

The background of the cover is a close-up photograph of several interlocking metal gears. The gears are heavily rusted, with a range of brown and orange tones. The lighting is dramatic, highlighting the textures of the metal and the sharp edges of the gear teeth. The overall composition is centered and symmetrical, with the text overlaid on the upper half.

English
Language
Learners'
Socially Constructed
Motives and
Interactional
Moves

THOMAS A. WILLIAMS

English Language Learners' Socially Constructed Motives and Interactional Moves

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By

Thomas A. Williams

Cambridge
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To my dearest Nusika

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACT	Adaptive Control Theory
BALLI	Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory
CALL	computer-assisted language learning
CBI	content-based instruction
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CLT	communicative language teaching
EAP	English for academic purposes
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELT	English language teaching
ESL	English as a second language
FonF	focus on form
FL	foreign language
FTD	foreigner talk discourse
ICT	information and communication technology
IEP	intensive English programme
L1	first language
L2	second language
LRE	language-related episode
M	mean
N	number (of participants)
NNS	non-native speaker
NS	native speaker
PPP	present, practise and produce
RQ	research question
SCT	sociocultural theory of mind
SD	standard deviation
SLA	second language acquisition
TBLT	task-based language learning and teaching
UG	universal grammar
ZPD	zone of proximal development

CHAPTER ONE

WHY THIS? WHY NOW?

The research reported in this book has set out to ascertain the socioculturally determined motives and interactional moves arguably successful English language learners bring to bear in a task-based classroom at a Hungarian university. Specifically, in a series of four related parts of an overall study, the book seeks to answer the following six research questions (RQ):

- RQ1:** What is the view and experience of these learners as regards English (and other foreign) language learning in Hungary?
- RQ2:** How does their view and experience inform their attitude to the task-based language learning and teaching (TBLT) paradigm?
- RQ3:** In what ways do these learners contribute to the implementation of speaking tasks in the classroom?
- RQ4:** In what ways do these learners collaborate in interaction?
- RQ5:** To what extent and why does learner interaction actually break down, as generally assumed, for meaning negotiation?
- RQ6:** To the extent that negotiation for meaning is uncommon in this context, what might explain this phenomenon?

The data for the study was produced by upper-intermediate to advanced university students in a Bachelor's programme in English and American Studies at the University of Szeged in southern Hungary. In a classroom-based project with the teacher as researcher, 57 learner-participants engaged in standard task-based speaking tasks (drawn from Ur, 1981) in dyads as a regular classroom activity. The speaking data was recorded on the students' own mobiles and the audio files forwarded to the teacher-researcher. The data was analysed for: (1) various forms of (a) *meaning negotiation* (confirmation checks etc.) (Long, 1981, 1996), in which the interaction breaks down, and (b) *constructivist moves*, in which speakers collaborate (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987) to produce meaning and form; and (2) *learner idiosyncrasies* (Slimani, 1992) in task performance. (The speaking data can be found in Appendix E.) It should be stressed that

this data was *not* used to assess the participants' proficiency since that was not among the aims of the project.

Of these 57 participants, 44 completed a questionnaire and 18 engaged in semi-structured interviews one-on-one with the teacher–researcher. The interview data was recorded on a tape cassette recorder issued to the teacher–researcher by his department. It was later transcribed and can be found in Appendix D. That data set was analysed to ascertain the learners' beliefs about language learning and their disposition to the task-based technique. The data from the questionnaire provided salient background for the interview phase, and the completed questionnaires can be found in Appendix C.

The data was originally collected in the autumn term of 2009 for what was to be a small-scale study. Over time, this developed into the four distinct parts of the study reported in this book.

The task performance phase of the study was conducted as classroom-based research (cf. Foster, 1998; González-Lloret, 2007; Kumaravadivelu, 2007), a paradigm that seeks to investigate tasks in action in the classroom in contrast to controlled laboratory conditions. This choice of paradigm is a response to calls made for more such studies (e.g. at TBLT 2005: 1st International Conference on Task-based Language Teaching). Indeed, given the sheer diversity of classroom settings throughout the world, the need for more research on task implementation in intact classrooms is enormous.

The study rests on the theoretical foundations of Long's Interaction Hypothesis (Long, 1981, 1996), which posits that learners acquire new forms as they attend to them while negotiating meaning to resolve a communication breakdown, and Swain's Output Hypothesis (1985), according to which learners develop their proficiency as they produce accurate language. The book also examines task-based interaction from the perspective of the sociocultural theory of mind (SCT) (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987), according to which language (and all other) learning is a social process determined by learners' motives and promoted by peer assistance. Within this framework, learning is mediated through tools such as computers, symbols such as language, and/or interaction with others.

The book is structured as follows. Following an introduction in Chapter One, the second chapter covers the theoretical background in three large sections. Section 2.1 covers task-based language learning and teaching (TBLT), proceeding from basic definitions and the emergence of the paradigm, describing the first TBLT programme in Bangalore (Bengaluru), India, and tracing the continued growth of the technique. The section also contrasts TBLT with the well-established PPP (present,

practise and produce) structure and closes with criticism of the former. Section 2.2 charts the evolution of Long's (1981, 1991, 1996) thinking on input, interaction and focus on form (FonF), which provides part of the underpinnings for TBLT. This is followed by criticism from Sheen (2003) on FonF, an alternative, psycholinguistic understanding of practice by DeKeyser (1998, 2010), and a call to focus on the interplay of implicit and explicit instruction by N. Ellis (2015). The section closes with a review of the research on interaction. Finally, Section 2.3 presents a sociocultural approach to interaction research and the theory behind the sociocultural theory of mind (SCT), including the zone of proximal development (ZPD), scaffolding and collaborative dialogue, private speech, and activity theory (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987).

Chapter Three introduces the design for the study in nine sections. It discusses the framework for the research design, provides a detailed description of the context of the study, lists the research questions, and presents the learner-participants. It then explains the two phases of the research: (1) the questionnaire/interview phase and (2) the task performance phase. Next, it describes the data collection instruments and procedures employed in the study. Lastly, it elaborates on the classroom-based research perspective and the rationale for the choice of speaking tasks.

Chapter Four contains the four parts of the study within the two phases mentioned above. Section 4.1 reports on the learner expectations part of the study (which comprises the questionnaire/interview phase). It answers the first two research questions on (1) the learner-participants' view and experience of English (and other foreign) language learning in Hungary and (2) the way in which their view and experience inform their attitude to the TBLT paradigm. Sections 4.2 to 4.4 report on an analysis of the speaking task performance data generated by the learner-participants (in the task performance phase). More specifically, Section 4.2 explores the various ways learners contribute to the implementation of speaking tasks in the classroom (thus answering RQ3 above) and discusses the implications for teachers and task designers. Section 4.3 delves into the ways learners collaborate in interaction (therefore addressing RQ4), and, finally, Section 4.4 analyses the extent to which learner interaction actually breaks down, as assumed, for meaning negotiation (RQ5) and provides – both universal and culture-specific – explanations as to why, in fact, this occurs so seldom in the speaking task performance data (RQ6). The Conclusion follows. (The interlocking structure of the study's two phases, four parts and six research questions is illustrated in the following figure.)

Phase 1: Questionnaire/interview phase*Part 1: Learner expectations (Section 4.1)*

- RQ1:** What is the view and experience of these learners as regards English (and other foreign) language learning in Hungary?
- RQ2:** How does their view and experience inform their attitude to the task-based language learning and teaching (TBLT) paradigm?

Phase 2: Task performance phase*Part 2: Learner unpredictability in speaking task performance (Section 4.2)*

- RQ3:** In what ways do these learners contribute to the implementation of speaking tasks in the classroom?

Part 3: A sociocultural exploration of speaking task performance (Section 4.3)

- RQ4:** In what ways do these learners collaborate in interaction?

Part 4: A dearth of communication breakdowns (Section 4.4)

- RQ5:** To what extent and why does learner interaction actually break down, as generally assumed, for meaning negotiation?
- RQ6:** To the extent that negotiation for meaning is uncommon in this context, what might explain this phenomenon?
-

Figure 1. Phases and parts of the study; research questions

The findings from the four parts of the overall study have implications for language learning, language teaching, materials development and teacher training both in the Hungarian context and beyond. The task performance phase will contribute to the relatively underrepresented but

much needed pool of studies on speaking task performance in actual classroom conditions. In Hungary in particular, this phase of the study appears to fill a gap in this research context in examining learners' spoken interaction under normal classroom conditions. Indeed, according to Medgyes and Nikolov (2014, p. 529), based on their review of 200 recent publications on foreign language (FL) teaching in Hungary, 'No study analysed speaking, except for oral presentations'.

The results from both phases not only highlight culture-specific variables, but also lend themselves to more widely applicable conclusions as well. These results – and, indeed, any findings that shed light on effective teaching and learning dynamics – perhaps take on a certain urgency in light of the significant financial, informational and intercultural benefits of foreign language (FL) proficiency for countless millions in the world, this particular context, Hungary, being no exception.

In fact, perhaps Hungary is marked by a particular urgency in that regard, certainly within Europe. Without a doubt, the figures for FL proficiency in this country are extraordinarily low. According to the most recent Eurobarometer survey of European Union member states (European Commission, 2012), the percentage of Hungarians who can hold a conversation in at least one additional language is 35%, a drop of 7 points from 2005 (European Commission, 2012, p. 15). With an EU average of 54%, Hungary's figure is the lowest in the Union (below Italy at 38% and Portugal and the United Kingdom at 39% each) (European Commission, 2012, p. 15). At variance with these figures for Hungary, according to Hungary's Census of 2011, the percentage of Hungarians who claim they know at least one FL – i.e. any FL even at a basic level – is 25.4 per cent, a rise of 6 points since the 2001 Census (Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2013, p. 17). However, Vágó (2009) has observed the shortcomings in respondent self-assessment for FL proficiency in such surveys and has demonstrated that a great deal hinges on the phrasing of the question put to respondents. For example, in a 1994 survey of FL proficiency in Hungary, when asked 'Do you know a foreign language at some level?', 32% said yes (Vágó, 2009, n.p.). However, when asked to specify on a five-point scale, the result for the same respondents who ticked the top three levels of 'usable' language skills was only 11.2 per cent (Vágó, 2009, n.p.). Thus, while results may vary, these low numbers clearly point to a serious challenge.

What are the reasons? Over twenty-six years since Hungary's regime change putatively paved the way for new options in FL teaching, the reasons commonly suggested among stakeholders as to why our language learning environment is as it is still include:

- The relative difficulty for speakers of Hungarian in learning English, and, indeed, any Indo-European language, due to the linguistic distance of those languages from Hungarian (Chiswick & Miller, 2005);
- A history of Russian language teaching perceived as ineffectual and the impact this has had on many adults today – teachers, learners and parents of young learners (Medgyes, 2011);
- The preponderance of dubbing over sub-titles in television programmes and films with its implications for regular exposure to foreign languages (Talaván Zanón, 2006; Vanderplank, 1988);
- The persistence of the Grammar–Translation Method with attendant concerns vis-à-vis learner motivation and communicative effectiveness (Nikolov, 2008; Nikolov & Nagy, 2003).

In addition to issues of motivation and quality of teaching, time, cost and availability of learning resources are commonly noted as further obstacles to language learning in Hungary, as they are elsewhere in the European Union (European Commission, 2012, p. 144). This suggests that, the dismal numbers notwithstanding, a perception exists among stakeholders that there is indeed a problem.

Certainly, Hungary's language learning situation is not unique. Some neighbouring countries in Central Eastern Europe show comparable numbers and share many of the same teacher-fronted, grammar–translation-oriented, classical humanist educational tendencies. Similarly, a state-of-the-art article on English as a foreign language (EFL) among young learners in East Asia (Butler, 2015) found that, despite an official shift to communicative language teaching (CLT) in recent decades, stumbling blocks, such as conflicts with traditional ideas about teaching and learning and exams geared (at least partly) to grammar–translation creating a washback effect, have greatly slowed progress in implementation. Carroll (1975) and Stern (1983) have long commented on the systemic problems of language learning in the world generally, thus prompting Skehan (1996, p. 18) to conclude that 'most language learning is associated with relative failure'.

The solution for FL teaching in Hungary, and perhaps for many other similar EFL contexts, may well lie in the theory and practice of TBLT. Certainly, I will attempt to explain the benefits of this particular teaching paradigm later in the book (in Section 2.1 and elsewhere), but one significant aspect of it I would note at this point is its powerful link to the twenty-first-century skills – which are thought to be fundamental to successful learning in all school subjects today (cf. Binkley, Erstad,

Herman, Raizen, Ripley, Miller-Recci, & Rumble, 2012). These skills include collaboration, communication, critical thinking, decision-making, problem-solving and others, which are generally taught and honed through TBLT.

Certainly, the participants in this study – having attained sufficiently high scores on a language exam to be admitted into the English/American Studies programme at university and indeed having shown strong communicative skills both in class and in the interviews – can reasonably be described as successful language learners, in spite of possible shortcomings in the classroom teaching they have experienced. Still, if the bleak numbers are to be taken seriously, these learners constitute the exception. How many language learners in this country (and elsewhere) fall by the wayside? And how many succeed in form-oriented language exams only to realise that their language skills – like some of their other skills – have little bearing on their real-world needs?

These facts and figures underline the urgency of a far greater efficacy in FL teaching and learning – universally, to be sure, but particularly in the more immediate context of Hungary and countries like it. It is this sense of urgently needed improvement that has driven the research presented here. It is hoped that the findings reported here will be of some service in that regard.

CHAPTER TWO

TBLT, INTERACTION, FONF AND SCT

As noted in Chapter One, the four parts of the study presented in Chapter Four are supported by three broad theoretical perspectives, which are described in this chapter. Section 2.1 covers task-based language learning and teaching (TBLT), including criticism of (aspects of) it. Section 2.2 reviews theorization and findings on interaction and FonF, which lie at the heart of TBLT. Criticism is also provided here. Finally, Section 2.3 describes a sociocultural theory of mind (SCT) and its applications to second language acquisition (SLA) and task-based learner interaction in particular.

2.1. Task-based language learning and teaching

Task-based language learning and teaching (TBLT) is a second/foreign language (L2/FL) teaching paradigm that is central to this study. In this section, I define the term and describe the first efforts toward forming the TBLT paradigm. I also introduce the first full-scale educational programme implemented in this vein in the mid-1980s. I then trace the growth of the larger TBLT project from there. I go on to contrast the TBLT paradigm to that of PPP (present, practise and produce) and end the section with criticisms of TBLT.

2.1.1. TBLT: Definition and emergence

What is TBLT? It is a foreign/second language teaching and learning paradigm in which, according to Samuda and Bygate (2008, p. 58), ‘tasks are the central unit of instruction: they “drive” classroom activity, they define curriculum and syllabuses, and they determine modes of assessment’. But what, in this context, is a task? The answer is more elusive than one would think owing to the wide variety of definitions in the literature. It has been defined variously over the decades by Breen (1989), Bygate, Skehan, and Swain (2001), Candlin ([1987] 2009), R. Ellis (2003), Lee (2000), Long (1985), Nunan (1989), Prabhu (1987) and

Skehan (1998). Samuda and Bygate (2008, p. 69) have taken a critical look at R. Ellis's comprehensive criteria for a task and produced a working definition: 'A task is a *holistic* activity which engages *language use* in order to achieve some *non-linguistic outcome* while meeting a *linguistic challenge*, with the overall aim of *promoting language learning*, through process or product or both' (emphasis added). (Here the ubiquitous term *holistic* refers to the unity of the 'task-as-workplan' and 'task-in-process' (Breen, [1987b] 2009), i.e. not only the task on paper, but also the task as learners interpret and implement it. This will be discussed in Section 4.2.)

With this definition of the task in mind, Samuda and Bygate go on to identify the central characteristics of TBLT as follows:

- Tasks define and drive the syllabus;
- Task performance is a catalyst for focusing attention on form, and not vice versa;
- Assessment is in terms of task performance;
- Task selection is shaped by real-world activities of relevance to learners and their target needs;
- Tasks play an essential role in engaging key processes of language acquisition. (Samuda & Bygate, 2008, p. 196)

I would suggest that the main point here is that, unlike many other classroom activities that call for learners to use one or more of the four language skills, the three criteria for a language learning task are as follows: (a) a task leads to an *outcome*; (b) this outcome is *non-linguistic* as such (e.g. a map or a list of names); and (c) *meaning-focused* language is used as a way to arrive at that outcome. As a building block for planning teaching and testing in TBLT, tasks are seen as a desirable alternative to such traditional units as topic, grammatical form, notion and function.

But what prompted the emergence of TBLT? Theorists such as Long and Crookes ([1992] 2009) had long criticised traditional language teaching syllabi for not taking into consideration the gradual progress of learners' interlanguage development. As I pointed out in Chapter One, Stern (1983), echoing conclusions others had drawn before him, characterised much language teaching and learning that had gone before as a failure. This period was marked by a groundswell of thinking among researchers and practitioners that CLT had not managed to fulfil its promise of shifting the pedagogic focus from learning grammar rules to expressing meaning.

With a focus on meaningful, real-world communication, TBLT – like CLT – places great emphasis on speaking, though the four language skills

are all typically addressed in task-based syllabi. This stress on spoken interaction is clearly reflected in this study, with its focus on learners' speaking task performance.

As noted in Chapter One, TBLT also introduces and develops the twenty-first-century skills generally thought to be key for success in the labour market today, skills such as collaboration, communication, decision-making and problem-solving (cf. Binkley et al., 2012). Indeed, with the importance assigned to real-world situations in TBLT, the potential for tasks linked to other twenty-first-century skills, including civic literacy, cross-cultural skills, information and communication technology (ICT) literacy, media literacy and others, is truly limitless.

2.1.2. The Communicational Teaching Project

What would come to be known as the TBLT paradigm was first put in practice in early 1984 in Bangalore, or Bengaluru, the capital of Karnataka state in southern India. The programme was an English as a foreign language (EFL) programme at a high school there and was known as the Communicational Teaching Project. According to his oft-cited book on his experiences with the programme, Prabhu (1987) determined that of the various types of tasks that learners could perform, the choice of task type that is most effective might well depend on particular teaching contexts.

Having created a taxonomy of meaning-focused task types, Prabhu (1987, p. 46) and his colleagues found that what he called the 'reasoning-gap activity' suited the learners in this particular situation best. He described this task type as 'deriving some new information through processes of inference, deduction, practical reasoning, or a perception of relationships or patterns' (Prabhu, 1987, p. 46). Examples of specific tasks used in the programme include figuring out a teacher's class schedule based on a set of class timetables and deciding the best (e.g. cheapest or quickest) course of action for a particular aim and within certain constraints. Prabhu emphasized that with such tasks 'the information to be conveyed is not identical with that initially comprehended. There is a piece of reasoning that connects the two' (Prabhu, 1987, p. 46). Based on their experience, Prabhu and the teachers in the project deemed the principle of a 'reasonable challenge' posed by such tasks as appropriate to their context (Prabhu, 1987, p. 57).

2.1.3. The growth of TBLT

Since these beginnings, TBLT has attained a certain currency in the fields of applied linguistics, educational linguistics and SLA. It has been the subject of hundreds of individual articles and book chapters, journals have devoted whole issues to the subject (such as *Language Teaching Research*, *Language Testing*, and *ITL International Journal of Applied Linguistics*), and numerous authored and edited books have also investigated it (including R. Ellis (2003), Van den Branden, Van Gorp, & Verhelst (2007), and Samuda & Bygate (2008)) as has a book series published by John Benjamins as of 2009. The Biennial International Conference on Task-Based Language Teaching has been held all over the world since 2005. Indeed, tasks have been used on a large scale in classroom foreign and second language instruction in Belgium (see Van den Branden (2006)) and Germany (see Müller-Hartmann and Schocker-von Ditfurth (2011)), while they have also come to be used in testing within migrant education in Australia and parts of North America. In fact, interest in TBLT seems to show no signs of abating.

2.1.4. TBLT in contrast to PPP

As a language learning and teaching paradigm, TBLT contrasts sharply to PPP (present, practise and produce). PPP has been described as the teaching strategy tied to a syllabus composed of individual structural items which have been previously selected and graded; in such a strategy, 'we present a structure, drill it, practise it in context...then move to the next structure' (Brumfit & Johnson, 1979, p. 1). A PPP lesson has as its very aim the teaching of a specific language form whether this be a grammatical structure or a form that represents a function or notion (Willis, 1996, p. 133). Skehan (1998, p. 93) has described the three stages of PPP from the perspective of cognitive psychology: (1) *present*: the teacher introduces a discrete grammar point such that learners will understand and internalise the underlying rule and develop declarative knowledge; (2) *practise*: learners practise the grammar in order to automatize the rule and convert their declarative to procedural knowledge through the completion of exercises which do not encourage learners to express their own ideas but provide meanings pre-made by the materials developer; and (3) *produce*: with teacher control and support reduced, learners now use the language form that has been presented to express their own meaning in a relatively spontaneous manner.

