 2017). To ensure the spontaneity of expression, it was decided to allow students freedom with regards to the choice of language, or mix of languages to provide their peer feedback, the practice also suggested by Bartłomiejczyk (2007).

To undertake self-assessment after the completion of the interpreting task, trainee interpreters were asked to produce a piece of reflective writing. Reflective writing is relatively common to many courses, for instance at British universities, where it often becomes a core feature of the assignments, yet is not so prevalent at the universities in Poland. Therefore, it was decided to attempt to incorporate it into interpreter training practice. The primary aim of the task was to enable the trainee interpreters to think critically about the experience, that is, the interpreting task, and learn from it. Reflective writing was adopted for the purpose of the public service interpreting course to allow trainee interpreters—future interpreters, to become reflective practitioners and raise their awareness that it is vital for practice professions (such as teachers, doctors, and public service interpreters) to reflect on their action for the purposes of "professional growth and improved work outcomes" and effective decision-making (Dean & Pollard, 2013, p. 140). Nevertheless, it is argued that the ability to conduct such practices effectively in the future depends on trainee interpreters' exposure to it during training.

After completing their interpretation in the role plays, trainee interpreters were asked to write a reflection. It was decided that written format will be beneficial for the trainees since previous studies show that reflective practice in interpreter training takes the format of diaries, blogs, logbooks, reflective journals, and reflective essays (Z. Lee, 2015), self-assessment reports (Y. Lee, 2005) or guided commentaries with respect to translator training (Norberg,

2014). Due to the fact that trainees have not previously been exposed to reflective writing and due to time constraint, a more structured approach was adopted. Trainees were presented with a handout with Gibbs' reflective cycle, divided into six stages (see Figure 1), and questions corresponding to each stage, which they were asked to answer. As stated previously, the paper does not aim to focus on all of the stages of reflective writing, but only draws on the data from the evaluation stage, which aimed at stating positive (strengths) and negative aspects (weaknesses) of trainee interpreters' performance.[1] In the evaluation stage, trainees were asked to enumerate at least two or three items in each category. At the beginning of the class, they were briefed how to attempt the task and had an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the materials as well as to ask questions. While completing their reflective writing, trainees were asked to conduct self-evaluation "with the target audience in mind" (Su, 2019, p. 180). Such a practice was employed to draw trainees' attention to a degree of a public service interpreter's responsibility in the interaction and consequences of their actions. To ensure the spontaneity of trainee interpreters' input, it was decided not to impose any time limit. In other words, students were able to take as much time as needed to provide a written reflection of their performance. The majority of trainees seemed to spend an average of twenty minutes on the task. Similarly to peer feedback, they were allowed freedom with regards to the choice of language used (Bartłomiejczyk, 2007). While completing their reflective writing, trainees were able to consult the scripts of the role plays if they wished to assist their memory. To ensure appropriate conditions for reflective writing, trainees were asked to go into a classroom next door in order to be able to complete the task without being disturbed. Five of the students, however, decided to sit at the back of the classroom and complete their reflection there. Finally, trainee interpreters were given the option of reflective writing to be anonymous or could include their name if they wished.

In addition to peer feedback and self-assessment, feedback was also completed by the teacher, and trainee interpreters' performances were voice recorded for the purpose of teacher feedback. To avoid increasing the trainees' anxiety it was decided not to use video recording. While producing their reflective writings, the trainees were not presented with audio recordings, the practice which they were used to during almost every simultaneous interpreting class. Such a decision was motivated by the fact that in their future practice as public service interpreters in the institutions such as police, court or city halls, it will be rather impossible for them to record their own performance for the purposes of reflective practice. Yet, it is hoped that as professionals they will still reflect on the assignments, areas they could improve and decisions they made. This will be their reflection-on-action (Schön, 1983), a skill which is so

[1] Reflective practice is, however, a part of a larger study of the author of the paper.

vital for practice professions. After the sessions, trainee interpreters were able to consult peer feedback as well as received a detailed teacher feedback. Also, in an informal whole class discussion, trainees were asked about the usefulness of peer feedback and self-evaluation with regards to their learning.

Qualitative data collection methods used in the study are subject to certain limitations, as observed in existent literature. The limitations of observations and reflective practice are commented upon below in the context of the current study.

Observations can be considered intrusive to a certain extent (Creswell, 2014; Flick, 2015) and consequently, likely to be stressful for the subjects under observation. It is worth noting that in the observations carried out for the purpose of the study to obtain peer feedback, the observers were the colleagues with whom trainees were familiar with, and thus some rapport had already been established. It could then be argued that this allowed for the alleviation of stress levels and anxiety to a certain extent.

Another commonly mentioned limitation of observations is potential bias and subjectivity (Creswell, 2014). In other words, in the context of the pilot study, the fact that observers were acquainted with their colleagues could possibly affect the quality of their peer feedback. As far as reflective writing is concerned, trainees could avoid disclosing certain details about their own performance, particularly the negative ones, or quite the contrary, be too self-critical (Black & Wiliam, 1998). Yet, it is important to stress that subjectivity seems an inherent element of qualitative research and certain steps can, and should, be taken to minimize it. In the current pilot study, the observers providing peer feedback were asked to apply and focus on the assessment criteria for the subject, which they were familiar with and which were used during prior peer assessments. What is more, they were instructed to provide such a constructive feedback that they themselves would wish to receive from their peers. Trainees engaged in reflective writing were asked to provide honest comments about their own performance, and were ensured that their reflections would only be shared with the teacher for the purpose of the study. In addition, "to balance out the subjective influences of individuals," investigator triangulation was applied (Flick, 2015, p. 218; Flick, 2018). This means that trainees obtained feedback from their peers and the teacher[2] as well as reflected on their own performance. This way, they were able to compare three types of feedback and also obtain a comprehensive perspective.

Finally, the quality of observation is considered to depend on the skill of the observer "to observe, document, and interpret what has been observed" (Kawulich, 2005, p. 6; Creswell, 2014), while the quality of self-evaluation—on

[2] Please note that the teacher assessment is not, however, the scope of this paper, but is a part of a larger study of the author of the paper.

the skill to reflect in detail. These aspects seem to be particularly true when they are not conducted by professional researchers, that is, in the context of classroom peer observation and self-evaluation. A viable solution to minimise this problem is to train students in providing constructive peer feedback and self-evaluation and ensure they become a constant element of the classes. Such practices were encouraged by the author of the study during simultaneous interpreting classes. However, as stated previously, it is vital to bear in mind that, students' knowledge and understanding of the assessment criteria for the course are inherent elements of successful training (Fowler, 2007; Su, 2019; Y. Lee, 2005; Z. Lee, 2015).