A key distinction is in order at this juncture between *exercises* and *tasks*. Central to the PPP paradigm, exercises are ‘activities that call for primarily form-focused language use’, whereas tasks prompt the ‘meaning-focused’ sort (R. Ellis, 2003, p. 3). Willis has pointed out that such exercises or drills – and indeed the whole PPP cycle – are founded on ‘the behaviourist view of learning which rests on the principle that repetition helps to “automate” responses, and that practice makes perfect’ (Willis, 1996, p. 133).

Howatt (1984) described weak and strong versions of the communicative language teaching (CLT) approach of the 1980s. Broadly speaking, CLT drew on Halliday’s functional model of language (1986) and Hymes’s theory of communicative competence (1971). The weak version, associated with PPP, finds expression in notional–functional syllabuses (R. White’s so-called Type B approach), such as the Council of Europe’s *Threshold* (Van Ek, 1975) and *Waystage* (Van Ek & Alexander, 1977), wherein notions, such as duration and possibility, and functions, such as inviting and apologising, represent the organising principle (R. White, 1988, p. 75). Thus, PPP has not only been used to teach grammatical structures in a narrow sense but other language forms as well. Conversely, the strong version of CLT is based on the notion that ‘language is acquired through communication’ (Howatt, 1984, p. 279). This is what informs Krashen and Terrell’s (1983) Natural Approach and Candlin’s ([1987] 2009) task-centred teaching, in both of which learners ‘discover the system itself in the process of learning how to communicate’ (R. Ellis, 2003, p. 28). It is this strong version of CLT from which TBLT has evolved.

Rutherford (1987) has observed that PPP reflects a view of language learning as a series of ‘products’ to be acquired in sequence as ‘accumulated entities’. Indeed, Willis (1996, p. 135) has found fault in PPP for its emphasis on a single item of language at a time. She has noted that with this emphasis on discrete items and the attendant exercises that ‘encourage habit formation, [PPP] may actually discourage learners from thinking about language and working things out for themselves’ (Willis, 1996, p. 135). As R. Ellis (2003, p. 29) has pointed out, PPP resists or ignores the findings of SLA research that learners do not operate this way. Instead, (1) they build up interlanguages which evolve as new features are taken in and (2) they go through multiple phases of acquiring any given target form, e.g. negatives. In other words, PPP is inappropriate because acquisition is characterised by processes – not products, as PPP suggests.

Furthermore, in purely practical terms, problems with PPP abound. Both R. Ellis (2003, p. 29) and Willis (1996, p. 134) have remarked that learners may actually refrain from using the target form in the production

stage. R. Ellis (2003, p. 29) has noted that learners may simply fall back on their strategic competence and thus avoid the form. He has suggested that if, however, they are told simply to use that target feature in the production stage, then meaning becomes secondary to form. Similarly, as Willis (1996, p. 134) has observed, learners may overuse the form and create stiff, unnatural conversation, e.g.

What will you do tomorrow?
 Tomorrow I will go to my aunt's house.
 I will go by bus.
 I will see my cousins.
 I will play football with them.

From hearing such talk, as Willis has concluded, it becomes clear that (1) the learner is still at the practice stage and (2) he or she is not concerned with expressing meaning. Willis has also criticised PPP for providing learners with a false sense of mastery of the given form, one which fails to carry over to later lessons or to life outside the classroom. 'The irony is that the goal of the final 'P' – free production – is often not achieved. How can production be 'free' if students are required to produce forms which have been specified in advance?' (Willis, 1996, p. 135).

Willis has also raised these other practical concerns about PPP:

- as form is presented first, context needs to be invented *ad hoc*;
- consciousness-raising is ultimately a matter of 'repeat, manipulate and apply';
- examples of language such as sentences to illustrate a single language item provide little variety in terms of exposure to natural language;
- the teacher pre-selects one discrete form, allowing little opportunity for learners to notice a variety of features and ask about them;
- PPP provides a limited paradigm for grammar and form-focused lessons. (Willis, 1996, p. 136)

Finally, as noted previously, Carroll (1975) and Stern (1983) have both remarked that learners exposed to conventional FL learning tend to reach very low levels of proficiency and come away from school with little usable language. Though Carroll and Stern were writing decades ago, the paradigm and its effects persist.

The question that confounds many, then, of how such a model could have such staying power and, indeed, remain a standard of sorts has also been explored by Skehan. As an explanation – and a criticism – he has stated that PPP has two key characteristics: (1) it provides teachers with a

sense of power and professionalism and trainers with a convenient model; and (2) it offers easy accountability for evaluation purposes with its tidy goals and syllabuses (Skehan, 1998, p. 94).

The criticism of PPP being an unsatisfactory technique to encourage natural fluency and communication has resulted in the emergence of TBLT, which made use of tasks in the classroom setting and viewed them as activities which are able to create optimal opportunities to develop a variety of spoken interaction skills in the controlled environment of the language classroom. The technique was thus understood as the paradigm which assisted students in achieving communication and fluency in a seemingly more natural, less controlled manner. This technique evolved out of a thorough re-examination of CLT methods and approaches by such researchers as Brumfit and Allwright (see e.g. Brumfit & Johnson, 1979).

In the areas of teaching methodology and learner contributions, TBLT stems from a redefinition of subject matter in language teaching and an exploration of methodological innovations. It is the result of efforts to implement the communicative approach in a new way. Whereas role plays and other communicative activities were once thought to be an *important* part of language teaching, participatory tasks are now seen as *essential* to language learning. Pica, Kanagy, and Falodun (1993, p. 10) have identified learner interaction in these tasks as key to language learning. (The importance of interaction in language learning is discussed in detail in Section 2.2.) Breen (1987a, p. 159) has pointed to this view of learners' contributing to interaction as stemming from two important principles: (1) learners can build on their linguistic competence given comprehensible input (R. Ellis, 1985; Krashen, 1985) and (2) learners place their own plan of content on the teacher's syllabus and their own learning strategies and preferred ways of working on classroom methodology (Breen, [1987b] 2009; Rubin & Wenden, 1987). Tied to this is the notion that different learners learn different things from the same lesson.

Also important to an understanding of TBLT is the question of what a task is and how it differs from any other sort of classroom activity. R. Ellis (1994, p. 595) has contended that the process of completing a task must correspond to 'that found in discourse based on the exchange of information'. More to the heart of the matter, Pica, Kanagy, and Falodun (1993, p. 10) have viewed a task as an activity that is 'structured so that learners will talk, not for the sake of producing language as an end in itself, but as a means of sharing ideas and opinions, collaborating towards a single goal, or competing to achieve individual goals'. Thus, an activity such as a role play in which a learner–customer is expected to engage in a carefully guided service encounter with a learner–shop assistant fails to

satisfy a key condition of a task: it has no goal. It is designed to get learners to talk, but nothing more. Many teachers are also unaware that the artificiality of such non-tasks may actually be demotivating to learners.

Overall, the major shift TBLT represents in the way learners and teachers engage in second language acquisition has resulted from fundamental changes in our understanding of: (1) language; (2) teaching methodology; (3) learner contributions; and (4) the way in which teaching and learning are planned (Breen, 1987a, p. 157). Moving beyond an emphasis on language form and function and rooted in the contention that communication consists of more than the sum of grammar and vocabulary items, TBLT facilitates the development of a learner's 'communicative strategies', defined by Corder (1983, p. 16) as 'a systematic technique employed by a speaker to express his meaning when faced with difficulty'. (This is also known as pragmatic competence.)

Unlike a synthetic syllabus, such as the structural syllabus, which rests on the notion that language can be broken down into discrete parts and that at a certain point the learner acquires a given repertoire of structures, TBLT assumes that the learner analyses language-in-context in order to approximate his interlanguage to highly proficient models in a specific range of situations. Such an analytic syllabus is essentially a fusion of the formerly discrete areas of content and methodology. Indeed, seeing the dichotomy between these two as inappropriate, writers like Postman and Weingartner (1969, p. 30) have long pointed out: 'It is not what you say to people that counts; it is what you have them *do*'.

Finally, R. White (2000) has commented on the distinction generally made between single, or convergent, goals, on the one hand, and individual, or divergent, goals, on the other. Just as a convergence of goals requires cooperation, a divergence of goals calls for competition. However, too much of the former may make for an unmotivating task that involves little language, while too much of the latter may inhibit cooperation – a necessary element of interaction. As learners collaborate in a task, therefore, there may be an optimal balance struck between convergence and divergence. As noted previously, collaboration, like other twenty-first-century skills, is central to the task-based FL classroom.

2.1.5. Criticism of TBLT

Criticisms have also been made of the TBLT paradigm. With regard to task types, Pica, Kanagy, and Falodun (1993, p. 23) have concluded that of the five commonly used communicative task types only two are fully effective 'as a means of providing learners with opportunities to work

toward comprehension, feedback and interlanguage modification'. If these elements are considered at least facilitative of L2 acquisition (Long, 1996), then I would suggest that it is a weakness in TBLT that there should be three commonly employed task types that are less than optimal in this regard.

Moreover, concerns have been raised about the theoretical basis for TBLT. Seedhouse (1999, p. 154), while conceding that tasks provide opportunities to modify interaction, has questioned the benefit this may have for L2 acquisition. He has also pointed out that tasks produce *task-based* interaction which has yet to be evaluated as a whole (Seedhouse, 1999). Furthermore, he has viewed this form of interaction as 'a particularly narrow and restricted variety of communication' and only one of many required in day-to-day life (Seedhouse, 1999, p. 155).

Similarly, after a careful review of Long's sources, R. Ellis (1994, p. 279) has also observed that it has not been proved that comprehensible input is necessary for acquisition, though it may be facilitative. With regard to modified interaction, he has concluded (p. 280) that some studies (Li, 1989; Tanaka, 1991) support the benefits of modified interaction for L2 acquisition, while others do not (Loschky, 1989; Yamazaki, 1991). Thus, it appears that some theoretical claims for the efficacy of TBLT may be unfounded.

Another common criticism centres on the perceived emphasis of meaning over form in TBLT. Foster has expressed this concern with the insight that 'language does not have to be well-formed to be meaningful' (Foster, 1999, p. 69). She has remarked that learners may therefore use language that not only lacks accuracy, but also complexity (Foster, 1999). They may also buttress their language with gesture and intonation and thus miss opportunities to build up their interlanguage (Foster, 1999). Bachman and Palmer (1996) have noted a tendency among learners to rely on strategic competence at the expense of improving their linguistic competence. Anderson and Lynch (1988) have pointed to an analogous phenomenon found in listening comprehension: that of a reliance on inferencing skills to compensate for gaps in language knowledge. They have also observed the time pressures common to TBLT as encouraging learners to get meaning across using all available resources, especially prefabricated chunks of language, at the cost of form and interlanguage development (Skehan, 1996, p. 22).

2.2. Perspectives on interaction and FonF

Interaction and FonF are central to TBLT and thus key to the part of the study on learner expectations reported in Section 4.1 in particular, while interaction and repairs-in-context as instruments of learner development are central to all four parts of the study (covered in Chapter Four). In this section, I trace the evolution of Long's thinking on interaction and FonF within the context of L2 learning. I then offer counterpoints to his position provided by Sheen and DeKeyser. Finally, I offer a review of the research on interaction.

2.2.1. From interaction to a focus on form: Long

From the very outset, Michael H. Long has been one of the key proponents of TBLT and among the largest contributors to the body of literature supportive of it. His position on the central role of interaction has followed an interesting path. His article on TBLT (Long, 1985) represents perhaps the earliest of the various publications commonly cited in the literature for a definition of *task*. Before turning his attention to this basic unit of the task-based classroom, however, Long sought to discover what might facilitate second language acquisition by reviewing the literature on native speaker–non-native speaker (NS–NNS) conversation in different contexts (Long, 1981). The underlying rationale was that if children acquire their first language (L1) (at least partly) from parents and other adults through modified ‘caretaker talk’, then analysing similarly modified ‘foreigner talk’ used by native speakers (NS) with non-native speakers (NNS) in a variety of settings might provide some insights into L2 learning.

In his article, Long pointed out that much of the research (over 30 studies) in his review conflates the related but distinct notions of input and interaction. He defined *input* as ‘the linguistic forms used’ and *interaction* as ‘the functions served by those forms, such as expansion, repetition and clarification’ (Long, 1981, p. 259). He went on to suggest that bearing in mind the distinction between these two aspects of NS–NNS conversation would be useful in arriving at a better understanding of how L2 learning works. In his article, he explored (in the previous studies as well as in research of his own) whether (a) modified input, (b) modified interaction or (c) a combination of the two is required for or facilitative of L2 learning. He concluded that both together can be said, at most, to facilitate it (Long, 1981, p. 274), yet he noted that in both the literature reviewed and his own study ‘it is modifications in interaction that are observed more

consistently' (Long, 1981, p. 275). He pointed to two additional phenomena that tend to support this: one, the findings of research on hearing children of deaf parents whose language appears to develop only by exposure to the modified talk of other, hearing adults (Bard & Sachs, 1977; Jones & Quigley, 1979; Sachs & Johnson, 1976, as cited in Long, 1981, p. 274); and, two, the relative success of certain communicative L2 teaching methods that rely heavily on comprehensible input over 'traditional methods' (Asher, 1969; Krashen, 1980; Terrell, 1977, as cited in Long, 1981, p. 274).

Finally, while Long conceded that 'additional variables no doubt affect the course and rate of naturalistic and instructed SLA' (Long, 1981, p. 275), he did not venture to list them nor did he make any mention whatsoever of form. Indeed, so strong was Long's belief in the efficacy of naturalistic conversation for SLA (though presumably not the teacher-monitored NNS–NNS kind that tends to occur in many classrooms throughout the world) that he closed his article with a call for future research to test his hypothesis that 'participation in conversation with *NS*, made possible through the modification of interaction, is the *necessary* and *sufficient* condition for SLA' (Long, 1981, p. 275, italics added). Certainly, since this book was written, we have seen (1) a growing recognition in applied linguistics that most communication in English in the world involves NNS – *not* NS – and (2) a concomitant shift away from the NS as model in English language teaching (ELT) and toward the proficient NNS. Indeed, the subfield of English as a lingua franca (ELF) has thus burgeoned through work by Galloway and Rose (2015), Jenkins (2007), Seidlhofer (2011) and others. Concurrently, researchers have eschewed the distinction between NS and NNS, preferring instead to explore how proficient NNS 'experts' can aid less able NNS 'novices' (e.g. Ohta, 2000). These changes should be borne in mind as we review Long's decades-old, yet seminal research.

In a paper written a full fifteen years later, Long has made significant refinements and changes in his position (Long, 1996). He spoke more broadly about the possibilities for L2 learning among learners exposed not only to speaking but also writing (Long, 1996, p. 413); however, the focus of his literature review is limited again to caretaker and foreigner *talk*. Exploring the role of the linguistic environment, he also laid particular emphasis on the possible use of the positive and negative evidence provided by NS. He defined positive evidence as 'models of what is grammatical and acceptable (not necessarily the same) in the L2, but also instances of ungrammatical language use at a time when learners do not know which is which' (Long, 1996, p. 413). Harkening back to his earlier

stance, he noted that it is when speakers modify their talk that it becomes comprehensible to learners and therefore useful in L2 acquisition (Long, 1996, p. 413). Negative evidence, on the other hand, was defined as ‘direct or indirect information about what is ungrammatical’ (Long, 1996, p. 413).

Long further broke this down to explicit and implicit negative evidence. Examples of the former include grammar explanations and overt correction; examples of the latter failing to understand and incidental correction, as in a confirmation check (Long, 1996, p. 413). Having established his terms, he makes a hypothesis for L2 acquisition: ‘neither the environment nor innate knowledge alone suffice’ (Long, 1996, p. 414). This represents a sea change from his 1981 challenge to researchers (above). By now, Long has clearly concluded that the possibilities for L2 learning do not lie solely in conversation, though it certainly continues to lie at the heart of his work.

Long has also refined his view of interaction (which in its earlier incarnation in 1981 was not even given a proper name as it has been by the time of this writing). On this, he stated the following:

In an updated version of the so-called Interaction Hypothesis (Long, 1981, 1983), it is proposed that environmental contributions to acquisition are mediated by selective attention and the learner’s developing L2 processing capacity, and that these resources are brought together most usefully, although not exclusively, during negotiation for meaning. Negative feedback obtained during negotiation work or elsewhere may be facilitative of L2 development, at least for vocabulary, morphology, and language-specific syntax, and essential for learning certain specifiable L1–L2 contrasts. (Long, 1996, p. 414)

This notion of negotiation for meaning, so central to spoken interaction and thus to TBLT, is defined as

the process in which, in an effort to communicate, learners and competent speakers provide and interpret signals of their own and their interlocutor’s perceived comprehension, thus provoking adjustments to linguistic form, conversational structure, message content, or all three, until an acceptable level of understanding is achieved. (Long, 1996, p. 418)

A question one might pose at this point with regard to Long’s view of opportunities for negative feedback is this: where else, beyond negotiation work, does Long envisage negative feedback being obtained?

As in his earlier study, he reviewed the literature on foreigner talk. In this piece, however, his focus was on the discourse that develops out of it

and the potential it may have for L2 acquisition. Interestingly, his earlier effort to distinguish *input* and *interaction* was not in evidence here perhaps because, as he himself conceded in the earlier piece, the two ‘often are related’ (Long, 1981, p. 268) and modified versions of the two ‘often co-occur’ (Long, 1981, p. 272), thus perhaps making the distinction more an academic fine point than a practical matter.

From his review of over 60 laboratory and classroom studies of NS–NNS conversation (again, I draw the reader’s attention to the central role of the NS in Long’s thinking at the time), Long made some interesting conclusions with regard to positive evidence. Drawing on sociolinguist Ferguson, he described three primary ‘simplifying’ processes in the production of foreigner talk: omission, expansion, and replacement or rearrangement (Ferguson, 1971, 1975 and Ferguson & DeBose, 1976, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 415). He also pointed out that ‘nonsimplifying’ tendencies such as elaboration, regularization and attitude expression occur (Long, 1996). And though the ‘simplifying’ processes in foreigner talk discourse may even produce deviant speech (i.e. talk which is not only ungrammatical but unacceptable), he found that ‘[m]ost speech adjustments to NNSs are quantitative, not categorical, and result in *grammatical* input’ (Long, 1996, p. 416). To the extent that this statement may have implications for classroom practice, it certainly comes as a relief for those ELT practitioners with a particular concern for encouraging accuracy in L2 production (assuming a link exists between grammatical input and grammatical output). He added that any innate faculty one may have in acquiring a language appears to weaken with age and thus ‘any potentially facilitative qualities of input modification would be even more important for adults than for the language-learning child’ (Long, 1996, p. 415). This is presumably so because with a putatively weakened language learning faculty, adult learners need input to be that much more comprehensible for them to succeed.

Long pointed out that the focus of studies of NS–NNS conversation expanded in the late 1970s from linguistic *input* to NNSs to the *structure* of such conversation, or foreigner talk discourse (FTD) (Hatch et al., 1978; Long, 1980, 1981, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 418). It was found that one-way tasks which involved only the NS holding information and passing it on to the NNS (e.g. storytelling or giving instructions) failed to produce modifications of input or interaction – even when the NS was aware of the NNS’s limited proficiency (Long, 1996). Two-way tasks, on the other hand, in which both interlocutors engaged in a mutual exchange of information, prompted significant differences in the structure of interaction (Long, 1996). Long suggested that ‘the informational structure

of two-way tasks obliges NSs and NNSs to negotiate for meaning, and through the negotiation process, to make what they say comprehensible to their interlocutors' (Long, 1996, p. 418). (This is discussed in further detail in terms of a typology of tasks in Section 3.)

Based on studies on comprehensibility by Issidorides (1988) and Issidorides and Hulstijn (1992), a review of similar investigations by Yano, Long and Ross (1994), and other findings, Long (1996, pp. 422–423) concluded that input must be comprehensible for learners to acquire the language and suggested that there is 'some evidence that global linguistic and conversational adjustments to NNSs improve comprehensibility' (Long, 1996, p. 423). He immediately made the following point: 'Although *necessary* for L1 or L2 acquisition, however, there is abundant evidence that comprehensible input alone is *insufficient*, particularly with adults and if nativelike proficiency is the goal' (Long, 1996, p. 423). He provided a great deal of data to support this contention – useful indeed, although, as noted previously, a more recent shift in emphasis away from the NS as model in ELT should certainly be borne in mind here. Long pointed out that many advanced learners never incorporate certain lexis or grammatical constructions or distinctions which are successfully learned quite early on by child NSs (Long, 1996, p. 424). He also noted that there exist numerous cases in which adults in an L2 environment learn how to communicate effectively yet 'retain deviant forms in their speech' (Long, 1996, p. 423). He also referred the reader to morphology studies among elementary school children in the Culver City (California) Spanish immersion programme, in which skills failed to develop beyond a given level (Plann, 1976, 1977, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 423) and research in Canadian French immersion programmes reviewed by Swain (1981, 1989), in which learners' receptive skills attained native levels but their productive skills tested much lower (Hart & Lapkin, 1989). Later in his article, in the way of an explanation for this finding, Long (1996, p. 447) cited Swain's (1985) observation that these students were not given an opportunity to practise conversation other than in response mode. Long then pointed to Swain's Output Hypothesis (1985), according to which production enables learners to participate in syntactic processing and thus promotes acquisition. Clearly then, for acquisition to occur the NNS must be engaged in interaction.

Beyond the evidence that comprehensible input is insufficient, Long also pointed to learnability arguments. He referred to L. White (1987, 1989) and others (in Long, 1996) and their conclusion that negative evidence saves learners from the trap of overgeneralizing about the L2 based on either their own hypotheses about it or the structure of their L1.

In such cases, it is argued, positive evidence is insufficient for them to escape from this trap. Here Long offered the reader the stock example of adverbs of frequency being placed differently in French and English sentences and the resultant non-target syntax this could lead to. Thus, Long concluded that comprehensible input is necessary but insufficient and that there may also be limitations within the learner with regard to attention, awareness and cognitive processing (Long, 1996).

Beyond the point that both attention and awareness are necessary in L2 learning (Long, 1996), Long also introduced a central notion to TBLT, the necessity of a *focus on form* – whereby learners ‘attend to language as object during a generally meaning-oriented activity’ (Long, 1996, p. 429). This is juxtaposed with the traditional treatment of grammar as a collection of discrete items, which he refers to as a *focus on forms*. He offered the following distinction:

Focus on form differs from *focus on forms*, which abounds in L2 classrooms and involves a predominant often exclusive orientation to a series of isolated linguistic forms presented one after the other, as in a structural syllabus, with meaning and communication relegated to the sidelines. *Focus on form* involves learners’ orientation being drawn to language as object, but in context. In other words, it is a claim that learners need to attend to a task if acquisition is to occur, but their orientation can best be to both form and meaning, not to either form or meaning alone. (Long, 1996, p. 429)

This last point is not supported by VanPatten’s (1990) finding that learners have difficulty focusing on form and meaning simultaneously, although Lightbown (1998, p. 192) has suggested that when the form is an important carrier of the meaning learners do benefit from such a dual focus.

In reviewing the literature on L1 and L2 acquisition, Long stated the following on the role of negative evidence. He noted that caretaker–child conversation research has left us with mixed findings and that, although negative evidence may facilitate some learning, more work is required in the areas of syntax and pragmatics before any conclusions may be drawn (Long, 1996, p. 437). That having been said, he did highlight a study by Baker and Nelson (1984), which concluded that a particular type of negative evidence, namely *recasts*, have proved far more beneficial than models. Long (1996, p. 434) referred to Nelson (1991) as pointing out that it may be the ‘opportunity for cognitive comparison by the child of his or her own utterance with the semantically related adult version, and not just hearing new forms in the input, which is useful’. Recasts were defined by

Long (1996, p. 434) as ‘utterances that rephrase a child’s utterance by changing one or more sentence components (subject, verb or object) while still referring to its central meanings’. Long then supplied the following example. In response to ‘Jimmy *eat* all the bread’, a caretaker might say ‘That’s right, Jimmy *ate* all the bread’. Thus, he pointed to the findings of earlier L1 acquisition studies (Baker & Nelson, 1984; Farrar, 1990; Nelson, 1991; and Nelson et al., 1984, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 435) as suggesting that recasts have a lasting effect on future language development.

Long concluded, then, that implicit correction and recasts in particular are facilitative of but not necessary for L1 development. As to negative evidence in L2 acquisition, he saw the results as being less clear. Referring to a literature review by Chaudron (1987, 1988), Long (1996, p. 437) viewed the research as being limited to the short-term, usually immediate results of overt oral error correction in class or written feedback on learners’ writing. According to Chaudron (1988), the majority of researchers reported learners both (a) noticing corrections and (b) gaining from them, at least in the short run. Thus, for Long, the question of the efficacy of feedback during spontaneous interaction remained an open question. He therefore turned to laboratory studies, which he considered more salient because, as he saw it, ‘spontaneous conversation with no metalinguistic focus *before* negative evidence is provided is the norm for most L2 learners and the only experience available to many’ (Long, 1996, p. 438).

I would offer several comments at this point. First, no reference is cited here for those who may not readily accept that this is indeed the norm for most L2 learners. Perhaps such a presumption is based on the conditions many immigrants experience in the L2 environments of their adopted countries, e.g. newcomers to the US (though even then many such newcomers manage with little daily exposure to the L2 having resettled in their own L1 communities within that broader L2 context, e.g. speakers of Spanish as a L1 in Miami). Generally, I would suggest that some form of classroom instruction is more typical of L2 learning in other contexts. Still, supposing such conditions are the norm in certain contexts, what can we learn about successful L2 acquisition without having evaluated such L2 learners? And to the extent that SLA is concerned with accuracy, is this supposed norm the appropriate paradigm in the light of Long’s observation (noted earlier) that many adults in an L2 environment learn how to communicate effectively yet ‘retain deviant forms in their speech’ (Long, 1996, p. 423)? I have my reservations.

Other L2 studies reviewed by Long indicate that negative feedback does serve L2 acquisition. Based on a small sample of 15-minute free conversations in three adult NS–NNS dyads, Richardson (1993, as cited in

Long, 1996, p. 439) concluded that negative feedback in L2 acquisition is 'usable and is used' – though he cautioned that the long-term effects are unclear. On the basis of classroom studies by Herron and Tomasello (1988) and Tomasello and Herron (1989), Long (1996, p. 441) pointed out that though there are benefits provided by negative feedback the necessity of it cannot be concluded. Finally, he referred to Mito's classroom study (1993) as having shown that negative evidence is usable among adult L2 learners in general and recasts in particular and that recasts are superior to models. This latter observation was also reinforced by Carroll and Swain (1993, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 445).

In recapping the lessons to be learned from these and other L2 studies, Long (1996) pointed to the difficulty of 'preempting a metalinguistic focus' (p. 444). This concern about a metalinguistic treatment of form certainly appears to be consistent with his argument that there should be a focus on meaning and form in tandem, but it is not entirely clear if he was advocating *less* of a metalinguistic focus or absolutely *no* such focus. If it is the latter, he would then be in opposition to those who see the benefits of such a focus in raising awareness. For example, Odlin (1990) has argued that metalinguistic awareness may inhibit L1 transfer in the case of word order. R. Ellis (1994) too has pointed out that such awareness 'may enable learners to control their choice of linguistic form on the level of grammar' (p. 317).

In summary, then, Long (1996) stated: 'A facilitative role for negative feedback in L2 acquisition seems probable, and, as L. White (1989, 1991) has claimed, its necessity for learning some L2 structures is arguable on logical learnability grounds' (p. 445).

Long then went on to address the role of conversation and his own Interaction Hypothesis vis-à-vis negotiation for meaning and acquisition. As to the role of conversation, he credited Hatch (1978) as having been the first to examine the issue in the L2 acquisition literature. Based on her review of L1 work by Atkinson (1979), Ervin-Tripp (1976), Keenan (1974), Macnamara (1972) and Scollon (1973), she urged L2 acquisition researchers to consider the proposition that it is not that grammatical knowledge develops for conversation at some point in the future but rather that 'language learning evolves *out of* learning how to carry on conversations' (Hatch, 1978, p. 404, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 445). This is indeed a departure from most classroom practice. With this, however, Long (1996, p. 445) was quick to add Hatch's warning that some aspects of conversation could possibly hinder L2 learning; for example, 'mistakes in the marking of verbs...would not be caught by *when?* questions. Such question corrections would more likely elicit a time adverb rather than a

verb correction for morphology' (Hatch, 1983, p. 432, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 445). Using this basic notion about L2 acquisition as a springboard, Sato (1986, 1988, 1990, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 445) carried out a longitudinal study on naturalistic L2 acquisition which was based on claims by Givón (1979, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 445) regarding the shift from presyntactic to grammaticalized speech in language change. Sato observed that in spontaneous conversations between English NSs and two Vietnamese learners syntax emerged in a process parallel to that of L1 acquisition, e.g. collaborative complex propositions were formed across utterances and speakers with structures which were developmentally precursory to adverbial and relative clauses.

Than: vItnam dei(bli) kɔ:
'[In] Vietnam they (play) cards'

NS: They what?

Than: plei kɔ:
'play cards'

NS: They play cards?

Than: yæ wen wen krismes
'Yeah, when [it's] Christmas'

(Sato, 1988, p. 380, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 445)

Tai: hi lək əm əm-
'He's looking, um'

Than: æt mæn
'At [the] man'

Tai: æt mæn hi hi smo^wkifj
'At the man [who is] smoking.'

(Sato, 1988, p. 380, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 446)

However, Hatch's caution proved right in that the brothers failed to develop the inflectional morphology necessary to mark past time. Instead, they used other conversational devices which sometimes led to a communication breakdown. This has also been observed with adult learners of German (Meisel, 1987, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 446). Long (1996, p. 446) paraphrased Sato's (1986) conclusion as follows: 'conversation is *selectively facilitative* of grammatical development, depending on the structures involved'. Nevertheless, Long (1996, p. 447) pointed out that some evidence exists that aspects of syntax are facilitated by conversation (Bygate, 1988; Sato, 1988). Finally, he noted that free conversation tends not to encourage interlanguage development because

the lack of set topics or outcomes allows speakers to deal with topics in a quick and superficial manner and move on from any that may pose a linguistic problem (Long, 1983, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 448). On the other hand, tasks in which speakers have the same goal create more negotiation work (Pica, Kanagy, & Falodun, 1993, as cited in Long, 1996, p. 448), as covered in greater detail in the description of the task typology in Chapter Three, noted previously.

Thus, Long (1996) concluded that engaging in conversation facilitates L2 acquisition in five areas: (1) output and production; (2) input and comprehension; (3) the use of negotiation of meaning to improve comprehension; (4) interactional modifications (though he pointed out that there is a dearth of evidence for this); and (5) the need to communicate raising learner awareness of language (pp. 449–451). He referred to R. Ellis (1992) as suggesting that such awareness-raising leads to an ‘increase in attention to form and a heightened proclivity to notice mismatches between input and output’ (Long, 1996, p. 451).

Finally, Long made the point that FTD may involve talk being made more complex – not just more simple. According to him, ‘The semantic transparency achieved by interactional modifications as speakers negotiate for meaning is important, therefore, not just because it makes input comprehensible, but because it makes *complex* input comprehensible. Both comprehensibility and complexity are necessary for acquisition’ (Long, 1996, p. 451).

With regard to Long’s Interaction Hypothesis as it relates to negotiation for meaning and acquisition, he suggested that ‘*negotiation for meaning*, and especially negotiation work that triggers *interactional* adjustments by the NS or more competent interlocutor, facilitates acquisition because it connects input, internal learner capacities, particularly selective attention, and output in productive ways’ (Long, 1996, pp. 451–452). Long contended that negotiation for meaning entails more repetitions, reformulations, recasts etc. by competent speakers immediately following learners’ utterances while references to meaning can still be made. Furthermore, he asserted that the heightened comprehensibility brought about by negotiation ‘helps reveal the meaning of new forms and so makes the forms themselves acquirable’ (Long, 1996, p. 452). It is thus negotiation work that helps focus a learner on form much as input enhancement appears to do in the classroom or the laboratory (Long, 1996, p. 453). As to what artifice might be used to facilitate acquisition, he suggested that

tasks that stimulate negotiation for meaning may turn out to be one among several useful language-learning activities in or out of classrooms, for they

may be one of the easiest ways to facilitate a learner's focus on form without losing sight of a lesson's (or conversation's) predominant focus on meaning. (Long, 1996, p. 454)

Thus, he left the door open on what sorts of activities might be used to prompt negotiation for meaning. Finally, he rather hedged on the Interaction Hypothesis by assuring the reader that it 'is certainly not intended, of course, as anything like a complete theory of language learning' (Long, 1996, p. 453).

2.2.2. Alternatives: Sheen, DeKeyser and N. Ellis

Long's views on L2 acquisition have been disputed by such researchers as Ron Sheen and Robert DeKeyser. Sheen has disagreed with Long on teaching and learning with a focus on form, while DeKeyser has offered a cognitivist account of the role of practice in L2 learning. Another psycholinguist, Nick Ellis, sees language learning as a process involving both explicit and implicit learning.

2.2.2.1. Focus on forms: Sheen

In Sheen's article, *Focus on form – a myth in the making?* (2003), the author's answer to the question implied in the title is a resounding 'yes'. He has pointed out that the notion that a focus on form is the only way to approach grammar is merely theoretically based and lacks empirical evidence. He has identified comprehensible input as being at the heart of the focus on form defined by Long (1988) and others and noted that as such it is tied to the non-interventionist version of CLT of the 1980s with no systematic role for grammar instruction but an emphasis on exposing learners to comprehensible input. That version, according to Sheen (2003), provided 'less-than-impressive results' (p. 225).

Sheen (2003) has labelled the FonF vs. focus on forms debate the 'Long dichotomy' (p. 225) and proceeded to compare the two techniques as they manifest themselves in the classroom (pp. 225–226). He has considered FonF as meaning that all classroom activity is based on communicative tasks and that any treatment of grammar comes when difficulties arise in bringing across intended meaning – but not in producing accurate forms. This treatment then takes the form of quick corrective feedback with minimal interruption of the activity. If extended instruction is deemed necessary, it involves grammar problem-solving tasks. There is no grammar-based syllabus because grammar comes in only incidentally

as needs arise. It is thus tasks that form the building blocks of the syllabus in this technique.

Sheen has characterised focus on *forms* as sharing the assumption that communicative activity is the classroom priority. However, it sees learning grammar and vocabulary as very difficult and as such not learnable incidentally while engaging in a communicative or problem-solving activity. According to Sheen, this technique is an eclectic one that does not rule out elements of FonF. He has described it as a skills-learning approach broken down into three stages: (1) providing an understanding of grammar in a variety of ways, including explanation, pointing out differences between L1 and L2, and listening comprehension activities to focus attention on the forms being used; (2) doing written and oral exercises entailing use of grammar in both non-communicative and communicative activities; and (3) providing sufficient opportunities for communicative use of grammar to promote automatic and accurate use. What Sheen has described here would appear to be what TBLT apologists refer to as the traditional PPP approach (described previously here and in greater detail in Willis, 1996, p. 134 and Skehan, 1998, p. 93).

Sheen (2003) then reviewed some of the literature whose conclusions are supportive of the FonF technique (p. 227ff). He pointed to Doughty and Varela (1998) and Lightbown (1998) as missing the fact that students in their studies actually appeared to benefit from an additional focus on forms in separate classes. He also criticised these studies for not comparing the effects of FonF with those of focus on forms – and thus invalidated their argument in favour of FonF. It should be mentioned that in their longitudinal study Doughty and Varela (1998) did make a comparison between a control and an experimental group; in the former, however, grammar was not treated at all. (Thus, Sheen was right that there was no focus on forms treatment, though some kind of comparison was indeed made.) The latter focused exclusively on two forms – the simple past and the reported future – with far greater accuracy tested for the two forms on both written and oral post-tests and delayed post-tests (Doughty & Varela, 1998, p. 129). It would seem intuitive, though, that such an intensive treatment of grammar (whether FonF or focus on forms) would reap far greater test results than none whatsoever.

Sheen (2003) criticised TBLT advocates for their handling of the studies they reviewed. He called Norris and Ortega (2000) flawed in that the authors were arbitrarily selective of the studies they included in their overview (p. 227). Still, he pointed out, this article was cited by both Lightbown (2000) and Long (2000) as being conclusive of the efficacy of FonF. Furthermore, in referring to this article, Sheen observed, both of

these latter writers failed (a) to mention findings in favour of focus on forms and (b) to point out that Long's own criteria for differentiating between FonF and focus on forms had not been used consistently. Sheen then made the point that momentum builds as researchers focus on how to implement FonF instead of making real comparisons between it and focus on forms. In his view, there has been a clear tendency to ignore the claims of a focus on forms and to promote FonF. He concluded that teachers need reliable *comparative* studies. He then went on to describe an ongoing study of his own in which he actually compared the two approaches. His findings were that the focus on forms approach is superior to FonF for grammatical accuracy.

2.2.2.2. The psychology of learning: DeKeyser

According to DeKeyser (1998), the answer to the question of how and when to approach what kind of form in the classroom lies not only in the L2 literature but also in the cognitive psychology literature. For him, pronunciation work requires *forms*-focused treatment, for example, but a great deal of vocabulary calls for very little. Thus, he has stated that, though FonF may not be necessary for vocabulary or sufficient for pronunciation, the issue is complex for morphosyntax (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 43). In his view, there are three linguistic variables that have been discussed most frequently vis-à-vis FonF: (1) the relevance of Universal Grammar (UG); (2) the need for negative evidence; and (3) the degree of complexity of the target language feature. It is thought that if a structure is part of UG and UG is accessible to the L2 learner, then sufficient input will trigger acquisition – unless L2 is a subset of L1, in which case negative evidence is required, e.g. adverb placement or interrogative structures for French NS learning English (L. White, 1991 and L. White, Spada, Lightbown, & Ranta, 1991). Importantly, DeKeyser has observed that if a given form is not part of UG or simply cannot be acquired without negative evidence, 'a rather strong variant of FonF, including rule teaching and error correction, will be required'. One is left wondering, then, where DeKeyser draws the line between FonF and focus on forms. Another concern, as DeKeyser himself has pointed out, is how one can know what forms are part of UG, how accessible it is in L2 acquisition and therefore what forms are not learnable without negative evidence. He has noted a tendency among researchers to see ever more structures as falling within the boundaries of UG (DeKeyser, 1998).

This has led DeKeyser to the third linguistic variable mentioned previously, namely the complexity of the form to be learned. Krashen

(1982) made the distinction between rules that are (1) easy to *acquire* (naturalistically) but hard to *learn* (and thus know explicitly), on the one hand, and (2) easy to *learn* but hard to *acquire*, on the other. For DeKeyser, the latter type is appropriate for FonF teaching, but he has posed the question: what makes a rule easy to learn but hard to acquire? He referred to Krashen (1982) as answering this question with a ‘combination of formal and functional simplicity’, e.g. third-person *-s*. He also cited the views of both Krashen (1982) and R. Ellis (1990) as agreeing that ‘lack of formal complexity benefits learnability’ (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 44), though Krashen has said that third-person *-s* is easy to learn because it is formally simple while R. Ellis has concluded that it is eventually learnable but only when the learner is developmentally prepared to acquire this new feature because it is formally complex. (He has justified this view by pointing to Pienemann’s (1985) notion that third-person *-s* is distant from the grammatical subject that determines it.)

In DeKeyser’s view, functional complexity is difficult to define. He has asked if third-person *-s* is functionally simple and has pointed to Krashen and R. Ellis as agreeing that it is. Yet, DeKeyser has pointed out, this form not only stands for a great deal – the present tense, the singular and the third person – but is also subject to frequent exceptions, e.g. with modal verbs. Some researchers, such as Hulstijn and De Graaff (1994), have noted that if a rule is simple it can easily be learned independently without instruction, yet, as DeKeyser has posited, what may be simple for one student population may not prove to be so for another (e.g. university students compared to average learners) (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 44). ‘Thus, although rule complexity is a likely criterion for FonF, complexity is hard to define; consequently, researchers do not always agree whether some of the most frequently taught rules are simple or complex’ (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 44).

Linguistic criteria for FonF also include: (1) reliability, i.e. consistent applicability, of the rule; (2) scope of the rule; and (3) semantic redundancy (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 45). DeKeyser (1998) has concluded that instruction is especially useful for rules with high reliability, wide scope and semantic redundancy vis-à-vis production but without such redundancy vis-à-vis comprehension.