Analysis

The study places itself within the qualitative research paradigm and thus qualitative approaches were applied in the data analysis. All of the trainees' comments, from peer feedback as well as reflection, were coded (initial coding) according to a skill or behaviour they described. Next, a thematic analysis was conducted and codes were aggregated into five themes (Creswell, 2014). Lastly, there followed counting the number of occurrences of the codes and themes, that is, qualitative data transformation (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007) or "quantitizing" (Sandelowski, 2003; Sandelowski et al., 2009).

The themes, which corresponded to the assessment criteria categories, were: presentation and delivery, accuracy and fidelity, interpreting skills and strategies, interpersonal competence and non-verbal communication. One of the categories not mentioned by the trainees, yet listed in the assessment criteria for the subject, was cultural awareness. The first three categories are in line with Wu's (2010) interpreting categories for simultaneous interpreting. The final two categories included skills particularly essential for public service interpreting, that is, interpersonal competence and non-verbal communication (Toledano Buendia & Aguilera Avila, 2017; Van den Bogaerde et al., 2016). Each of the five categories comprised of the following subcategories:

– presentation and delivery: pronunciation, intonation, clear voice, pace/tempo, fluency, seriousness/composure, professional behaviour;
– accuracy and fidelity: content accuracy, omissions, additions, grammar (correctness), minor errors/ slips, terminology;
– interpreting skills and strategies: asking for clarification, asking for repetition, asking for explanation, comprehension, code switching, memory, focus and concentration, note taking, reaction/responsiveness, stress management;

– interpersonal competence: rapport/attitude towards participants, communication skills, decision making, trust, empathy/concern;
– non-verbal communication: eye contact, gestures, body language, facial expressions.

All trainees completed and submitted peer feedback and reflection. The great majority of trainees did not seem to experience difficulties with providing constructive peer feedback and overall a good quality of feedback can be reported. Peer feedback did not contain any "personal" or irrelevant comments and all trainees' comments were related to the actual performance of their peers. The majority of comments were "moderately elaborate" (see Table 1), that is, "specifying the problems and their locations, or illustrating the problems with examples" (Su, 2019, p. 181). There were only three instances when peer feedback seemed rather vague and "the least elaborate" (Su, 2019, p. 181) or similar comments were repeated for several students. An overall good quality of peer feedback could indicate that trainees are well aware of assessment criteria applied in public service interpreting classes and key concepts in public service interpreting (Fowler, 2007). The comments in reflective writing appeared natural, rather detailed and reflecting trainees' feelings immediately after their performance. The comments were also longer than those for peer feedback. This can be attributed to a greater amount of time devoted to writing them, which on average was 20 minutes, while in terms of peer feedback it was 6–7 minutes.

Table 1 contains examples of trainee interpreters' peer feedback and reflection. The symbol '-----' indicates that no comments were given. With regards to the language chosen, 30 out of 40 trainees (75%) chose English to provide their peer feedback and 38 out of 40 (95%) used English in their reflection. As stated previously, in both cases they were informed that either Polish or English was acceptable.

Given that the aim of the study was to observe whether trainee interpreters display tendency to be critical and report more negative than positive aspects of their own and their colleagues' performance, Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of positive and negative comments with respect to peer feedback and reflection. To understand what aspects of their own and their peers' performance trainee interpreters perceive as strengths and weaknesses, as well as explore possible discrepancies between peer feedback and reflection, the distribution of the five categories obtained in the qualitative analysis in the context of peer feedback and reflection is displayed in Figures 3 and 4.

Table 1

Examples of strengths and weaknesses from peer feedback (PF) and reflection (R)

Category	Positive (strengths)	Negative (weaknesses)
Presentation and delivery	(PF) She is calm and speaks clearly. Good pace and fluent. (PF) She can express emotions well. An expressive interpretation. (R) I believe it was a good interpretation, almost no repetitions, a smooth flow of conversation was maintained. (R) Quick reactions, there were no long pauses in my translation.	(PF) His voice was really monotonous. (PF) She was stuttering. (R) I had some problems with being serious. (R) Flow of speech. I got confused and there was an unnecessary pause in the conversation.
Accuracy and fidelity	(PF) She does not omit anything. Really close to the original. (PF) A really good knowledge of terminology (R) I didn't add anything, I was not trying to alter the message (R) I didn't have any problems with terminology. I was prepared.	(PF) Sometimes she does not translate short answers. (*trainee's underlining) (PF) His choice of vocabulary in Polish, e.g. when speaking to the patient he used "dehydracja" which would be too difficult to understand. (R) I lacked specialised vocabulary, I had to ask the doctor to explain and repeat many times. (R) The fact that he did not know one term caused serious communication problems.
Interpreting skills and strategies	(PF) He wasn't afraid to ask for repetition once – when he didn't hear something. (PF) Good that she asked for clarification and didn't try to make things up. (R) I was concentrated on my task, not on the fact that I feel stressed (R) I translated fluently, I had no problems with memory	(PF) She used omissions if she did not know the the terminology. (PF) She could take notes but she didn't. She missed some information because of that (R) I was stressed and I know that I had to start sentences a few times to make them sound natural in Polish and to make the conversation understandable for both sides. (R) Sometimes I couldn't understand what the doctor was saying.
Interpersonal	(PF) Shows interest in what's going on, creates the feeling of trust. (PF) She showed concern about the situation, emotions. (R) I think my attitude towards people - situation was sad (a death of a family member), so I tried to show empathy. (R) I have no problems concerning interpersonal skills. I like working with people (natural). It would lead to positive perception of the interpreter.	(PF) ---------- (PF) ---------- (R) Doesn't always know how to cope with difficult situation (R) ----------
Non-verbal communication	(PF) Really good eye contact. (PF) He smiled and was very polite. (R) I had a good eye contact with both a nurse and a patient. (R) She kept eye contact with both parties.	(PF) A really poor eye contact which makes the whole situation overly formal. (PF) He was using a lot of hand gestures. (R) Too many facial expressions. (R) I did not look at the other participants often.