But a different set of criteria emerges from the research in cognitive psychology (Mathews, Buss, Stanley, Blanchard-Fields, Cho, & Druhan, 1989; Reber, 1989, 1993; and others). Two main findings are salient. The first regards inductive learning, namely that learning works better through implicit induction, defined as ‘mere exposure to a very large set of instances or memorization of a set of exemplars’ than through explicit

induction, 'where they are asked to figure out the rules' (DeKeyser, 1998). This is said to be so because subjects were found to be better (in the first case) at making judgements about grammaticality later. The second finding is that despite the fact that the first group performs better it cannot state the rules (DeKeyser, 1998). (In this respect, they remind one of many English NSs – at least those who have not been affected by training and experience in ELT.) Based on these findings, these researchers have concluded that subjects can learn abstract rules implicitly and can even draw on them without being able actually to state them (DeKeyser, 1998).

The question arises whether these subjects actually induce the rules or simply memorize exemplars and then compare new instances to these. Dulany, Carlson, and Dewey (1984, 1985) and others claim that it is the latter and that, although one can learn similarity patterns implicitly, one cannot learn abstract rules this way.

In DeKeyser's opinion, it is significant to consider what makes a structural pattern an abstract rule or a similarity and then to ascertain the extent to which these different kinds of structure can be learned 'with different degrees of focus on form' (1998, p. 46). He has identified two factors in determining whether a structure can be learned as a similarity pattern or must be induced as an abstract rule: (1) surface variation that tends to conceal the rule (e.g. a simple subject–verb agreement rule is obscured by the plural form of nouns and verbs being realised by different morphemes) and (2) the distance between two co-occurring elements (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 46). He has drawn on a previous study of his own (DeKeyser, 1995) on the use of an explicit FonF in learning abstract rules versus probabilistic patterns. He had subjects learn parts of a miniature linguistic system either by explicit–deductive learning (traditional presentation of a rule followed by thousands of illustrative picture–sentence combinations) or by implicit–inductive learning (mere exposure to the same number of pictures and sentences). He found that subjects learned simple abstract morphosyntactic rules significantly better through the explicit–deductive technique but probabilistic patterns in noun and verb endings somewhat better under implicit–inductive conditions.

Similarly, N. Ellis (1993) found that explicit grammar presentation, examples and practice – i.e. the PPP technique – yielded better results than several alternatives for initial consonant mutation in Welsh (but see N. Ellis's broader conclusions on implicit and explicit instruction further below in Section 2.2.2.3). Robinson (1996) found explicitly instructed learners outperformed all others (in implicit, incidental and rule-search conditions) on simple morphosyntactic rules – though not so for more complex rules.

DeKeyser (1998) then asked the question what kind of FonF is efficacious. Naturally, he pointed out, FonF is not useful if it leads only to monitored knowledge. So does explicit knowledge from sequential models of FonF instruction lead to full automatization? He proceeded to answer this question.

DeKeyser (1998) made two distinctions between the explicit (conscious) versus the implicit (unconscious) and the controlled versus the automatic. However, Anderson's Adaptive Control Theory (ACT) of cognitive skill acquisition (Anderson & Fincham, 1994) implies that automatization depends on knowledge being implicit and that the implicit/explicit and controlled/automatic aspects are not entirely independent. Therefore, though the two sets of areas are distinct, they are, in Anderson's view, dependent. As it is Anderson's model that holds sway in the cognitive psychology of skill acquisition, this was therefore explored.

First, DeKeyser (1998, p. 48) cited Anderson (1982, 1995) in outlining the three stages of skill acquisition: (1) declarative, or factual, knowledge; (2) proceduralization of knowledge, which encodes behaviour; and (3) automatizing or fine-tuning procedural knowledge, i.e. doing it without having to think about it. The question then became how one moves from stage 1 to stage 3. According to DeKeyser,

The essential notion to bear in mind here is that proceduralization is achieved by engaging in the target behaviour – or procedure – while temporarily leaning on declarative crutches (Anderson, 1987, pp. 204–5; Anderson & Fincham, 1994, p. 1323), in other words,... conveying a message in the second language while thinking of the rules. (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 49)

Thus, repeated behaviour restructures declarative knowledge so that it becomes easier to proceduralize so that after a time working memory load is reduced (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 49). Once this has been achieved, DeKeyser explained, practice enables procedural knowledge to become automatized, thus increasing speed and lowering error rate and burden on cognitive resources (Anderson, 1987, 1990, 1995; Logan, 1988; Schneider & Shiffrin, 1977, as cited in DeKeyser, 1998). With this, DeKeyser turned to the concept of practice in L2 learning. Saliiently, he defined the concept, rather straightforwardly, as 'engaging in an activity with the goal of becoming better at it' (1998, p. 50). Interestingly, in a later study (DeKeyser, 2007, p. 8), having defended the benefits of practice in language learning for a decade or more, he refined his definition as follows: practice involves 'specific activities in the second language engaged in systematically, deliberately, with the goal of developing

knowledge of and skills in the second language'. Reviewing the role of practice in various familiar teaching methods, he arrived at the conclusion that none of them conform to the basic concepts of the cognitive theory of skill acquisition. He then explained the implications of skill acquisition theory for L2 grammar learning. It contended that if fluency is the goal, i.e. automatic procedural skill, then learners must have the opportunity to practise using the language by communicating something in that language while maintaining the relevant declarative knowledge in working memory (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 52). According to him, the most common L2 classroom activity for this purpose is the communicative drill (DeKeyser, 1998), in which actual content is conveyed which is unknown to the interlocutor, according to Paulston's definition (1971, as cited in DeKeyser, 1998, p. 50). Unlike mechanical drills, which are exclusively forms-focused and require no attention to meaning, communicative drills provide an opportunity for learners to draw on declarative knowledge while the skill is being proceduralized – and this is essential.

It should be noted at this point that, in addition to Anderson's model, another cognitive skill acquisition theory, the information processing model developed by McLaughlin (1978; 1980; 1987; 1990; McLaughlin, Rossman, & McLeod, 1983), has also been significant in providing a clearer understanding of how we learn languages. McLaughlin posited that learners have limited processing capacities and that, as we learn a skill, we can first access it through controlled processing. Eventually, our cognitive processing becomes automatic, and it is through routinization that we can lighten the load on our information processing capacity. We are thus able to bring about *quantitative* changes in our interlanguage, i.e. able to access an ever larger amount of information for automatic processing. We can make *qualitative* changes to our interlanguage through restructuring. These sorts of changes are tied to both the way knowledge is represented in our minds and to the strategies we employ. Representational changes involve a shift from exemplar-based representations to rule-based ones, e.g. picking up formulaic chunks of natural language and then eventually breaking them down into usable rules. As with Anderson's model, here too practice is required to bring about this shift, though it is not clear exactly what practice entails.

DeKeyser also pointed out that some language behaviours have nothing to do with meaning (1998, p. 54). Some phonological and morphological rules pertain to mere forms–forms relationships; mechanized rules might therefore be useful in such cases. Furthermore, forms-focused activities may be appropriate at the beginners stage in order to facilitate declarative knowledge (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 55). DeKeyser then asked the

rhetorical question: how do some of these views jibe with the literature on implicit learning? He then attempted to explain.

‘Recent empirical studies on classroom second language learning have tended to show that focusing students on form, mainly by teaching them rules and correcting errors, is superior to implicit learning (e.g. Lightbown & Spada, 1990; Spada & Lightbown, 1993; L. White et al., 1991)’ (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 56). Yet the issue appears to be unresolved. Why? He suggested that this is because applied linguistics literature invariably fails to address the possibilities of explicit teaching for various types of rules and because it is practically impossible to vary all the relevant factors in one experiment independently (DeKeyser, 1998).

Still, DeKeyser argued that automatization and implicit learning are not at odds provided one bears in mind that (1) the degree to which structures are most easily learned explicitly though automatization of declarative knowledge depends on the nature of the rule and (2) automatization can mean different things: either fine-tuning (strengthening) or restructuring, proceduralization and fine-tuning (DeKeyser, 1998). As DeKeyser made clear, ‘Only in one aspect of its senses, namely proceduralization of explicit declarative knowledge, is the concept of automatization incompatible with implicit learning’ (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 57). Thus, he concluded, implicit second language learning and learning based on skill acquisition are not incompatible (DeKeyser, 1998).

On another pillar of TBLT which would tend to oppose skill acquisition theory, DeKeyser (1998) has argued that the acquisition orders of Pienemann (1989) and many others are ‘vastly overgeneralized’. He pointed out that (1) many of the studies never provided subjects with instruction that might have made a difference in the order of acquired structures and (2) in the studies that did give subjects instruction it is safe to assume that none received ‘instruction along the lines of what skill acquisition theory seems to imply: explicit teaching of grammar, followed by FonF activities to develop declarative knowledge, and then gradually less focussed communicative exercises to foster proceduralization and automatization’ (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 58). Finally, he noted that, while no structural syllabus has been based on psychological considerations of learnability, ‘the findings on acquisition orders or learnability hierarchies appear far from incompatible with the view that explicit knowledge can be automatized through and for production’ (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 58).

What then for DeKeyser are the implications for the sequencing of learning activities? He broke down a forms-focused lesson into the following outline: read short text; explain one or two grammar points; do structural exercises; do communicative exercises; and (in an EFL class) do

translation exercises – though DeKeyser was surely thinking of a brief activity that raises learners' awareness to meaning in new L2 lexico-grammar by comparing it to vocabulary and form in their own language, and not the sort of rigorous, lockstep rendering of one sentence after another that forms part of the grammar–translation tradition. What does skill acquisition theory have to say about DeKeyser's lesson plan? In this outline, declarative knowledge is clearly developed first before it becomes proceduralized. He cautioned, however, that exercises – especially challenging ones like translation – should not be rushed into as knowledge should be allowed time to become anchored (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 59). He also cautioned reading should be put last – not first – as he contended that having a chance to see many instances of a new structure may contribute to further automatization (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 59). In DeKeyser's view, 'Comprehensible input as such has an important role to play, but not as a sufficient condition for acquisition, certainly not without any awareness of form' (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 59).

In sum, DeKeyser has espoused a view on 'language learning that encourages performing the relevant skill, namely rendering certain meanings through certain forms, while thinking of the relevant knowledge links between forms and meanings' (DeKeyser, 1998, p. 61).

In a later reiteration of his defence of the central role of practice in language learning, DeKeyser (2010) argued against narrow concepts of this construct. He offered a broader understanding of practice (in a definition taken from DeKeyser, 2007, and provided above), which is still focused on form – or even forms – but with a sufficient focus on form–meaning links and with sequenced activities that promote declarative knowledge first, then proceduralization of that knowledge, and, finally, automatization (at least partly). He then reviewed a number of different activities that fall under this broad concept.

DeKeyser (2010) reviewed each type of criticism of practice in turn. He pointed to certain rejections of practice (Krashen, 1982; Long, 2009; VanPatten, 2003) as understanding the concept as manifested in the audiolingual method with its underpinnings in Skinnerian behaviourism. Indeed, he pointed out, practice often calls to mind the audiolingual classroom in which 'students repeat and transform sentences ad nauseum' (DeKeyser, 2010, p. 156). For my own part, having taken Italian in the heyday of audiolingualism in 1980s America with its reassuring regular drills, I was still incapable of engaging in an ordinary conversation in that language after three terms – despite having been consistently diligent and receiving top marks. This legacy thus leaves an understandably bad taste in people's mouths.

Thus, DeKeyser (2010) agreed that such drills are of little use because they neither prompt learners to exhibit the target behaviour, grasp the meaning of the lexico-grammar nor lend it expression by linguistic means – never mind encouraging them to do so in creative ways. This is not the sort of practice he would recommend.

DeKeyser (2010) also pointed to those who call into question the usefulness of repetitive output practice. They have argued that a great deal of practice fails to encourage learners to process form–meaning links (VanPatten, 2004; Wong & VanPatten, 2003). He also noted that still others reject all forms-focused instruction and practice because any activity centred on particular forms will be less likely to promote acquisition than real-world tasks that allow for a more incidental focus on form (Long, 1991; Long & Robinson, 1998).

Finally, DeKeyser (2010) pointed to those that do not doubt the value of practice focused on forms as such but see its use as restricted to automatization of existing knowledge – not acquisition of new structures (R. Ellis, 1993).

In making his case for a broader understanding of practice, DeKeyser (2010, p. 156) highlighted the importance of skill acquisition theory (see above) and cited Kroll and Linck (2007) as arguing that as learners practise more and develop their proficiency, it is not merely their linguistic representations that change; it is also the skills with which they put them to use. He observed that knowledge retrieval in language processing is a complex skill that calls for a great deal of practice. He drew on research by Nation and Newton (2009) and Segalowitz (2010) (as cited in DeKeyser, 2010, pp. 157–158) on the development of fluency through practice. DeKeyser stressed too that a number of elements in any language are either difficult or impossible to learn only through exposure or naturalistic communication in the target language because they have low frequency or are lacking in salience in some way (DeKeyser, 2005; Pica, 2009, as cited in DeKeyser, 2010, p. 158).

DeKeyser (2010) conceded that practice will never yield perfection – though it seems to me no experienced FL/L2 teacher or researcher can reasonably expect this of any element of language learning. Still, he asserted that ‘it is a necessary, not a sufficient feature of language instruction’ (DeKeyser, 2010, p. 158).

Within his broad definition of practice, DeKeyser (2010, p. 159) also included ‘communicative drills’ because they link form and meaning and thus serve a key purpose in language learning. He offered no definition or example, but Paulston and Bruder (1976, p. 9) characterised such drills as aiming for ‘the free transfer of learned language patterns to appropriate

situations' and noted that being drills, they are not facilitative of free communication because they produce a 'cue-response pattern'. According to Paulston and Bruder (1976, p. 9), asking learners to answer the question 'Do you have a date for Saturday night?' as part of a communicative drill will generate (presumably factual) information that is probably unknown and thus unverifiable to both teacher and peers.

For DeKeyser (2010), while communicative drills are desirable in language learning, teachers ought to move beyond such narrowly focused practice as soon as they are able – both out of cognitive and affective considerations. He pointed to role plays and information gap activities designed such that the use of particular problem forms is essential or at least very likely. In my experience, however, students manage to foil the best laid plans in this regard.

DeKeyser also suggested that with the aid of NSs, these various tasks can provide both realistic practice and corrective feedback, especially recasts. Here one wonders why DeKeyser considers a NS any more handy for such aid than a highly proficient NNS (discussed briefly in Section 2.2.1) or how readily available a NS might even be for much of the world's FL classrooms.

For DeKeyser, the lack of practice in task-based and content-based teaching is acceptable at higher levels of proficiency given sufficient opportunities for reactive FonF, but he doubted their efficacy at early stages of learning when learners' productive and receptive abilities are not yet developed. According to DeKeyser (2010, p. 159), these forms of practice move beyond the 'drill and kill' of audiolingual methodology and satisfy his more inclusive definition of 'systematic practice', serving functions in the learning process that communicative input and interaction alone fail to do.

2.2.2.3. The interface of implicit and explicit language learning: N. Ellis

Like DeKeyser, N. Ellis has approached language learning from a cognitivist perspective. His position is as follows: 'The complex adaptive system of interactions within *and* across form and function is far richer than that emergent from implicit *or* explicit learning alone' (N. Ellis, 2015, p. 21, author's emphasis). He has stressed the importance of an emergentist perspective to better understand the complex system of language that develops out of the dynamic interplay between implicit and explicit language learning and usage. An emergentist perspective reflects the view

that language ability results from interactions between an individual's learning abilities and their language environment (see Behrens, 2009).

In arriving at the position noted above, N. Ellis (2015) has reviewed research in three areas: units of language acquisition, implicit language learning and explicit language learning. In usage-based approaches to language, the basic units of representation are referred to as 'constructions', i.e. form-function mappings which are used regularly in a particular speech community and embedded as language knowledge in the minds of learners (Bybee, 2010; Robinson & Ellis, 2008; Tomasello, 2003, as cited in N. Ellis, 2015, p. 5). According to N. Ellis (2015, p. 5), psycholinguistic research has shown that 'language processing is exquisitely sensitive to usage frequency'. For him, this obviates a mental mechanism, a sort of counter in our minds, with which we can judge what is frequent and what is not. We thus learn chunks of language, or lexical sequences, over time and develop a database through which we come to understand how grammar works. N. Ellis (2015, pp. 8–9) has cited more recent research in both L1 and L2 learning to bolster this claim: Durrant and Doherty (2010), Ellis, Frey, and Jalkanen (2008), Tremblay, Derwing, Tribben, and Westbury (2011) and others for L1 as well as Conklin and Schmitt (2007), N. Ellis and Simpson-Vlach (2009), McDonough and Mackey (2008) and others for L2. In his view, these findings show that language users are attuned to the sequential possibilities of 'constructions' and that it is their experience of usage that has developed their knowledge.

However, citing work by Schmidt (1990), Long (1991) and Lightbown, Spada, and White (1993), N. Ellis has also highlighted the limits of implicit language learning. He has pointed out that 'Although L2 learners are surrounded by language, not all of it "goes in"' (N. Ellis, 2015, p. 16). Here he was referring to Pit Corder's (1967) distinction between *input*, the L2 all around us, and *intake*, which is that input we naturally use. He also reminded us that what may be natural for L1 learners does not work beyond a particular point for L2 learners.

Thus, an extra nudge is required. Buttressed by findings in Doughty and J. Williams (1998), R. Ellis (2001, 2008, 2015), Long (2006, 2015), Norris and Ortega (2000, 2006) and others, N. Ellis (2015) has posited that form-focused L2 instruction produces considerable progress, that explicit kinds of instruction prove *more* effective than implicit types, and that the efficacy of L2 instruction is robust. He has concluded that 'learners' language systematicity emerges from their history of interactions of implicit and explicit language learning, from the statistical abstraction of patterns latent within and across form and function in language usage' (N. Ellis, 2015, p. 21). Thus, N. Ellis has urged an empirically-based solution

that suggests a balance between explicit and implicit instruction and avoids tipping the scales either way.

2.2.3. Research on interaction

Returning now to Long's Interaction Hypothesis, Lyster (2007) has pointed out that it has produced a large body of research on the nature and effects of interaction: (1) between learners and native speakers of the target language in laboratory settings; (2) between learners and teachers in classroom settings; and (3) between learners and other learners in either laboratory or classroom settings. Many of these have been noted in the review of Long's theoretical shifts in Section 2.2.1. Over time, the Interaction Hypothesis has come to be referred to as the Interaction Approach (Gass & Mackey, 2007) to reflect progress made in the modelling of input, interaction and L2 development (Gass, 1997) based on an ever growing body of theoretical support and empirical evidence for the Interaction Hypothesis, the Output Hypothesis and the importance of attention. Spada and Lightbown (2009) have identified three trends in interaction research: (1) the early period (1970s to mid-1990s); (2) classroom-based studies; and (3) the revised Interaction Hypothesis. These will be covered in turn.

According to Spada and Lightbown (2009), the early period was characterised by descriptive, laboratory-based studies tied to the communicative and content-based language teaching approaches of the day (e.g. Gass & Varonis, 1985b; Long, 1983). They have pointed out that the Interaction Hypothesis that underlay this research was strongly affected by Krashen's (1985) hypothesis, which stated that the availability of comprehensible input is the necessary and sufficient condition for second language development. They have noted that in its early formulation the Interaction Hypothesis mainly centred on the way in which input becomes comprehensible, with the *features* of interaction considered more important than the linguistic simplification involved in rendering input comprehensible (Long, 1981). Spada and Lightbown (2009) have also observed that a great deal of the early research investigated interactions between NSs and NNSs, analysing what distinguished them depending on variables, such as task type (Duff, 1986; Long, 1981; Pica, Doughty, & Young, 1987) and contextual variables (Long, Adams, McLean, & Castaños, 1976) as well as learner characteristics, such as level of proficiency and gender (Gass & Varonis, 1986).

According to Spada and Lightbown (2009), the speaking task type studies often compared interactions borne of one-way or two-way tasks, the former requiring only *one* speaker to share information with their interlocutor(s), the latter calling for *each* speaker to share information mutually for the success of the task. As noted elsewhere in this book, a number of these studies found that two-way tasks produced more interaction and negotiation for meaning than one-way tasks did (Gass & Varonis, 1985a; Long, 1981; Pica, Young and Dougherty, 1987).