Results and Discussion

Data comparing the distribution of positive (strengths) and negative (weaknesses) aspects of trainee interpreters' performance by means of reflection and peer feedback is displayed in Figure 2. As can be seen from the figure, it is apparent that these two methods of providing feedback yielded significantly different results.

As far as reflection is concerned, there was a tendency among trainee interpreters for reporting more negative (58%) rather than positive aspects of their performance, which is in line with the findings of Bartłomiejczyk (2007, 2009) who, in her study on simultaneous interpreting, also noted a negative trend in students' self-assessment (56.2%). However, Z. Lee (2015) in her study of student logbooks as a form of reflective practice, reported approximately equal numbers of segments coded for positive performance and negative performance. The positive ones accounted for 757 of all 1655 segments coded (about 45%), while the negative ones for 792 (about 47%). This differs to some extent from the findings presented here.

On the contrary, a positive trend can be observed within peer feedback. The majority of trainee interpreters identified more strengths (62%) than weaknesses (38%) in their colleagues' performance. These results are in contradiction to Bartłomiejczyk (2009) who reported a negative trend in the case of peer feedback (57.7%). The tendency for being critical when providing peer feedback has also been mentioned by Fowler (2007, p. 256), who claims that "there is always the temptation for students to focus on the negative, rather than the positive, aspects of an interpreter's production." Such results would suggest that public service interpreting trainees display a tendency to be less critical of their colleagues than conference interpreting trainees (Bartłomiejczyk, 2009), while appear to be more self-critical.

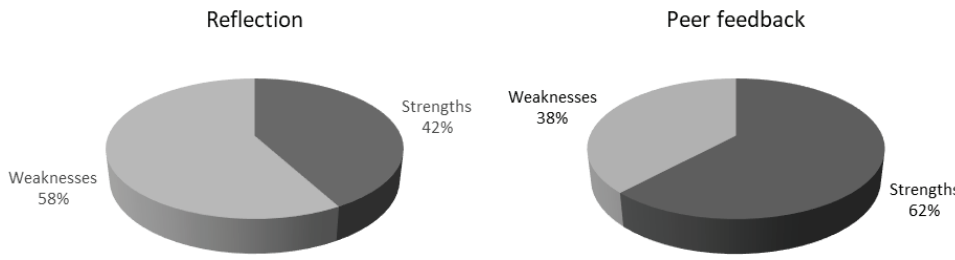

Figure 2. Positive (strengths) and negative (weaknesses) aspects of trainee interpreters' performance from reflection and peer feedback

The quantitative data illustrating the distribution of the five categories obtained in the qualitative thematic analysis in the context of peer feedback and reflection is presented in Figures 3 and 4. The former figure presents positive aspects (strengths) of trainee interpreters' performance, while the latter negative ones (weaknesses).

The analysis of the responses revealed that trainee interpreters tend to pay attention to multiple aspects of the interpreter's behaviour and appear to be aware of the complexity of the public interpreter's role in the interaction. This was reflected in their numerous and diverse comments, which are distributed across almost all of the categories, as is demonstrated in Figures 3 and 4 (apart from one noticeable exception in the case of reflection, where none of the trainees focused on interpersonal competence while reflecting on their own weaknesses). Such findings indicate that trainees consider paralinguistic aspects an integral component of public service interpreting apart from the linguistic ones – the most significant ones for interpreters. This in turn, would imply that some of them recognise a public service interpreter as a visible agent (Angelelli, 2004) and co-participant in the interaction (Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998) with a dynamic "role-space" (Llewelyn-Jones, & Lee, 2014), and not merely a conduit or a channel. The multifaceted character of the comments also implies a diversified type of feedback received by the trainees from the teacher, an aspect of teacher feedback suggested by Bartłomiejczyk (2007).

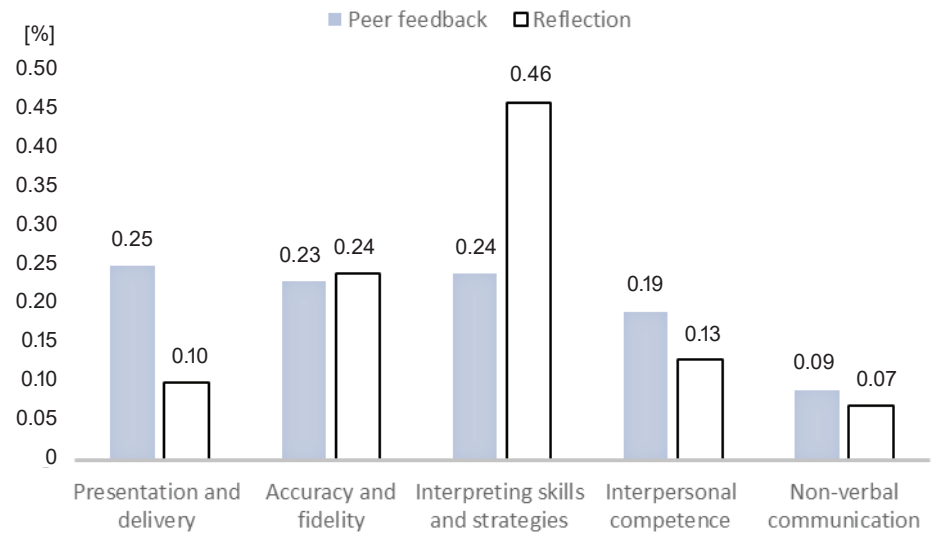

Figure 3. The distribution of the five categories (strengths)

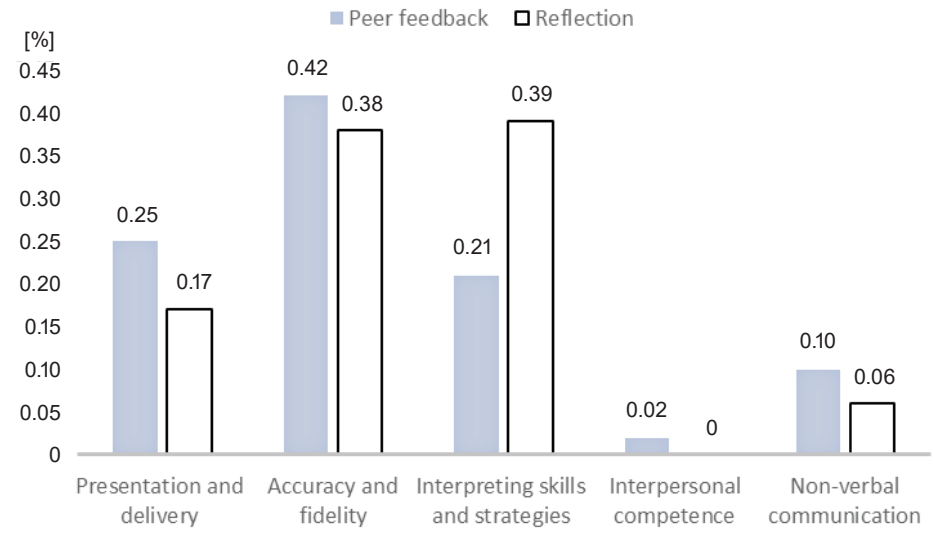

Figure 4. The distribution of the five categories (weaknesses)

The results of the study show that there are discrepancies between peer feedback and reflection in the distribution of the categories in terms of positive aspects (strengths) and negative aspects (weakness) of the trainee interpreters' performance. First, positive aspects of both peer feedback and reflection will be commented upon, followed by the negative ones.

When it comes to strengths (Figure 3), in the case of peer feedback the comments are distributed evenly among the first three categories, that is, presentation and delivery (25%), interpreting skills and strategies (24%) and accuracy and fidelity (23%). However, there is a noticeable difference with regards to the first two categories within reflection. There are almost half as many comments related to presentation and delivery (10%), yet it yielded a higher score than in the study conducted by Bartłomiejczyk (2009) where it scored merely 4.5%. This indicates that public service interpreting trainees tend to pay slightly more attention to their own presentation and delivery than conference interpreting trainees (simultaneous interpreting). This could be attributed to the fact that they are not seated in the booth, but are visible to the primary participants, thus are aware of the fact that anything they do can be immediately noticed by them.

Nearly half of the total comments from reflection focused on interpreting skills and strategies (46%), which is almost double in comparison with peer feedback. This was in some part due to the fact that stress management (15%) was one of the subcategories, and it is widely known that interpreting is considered a highly stressful activity (Adams, 2017; Toledano Buendia, & Aguilera Avila, 2017). It is also worth noting that memory, focus, and concentration con-

stituted 11% of the comments on interpreting skills and strategies. Appropriate stress management and good memory are vital skills for interpreters, and without the second one in particular, interpretation would hardly be possible. This implies that trainee interpreters recognise the importance of these skills in their work and almost a quarter feel confident about them.

The remaining two categories, that is, interpersonal competence and non-verbal communication produced quite similar results, with the overall number of responses being slightly higher for peer feedback than reflection in both categories. It is especially worth noting that interpersonal competence yielded a relatively high score, especially within peer feedback (19%). Trainee interpreters considered it almost as fundamental as presentation and delivery, accuracy and fidelity and interpreting skills and strategies, that is, the categories with the highest scores. Such results point to the trainees' greater awareness of the importance of interpersonal skills in public service interpreting (Toledano Buendia & Aguilera Avila, 2017; Van den Bogaerde et al., 2016). Finally, least attention was devoted to non-verbal communication in both peer feedback (9%) and reflection (7%). A similar trend has also been noted in terms of weaknesses. It is rather surprising particularly when it comes to peer feedback, where trainees who provide it become the observers and thus should be able to recognise whether non-verbal behaviour was displayed appropriately or not, and comment on it in a greater detail.

As regards weaknesses (Figure 4), the dominant category within peer feedback was accuracy and fidelity (42%), which yielded the second highest score (38%) in the case of reflection. The tendency for the trainee interpreters to be rather critical and negative especially when reflecting on accuracy and fidelity corroborates the findings of Bartłomiejczyk (2009), who also noted a negative trend within this category in students' self-assessment. In the study by Hartley et al. (2003, p. 10) accuracy was the second most reported aspect by professional interpreters who provided feedback for trainees (the first category was coherence, that is, "making sense, no contradictions"). Such a strong focus on accuracy and fidelity in the current pilot study could be attributed to the fact that these two are considered most important aspects for interpreters whose task, first and foremost, is to provide faithful and accurate translation. What is more, the need for accuracy and fidelity seems particularly crucial in public service interpreting, where the interpreter's translation choices may have severe legal consequences, result in wrongful convictions, withstand scrutiny in court or impact on patient's health or even life, which trainee interpreters seem to be quite aware of.

The dominant category within reflection was interpreting skills and strategies (39%). As pointed out previously in the case of strengths, this is partly due to the fact that stress management (24%) was one of the subcategories. The results indicate that trainee interpreters consider themselves more stressed or

nervous than they appear in the eyes of their peers (only 10% in the case of peer feedback). The difference between peer feedback and reflection implies that trainees are either able to manage stress quite well without fully realizing it, or that it takes the form of facilitative rather than debilitative anxiety (Alpert & Haber, 1960) and thus becomes less noticeable for their peers.

Presentation and delivery received slightly more attention within peer feedback (25%) than reflection (17%). A similar trend was also reported for strengths. Such results are partly consistent with Bartłomiejczyk (2009), who noted significantly more negative comments with regards to peer feedback (26.6%) as opposed to self-assessment (2%). The results of the study concerning the category of presentation and delivery are, however, contrary to the studies by Hartley et al. (2003) and Z. Lee (2015), in which it was rated as the most dominant category in students' self-assessment. Yet, relatively small differences between peer feedback (25%) and reflection (17%) indicate that, quite surprisingly, trainee interpreters themselves were to a certain extent able to recall and reflect on negative aspects of their own performance, not only their peers – the observers.

It is worth noting that significantly less attention has been devoted to non-verbal communication in both peer feedback (10%) and reflection (6%). Low scores for non-verbal communication are similar both for strengths and weaknesses. This finding partly accords with that of Z. Lee (2015), who reported that non-verbal behaviour was mentioned least in her students' consecutive interpreting self-assessment and accounted merely for 9 of all 1655 segments coded. The results from the study indicate that greater awareness needs to be fostered with regards to non-verbal communication and its importance in public service interpreting (Krystallidou, 2017).

Conversely to the data reporting on strengths (Figure 3), interpersonal competence received least attention among trainee interpreters. This, however, could be attributed to the fact that trainee interpreters believed interpersonal competence was displayed appropriately due to the fact that they were familiar with the trainees acting as primary participants in the role plays, and consequently, for example, rapport and trust had already been established. Thus, there was perhaps no need for negative peer feedback or reflection.