Spada and Lightbown (2009) have also reported that an early study of L2 learner interaction explored issues related to classroom contexts and compared characteristics of L2 learner talk in teacher-fronted classroom contexts and group work (Long et al., 1976). It found that learners produced more talk and a wider range of linguistic functions (e.g. asking questions, seeking clarification etc.) in group work. However, since the group work did not form an integral part of the regular class work, some researchers were prompted to ask whether there would have been as much negotiating if the task had been implemented within the regular lesson. For instance, Rulon and McCreary (1986) argued that if the tasks were contextualized,

the students' background knowledge of the topic would be activated, making them more familiar with the concepts and vocabulary of the task. Thus, the time spent negotiating meaning would be reduced and the possibility of discussing the content of the task would be increased, resulting in an effective use of discussion time. (Rulon & McCreary, 1986, p. 183)

Indeed, with most of the early interaction research taking place outside the L2 classroom, Nunan was prompted to argue, 'If context is important to research outcomes, then we need far more of these classroom-based, as opposed to classroom-oriented, studies' (Nunan, 1991, p. 103). (The call for further classroom-based interaction research is discussed in Section 3.3.)

According to Spada and Lightbown (2009), even the early days of interaction studies saw research conducted in the classroom in what Chaudron (1988) and others called *interaction analysis*. The classroom-based studies in this vein include Allen, Fröhlich, and Spada (1984), Fanselow (1977) and others. Interaction analysis offered researchers an alternative to global method-comparison studies, which had compared teaching methods and approaches on a large scale, usually leading to inconclusive results (e.g. Chastain, 1969, and Smith, 1970). SLA findings and the Interaction Hypothesis encouraged many researchers to conclude

that the inconclusive findings from global method-comparison studies could well have been due to the lack of detailed information about classroom teaching and learning – and led Long (1980) to refer to the classroom as a mysterious and uncharted ‘black box’ (not to be conflated with the ‘black box’ metaphor of the learner’s mind noted in Sections 2.3 and 4.3).

Spada and Lightbown (2009) have reported that a great many studies in the 1980s and 1990s described this black box systematically and in detail. This included research on question types (Long & Sato, 1983), turn allocation (Seliger, 1977), wait time (J. White & Lightbown, 1984), corrective feedback (Chaudron, 1977), language choice (Duff & Polio, 1990; Polio & Duff, 1994), the extent to which classrooms adhered to CLT principles (Fröhlich, Spada, & Allen, 1985), and the ways in which teachers modify their talk to what they consider to be the needs of their learners (Chaudron, 1983). According to Spada and Lightbown (2009), such studies change the focus from the *product* of classroom learning – based on achievement or proficiency test scores – to the *processes* in classroom interaction.

Spada and Lightbown (2009) have noted that many of these process-oriented studies also suffered from limitations. They were mostly descriptive, just as the earlier laboratory studies had been. They also lacked the theoretical underpinnings to predict the sorts of classroom processes that would be conducive to language development. Spada and Lightbown have further reported that a growing concern with an overemphasis on *meaning* at the expense of *form* in the classroom prompted a long series of studies on the effects of form-focused instruction and corrective feedback on L2 learning (e.g. Day & Shapson, 1991; Doughty, 1991; Harley, 1989; Lightbown & Spada, 1990; Spada, 1987).

According to Spada and Lightbown (2009), one study that set out to investigate negotiation for meaning in classroom settings (Foster, 1998) raised questions about whether meaning negotiation took place frequently enough in the classroom to play a significant role in L2 acquisition. (This seminal study is noted in Section 3.3 and discussed in more detail in Section 4.4). Similarly, Lyster (2007) has pointed out that although negotiation for meaning has been proposed as a chief characteristic of content-based instruction (Genesee, 1987; Met, 1994; Rebuffot, 1993; Tardif, 1991), its component moves, key to laboratory-based interaction, have not occurred with such frequency in the classroom, either in learner–learner interaction (Aston, 1986; Foster & Ohta, 2005) or in teacher–learner interaction (Lyster, 2002a; Musumeci, 1996). Ultimately, with the findings on negotiation for meaning being mixed overall, Spada and

Lightbown (2009) have pointed to a need for more research in *both* laboratory and classroom settings to ascertain characteristics of context (FL vs L2), setting (laboratory v classroom) and task type (one-way vs two-way, open vs closed etc.) that will likely produce negotiation for meaning and thus learning. (Task types are discussed in Section 3.6.)

With Long's (1996) revised Interaction Hypothesis (detailed in Section 2.2.1), as Spada and Lightbown (2009) have observed, studies began to explore the link between conversational interaction and L2 learning. Pica urged researchers to round out a process orientation with a focus on outcomes: 'most [negotiation] research has taken a process approach toward characterising L2 learning through negotiation, but if negotiation's role in learning is to be tested more fully, an outcome approach will be necessary as well' (Pica, 1994, p. 519). This call led to over 40 such studies in the decade or so that followed (Mackey, 2007).

As Spada and Lightbown (2009) have observed, Long's (1996) revised Interaction Hypothesis has laid greater emphasis on individual cognitive processing, especially on learners' noticing specific features of language in input and on the role of corrective feedback, than the original version. This, in turn, led to a great many studies – classroom as well as laboratory studies – on corrective feedback with a particular focus on recasts. While understandings of this important interactional feature may vary, L2 researchers have commonly used the following definition of recasts: 'utterances that repeat a learner's incorrect utterance, making only the changes necessary to produce a correct utterance, without changing the meaning', for example,

NNS: The boy have many flowers in the basket.

NS: Yes, the boy has many flowers in the basket.

(Nicholas, Lightbown, & Spada, 2001, p. 732).

I would point out that this definition is in line with Long's (1996) definition, noted previously, yet represents a shift from the stress on *children* learning their L1 to that of *any* learner developing their L2 interlanguage. Indeed, interaction studies typically draw on data produced by post-puberty learners, not children. While these results would certainly be of use to teachers, researchers and teacher–researchers that focus on younger learners, the key difference in the age factor with all its implications for learning should certainly be borne in mind.

Spada and Lightbown (2009) reported that recasts have been found to be the most common kind of interactional feedback in a range of L2 and FL classrooms (Chaudron, 1977; Loewen, 2004; Lyster & Ranta, 1997;

Ohta, 2000; Y. Sheen, 2004). They also noted that, in most studies, recasts have been demonstrated to produce the *least* uptake, which is defined as any of a number of potential learner responses to teacher feedback and is thought to indicate learner awareness that the feedback refers to linguistic *form* and not *meaning* (Lyster, 1998; Mori, 2002; Y. Sheen, 2006).

According to Spada and Lightbown (2009), numerous laboratory-based experimental studies of recasts have concluded that recasts aid learners in attending to the difference between their own initial utterance and the recast. They have also pointed to laboratory studies that demonstrate that negotiation with recasts produces more L2 development than negotiation without them (Han, 2002; Iwashita, 2003; Leeman, 2003; Long et al., 1998; Mackey & Philp, 1998). In contrast, they have noted, classroom-based quasi-experimental research has shown that recasts are *less* effective than other forms of corrective feedback, for example, prompts, such as ‘What did you just say?’ or ‘Can you repeat that?’, both in promoting uptake and in facilitating learning (Ammar & Spada, 2006; Ellis, Loewen, & Erlam, 2006; Lyster, 2004;). In my own context, young adult learners at an upper-intermediate level of English at a Hungarian university actually tend to respond more effectively to prompts, which push them to reconsider their lexico-grammatical choices, than to recasts, which, for many of them, call to mind the way an adult might speak to a child.

Spada and Lightbown (2009) have suggested that, while recasts are effective in laboratory settings, they may be less so in the classroom. Furthermore, they have reported that even among classrooms, overall instructional orientation may make a difference in learner uptake and repair in response to corrective feedback. For example, in a study by Lyster and Mori (2006), Japanese L2 learners nearly always repaired their utterances after recasts, while French L2 learners seldom did. It was argued that since the Japanese classrooms were form-focused and the French classrooms were meaning-focused, the learners in the first group had become accustomed to attending to form and thus noticing corrective feedback, while the French L2 learners were inclined to focus on meaning and thus view a recast as confirmation of the intended meaning of their utterance. Lyster and Mori (2006) have thus posited the *counterbalance hypothesis*, the assumption that learners will more probably notice feedback that is atypical of the classroom interaction they are used to. Spada and Lightbown (2009) have pointed out that this finding is in line with other interaction research, for example, a meta-analysis by Mackey and Goo (2007). Here it was noted that studies in *foreign* language contexts demonstrated a far greater effect for the benefits of interaction

than those in *second* language settings. It was suggested that this was because FL learners generally have fewer opportunities to engage in interaction beyond the classroom and that FL instruction tends to be more form-oriented than L2 instruction.

Finally, Spada and Lightbown (2009) have called for more research in interaction on: (1) the long-term effects of interaction and (2) both the role of particular interaction features in L2 learning and the interplay between them and (a) context (L2 vs FL), (b) setting (classroom vs laboratory), (c) pedagogic focus within the classroom (non-linguistic subject matter, classroom management, language etc.) and (d) particular language features (grammar, lexis, pronunciation). They have also highlighted the need for studies that both define and operationalize interactional features such as recasts in exactly the same way. Further, contexts and methodologies have to be defined with care. In their view, replication studies in this area are also crucial, as are a great many more classroom-based studies – particularly in classrooms in which the interactional features are completely incorporated into the regular instruction. They have observed that this will allow for a closer investigation of the way in which features of interaction, such as negotiation for meaning and corrective feedback, promote both use and development in the L2 when they operate in combination with the variety of linguistic and other behaviours in actual classroom contexts.

More recently, interaction research has seen a new shift in approach from the purely cognitive to an embracing of the social as well. This is illustrated well in Philp and Mackey (2010). This study found that (1) relationships among learners influenced what they were both willing and able to listen to and attend to during their interaction and (2) this influenced what they produced. The authors realised that a shift toward a focus on social concerns was essential to understanding the participants' L2 production more fully. Indeed, four years on, Mackey (2014, p. 380) has observed that the interaction approach to L2 learning is 'currently evolving to include a social dimension' and that 'typical methods of inquiry associated with it are expanding in parallel'.

Since Philp and Mackey's 2010 study, whole volumes have approached interaction from a number of perspectives. McDonough and Mackey (2013) have collected a range of empirical research studies that investigate interaction using both cognitive and social approaches in a broad range of educational settings, that is, not only different kinds of classrooms in different countries, but also computer laboratories and – unique to that volume – conversation groups. In particular, Ziegler, Seals, Ammons, Lake, Hamrick, and Rebuschat (2013) have examined how German L2 learners develop a conversational style over a number of

conversation group meetings and McDonough and Hernández González (2013) have examined language production opportunities that pre-service teachers facilitate during whole group interaction.

Another volume, Philp, Adams, and Iwashita (2014) is a solid synthesis of research on the role of peer interaction in L2 learning. It has reviewed the features of effective peer interaction for L2 learning within a variety of educational contexts, age spans, professional levels and classroom tasks and settings.

The variety of recent perspectives on interaction research is also well illustrated by McDonough, Crawford, and Mackey (2015). This is an exploratory study of whether creativity as a factor can offer insights into L2 learners' speaking task performance. As such, it is a valuable contribution to a very fresh research endeavour: better understanding the link between creativity, one of the twenty-first-century skills, and L2 production. Indeed, with others of these skills, such as collaboration, decision-making and problem-solving, long having been essential to task-based interaction, the link between this sort of interaction and these and other twenty-first-century skills (e.g. innovation and critical thinking) certainly bears further study.

The question arises, then, whether interaction actually facilitates second language learning, as Long (1996) has posited. It would certainly appear so. A meta-analysis of task-based interaction studies (1980–2003) undertaken by Keck, Iberri-Shea, Tracy-Ventura, and Wa-Mbaleka (2006) reviewed 14 sample studies that met strict inclusion and exclusion criteria. The study found that experimental groups outperformed control groups in both grammar and lexis on immediate and delayed post-tests, target-essential tasks yielded larger effects than target-useful tasks, and opportunities for output play a crucial role in the learning process. Another meta-analysis of 28 studies of general interaction involving learners demonstrated large mean effect sizes across immediate and delayed post-tests and concluded that interaction strongly facilitates the learning of both lexical and grammatical target items (Mackey & Goo, 2007). These findings are certainly compelling and thus prompt one to ascertain the potential for implementing interaction-centred teaching paradigms such as TBLT and to explore task-based (and other) interaction in one's own context. This is one aim of the present study.

2.3. A sociocultural theory of mind

Much interaction research has been criticised for its understanding of the learner's mind as a black box which stores information that has been

processed from linguistic input and which is then accessed for output (cf. Lantolf, 2000a). Described as ‘input crunching’ by Donato (1994), this notion of learning that information is received and then processed in the brain and incorporated into mental structures that provide various kinds of knowledge and skills has been thought to greatly limit our understanding of how language learning may take place and, more specifically, of the diversity of ways in which interaction may serve this goal. Indeed, the black box metaphor is so pervasive ‘that many people find it difficult to conceive of neural computation as a theory, it must surely be a fact’ (Lantolf, 1996, p. 725).

A sociocultural theory of mind (SCT) provides an entirely different perspective on the role of interaction in language learning (cf. Lantolf, 2000a). First developed by Lev Vygotsky (1978, 1987), the influential Soviet developmental psychologist, and elaborated further by Leontiev (1981), Wertsch (1985) and others, this theory of learning posits that the human mind is mediated (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987). It stresses the role of *mediated learning* in enabling learners to exercise conscious control over such mental activities as attention, planning and problem-solving. In this theory, mediation involves the adaptation and reorganisation of genetically endowed capacities into higher-order forms through the use of some material tool (e.g. a computer), through interaction with another person or through the use of symbols (e.g. language).

For Vygotsky (1978), language was the most powerful of these symbols, or ‘signs’, as he called them. In human development, language becomes an autonomous tool both to organise and control thought. In Vygotskian theory, therefore, language is considered a means of not only engaging in social interaction, but also managing mental activity. According to Lantolf (2000b), mediation in second language learning entails:

- (1) mediation by *others* in social interaction;
- (2) mediation by the *self* in private speech; and
- (3) mediation by *artefacts*, e.g. tasks and technology.

Mediation can be (1) external, with a novice receiving assistance in carrying out a task either from an expert or from some artefact, or (2) internal, such that a person makes use of their own resources to take control of the task. In SCT, external mediation is the means through which we attain internal mediation. According to Lantolf (2000b), development represents an individual’s (or a group’s) appropriating the mediational means to which they have been provided access by others around them (in

the past or present) so that they can improve control over their own mental ability. Thus, the focus of language learning in SCT is not on individual acquisition, but rather on how new language forms and meanings emerge from either the social or the intrapersonal language activity in which learners participate (Lantolf, 2000c).

With regard to mediated learning and using language as a tool, Swain (2000) has reported on studies conducted by Vygotskian researcher Talyzina (1981) on the three stages required for the transformation of material forms of activity into mental forms of activity: (1) a material (or materialized) action stage; (2) an external speech stage; and (3) a final mental action stage. In this transformative process, the learner starts with speech drawing their attention to a particular phenomenon in stage 1, moves on to formulating verbally what they are now able to carry out in practice (in stage 2), and finally arrives at stage 3, in which speech is reduced and automated. Thus, verbalization is seen in SCT as crucial to internalizing knowledge. In fact, in one study, Talyzina found that when the intermediate external speech stage was omitted, learning was inhibited 'because verbalization helps the process of abstracting essential properties from non-essential ones, a process that is necessary for an action to be translated into a conceptual form,' i.e. 'verbalization mediates the internalization of external activity' (cited in Swain, 2000, p. 105).

According to SCT, thinking and speaking are interrelated in a dialectic unity in which publicly derived speech completes privately initiated thought. Thus, if we sever this dialectic unity, we give up the possibility of understanding human mental capacities. In Vygotsky's own analogy, an individual analysis of hydrogen and oxygen tells us nothing of how water can extinguish a fire. As Vygotsky (1987, p. 251) argues, 'Speech does not merely serve as the expression of developed thought. Thought is restructured as it is transformed into speech. It is not expressed but completed in the word'.

2.3.1. The zone of proximal development

Another key component of the theory is the zone of proximal development (ZPD), the difference between what a learner can achieve when acting alone and what he can accomplish with support from someone else and/or from cultural artefacts. At the point when a skill becomes autonomous and stable, a new zone can be formed. This means that classroom materials, e.g. speaking tasks, must be planned in such a way that they present the right challenge for learners in that they are called on to use language form and meaning that makes it possible for them to dynamically construct

ZPDs. According to R. Ellis (2003), the concept of the ZPD explains the variability of learner performance. (1) A learner may be unable to use a language structure, whatever the external mediation. This is because they cannot construct the ZPD that enables them to use that structure. (2) A learner can use a structure with assistance from someone else, but not independently. This is because they can construct a ZPD that enables them to use the structure, but they have not internalized it as yet. Finally, (3) a learner has managed to internalize a new structure. This is because they have appropriated the structure for which they have created the necessary ZPD with external mediation.

The chief means of mediation is verbal interaction. In SCT, learning, and thus language learning, is dialogically based. Verbal interaction can actually be either monologic or dialogic, as both mediate learning, but it is dialogic interaction that is seen as central. It makes it possible for an expert (e.g. a teacher) to create an environment in which novices can play an active part in their own learning and in which the expert can adjust the support they provide the novices (Anton, 1999). Dialogic interaction serves to establish intersubjectivity, enabling verbal interaction to mediate learning.

Vygotsky (1987) posited that as they learn children progress from *object-regulation*, where actions are determined by objects they encounter around them, to *other-regulation*, at which point they learn to take control over an object, but only with assistance from another, usually expert person, and finally to *self-regulation*, where they become capable of independent strategic functioning. It is verbal interaction, especially the dialogic sort, that is chiefly responsible for enabling children to advance from other- to self-regulation. Similarly, in language learning, learners of any age use new language forms and functions in interactions with others and then internalize them so they can use them independently. (For example, Ohta (2000) and others have investigated ZPD among adult learners.) In theory, learning occurs when learners actually use a new skill to achieve a new goal. This notion is central to collaborative acts.

2.3.2. Scaffolding and collaborative dialogue

The metaphor of scaffolding, drawn from developmental psychology and L1 learning, also plays a central role in SCT. In scaffolding, a knowledgeable participant can establish supportive conditions through talk, in which a novice can take part and develop existing skills and knowledge to higher levels of competence (Greenfield, 1984; Wood,

Bruner, & Ross, 1976). Wood, Bruner, and Ross have identified six features for scaffolded help:

- 1) *recruiting* interest in the task;
 - 2) *simplifying* the task;
 - 3) *maintaining* pursuit of the goal;
 - 4) *marking* critical features and discrepancies between what has been produced and the ideal solution;
 - 5) *controlling* frustration during problem solving; and
 - 6) *demonstrating* an idealized version of the act to be performed.
- (Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976, p. 98)

According to Wertsch (1979), scaffolded performance is a dialogically constituted, interpsychological mechanism that facilitates a novice's internalization of knowledge that has been co-constructed in a shared activity. Donato (1994, p. 41) demonstrated that 'collaborative work among language learners provides the same opportunity for scaffolded help as in expert–novice relationships in the everyday setting'. R. Ellis (2003, p. 182) has agreed, pointing out that there is 'clear evidence that L2 learners can collaboratively succeed in performing a task which none of them could perform alone'. Thus, scaffolding may also be referred to as collaborative dialogue, which Swain (2000, p. 102) defines as 'dialogue in which speakers are engaged in problem solving and knowledge building'. Aspects of collaborative dialogue will be illustrated in Section 4.3.

2.3.3. Private speech

So far, mediated language learning has been discussed in terms of interpersonal interaction, but this can also happen through private speech (which Vygotsky (1987) originally called egocentric speech). Ohta (2001, p. 16) understood private speech as 'audible speech not adapted to an addressee' (as when a learner is attempting to work out a problem-solving task out loud on their own). Ohta explained private speech as a means through which new language forms are manipulated and practised and therefore begin to shift from the interpsychological to the intrapsychological plane. Vygotsky envisaged private speech as lying between social (external) and inner speech. Lantolf (2000b) noted that private speech may occur in two ways in L2 learning: (1) a learner may use their L1 and (2) they may use the L2, but set aside use of target forms even if they have already been internalized. In research, therefore, it is important to draw the distinction between private and social speech. Stafford (2013) has pointed out that

private speech operates much like social speech to aid adult learners in achieving self-regulation during L2 development.

2.3.4. Activity theory

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

According to Leontiev (1978), motives can be biologically determined, such as the need to seek shelter, and socially constructed, such as the need to learn a second language. Wertsch, Minick, and Arns (1984) have demonstrated how motives are socioculturally determined. The study found that middle-class and undereducated rural mothers responded divergently in the way they guided their children through a puzzle-copying task. The middle-class mothers demonstrated a desire to teach their children how to carry out the task so that they could do other, like tasks in the future. Their motive was pedagogic. They used strategic statements such as 'now look to see what comes next', and it was only when these did not bear fruit that they used referential statements such as 'try the red piece here'. In contrast, the rural mothers saw the task as a labour activity of the sort that they were normally expected to do in their daily work. Mistakes are naturally seen as costly in such contexts, so they endeavoured to stop their children from making mistakes by guiding their moves with referential statements. Thus, the different motives of the different groups of mothers led to different activities and were reflected in different patterns of language use.