Lastly, it is important to note that none of the trainees mentioned cultural awareness skills both in peer feedback and reflection, which were discussed during the course as one of the key competencies for public service interpreters. A highly plausible explanation for this might be that all participants in the role plays were from the same culture, and therefore there were no cultural differences or misunderstandings to be commented upon.

Concluding Remarks

The intent of the pilot study was to examine interpreting quality and investigate differences between peer feedback and self-assessment (reflection) in terms of positive aspects (strengths) and negative aspects (weaknesses) of trainee interpreters' performance in public service interpreter training. The study has shown that there are significant discrepancies between peer-feedback and self-assessment (reflection) and that overall more negative aspects are reported in reflection than in peer feedback. This reflects students' tendency for self-criticism. Thus, it seems reasonable to complement reflective practice with peer feedback, which as the results of the study suggest, tends to be positive overall. In this way, it is likely that a balanced student-conducted feedback could be achieved, thanks to which students might be able to identify some positive aspects of their performance (however small they may be), and not merely weaknesses. Consequently, a more positive attitude and motivation for learning can be fostered.

The findings suggest that both peer feedback and reflection can be considered valuable tools for public service interpreting training. Firstly, it is demonstrated by numerous and diverse comments provided by trainee interpreters focusing on different aspects of the public service interpreter's skills and behaviour, not merely those of a linguistic nature. This would suggest that trainees understand the assessment criteria (Fowler, 2007; Su, 2019; Y. Lee, 2005; Z. Lee, 2015) and are aware of crucial aspects of the public service interpreter's behaviour, and are able to apply them to their own learning. However, as stated before, comments from peer feedback tended to be less elaborate than those in reflective writings. To address this issue, extra training sessions on how to provide effective and more elaborate feedback should be considered in a future study. What is more, the study has shown that peer feedback seems to be particularly beneficial when evaluating interpersonal and non-verbal communication since by acting as observers of the situation, peers are much more likely to notice those aspects. As far as reflective practice is concerned, it would also be possible for trainees to reflect on their own interpersonal and non-verbal communication skills in greater detail provided their performances were video recorded. However, this was not the case in this study and should be considered in further research. When it comes to drawing trainees' attention to the importance of cultural awareness, to which none was drawn both in peer feedback and reflection, a rather effective solution might be to engage some minority languages speakers, such as Erasmus exchange students, as one of the primary participants in the role plays. This may be an enriching experience especially as regards trainees' cultural awareness skills, and also non-verbal behaviour which tends to differ from one culture to another.

Applying both types of student-conducted feedback in the public service interpreting course was a positive experience both for trainees and the teacher, and is very likely to become a permanent feature of the course. There was no formal measurement of trainees' satisfaction, which was performed in Y. Lee's (2005) and Wang and Han's (2013) study. However, in an informal whole-class discussion during a feedback session, trainees considered the experience positive and useful, despite it being time consuming. The measurement of trainees' satisfaction will be taken into account in a further study. Some trainees' comments can be found below:

TI1: It was good to write it down because I did not realise all the things. (about reflection)
TI2: I had a general idea that I had problems with this and this but when I started writing it and analysing it question by question, I found out that I had overall more pros and cons than I realised at the beginning. (about reflection)
TI2: If we want to improve we should do such things, to ask some questions to ourselves. This is quite helpful, but takes time. (about reflection)
TI3: When peers evaluate us, it helps to realise some mistakes and some things that they as a person, who is not a part of the situation, see, how they can actually see things. (about peer feedback)
TI4: It was good to get feedback from each possible side. However, it took some time.

From the perspective of the teacher, the application of both types of student-conducted feedback was also a positive experience. It allowed trainees to be actively involved in the learning process, recognise the value of their own work, and most importantly obtain feedback from different perspectives, which was also noted by Fowler (2007). Reflective practice seemed to contribute to their analytical, critical thinking and problem-solving skills and made trainees aware why it is vital to reflect on their own performance. It was visible that the majority of trainees were indeed engaging with it and did not treat it as a "tick off the box" activity. Lastly, it was also hoped that sharing similar difficulties and weaknesses may motivate trainees and build their self-confidence since they were able to realise that their peers also experienced similar problems during their interpretation. However, it is argued that peer feedback and reflective practice should be complemented with teacher feedback to allow students to obtain multidimensional and even more comprehensive perspective. Previous research shows that "students value various types of feedback and appreciate these feedback experiences" (Y. Lee, 2016, p. 166). The combination of student-

conducted and teacher feedback is also essential to minimize subjectivity of student-conducted feedback.

The findings in this pilot study are subject to certain limitations. Video recording was not used during simulated role plays. As stated previously, it was decided not to include it in order not to increase students' stress, the level of which, as reported in some reflections, seemed already quite high. In a further study, however, video recording shall be taken into account due to its pedagogical value. As suggested by Coffey (2014, p. 86), video recording can be considered "a means by which a teaching episode can be captured more permanently to be used as a point of reference for reflection" and also "the best way of encouraging self-awareness and critical thinking in the student" (Fowler, 2007, p. 258). However, a voluntary participation in the study will be suggested, since it is likely that some students may not wish to be video recorded.

Next, in order to allow for a detailed reflection and to allow more time for completing it, trainees may be asked to complete their reflective writing the same day at home while watching the recordings. To obtain a more complete account from peer feedback, apart from describing strengths and weaknesses of their colleagues, trainees could also be asked to evaluate them, that is, provide possible reasons of their peers' behaviour and offer solutions. Such practice was advocated in Su's study (2019) on peer review in simultaneous interpreting training. This would correspond to the evaluation stage in Gibbs' reflective cycle (Gibbs, 1988) applied in the reflection.

Finally, to learn about trainees' experiences of student-conducted feedback and enable them to voice their opinion of their role as "a feedback giver and receiver" (Wang & Han, 2013), a questionnaire should be administered and/or qualitative interviews conducted, as suggested by Y. Lee (2005). Such feedback on feedback will allow the teacher to obtain a more comprehensive perspective on the usefulness of student-generated feedback as "it is necessary for teachers and students *to engage* in dialogue on feedback and make optimal use of it" (Lee, 2018, p. 167, emphasis added K. H.).

The need for a multidimensional view of feedback seems unquestionable due to its benefits, as illustrated by previous research and the current pilot study. Incorporating multidimensional feedback into public service interpreter training can promote "a classroom culture of questioning and deep thinking, in which pupils learn from shared discussions with teachers and peers" (Black & Wiliam, 1998, p. 9). Trainee interpreters need to be able to critically reflect on their own performance, respond and act on feedback received from their clients when they become professional interpreters. This, however, can only be achieved through their active participation in the learning process and experience of student-conducted feedback during their training.

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Katarzyna Holewik

Peer-Evaluation und Selbstevaluation in der Didaktik des Gerichts- und Behördendolmetschen

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel soll die Schlüsselrolle der Evaluation durch Studierende, d.h. der Selbstevaluation (reflective practice) und der Peer-Evaluation (peer feedback) in der Didaktik des Dolmetschens hervorheben. Als Vorteile der Selbst- und Peer-Evaluation im didaktischen Prozess kann Folgendes genannt werden: Förderung des kooperativen Lernens, Einbeziehung und Aktivierung der Studierenden, Entwicklung kritischer und analytischer Denkfähigkeiten sowie Erhöhung der Autonomie und Verantwortung der Studierenden. Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, die Ergebnisse einer Pilotstudie zur Wahrnehmung der eigenen und fremden Übersetzung im Hinblick auf die Übersetzungsqualität vorzustellen, sowie die Stärken und Schwächen der Übersetzung vergleichend zu analysieren, auf die die Studierenden mittels der Selbstevaluation (reflective practice) und der Peer-Evaluation (peer feedback) verwiesen haben. Die Untersuchung wurde unter Studierenden der englischen Philologie (Fachrichtung: Übersetzungswissenschaften) im Unterricht im Gerichts- und Behördendolmetschen durchgeführt. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass es signifikante Unterschiede zwischen der eigenen Evaluation der Übersetzung und der Peer-Evaluation gibt. Im Fall der Selbstevaluation herrschen negative Urteile vor, wodurch eine Tendenz der Studierenden zur Selbstkritik zu beobachten ist.

Schlüsselwörter: Didaktik des Dolmetschens, Selbstevaluation, Peer-Evaluation, Gerichts- und Behördendolmetschen, Schulung von Dolmetschern

Reviews

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Annick De Houwer and Lourdes Ortega (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingualism* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, ISBN 978-1-107-17921-9, 664 pages

The Cambridge Handbook of Bilingualism, edited by Annick De Houwer and Lourdes Ortega, is a welcome recent addition to the renowned series of Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics. The volume, as the editors state in the *Introduction*, presents a broad spectrum of research focusing on individual bilingualism in a lifespan perspective. More specifically, the editors' intention in their selection of topics is to offer a developmentally oriented and socially contextualized perspective on the learning, use, and unlearning of more than one language or language variety.

The volume consists of 27 chapters divided into six parts, a list of references, a language index, an index of place names and a subject index. The volume is dedicated to the memory of Jules Ronjat, a pioneer in bilingualism research, and Richard Schmidt, a second language researcher. This, together with the professional background of the editors, as well as the selection of authors, emphasizes the extent to which the perspectives of bilingualism and second language acquisition research are interconnected and makes the volume interesting and relevant for researchers in both fields.

In the Introduction, subtitled Learning, Using and Understanding More than One Language (pp. 1–12), the editors present their perspective on bilingualism. Their approach to bilingualism is inclusive, that is, it includes all languages and language varieties, learned in instructed contexts or informally acquired, that an individual can at least understand to a minimal degree in whatever modality (spoken, written or signed), regardless of the precise number. It is developmentally oriented, by which they mean that bilingualism is a lifetime experience that involves the learning, use, maintenance, and unlearning of

languages at different stages. This approach is also socially contextualized, as it demonstrates how social contexts and societal language ideologies affect bilingual outcomes. Last, but not least, it is dynamic and multidimensional as it provides insights from multiple disciplinary perspectives.

Part I, Bilingual Learning and Use at Five Stages of Life, comprising five chapters, discusses aspects of bilingual development and use at different life stages. In chapter 1, Becoming Bilingual in Early Childhood (pp. 15–35), Serratrice discusses bilingual language development in early childhood, that is, since birth until the age of six. The chapter traces bilingual development from the beginnings of speech discrimination, focusing next on vocabulary acquisition and grammatical development. The discussion in this chapter includes the development of language-specific gestures and touches upon the issue of language differentiation. Chapter 2, Bilingualism from Childhood through Adolescence (pp. 36–58), by Bigelow and Collins, focuses on school-age bilingualism, children and youth in dual language contexts. The chapter carefully analyzes the situation of migrant children learning a majority language at school, language majority children becoming bilingual in immersion contexts, language rights and language education of speakers of minority, heritage and indigenous languages, as well as language use in the community and digital spaces. Chapter 3, Young Bilingual Adults (pp. 59–75) by Gonçalves, is focused on global hybrids, that is, young mobile adults in a range of contexts, underscoring the fact of global mobility in this generation. In chapter 4, Bilingualism in Midlife (pp. 76–100), Singleton and Pfenninger discuss the maintenance of two languages into adulthood, heritage languages, and bimodal bilingualism. The main focus of the chapter, however, is the role of age of acquisition and differences between child and adult second language acquisition. In this context, they include a detailed discussion of evidence of successful adult L2 learning of indigenous and regional languages, successful adult foreign language learning and successful learning by cultural and economic migrants. The last chapter in this part, Language and Older Bilinguals (pp. 101–115) by Goral, addresses a number of issues related to age-related changes in language use and processing as well as the processes of second language learning and first language loss in healthy older bilingual adults.

Part II, The Larger Contexts of Bilingualism, consisting of four chapters, elucidates the role of societal language ideologies and contexts. In chapter 6, Ideologies of Language, Bilingualism, and Monolingualism (pp. 119–134), Fuller defines language ideologies as "ideas about language structure and use that index political and economic interests of individuals and the social groups and nations to which they belong" (p. 119). Further on, she discusses monoglossic, standard, and pluralistic ideologies, noting how dominant language ideologies shape language practices and policies. In chapter 7, Bilingualism and the Law (pp. 135–151), Angermeyer discusses various aspects

of bilingual legal-lay communication, emphasizing how language ideologies and, in particular, implicit assumptions made about language, bilingualism, and translation, manifest in the legal sphere. In chapter 8 (pp. 152–172), Lo Bianco discusses Language Planning and Policies for Bilingualism, mainly in the Australian context, demonstrating that the practices of language policy making in education are affected by policy makers' knowledge about bilingualism and arguing for rights-based language education that fosters proficiency bilingualism for all children. The final chapter in Part II, The Economics of Bilingualism (pp. 173–190) by Grin, presents research in the emerging field of economics of language, providing evidence for the complex link between individual and collective bi- and multilingualism and economic (dis)advantages, and argues that "there are no economic reasons for advocating linguistic uniformity over linguistic diversity" (p. 187).