Activity theory makes a distinction between three dimensions, or levels, of cognition: motives, goals and operations. According to Lantolf and Appel,

the level of motive answers why something is done, the level of goal answers what is done, and the level of operations answers how it is done. The link between socioculturally defined motives and concrete operations is provided by semiotic systems, of which language is the most powerful and pervasive. (Lantolf & Appel, 1994, pp. 21–22)

Thus, as will be demonstrated in Section 4.2, a task will result in different kinds of activity because different people will perceive the task with different motives. Indeed, as pointed out above, not only will different learners view a task differently, the same learners might even perceive the same task differently on different occasions. In fact, with its stress on learner motives, activity theory also sheds light on the part of the study on learner beliefs described in Section 4.1. As will be discussed there, learners' beliefs about their present and future language learning are largely determined by their experiences as learners in the past. These socioculturally determined motives also play a role in the moves learners make in interacting with each other, as will be seen in Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

It should be noted at this point that the terms *motive* and *motivation* are often used as synonyms. However, a distinction is drawn between them in activity theory in terms of learning and the activities in which learners engage in that regard. Leontiev (1978) posited that particular activities take shape when a basic human need is satisfied by a particular object in the material world. That object, in his system, is the actual motive of the activity. However, such activities are not individual in origin; they develop within society and through history in actions undertaken collectively at a particular place and time. Thus, *motives* are what drive activity systems in a way that individuals may not even realise, while *motivation* is rather individual in nature. It centres on an individual's need to achieve success by participating in a particular activity.

Research on motivation in language learning was launched by Canadian social psychologists Gardner and Lambert (1972) and carried on by Clément (1986), Dörnyei (1990), Muchnick and Wolfe (1982) and others. For long, this research saw motivation as a static construct within individual learners, though a more recent stress placed on sociocultural, relational and dynamic systems perspectives in motivation research (Dörnyei, 2009; Dörnyei, Henry, & Muir, 2016; Ushioda, 2007, 2009) has perhaps begun to blur the lines between the two terms distinguished above. Nonetheless, beyond an analysis of participants' motivation as individuals in Section 4.1, this book focuses primarily on Vygotskian motive and employs the term as long understood by SCT theorists.

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

CHAPTER THREE

A SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED APPROACH

This chapter on the research design for the study is divided into nine sections. First, I elaborate on the framework within which the research was designed, establish the context of the study, list my research questions, and introduce the participants. I go on to explain the two phases of the study: the questionnaire/interview phase and the task performance phase. I then describe the instruments and procedure used to collect the data for the study. Finally, I discuss the paradigm of classroom-based research that underlies the task performance phase of the study and close the chapter with a rationale for the choice of the speaking task type employed in the research.

3.1. Framework for the research design

The framework for my research design is shaped by the knowledge claims, or assumptions, I have made and the methods of data collection I have applied. I will discuss each of these in turn.

The knowledge claims I make in this book can be viewed as ‘socially constructed’, or ‘constructivist’ (Creswell, 2003). This positions me in a research tradition primarily associated with the sociologist Mannheim ([1936] 2010) and developed by theorists Berger and Luckmann ([1966] 1991) and Lincoln and Guba (1985). (The term ‘constructivist’ was previously mentioned with regard to collaborative speaker interaction in Chapter One (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987). However, it should be stressed that this Vygotskian term would appear to be from a distinct, though certainly parallel intellectual tradition to that discussed in this section. The theoretical background of the term used in this Vygotskian sense has been discussed in Section 2.3 as will the relevant findings from this study in Sections 4.3 and 4.4.)

Mannheim posited that it is impossible to assign greater truth-value to one viewpoint than to any other. Rather, he observed, as we come to understand the world around us, we can mediate different viewpoints and form a more complete understanding. Central to Berger and Luckmann’s

([1966] 1991) arguments is a definition of ‘reality’ and ‘knowledge’. They asserted that ‘reality’ is socially constructed, that it is a quality tied to phenomena that we consider as being independent of our own will. In other words, reality exists, no matter how disordered or dysfunctional it may seem to us. Berger and Luckmann saw ‘knowledge’ as the certainty that those phenomena actually exist and that they display particular features. They pointed out that ‘knowledge’ and ‘reality’ vary from one society to the next and that the scholar’s role is to ascertain what is seen as ‘knowledge’ in a particular society. Finally, Lincoln and Guba (1985) discussed how researchers in the social sciences can move beyond conventional positivistic approaches with a naturalistic technique, one which focuses on how people act in everyday situations.

In keeping with this tradition, the data collection methods applied in this study are qualitative; they involve a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, and recording and analysis of speaking data. Nunan and Bailey (2009, p. 412) observed that ‘qualitative data have to do with meanings’ and that they have ‘an immediacy and ways of touching us that quantitative data typically do not’. It is this immediacy and visceral understanding of the data that are among the emphases of this study.

One aim of research within the constructivist paradigm is to rely, to the extent possible, on participants’ view of the situation under examination (Creswell, 2003). The first part of the study in this book (Section 4.1), which forms the questionnaire/interview phase (described below), examines learner beliefs in line with this aim. Dörnyei and Taguchi (2010, p. 109) have observed that the questionnaire–interview combination is the most common in questionnaire research and that a questionnaire is the most common instrument to collect background information on participants in a classroom study. The interview questions and most of the questionnaire items are open-ended, thus allowing for a fuller exploration of participants’ views. With the few questionnaire items that are closed-ended, it was thought that certain questions lent themselves to the simplicity and efficiency of limited answer options (e.g. What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level)).

Creswell (2003, p. 8) has also observed that scholars ‘position themselves’ in their research as they acknowledge how their understandings are linked to their own personal, cultural and historical experiences. The parts of the study reported in Sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 are illustrative of classroom-based research, an approach (discussed in Section 3.8) which takes the researcher away from the laboratory conditions so common to applied linguistics research and into the naturalistic setting of the classroom. (This task performance phase is described in Section 3.5.)

3.2. Context of the study

The study was conducted in Szeged, a city in southern Hungary on the River Tisza. With 160,000 inhabitants, it is the biggest city in the country's Southern Alföld region and the third largest in Hungary. Popular among both domestic and foreign tourists for its many sights and festivals, Szeged also boasts a large international student body.

Indeed, at the heart of the city lies the University of Szeged. With its 2300 instructors and researchers and 25,000 students, the university dominates the economic, cultural and intellectual landscape of the city. Its international students are attracted both through exchange programmes, such as Erasmus, and through foreign language-medium courses of study (in French, German and English). At the same time, a sizeable portion of the student population is drawn from the towns and villages of the region, often the first in their families to be admitted to university. Similarly, many ethnic Hungarians in the nearby Vajdaság/Voivodina region of Serbia are also attracted to Szeged (and other universities in Hungary) by greater prospects for social mobility, wider-ranging opportunities and a way out of a disadvantaged minority status (Takács, 2015).

Among the more popular courses of study at the university are the English and American Studies bachelor's degree courses (and a recently resuscitated five-year English teacher training course) at the Institute of English and American Studies. It is within this context that the study was conducted.

The particular class on which the study was centred was Communication Skills, an upper-intermediate English for academic purposes (EAP) speaking class. The class is held for 90 minutes once a week for one term and forms part of students' language practice in the first phase of their course of study. The aim of the class is to provide learners with an opportunity to develop both the interactional and transactional speaking skills that are required for their studies – and beyond – and, more immediately, to prepare them for an advanced speaking exam (approximately C1 on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) scale; Council of Europe, 2001) at the end of the first phase of their studies.

3.3. Research questions

As noted in Chapter One, the study reported in this book aims to answer the following six research questions (RQ):

- RQ1:** What is the view and experience of these learners as regards English (and other foreign) language learning in Hungary?
- RQ2:** How does their view and experience inform their attitude to the task-based language learning and teaching (TBLT) paradigm?
- RQ3:** In what ways do these learners contribute to the implementation of speaking tasks in the classroom?
- RQ4:** In what ways do these learners collaborate in interaction?
- RQ5:** To what extent and why does learner interaction actually break down, as generally assumed, for meaning negotiation?
- RQ6:** To the extent that negotiation for meaning is uncommon in this context, what might explain this phenomenon?

These questions are addressed in turn in the four parts of the study (discussed in Chapter Four). RQ1 and RQ2 on learners' language learning experience are covered in the first part (Section 4.1), which comprises the questionnaire/interview phase of the research (see Section 3.5 below). RQ3 on the nature of learner contributions is dealt with in the next part of the study (Section 4.2). RQ4 on learner collaboration in interaction is answered in the third part (Section 4.3), and, finally, RQ5 and RQ6 on communication breakdowns are discussed in the final portion of the study (Section 4.4) – with these latter three parts comprising the task performance phase of the research (see Section 3.5).

3.4. Participants

The participants in this study were students enrolled in one of three sections of the Communication Skills classes noted above in the first phase of one of the three-year Bachelor's programmes also noted above. The vast majority of these learners had acquired English in primary and secondary schools in Hungary, an experience which naturally informs their 'script', i.e. their educational expectations, for FL learning (cf. Newton, 2006). Commonly, their language learning experience had not included much practice with speaking or writing, thus explaining why learners putatively approaching the C1 level might perform at a relatively low level in their spoken interaction when confronted with a speaking task (as will become clear from the speaking data excerpts in Chapter Four). Since the learners also knew (because I told them) that they were not being assessed and that the aim of the task was to communicate their ideas on the task to one another, this too might well have affected the fluency, accuracy and complexity of their performance.

The rest of the learners (never comprising more than a fifth of a particular class) came from other regions of Europe through the Erasmus student mobility scheme and thus brought with them their own FL learning scripts, which tended to be distinct from that of the Hungarians. (The latter learners' language learning histories and speaking task performance data are not included in this study but will be compared to those of the Hungarians in another one).

Almost all of the University of Szeged students were specialized in English or American Studies, while the rest were taking a minor in one of these fields and studying another main subject in the arts and sciences (for example, maths, biology, history or German language and literature). As at other Hungarian universities, it is a long-standing tradition that the medium of instruction in all English and American Studies classes is English. Indeed, this custom of teaching a subject area tied to a modern FL in that very language generally obtains at Hungary's universities (for instance, at the German, French, and Italian languages and literatures programmes), as it does at universities in certain other countries in the region, such as Serbia and Romania (Erzsébet Barát, personal communication, 3 June 2014). Although the methodology of teaching in Szeged's English and American Studies classes ranges from tutor lecturing to more student-activating methods (including discussions and student presentations), using English as the medium of instruction clearly presupposes students' possessing a strong command of academic English.

The participants were 18 to 24 years old and fell within a proficiency range of upper-intermediate to advanced (B2+–C1) learners of English, based on a diagnostic test administered at the beginning of their first year. They were all aiming to attain a sufficient score on an in-house proficiency exam at the end of the first phase of their studies to indicate a C1 level – although, as noted above, many of the speaking task performances in the samples suggest a far lower proficiency. They all spoke Hungarian as a L1, though not all of them were from Hungary as such, with six out of the 57 participants having come from Serbia's Vajdaság/Voivodina region just across the border. As mentioned previously, 44 participants completed the questionnaire, 18 of these also joined the interview portion of the study, and a total of 57 participants (including the 44 questionnaire respondents) took part in the task performance phase (see Figure 2).

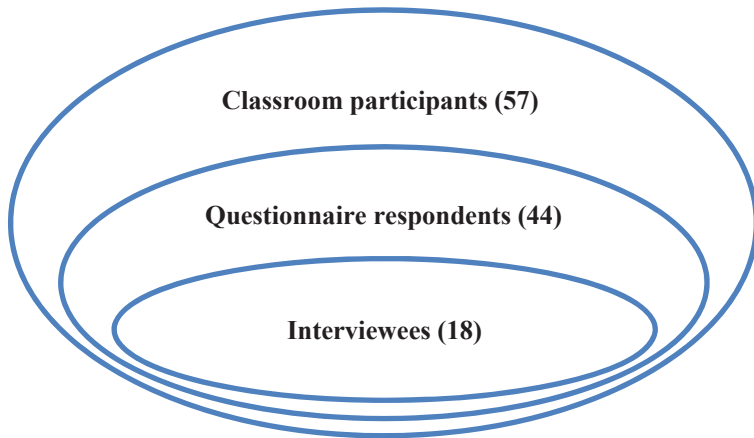


Figure 2. Participant breakdown

3.5. The two phases of the study

As the study broadly seeks (1) to investigate learner beliefs in a Hungarian EFL context (as per the first two research questions in Section 3.3 above) and (2) to explore the nature of interaction produced in the implementation of speaking tasks in that same context (as per the remaining four research questions above), the research can be broken down into two phases with two sets of data: the questionnaire/interview phase and the task performance phase.

In the questionnaire/interview phase, the study explores the possibilities for the TBLT paradigm in a Hungarian EFL context through an examination of learner beliefs about language learning and teaching. The data was collected through a questionnaire and semi-structured interview (described below) in the teacher–researcher’s office, with the findings reported in the part of the study on learner beliefs in Section 4.1.

In the task performance phase, the study analyses the various kinds of interaction the same learners produce in engaging in speaking tasks in a task-based classroom. The speaking tasks are described below, with the results discussed in the parts of the study on learner interaction (Sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4). The classroom-based research paradigm within which the study was conducted is also covered below (in Section 3.8).

3.6. Instruments

This section will describe the three (sets of) instruments used in the two phases of the study: the questionnaire and interview in the first phase and the two speaking tasks in the task performance phase.

3.6.1. The questionnaire

The questionnaire consists of 13 items designed to elicit information about the respondents' personal background and their experience and understanding of language learning. The questions aim to establish, for example, what English language-related activities learners engage in beyond their classroom instruction and what sorts of activities they believe are most effective inside the classroom (see Appendix A). As noted previously, the questions were mostly open-ended so as not to restrict the respondents in providing the richest possible answers. The questionnaire was completed by 44 participants.

3.6.2. The interview

I based the design of the interview questions on concepts that are of central concern to TBLT. Questions 1–3 deal with learners' views of form-focused teaching: how form is taught (cf. distinction between FonF v. focus on forms in Doughty & J. Williams, 1998, and covered in Chapter Two) and how errors are viewed and handled (see e.g. Lyster, 2001). Question 4 addresses group and pair work and thus hints at the reduced role of the teacher (see e.g. Willis, 1996). Question 5 focuses on teachers' promoting learner responsibility – and empowerment (Long, 2005). Questions 6 and 7 examine learners' experience of needs analysis and individualized instruction (Long, 2005). Question 8 offers the learners an opportunity to provide any additional impressions, and, finally, question 9 has learners look at their – usually first – recent experience of TBLT in our class. The interview questions have two aims: to ascertain the learners' second language learning experience (questions 1–8) and to gather their reflections on their exposure to the TBLT paradigm (question 9). The particular questions are listed in the section on procedure below.

3.6.3. The speaking tasks

The speaking tasks used in the task performance phase of the study are classified as decision-making tasks (see Section 3.9 on the choice of

speaking tasks below for a typology of such tasks). Specifically, they are called ‘Lord Moulton’s millions’ and ‘The scholarship’, and they have been borrowed from Penny Ur’s readily available and aptly named *Discussions that work* (1981, pp. 74–77) (see Appendix B). In these tasks, learners must work together to select a candidate from a list of several who are all slightly flawed in some way and then to argue the pros and cons of each of the candidates until they can agree on one – and only one: the heir to Lord Moulton’s fortune in one and the recipient of a single scholarship for law school in the other.

3.7. Procedure

In this section, I describe the procedure within the two phases discussed above. I cover the administration of the questionnaire and the interview (which fall within the questionnaire/ interview phase) and the speaking tasks (in the task performance phase) as well as the processing of the two sets of data from each of the two phases. As noted previously, the various data was collected in the autumn term of 2009 for a small-scale study. The four parts of the study reported in this book grew out of that as an ever increasing quantity of the data was processed and analysed.

3.7.1. The questionnaire

The English-language questionnaire was administered to the members of three sections of the Communication Skills class described above during the final fifteen minutes of the second of two class sessions devoted to the project. I explained to them how to fill in the questionnaire and what the data would be used for. The administration was paper-and-pencil, and it took place in the regular classroom. A total of 44 of the 57 participants completed and returned the questionnaire.

3.7.2. The interview

Each interview lasted between 25 and 35 minutes and was administered one-on-one in my office just down the hall from our regular classroom within two weeks of the task-based lessons. They were recorded on a readily available cassette tape player and subsequently transcribed. A total of 18 volunteers selected at random took part from the larger population that had participated in the TBLT classes. The language of the interview was English. A short, warm-up conversation – important in making the

learners feel as comfortable as possible in this potentially stressful situation – was followed by the following questions:

- 1) How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students? What do you think about that?
- 2) How much have your foreign language teachers corrected their students' grammatical errors in the classroom? What kinds of errors have they corrected? What do you think about that?
- 3) How have you learned grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learned and will not be forgotten. Have you experienced this sort of thing? How do you feel grammar should be covered?
- 4) How much have your teachers used group or pair work in the foreign language classroom? How useful do you feel that has been? How much do you think it should be used in the classroom?
- 5) 'Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom.' Have your teachers tried to encourage this? What do you think of this statement?
- 6) Have your teachers generally used a given textbook and not other materials or rather a mix of materials? What about their own materials? What is your view of this?
- 7) Have your teachers used materials or topics that you feel are really interesting? Have they taught you vocabulary and grammar that you feel you will need?
- 8) What have been the most successful teaching techniques or ideas you have experienced in the past?
- 9) What did you think of the classes we did with the speaking tasks? What purpose, if any, do you think they served? Do you think a language class made up entirely of such tasks would be effective?

Although these constituted the core questions, I asked additional questions ad hoc as a learner's response seemed to call for further exploration. The interviews were thus semi-structured.

3.7.3. The speaking tasks

In the task performance phase, the instruments consisted of two speaking tasks. The two different tasks were performed as a normal classroom activity on two different occasions within three different classes, i.e. by

three different groups of learners. A total of 57 learners gathered into dyads (and, where necessary, triads) and recorded their own performance on their mobile phones. Within a few hours of these recordings, the audio files were transmitted (by Bluetooth or email) to the researcher–teacher for later transcription, marking and analysis (see transcripts in Appendix E).

Prior to their performing the tasks, I explained to the learners that their participation would aid me greatly in my research, the broad purpose of which was to explore learner performance on speaking tasks from various perspectives. I assured them that their performance was not being assessed or graded and that their data would remain anonymous. (All the names used in the data have been changed.)

In terms of the normal flow of the class, I endeavoured to minimize any potential disruptive effect of the speaking tasks. Indeed, as the learners were doing a number of similar tasks throughout the term as part of the regular syllabus, the only clear difference with these particular tasks from the learners' point of view was that their performance was being recorded for later analysis. (Such regularity is important from the perspective of classroom-based research, as discussed below.)

As the tasks were being completed, I observed the dyads and made notes on their performance for later feedback. I then discussed their performance with them in terms of content and form.

3.7.4. Processing the data

The data from the three (sets of) instruments was processed as appropriate. First, I collated the data from the questionnaire and used content analysis with a focus on gaining a clearer understanding of the language learning backgrounds of the participants with a particular focus on their reflections on their own experience of participating in task-based lessons and performing speaking tasks in class (see Appendix C for the completed questionnaires). Second, I transcribed the interview recordings and used content analysis for this data as well (see Appendix D for the transcripts, though the warm-up phase of each interview was generally omitted as it was not thought to be germane). Participant responses naturally fell into three major thematic groups: Learning form; Classroom management; and Reflections on the TBLT experience. The results from both the questionnaire and interviews are discussed in Section 4.1.

Finally, the transcripts from the learners' speaking task performance (see Appendix E) provided the raw data for a conversation analysis, which is a type of analysis appropriate to naturalistic, spoken data (Nunan & Bailey, 2009, p. 423). The qualitative findings from the analysis are

discussed in the parts of the study described in Sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4. These consist of various interactional phenomena that occur in task performance, including collaborative processes that Samuda and Bygate term ‘constructivist’ (2008, p. 117). (As noted previously, this Vygotskian sense of the term ‘constructivist’ is distinct from that used by Mannheim ([1936] 2010) and others for their own research tradition.)

3.8. Classroom-based research

As noted above, the task performance phase of the study was conducted by a teacher–researcher in keeping with the classroom-based research paradigm. A similar emic (insider) perspective characterised the questionnaire/interview phase as well – though, as has been described (in Sections 3.5 and 3.7), the interview setting was the teacher–researcher’s office, not the classroom. Unlike most research on tasks that takes place under controlled laboratory conditions, classroom-based research attempts to explore the possibilities of tasks in action in authentic classroom conditions. TBLT 2005, the first of a series of biennial international conferences devoted solely to TBLT, pointed out the importance – and dearth – of such research. Examples of such studies include Foster’s (1998) exploration of negotiation for meaning in the classroom, Eckerth’s (2009) replication of Foster’s research, and Kumaravadivelu’s study (2007, p. 11) on learners’ perceptions of tasks with his primary concern for ‘preserving the normality of the classroom to the extent possible’.

Limited resources represent an important aspect of classroom conditions. For instance, time is crucial for adult learners who need to develop the language skills they require particularly for their working lives. Materials and equipment form another concern. González-Lloret (2007) described how she created computer-assisted language learning (CALL) materials for her own Spanish language learners at the University of Hawai’i in her own free time and with no funding. Outside the relatively well-equipped and well-funded educational settings of affluent countries, the classroom conditions in developing countries in the periphery (Phillipson, 1992) and semiperiphery (Blagojević, 2005) – a term for the point in the social, political and economic development of a country or region, so called because it is thought to be situated halfway between the developing periphery and the developed core – are arguably much further removed from the laboratory conditions of the SLA classroom research studies mentioned above. The need for more research that explores how tasks are actually implemented in intact classrooms is huge. This need has been especially strong for research on learners’

spoken interaction and negotiation for meaning in particular, with scholars suggesting (e.g. Foster, 1998) that a classroom setting may well lead to different results than conventional laboratory conditions.

3.9. Choice of speaking tasks

The pedagogic task was defined in Section 2.1.1. In this section, I narrow the discussion of task to the type used to promote spoken interaction, I review the different types of speaking task, and I provide justification for the speaking task type selected (as described in Section 3.6.3). I describe the particular speaking tasks and comment on the appropriateness of the source of the tasks employed.

Broadly speaking, a task can cover any of the four language skills (reading, writing, listening and speaking), either individually or in combination. For example, one task may have learners put a set of pictures in order to tell a story and then write the story down, while another task may prompt them to watch a short video on a controversial issue, discuss it and then report on their conclusions. A task may call for learners to work individually, in pairs or in groups. The non-linguistic outcome of a task (see Section 2.1.1) may take many forms, including a decision made, a problem solved and information exchanged.

While a task may certainly cover any of the four language skills, the focus in TBLT has generally been on speaking. Most speaking tasks are designed to necessitate learner interaction, since research shows that this greatly facilitates language learning (see the metastudies by Keck et al. (2006) on task-based interaction and by Mackey & Goo (2007) on general interaction involving learners noted at the end of Section 2.2).

Pica, Kanagy, and Falodun (1993, p. 21) described five types of speaking task and assess their efficacy in terms of the opportunity they provide learners to achieve three objectives: (1) to work toward comprehension; (2) to receive feedback; and (3) to modify their interlanguage. The five task types are:

- jigsaw,
- information gap,
- problem-solving,
- decision-making and
- opinion-exchange.

Of the first two on the list, both involve a sharing of information, but the first involves a two-way flow of information as learners cooperate

toward the same goal (Pica et al., 1993, p. 20). In the second, according to Johnson (1981), one learner asks questions and the other provides the missing information in a one-way flow of information. The other three types are self-explanatory. Pica and her colleagues (p. 22) noted, however, that problem-solving tasks are thought to result in a single outcome (Duff, 1986; Ur, 1984) and that decision-making tasks, similarly, are expected to work toward the same outcome but have a number of possible outcomes (Doughty & Pica, 1986; Pica & Doughty, 1985). Finally, opinion-exchange tasks, such as debates, appear not to be oriented toward a specific outcome.

From their analysis of these task types in classroom use, Pica, Kanagy and Falodun found that jigsaw and information gap were the most efficacious in terms of the three goals they identify (above) and that opinion-exchange was the least. This would suggest that opinion-exchange is the least desirable type of task. On the other hand, Ur (1981, p. 15) appeared to assign priority to the opportunity for learners to interact; she therefore recommended ‘open-ended tasks’, denoting those ‘requiring the gathering or proposing of ideas unlimited by one predetermined “right” result’.

I chose two decision-making tasks for the task performance phase of the study, both of which entail learners arguing for or against several choices in an effort to arrive at a single outcome – a single outcome that may vary from one group of learners to another, as Pica and her colleagues observed (Pica et al., 1993). This choice is in line with Ur’s point about open-ended tasks (Ur, 1981). It is also very much suited to these learners’ discursual needs as university students (to be afforded the opportunity to form and express thoughts critically, to agree and disagree (fully or partly), to argue and concede a point etc.) and indeed facilitative of the skills development they require in this area (particularly in their L2) to succeed in an academic setting and in their professional lives beyond. (I refer the reader to mention made of the twenty-first-century skills in Chapter One and elsewhere.) Such competences can also be found on the illustrative scales for spoken interaction at the B2 and C1 levels in the CEFR (2001).

While it has been pointed out to me that the particular speaking tasks I selected (see the section on instruments above) draw on themes that are socially, economically and culturally irrelevant for a great many learners in the world (for example, in the case of ‘Lord Moulton’s millions’, what possible affinity might a young person in southern Hungary be expected to feel for a dead British peer and his inexplicable and presumably unearned millions?), I have found that these tasks and others like them have proved

to be generally engaging and motivating for this particular population of learners over the years. Furthermore, language learners in Hungary are generally familiar with the cultures commonly associated with the languages they learn in the classroom (the British, American and other Anglophone cultures for English, the German, Austrian and other German-language cultures for German etc.), so, while some may see these themes as odd, they are certainly familiar. (I will set aside the important debate here about a culturally neutral European English, international English or English as a lingua franca, though a shift from the NS speaker to the proficient NNS speaker has been touched on in Section 2.2.1.)

Finally, it is precisely such teaching materials that are readily available to teachers in this context, having been distributed widely to teacher training programmes and schools in Hungary in the early 1990s in the wake of the country's regime change (see Medgyes & Malderez (1996) for a review of the changes in English language teaching and teacher training in Hungary during the period, a topic noted in the part of the study reported in Section 4.1). Thus, in keeping with the spirit of classroom-based research of using normally available materials, I determined that these would be appropriate for my purposes.

CHAPTER FOUR

LEARNER EXPECTATIONS, LEARNER INTERACTIONS

This chapter reports on the four, related parts of the study described previously. First, ‘Learner expectations’ (Section 4.1) elicits learners’ reflections on their own language learning toward an understanding of their beliefs, or motives, and, in particular, their receptiveness to the TBLT paradigm. A quote from one of the learner–participants (Attila) in the study, ‘I ... couldn’t communicate at all, so it was really hard’, represents a fairly common expression of frustration with the language learning the learners in this population have experienced. Second, the part of the study on learner contributions, entitled ‘Learner unpredictability in speaking task performance’ (Section 4.2), explores various manifestations of the learners’ motives in implementing speaking tasks toward lessons learned for the teacher in this regard. Third, ‘A sociocultural exploration of speaking task performance’ (Section 4.3) continues the theme of socially determined understandings of language learning in an investigation of collaborative dialogue in learner interaction. Finally, ‘A dearth of communication breakdowns’ (Section 4.4) provides data on negotiation moves resulting from communication breakdowns and seeks to explain why such moves occur so rarely in this data.

4.1. Learner expectations: ‘...*this* is not good and *this* is not good and *this* is not good....’

Steeped in a schooling tradition described by R. White (1988) as classical humanist, the educational landscape of Hungary shares many of the features of that of its neighbours on what Blagojević (2005) calls the ‘semiperiphery’ of Europe. Within this context, and specifically in Hungary, EFL teaching is marked by ‘a close reliance on textbooks and a strong concern for accuracy, drilling and rote learning’ (Pintér, 2007, p. 135).

Against this backdrop, this part of the study uses both a questionnaire and one-on-one semi-structured interviews to explore the individual EFL

(and other FL) learning histories of a particular group of Hungarian university students (described in detail in Chapter Three). It analyses their reflections on their own experience of participating in task-based lessons and performing speaking tasks.

This section reports on an effort to ascertain how years of experience with the teaching/learning paradigm noted above impact a learner's view of such tasks in language education. It also discusses the implications of these learners' beliefs for their own language learning. It seeks an answer to the following two research questions in particular:

- RQ1:** What is the view and experience of these learners as regards English (and other foreign) language learning in Hungary?
- RQ2:** How does their view and experience inform their attitude to the task-based language learning and teaching (TBLT) paradigm?

4.1.1. Hungarian learners' script and its implications

In this section, I will discuss the script, or educational expectations, of the learners involved. Second, I will cover the link between learner expectations and the cognitions learners develop as future teachers.

4.1.1.1. Hungarian learners' script

What is the script that Hungarian learners have developed during their language learning careers? In a number of studies carried out in Hungarian primary and secondary schools (Bors, Lugossy, & Nikolov, 2001; Nikolov, 2000, 2003; Nikolov & Józsa, 2003; Nikolov & Nagy, 2003), Marianne Nikolov and her colleagues found that actual teaching practice varies widely. In one study involving learners in Grades 6 and 8, it was discovered that, while practice does include CLT that centres on meaning-making, role play, real-world situations and authentic materials with learners actively involved and using language to reach relevant goals, teacher-fronted class work with the teacher asking closed questions and learners answering individually was far more common. Furthermore, in both German and English FL classes, the traditions of grammar-translation and drilling remained strong: reading aloud, translating and completing grammar exercises were among the most frequent student activities, while watching videos, discussions, role plays and language games were among the least frequent. The strongest emphasis was laid on language skills and reading, with translation being understood to be equivalent to meaning making.

Nor did the learners find any of this to be motivating. Retrospective interviews carried out by Nikolov and Nagy (2003) revealed that the most common procedures were found to be the least motivating and vice versa.

In another study in Hungary involving 30 EFL teachers' classes in Grades 1–5, Nikolov (2008) used classroom observation and teacher interviews to place participants' teaching practice into three broad categories based on the degree to which they reflected generally accepted principles of primary language teaching: good, acceptable and to be avoided.

Eight out of the 30 teachers were considered to use good language teaching practices. They varied the types of work they asked their learners to do, engaging them in activities that were clear and interesting, that they could perform at a good pace, and that was in line with their attention span and interests. Most of the learners working in groups were active and appeared to enjoy their work and to understand what their teachers expected of them. Their teachers taught the class in English for the most part, regularly evaluated their learners' work, had clearly established a rapport with the children, and aided them in their development by offering sufficient examples, providing them with opportunities to practise, and paying attention to the learners' reactions and work.

Twelve of the 30 teachers were thought to use acceptable, mixed practices. They sometimes used activities that were motivating, challenging and suitable for their learners' age and language ability. At other times, they focused on language form, grammar practice, translation and mechanical drills. They often had discipline problems, and only some of the children fully participated in activities. They used English half or less of the class time. In fact, they often used Hungarian in situations when the target language would also have been clear, for example, in giving directions, explaining activities, disciplining and evaluating.

Finally, ten out of the 30 teachers used classroom practices that were deemed to be less than optimal. They often used L1 in class, even exclusively in many cases, while class size was very small (2–3). They organised activities that their learners appeared to find boring, and their classroom interaction was entirely teacher-fronted, consisting of translation exercises, explicit instruction of grammar rules, and memorization and repetition of context-reduced vocabulary. Meanwhile, unsuccessful disciplining was common.

In terms of motivation, barring monotonous activities, the children in all the classes were enthusiastic, active, interested and motivated. Of the teachers, 16 were relatively motivated and enthusiastic, while 14 were disheartened, depressed, impatient, dissatisfied and, in some cases,

antagonistic with the children. As became clear in the interviews, they would prefer to be teaching in the upper primary years or in secondary school.

Secondary school pupils appear to be exposed to similar teacher-fronted, grammar- and translation-oriented paradigms – and find them just as un motivating (as Nikolov (1999) observed among disadvantaged high school students). Having studied the language learning script of their first-year ELT students at the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, Rádai and Shanklin (1996, p. 29) noted that their students ‘seem to believe that the explicit learning of rules can improve their language competence’. In training their students to become effective learners, they also found that their learners were only familiar with the traditional method of keeping vocabulary notebooks with a discrete English-language item on the left and its Hungarian equivalent on the right. Other approaches, such as associative tasks and context-related word cards with alternate forms were unfamiliar. In my own experience, first-year students at the University of Szeged are often uncertain and therefore hesitant about a vocabulary building task that invites them to use a new, thematically unified set of vocabulary to describe their own meaning. Rádai and Shanklin (1996, pp. 29–30) also found that far from being part of a process of actively developing a lexical repertoire tied to their individual needs, students felt it to be the tutor’s responsibility to select new vocabulary items for them to learn – clearly a reflex from years of teacher-led, teacher-fronted language learning.

Similarly, Rádai and Shanklin (1996, p. 31) observed that first-year university students would rather that the tutor instructed them explicitly on language rules they are to commit to memory and see a tutor who does so as a competent authority. They are disinclined to analyse and compare language rules themselves. However, if a tutor provides different solutions ‘based on context, changing use, language variety, or – God forbid – uncertainty, the tutor is viewed as less competent or wishy-washy’ (Rádai & Shanklin, 1996, p. 31). This echoes Furka’s (2011, p. 72) observation that Hungarian students are socialized to see teachers as the ‘source of all information’, as opposed to facilitators or partners in learning. Likewise, Pohl (1994, p. 154) noted a typical first-year student response to his efforts to raise language awareness: ‘I feel learners wish to be presented with a lot of rules – that’s what school trained them for. They *want* to see language black and white. I was also taught English like that. Now it’s hard to be an analyst’.

4.1.1.2. Teachers in the making

ELT training in Hungary has traditionally relied heavily on courses in literature and theoretical linguistics with methodology courses ‘regarded as add-ons’ followed by a ‘brief spell of actual teaching practice’ (Medgyes, 1996, p. 1). While a fair command of English is assumed, the basic philosophy is that English language teachers should be experts in the humanities and develop teaching skills as they go (Medgyes, 1996).

While important teacher education reforms were implemented in Hungary in the early 1990s (see Medgyes & Malderez (1996) for a review of a programme at the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest), ELT training, with minimal tuition in second language teaching principles, remains fairly traditional. Methodology modules are centred on presenting a string of methods and approaches in primarily practical terms and in a chronological order that culminates in the perceived orthodoxy of the day, which typically represents the state of the field around the time the reforms were first implemented by the Hungarian government and when funding and other resources from the British Council and other Western organisations were injected into the system. In fact, these courses offer little connection to any principles that may have informed these methods or approaches or to any empirical evidence that may bear out their effectiveness in the classroom.

The methodology exam at the end of the training tends to elicit declarative rather than procedural knowledge (Ildikó Pálos, personal communication, 3 April 2012). Examinees are not asked to assess or apply particular teaching principles, compare or contrast theory, or synthesize or analyse the knowledge they have acquired. While a nationally mandated ten-page classroom research paper represented a short-lived attempt to encourage teacher trainees to forge a link between teaching theory and practice, the rest of the training has tended to neglect these links. Indeed, in writing about his own ELT practitioner–trainer colleagues at the Eötvös Loránd University, Pohl (1996, p. 47) has observed that an ‘applied science model’ (Wallace, 1991) in Hungarian university education has left most of them suspicious of the role of theory in teacher education – and thus reinforces their determination to steer clear of the perceived dangers of what R. White (1988) has called theory-driven practice. Similarly, after I had asked one of my own Hungarian colleagues at the University of Szeged to observe and comment on a relatively hands-on pre-service lesson I taught on the theory and practice of the lexical approach, she – after a bit of nudging – finally offered: ‘It was a bit too theoretical, wasn’t it?’

Nor is a sense of lifelong learning or a critical approach to learning ingrained in the students. Medgyes and Malderez (1996, p. 113) reported that students in their context 'are unused to taking responsibility for their own learning and, as successful products of the system, they often have difficulty challenging the models of teaching and learning that worked for them'.

While teacher training may well be ineffectual, the methodological example that teachers set for learners as potential future teachers is very influential indeed. In a small-scale survey of English language teachers (T. Williams, 2007) in two primary schools in Szeged, I found that teachers claimed to be most influenced by their former teachers. According to Lortie (1975), schoolchildren observe and evaluate their own teachers over thousands of hours and form preconceptions about teaching in an 'apprenticeship of observation', which is peculiar to teaching. These preconceptions about teaching linger on into teacher education and strongly affect practitioners' subsequent teaching – notwithstanding the considerable efforts of teacher training. Indeed, a number of studies (Bailey, Bergthold, Braunstein, Jagodzinski Fleischman, Holbrook, Tuman, Waissbluth, & Zambo, 1996; Johnson, 1994; Numrich, 1996; Warford & Reeves, 2003) has found that a primary effect on future teachers' beliefs about teaching was their own experience as learners. In fact, Warford and Reeves (2003) observed that the influence of the 'apprenticeship of observation' may be even more powerful on NNS teachers of a particular FL/L2 than on their NS peers; they suggest that this may stem from the fact that NNS language teachers, often operating in an L2 environment as they do, are in an ongoing language learning experience themselves. The research on how teacher education influences the previous beliefs of pre-service teachers in general has yielded contradictory findings, with some seeing teacher training as having little effect (Kagan, 1992; Richardson, 1996) and others concluding that it does affect teachers' cognitions (Adams & Krockover, 1997; Kettle & Sellars, 1996; Sariscany & Pettigrew, 1997). Work on the impact of education courses on future FL/L2 teachers has also found that such courses do exercise an influence (Borg, 2005; MacDonald, Badger, & White, 2001; Richards, Ho, & Giblin, 1996). However, Borg (2006) has pointed out that where some effect was detected in these studies, it could also have been an earlier belief that was reinforced! He has also noted that one must take some results with a grain of salt because teacher trainees may accommodate their behaviours to what is expected of them during an assessment (Borg, 2006).

Given the uncertain influence teacher education has on prospective teachers and given the powerful impact their own teachers have had on them, the cumulative and long-term effect that today's teachers have on future teachers' practice should give rise to teacher training activities in which students confront and compare their preconceptions with the theoretical, practical and experiential knowledge that is currently available.

In the foregoing, I have described the types of FL teaching experience learners are exposed to in primary and secondary schools in this context and the system of teacher education that largely perpetuates the script they develop through that experience. In what follows, I will describe the research perspectives that have informed this study.

4.1.2. Theoretical foundations

This part of the study was informed by three broad areas: the TBLT paradigm and classroom-based research, discussed in previous chapters, and learner beliefs research, reviewed here. Learners' beliefs about language learning are commonly thought to impact on their actual language learning processes. In a review of studies on learner beliefs, Bernat and Gvozdenko (2005) concluded that learners' notions about language learning may well affect their motivation, experiences and behaviours in the classroom. As such, these notions could create an obstacle to or a springboard for language learning.

Two early studies explored the character of such beliefs. Wenden (1986, 1987) studied 25 adults learning advanced English as a second language (ESL) at a US university. She elicited their opinions on language learning in semi-structured interviews and then summed them up according to twelve explicit statements, which were divided into three broad categories: (1) how we use the language as we learn it; (2) how we learn about the target language; and (3) what personal factors are involved in language learning. Wenden found that these learners' beliefs represented a wide range of cognitions, but that each learner's set of ideas could easily be placed in one of the three categories she had created.

Horwitz (1987) used a 34-item questionnaire (The Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory, or BALLI) to ascertain the beliefs of 32 intermediate learners from a variety of ethnic backgrounds in an intensive English programme (IEP) at a US university. Horwitz discussed her findings in terms of five general areas: FL learning aptitude; language learning difficulty; the nature of language learning; learning and communication strategies; and motivation and expectations. It was found that 81 per cent of the learners held the view that a person either possessed an inborn

language learning aptitude or not – but they also felt certain that they were among the ones who did (Horwitz, 1987). Many respondents entertained restrictive ideas about how people learn language: for example, language is best learned by memorizing vocabulary and grammar rules. And 94 per cent of these learners felt one needed to know about Anglophone cultures to be able to speak English well (Horwitz, 1987).

In a small-scale study of two learners, Abraham and Vann (1987) found some proof that beliefs influence learning outcomes. The learners, Gerardo and Pedro, shared some of the same notions about language learning (e.g. it was important to practise as much as possible), but they diverged in other ways (e.g. Gerardo felt attending to grammar was key, while Pedro disliked metalanguage). In the end, Gerardo outperformed Pedro on the TOEFL, whereas Pedro outscored Gerardo on a speaking test. The suggestion was that certain views of language learning may lead to certain kinds of achievement.