Part III, Contexts for Bilingual Learning and Unlearning, consisting of five chapters, provides more in-depth insights into some typical routes into bilingualism. Chapter 10, The Nature of Exposure and Input in Early Bilingualism (pp. 193–212), while focusing on bilingual children, discusses important distinctions relevant to researchers in various fields of second language acquisition and bilingualism research, relating to the quality and quantity of input and different ways of measuring the length and intensity of exposure. In chapter 11, Becoming Bilingual through Additive Immersive Programs (pp. 213—232), Juan-Garau and Lyster discuss various types of bilingual education programs, that is, various types of immersion programs, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), and Study Abroad (SA) in terms of learning outcomes and the role of affective factors. In chapter 8, Foreign Language Learning from Early Childhood to Young Adulthood (pp. 233–249), Muñoz and Spada discuss a range of issues related to second language acquisition in instructed contexts, beginning with focus on meaning and form as optimal FL instruction, through optimizing input, to ways of enhancing input in classroom instruction. A separate section is devoted to very young learners. Chapter 13, Supporting Bilingualism in Adult First-Generation Migrants (pp. 250–266) by Simpson, starts with a presentation of the language learning contexts of bilingual migrants and then discusses policy and pedagogical support for the migrant adult language learners. The final chapter in this part, Unlearning and Relearning of Languages from Childhood to Later Adulthood (pp. 267–285) by Keijzer and de Bot focuses on L1 maintenance and attrition in children and adults, and relearning the L1 by international adoptees and heritage language speakers.

Part IV, The Dynamics of Bilingualism across the Lifespan, contains four chapters with varying themes relating to language acquisition and use. Chapter 15, The Measurement of Bilingual Abilities by Treffers-Daller (pp. 289–306), is another methodological chapter, after Meir and Armon-Lotem, focusing on

issues fundamental to bilingualism research. Concerned with measurement, Treffers-Daller first attempts to define bilingual abilities, and then discusses selected approaches to measuring vocabulary and syntactic abilities in two languages. The chapter by Biedroń and Birdsong, Highly Proficient and Gifted Bilinguals (pp. 307—323), deals with the question of talent in language learning and focuses on polyglots and hyperpolyglots, savants, and young interpreters. The next chapter by De Houwer, Language Choice in Bilingual Interaction (pp. 324–347), provides an exhaustive overview of research on language choice in real-time, face-to-face dyadic interactions. Chapter 18, First Language Attrition: From Bilingual to Monolingual Proficiency? (pp. 349–365) by Köpke, is a comprehensive review of research on language attrition with a clear focus on methodology of attrition research.

Part V, Bilingualism Research across Disciplines, containing five chapters, was meant by the volume editors to provides insights from disciplines usually not associated with bilingualism research, which was a fairly difficult task, as the other parts contain numerous chapters from disciplines other than linguistics or psychology. The first chapter in this part, "Bilingualism and Clinical Linguistics" (pp. 369—389) by Hammer and Edmonds, provides an overview of characteristics and assessment of language deficits in typical disorders in bilingual children and adults, as well as intervention programs. In chapter 20, Doing and Undoing Bilingualism in Education (pp. 390–407), García and Tupas, beginning their discussion with Fishman's (1977) distinction between elite and folk bilingualism, provide an overview of educational programs and practices that either foster bilingualism or promote monolingualism in bilingual minority students, eventually making a case for translanguaging pedagogies for minoritized learners. In the next chapter, Second Language Acquisition as a Road to Bilingualism (pp. 408–434), Ortega provides an overview of second language acquisition research in the context of bilingualism studies with a special emphasis on crosslinguistic influence. This is followed by a discussion of success in adult L2 learning, L2 learning in the context of migration and in academic contexts. The last chapter in this part, Bilingualism in Neurolinguistics: From Dynamic to Static Approaches (pp. 466–479) by Hernandez, provides an overview of neurolinguistic findings on bilingualism, including a discussion of the most recent models of bilingual brain representation.

Part VI of the volume, Bilingual Connections, comprises four chapters and links to related research areas. The first chapter in this part, Bilingualism and Sign Language Research (pp. 483–509) by Tang and Sze, provides a detailed review of bimodal bilingualism research. Chapter 25, Bilingualism and Bidialectalism (pp. 510–523) by Chevrot and Ghimenton, provides a sociolinguistic, variationist account. Chapter 26, Bilingualism and Language Contact (pp. 524–543) by Aalberse and Muysken introduces the related perspective of contact linguistics. The final chapter, Bilingualism and Multilingualism

(pp. 544–560) by Quay and Montanari, espouses the perspective of those multilingualism researchers who emphasize the difference between bilingualism and multilingualism.

Chapter 22 in Part V, Bilingualism in Cognitive Science: The Characteristics and Consequences of Bilingual Language Control (pp. 435–465) by Paap, merits a separate discussion. The chapter aims to provide a concise overview of psycholinguistic research on bilingualism. The discussion in this chapter begins with an overview of research and models of bilingual lexical processing, psycholinguistic language and task switching studies. The final sections discuss autobiographical memories, research on emotions and moral judgements. These accounts are rather uncontroversial. However, in sections 3 and 4 Paap decides to take an issue with the executive function and linguistic relativity research respectively. While Paap is well-known among bilingualism researchers for his stance on the bilingual executive function advantage hypothesis (e.g., Paap & Greenberg, 2013), the debate seems far from being over, and excluding other viewpoints on the contentious issue is a significant oversight on the part of the volume editors. While discussing linguistic relativity, on the other hand, Paap reviews a number of behavioral experiments conducted by Athanasopoulos, overlooking the event-related potentials study by Thierry, Athanasopoulos, Wiggett, Dering, and Kuipers (2009) on categorical perception of color, which leads him to the mistaken conclusion that "language affects post-perceptual judgements" (p. 459) but not pre-attentional perception. This view is simply untenable in light of available empirical evidence (Mo, Xu, Kay, & Tan, 2011; Maier, Glage, Hohlfeld, & Abdel Rahman, 2014; cf. Ewert, 2016 for a discussion of bilingual categorical perception) and perpetuates another myth in a field of study that already abounds in them.

All in all, the volume provides a balanced overview of the numerous complementary perspectives on the growing interdisciplinary field of bilingualism research. The only field that seems to have been somewhat neglected by the editors is psycholinguistic research on bilingual language processing, where several complementary perspectives could have been presented instead of one.

By presenting a vast scope of bilingualism research, the volume provides a very welcome introduction to the diverse research areas for bilingualism researchers as well as other language professionals. The excellent editorship makes all the chapters readable to a non-specialist. It is also easy to see how the different chapters interconnect, giving evidence that the multidisciplinary bilingualism research is a field of study in its own right.

The volume also demonstrates the close interconnection between bilingualism and second language acquisition research. The authors of numerous chapters: Singleton, Lyster, de Bot, Treffers-Daller, Muñoz, Ortega, Biedroń, Birdsong or Köpke, are well-known to second language researchers, while Part III of the volume is especially relevant for language teachers.

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Dorota Werbińska, *The Formation of Language Teacher Identity. A Phenomenographic-Narrative Study* Słupsk: Wydawnictwo Akademii Pomorskiej, 2017, ISBN 978-83-7467-274-0, 526 pp.

Language teaching is a challenging occupation, not only because it requires a skilled language competence, but also because it needs constant interaction with other human beings and needs instant decision making, often under the pressure. It takes many years of experience, reflectivity as well as a proactive stance to develop full professionalism in teaching: from the very moment of making a decision to taking it up, through the training process, until reaching autonomy in the mature years. Affiliation to the profession appears to be a precondition to success at all stages of teacher development. The relatively recent book of Dorota Werbińska titled *The Formation of Language Teacher Identity. A Phenomenographic-Narrative Study* (2017) puts into scrutiny the initial steps of learning to become the foreign language educator. By qualitatively investigating numerous accounts of teachers-to-be, she manages to propose a synthetic framework for developing language teacher identity. This together with insightful narratives of the emergence of teacher knowledge constitute the greatest assets of the book.

This is a bulky volume, consisting of 526 pages organized into six chapters and complemented with an extensive reference list and eight appendices. Yet, the book has a very clear structure. The first chapter synthetically discusses various approaches to describing the concept of professional identity, such as existentialist, poststructuralist, narrative, and discursive as well as its conceptualizations among various researchers, for example, Wenger's (1998) notion of the communities of practice, Benson et al.'s (2013) facets of identity, or Pennington's (2015) frames of teacher identity, among others. The critical overview of these theories serves the author as a springboard for constructing her own model

of teacher identity in chapter 2. Her model, named 3 ALTIF model (i.e., 3A Language Teacher Identity Framework), is the basis for presenting the overview of current research on language teacher identity, both globally and locally, that is, in Poland as well as for investigating her own empirical data in chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 4 describes the research methodology, also characterizing the adopted perspective as a phenomenological and narrative study.

The professional identity model of a foreign language teacher proposed in chapter 2 describes the propensities a person deciding to become a language teacher should show. They are referred to as the 3 As in the framework, that is, affiliation, attachment, and autonomy. *Affiliation* to the teaching profession encompasses the sense of belonging to the profession and motives for its choice. *Attachment* to the teaching profession denotes preferences and beliefs about teaching. Teacher *autonomy* is characterized by such qualities as agency, reflectiveness, and resilience of the teacher, which allow him/her to make independent and informed decisions, regardless of the imposed roles in the education system. In addition to these components, the proposed teacher identity model has been enriched with two other concepts: *discontinuity* introduced by English (2013) and analogously the term *continuity* introduced by the author herself. These terms mean negative experiences encountered by people on their way of becoming a teacher, or conversely, expectations that the experience of becoming a teacher will run smoothly and without any disturbance respectively.

It is within this model that the extensive amount of qualitative data is analyzed in chapters 5 and 6. The narratives have been obtained from the pre-service teachers, mentors as well as the researcher herself by means of such elicitation tasks as written accounts, metaphors, diary entries, interviews, and field notes. The obtained amount of data seems to have been overwhelming, and yet the researcher managed to identify the recurring motives and topics, and finally organize them within broader categories of the 3 ALTIF model.

I have a high opinion of Werbińska's book. First of all, this is the first comprehensive study in Poland which deals with the professional identity of a foreign language teacher (and not, a much more widely studied identity of language learners). The overview of literature on the subject covers the most recent research carried out on language teacher identity after the year 2000 in various contexts globally (see chapter 3.2.). Secondly, the author should be appreciated for dealing with a huge amount of empirical data. The monograph primarily relies on qualitative research, conducted at several times and in several different groups. The empirical material consists of hundreds of recordings of interviews, narratives, observation sheets, and metaphors. Organizing them, identifying the main threads, and then interpreting them must have required a lot of effort and deep knowledge of the topic.

It is hard to find any drawbacks in this book, except for the fact that the huge amount of qualitative data may be overwhelming for a non-expert reader. Fortunately, Werbińska has managed to skillfully group and categorize the narratives under topical headings. Additionally, summative tables of key facts, methods, research strands, etc. help to orient the reader in this extensive text. My other criticism of the work could relate to the fact that the author proposed the 3 ALTIF model *a priori*, that is, before presenting empirical data, as if assuming in advance that she would find evidence for its verification. To my mind, the formulation of the model should rather result from the previously presented analysis of the collected data. It would be also advisable to present quantitative analyses of the data, for example, of frequency and types of collected metaphors, as it would allow to illustrate some general tendencies in a more objective way. I suspect, however, that the researcher developed the aforementioned model in the course of data analysis and intentionally presented it before revealing the research results so as to enable readers to follow the line of argument and interpret the data.

To conclude, the aforementioned monograph is of great importance, both for researchers and for teacher educators, especially in the era of an ongoing discussion on reforming teacher education and diminishing interest in the teaching occupation. Here I totally agree with the author's conclusions highlighted in the summary: first of all, motives for taking up teaching studies among pre-service trainees should be scrutinized. Additionally, candidates for the profession should be given more support through the mentoring system, both in the course of the study and in the first year of practicing the profession. All in all, it has to be publicized that developing professional teacher identity requires time and considerable investments of human and financial capital.

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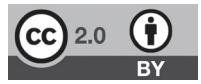

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