But what determines language learning beliefs? In random samples of students of foreign languages at Trinity College, Dublin, Little, Singleton, and Silvius (1984) found that learners' educational experience, and particularly their language learning experience, greatly influenced their attitudes toward language learning.

It is this past experience of language learning that I explore in this part of the study through a questionnaire (see Appendix A) and semi-structured interviews (with questions listed in Section 3.7.2) toward an understanding of learners' current preferences and potential openness to the TBLT paradigm.

The purpose of this phase of the study is to gain an insight into these learners' scripts and their beliefs about learning and to ascertain how these impact their likelihood to benefit from a technique that is presumed to be novel for them. It is expected that the findings will add to those of past studies noted in previous chapters and above in the areas of classroom-based research on task performance and research on learner beliefs. It is also hoped that it will edge the teaching and teacher education communities in this context toward more possibilities for principled innovation.

4.1.3. Results

The nature of the findings from the questionnaire and interviews reflects differences in design. The questionnaire was primarily intended to reveal what the learners value in language learning and teaching, while the interviews mainly explored what they have actually experienced in that area.

4.1.3.1. Results from the questionnaire

Both the personal backgrounds (age, sex, student status and parents' educational attainment) and language learning histories of the participants were covered in the questionnaire. (The completed questionnaires can be found in Appendix C.) First, I will summarize their personal background (Table 1). The vast majority of the learners (40) were aged between 18 and 20 (with three being 21 and one being 24) ($N=44$; $M=19.16$; $SD=1.18$). The mean for the ages suggests that the typical student was 19, with a relatively low standard deviation, which would have been even lower had it not been for our 24-year-old outlier. As for gender, the three groups consisted of 25 women and 19 men. In terms of their status as students of English, 36 were majored in that subject and eight were English minors who were typically specialized in other arts subjects (including history, Russian, Spanish, Hungarian and philosophy of arts) with one majoring in biology. As to their parents' educational attainment (the highest level of education at least one parent had completed), students fell into four groups of roughly the same size: four-year technical (secondary) school (12); (college preparatory) grammar school (11); college/undergraduate (11); and university/postgraduate (10). Thus, the students showed relative uniformity in age, gender and student status but great diversity in their parents' educational attainment – a diversity that is characteristic of Hungarian universities outside Budapest, where a larger proportion of students have professional-class parents.

Table 1. Participants' characteristics (N=44)

Age	18–20	40
	21	3
	24	1
Gender	Women	25
	Men	19

Degree status	English majors	36
	English minors	8
Parents' education (1 or both)	Four-year technical school	12
	Grammar school	11
	College/undergraduate	11
	University/postgraduate	10

Now I will report on the students' language learning histories. The number of hours a week they spent in English classes ranged from two to six. In response to the question of how many years they had been learning English, five said four to five years, 25 said eight to ten, and 14 said eleven or more (N=44; M=9.73; SD=2.61) (Table 2). Thus, students typically had learned English for over nine years, though a relatively large standard deviation confirms a fairly wide range of four to 17 years of English.

Table 2. Participants' EFL learning histories (N=44)

Years of EFL	4-5	5
	8-10	25
	≥11	14

As to other languages learned besides English, 23 reported they had taken one other language for two to four years, five responded they had had one other language for five or more years, eight stated that they had gone to lessons for two other languages for two or more years, and three said they had learned three or more other languages for two or more years (Table 3). Interestingly, from among the latter three groups, seven had been taking a FL (other than English) for a total of twelve or more years –

including the six students noted previously from the Vajdaság/Voivodina region of Serbia, who had all learned Serbian as a L2 throughout primary and secondary school. Finally, of the remaining five students, three had attended no other language classes, while two fell into the Other category. (Of the latter two, one had done Latin for one year, and the other had taken Italian for an unspecified period – though clearly long enough to realise that, as he put it, he ‘did not like [his] Italian teacher too much’.)

While some also mentioned having passed a Matura or proficiency exam in another FL, of real note are participants’ statements to the effect that, though they had gone to years of classes for a particular FL, they had made little headway in that language. As Albert phrased it, ‘I have learned German for nine years, however I have forgotten almost everything’. This is a common complaint in this milieu, reminding us that more time in the classroom (whether it is hours a week or years) means little if it is not time spent effectively.

Table 3. Participants’ FL learning histories (N=44)

Other FLs learned (yrs)	1 other FL (2–4 yrs)	23
	1 other FL (≥ 5 yrs)	5*
	2 other FLs (≥ 2 yrs)	8*
	≥ 3 other FLs (≥ 2 yrs)	3*
	No other FLs	3
	Other	2

*Of these learners, seven had taken one FL other than English for twelve or more years.

Certain items dealt with language learner motivation. One covered intrinsic motivation in particular: in response to the question of how much learners actually liked learning English on a Likert scale (with 1 meaning ‘not at all’ and 5 signifying ‘very much’), three selected the middling

rating of '3', 14 chose '4', suggesting they liked learning English somewhat, and a total of 27 opted for '5', which meant they liked learning English very much (N=44; M=4.55; SD=0.62) (Table 4). With a mean of 4.55 (and a relatively low standard deviation of 0.62), it is clear that the students generally enjoyed learning English. As some of the participants phrased it, 'I like this language', 'I love the English language itself' and 'It has been my favourite subject since primary school'. Intrinsic motivation would therefore appear to be relatively strong among these participants.

In fact, one wonders if some of the participants might have interpreted the phrase '*learning* English' as specifically doing the work that often accompanies classroom instruction, e.g. memorizing irregular verbs, doing grammar exercises etc., instead of acquiring the language in a broader sense, since the Hungarian equivalent to the verb *learn* (*tanul*) may well carry such connotations for them. Had this item perhaps been phrased or explained differently, more participants might have responded with a higher value.

Table 4. Participants' level of motivation (N=44)

Enjoys learning EFL	Neutral	3
	Somewhat	14
	Very much	27

Student aims or reasons for learning English ranged widely as follows: work (27); personal interest in/enthusiasm for English/language(s) (26); travel/living abroad/family abroad (11); Anglophone or other culture(s)/film/reading (9); communication/social use (8); and world language/importance of language (6) (Table 5). The variety in the learners' motivations is noteworthy. For example, responses such as 'work' clearly fall under instrumental motivation. Relevant comments included: 'I want to be a translator or teacher some day'; 'I'd like to speak it as perfectly as possible. I'd like to use it in my work'; and 'I would like to be a book translator'. Statements that indicated an instrumental motivation beyond career goals were: 'English is the language everybody speaks nowadays'; 'It helps me a lot when I go to a holiday'; and 'I'd like to read a lot of philosophical books in English'.

Answers that cite ‘Anglophone or other culture(s)’ suggest an integrative motivation. Here comments included: ‘I would like to live in an English-speaking country for a while’ and ‘I’m interested in other cultures and I really like making new friends’. Interestingly, these latter answers also hint at the evolution of the concept of integrativeness from Gardner’s early understanding that ‘students’ attitudes toward the specific language group are bound to influence how successful they will be in incorporating aspects of that language’ (Gardner, 1985, p. 6) to more recent interpretations by McClelland (2000), Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) and others of FL learners integrating into a world community that transcends any one target culture. (This change in perspective parallels the shift from NS to proficient NNS as model discussed in Section 2.2.1.) As most students offered more than one aim or reason, these categories are not mutually exclusive.

Table 5. Participants’ motivations (N=44)

Reasons for learning EFL	Work	27
	Interest in/enthusiasm for English/ language(s)	26
	Travel/living abroad/family abroad	11
	Anglophone/other culture(s)/film/reading	9
	Communication/social use	8
	World language/importance of language	6

Also related to learner motivation, an item on activities that required English outside the classroom generated a wide variety of responses (Table 6). Thirty-five reported they watched English-language television/cinema (one noted sci-fi series) or listened to English-language radio/podcasts. Certainly, it would have been interesting to distinguish between viewers and listeners here as FL viewing involves a range of aids to understanding (e.g. visual clues such as facial expressions and gestures), while FL

listening comprehension often proves elusive even to advanced FL learners (cf. Graham, 2006). However, the aim of this item was to ascertain how many participants exposed themselves to any sort of spoken English input from afar, whether by audio or video, and this was achieved.

In addition, thirty-four respondents listened to songs in English (one insisted that hip-hop was only good in that language). Thirty-three read in English (one specified Poe novels). Twenty-three chatted in English on the Internet. Twenty each had had private lessons and wrote letters or e-mails in English. Seventeen regularly talked to a native speaker, and five had lived in an Anglophone/foreign country. As students typically provided more than one response, these are not mutually exclusive. Finally, under the Other category, a range of answers provided by six respondents included using English in part-time jobs, writing music reviews for a website and writing dialogues about 'almost everything'.

Table 6. Learning activities beyond the classroom (N=44)

Activities outside EFL classroom	Watch video/listen to audio in English	35
	Listen to songs in English	34
	Read in English	33
	Chat in English on the Internet	23
	Have had private lessons	20
	Write letters/emails in English	20
	Regularly speak to NSs/foreigners	17
	Lived in Anglophone/foreign country	5
	Other	6

Similarly suggestive of learner motivation, another item on number of hours a week spent on homework or study tied to English lessons – beyond the activities noted above – elicited the following answers: eleven spent ½–4 hours per week; 20 spent 5–10; five spent 11 or more; and eight said that it depended on the week or that they didn’t know. Of the eight English minors, three devoted ½–4 hours per week to homework; five devoted 5–10; and none devoted 11 or more (Table 7). Doing homework is a potential indicator of motivation. Indeed, as Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) and others have pointed out, motivation consists of not only the *desire* or *need* to learn a L2, but also the *effort* put into it. However, as participants’ responses to this item varied greatly, no clear conclusions can be drawn.

Table 7. Engagement with homework (N=44)

Hrs/wk doing EFL homework	All respondents	½–4	11
		5–10	20
		≥11	5
		Depends/don’t know	8
	English minors only (N=8)	½–4	3
		5–10	5

In response to the question of what classroom activities they thought promote language learning most effectively, here too the learners proffered a variety of ideas: talking/discussion (40); translating (18); group/pair work (17); going over grammar exercises/multiple-choice tests (7); watching films and discussing them (3); writing, listening, and games (2 each); and, finally, singing, reading, reading a text and summarizing it, and reading a play aloud (1 each) (Table 8). These answers are likewise not mutually exclusive.

From among the most common responses provided here, it is noteworthy that the vast majority of the participants (91%) saw the value

of talking/discussion and a large portion of the students (39%) also noted group/pair work as useful in FL learning, suggesting a clear appreciation among these learners of CLT. Comments along these lines included: ‘Talking (!) and doing pair work, because I am not too brave, if I should speak in English’ and ‘Talking as much as possible. It improves your vocabulary and makes you braver. If you meet someone, you have to speak and not explain grammar rules’.

At the same time, a substantial percentage of the respondents (41%) also offered translating as a helpful FL classroom activity, implying an affinity for a more traditional paradigm. Even more interestingly, it was sometimes the very same learners who valued both types of activities. For instance, one participant made the remark: ‘In my opinion talking is useful to learn to speak nicely and translating is also important to build our vocabulary.’ More examples of this sort of pedagogic inconsistency in the interview data are discussed below.

In sharing their views on what they felt worked well in the FL classroom, respondents also offered criticism of what they had experienced. According to one, ‘In Hungary sometimes practising grammar and doing tests is taken more seriously than talking so people are afraid to talk and they have problems with communication (however they might know the grammar perfectly).’ Two others were somewhat more blunt: ‘Unfortunately, I didn’t have too good English teachers’ and ‘...at school the English education wasn’t too good’.

Table 8. Useful classroom activities (N=44)

Activities that work best in FL classroom	Talk/discussion	40
	Translating	18
	Group/pair work	17
	Review grammar exercises/multiple-choice tests	7
	Watch films and discuss them	3

	Writing	2
	Listening	2
	Games	2
	Other	4

Thus the questionnaire reveals primarily quantitative data about the learners as a group, though this is also rounded out by individual qualitative information; the interviews, on the other hand, uncover mainly qualitative data.

4.1.3.2. Results from the interview

Learner responses to the interview questions fell into a number of categories. The most salient points could be divided into three groups: Learning form; Classroom management; and Reflections on the TBLT experience. What follows is a report on the interview findings within those three areas.

Learning form

The learners generally described a learning experience in which grammatical forms and correctness were in the forefront. Some thought that this represented an important foundation to language learning, while others found it dry and un motivating. One learner, Attila, went so far as to say it had done him no good at all. When asked if he felt that he had been well prepared by classroom instruction in Hungary for a year in Australia with his family when he was 17, he answered, ‘No, I wasn’t. I couldn’t speak a word, literally, so I couldn’t understand what they were saying and [it] just was confusing’ (see Appendix D, data file 4, ll. 21–22). Perhaps it was a matter of an insufficient number of classroom hours before his Australian sojourn. How much classroom instruction had he had? His response was clear. ‘A lot! I started in Year 3 and finished in Year 11 here and literally couldn’t communicate at all, so it was really hard’ (Appendix D, data file 4, ll. 25–26).

The learners generally reported that teachers used a focus on forms approach that assumed an incremental mastery of successive forms. Albert

explained, ‘When we learned a new tense, we came to know everything about it. So I think it’s OK because for me I like to learn everything about that tense and I like to know how to use it properly’ (Appendix D, data file 2, ll. 69–71). This comment speaks volumes. Learners schooled in the classical humanist tradition, in which great stock is placed in a demonstrated knowledge of esteemed facts, tend to value such an exercise highly. It suggests completion, closure and a readiness to move on to the next level. (This tradition is discussed in greater detail in Section 4.4.) Similarly, Zsóka, a secondary school teacher assured me at a Budapest conference recently, ‘Well, of course, my ninth graders know the present perfect now. We covered it last month.’ This reflects a common view in this educational context that once material has been taught, it is known – or had better be.

Closely tied to this notion of mastery is a near intolerance of errors on the part of many teachers and an attendant dread on the part of learners that goes well beyond a natural need to save face. Alexandra speculated about learner anxiety in the following terms (see Appendix D, data file 6, ll. 143–148, 151–152):

When we start to learn a language, we have to learn a lot of rules and we have tests, and when we make a mistake, just a little mistake, they [teachers] don’t want to help us in this way, so they don’t correct it but give a mark 1 if you don’t know something. It’s so frustrating when somebody tells you *this* is not good and *this* is not good and *this* is not good.... It makes us nervous and anxious not to make a mistake....

The learners also reported certain other approaches to grammar teaching in which form takes precedence over meaning. For instance, Albert described a German class in which short dialogues were memorized and recited in class as an aid to learning and improving grammar in German or in other languages (Appendix D, data file 2, ll. 55–60):

It was just to learn how German grammar works, so it was like *Anna ist eine [sic!] ungarisches Mädchen*. It was the first sentence we had to learn, and everyone knew it because we had to memorize it. And it was good because we remembered ... that sentence. If you forget [how to say] ‘Hungarian’, [you realise,] oh, it’s *ungarisches* and we knew that from the sentence. So it was good in that way....

Clearly, Albert felt this technique had been successful – although he is the same student quoted in the report on the questionnaire findings as having ‘forgotten almost everything’ in German after having taken it for nine years. Likewise, another student described class work with fill-in-the-

gap practice grammar tests as an effective way to improve grammar. Indeed, the view that succeeding on a written grammar test – commonly a context-free, discrete-item, multiple-choice test – signifies language learning success was commonly held among the respondents. Translation exercises were also considered to be an effective way of improving language proficiency. This understanding harkens back to Nikolov's (2008) study, in which ten out of 30 teachers observed in Hungarian classrooms engaged in such practices as translation as a means of teaching, practices which Nikolov has characterised as being less than optimal (while another 12 out of 30 only relied on translation and comparable practices sometimes).

In contrast, another student spoke of immersion French lessons in which forms were covered as problems arose in communication, usually through speaking. He described a very motivating and creative classroom atmosphere. His account differed from those of most of the others.

Classroom management

The learners by and large described a teacher-fronted style of classroom management. The teacher typically interacts with the students by asking them questions, which are primarily of the display type, in which a simple demonstration of previously taught knowledge is required. Conversely, after a detailed explanation, a teacher might ask, 'Is that clear?', typically eliciting a face-saving silence.

As for the methodological formats their teachers used, the respondents offered a range of observations. For example, as Albert recalled, 'We rather worked individually. We got a task, we had to do it, and we spoke about it, [but] I don't remember that we did anything like this [pair work or group work]' (Appendix D, data file 2, ll. 65–66). In referring to an individually completed task that the class '*had to do*', this student calls to mind the findings on unmotivating classwork fastidiously micromanaged by the teacher reported earlier (in Section 4.1.1.1).

Péter remembered his experience as follows (Appendix D, data file 5, ll. 18–22):

We did group work ... more or less when we prepared for a final exam or a language exam, for example, we were working in groups for [speaking exam] practice, but sometimes we didn't work in groups because it wasn't needed.

This comment points to the power of the washback effect. In this context, providing students opportunities to practise speaking in pair or group work generally does not take precedence over other, more teacher-controlled methods – *unless* an upcoming proficiency exam calls for it.

As Attila put it, ‘I can’t think of any good activities that we did. Maybe in the first five minutes of the class, where we would have a bit of a chat with the teacher’ (Appendix D, data file 4, ll. 111–113). Here too little has been done to inspire or activate this learner in the classroom, and the little spoken interaction that did occur there seemed to be no more than a warm-up centred on the teacher.

Alexandra offered this pithy remark: ‘Teacher talks and student listens and you do work at home’ (Appendix D, data file 6, ll. 22–23). This touches on no fewer than three characteristic elements of this educational system: (1) the centrality of the teacher’s role in classroom activity to the near exclusion of all other options (discussed previously); (2) the passivity of the learner – indeed, tellingly, the word for student in Hungarian is *hallgató*, from the verb *hallgat*, meaning ‘listen, pay attention, stay quiet’; and (3) the primacy of homework – and no small amount of it at that – even from the early lower primary years.

In contrast, several learners had been familiarized with independent classwork. For instance, Anett described her experience with one secondary school EFL teacher (Appendix D, data file 3, ll. 40–42, 45–46, 49, 55–56):

We were given a topic and then we had to give our opinion, but in bigger groups – I don’t know why, but it was always in bigger groups of four or five. ... we had to talk about the topic and then we had to tell everyone what our opinion is. ... for example, women’s role in society. ... And those were motivating, I think, because everyone has a strong opinion on those kinds of topics.

Reflections on the speaking tasks

Both in class and in the interviews, the learners by and large responded favourably to the two sessions they had participated in. Clearly, there could have been any of a number of reasons for this. Perhaps the sessions represented no more than an enjoyable novelty. Possibly, the learners were assuming that a positive response was the preferred one and wanted to please their teacher–interviewer. Or, maybe, as many of them had expressed a preference for speaking over other aspects of language instruction or practice, it was natural that they would favour a speaking-centred lesson over, say, one on writing.

The fact that they specified what they liked about the classes, and the speaking tasks in particular, suggests that one can take their responses at face value. In the main, they were stimulated by a good argument, by the need to convince others of their view, by what they perceived to be the

quirky, but ultimately real-world quality of the tasks, and by the challenge of being forced to arrive at a difficult decision.

For example, Albert's comment was typical of the positive reactions, though his impressions might also have been coloured by previous classroom experiences (Appendix D, data file 2, ll. 142–146):

Well, it was good for speaking because we could argue ... and we had many options ... but I had always a strange feeling about working in groups because my experience, especially in the grammar school, was that everyone started to speak in Hungarian, OK, what did you see on TV last week? We didn't do the task properly.

Naturally, such a failure in group or pair work could have been due to the task design or task implementation or both – or, indeed, the activities in question might not even have met the criteria for a task at all – all points which Albert freely conceded.

None of the learners raised the common objection of two native speakers of one language perhaps finding it absurd to communicate in a language which is foreign to both of them. This may owe much to the design of the tasks. One naturally loses oneself in the work of completing them and forgets one's inhibitions. However, several learners expressed the concern of two Hungarians not necessarily noticing each other's errors and certainly not correcting them if they were noticed. For such learners, feedback must be immediate.

A complaint that a number of learners voiced was that their partner was unwilling to talk and that the conversation was therefore one-sided. Such reticence is not uncommon among Hungarians, and it surely cannot be helped – and may even be promoted – by the common teacher pre-occupation with errors noted above.

4.1.4. Discussion

The results of this part of the study appear to present a somewhat grimmer picture of FL teaching in Hungary than the findings of Nikolov and her colleagues. These learners seemed to have experienced less meaning-focused, learning-centred, holistic, real-world pedagogy than those researchers identified in their studies. This could be because arguably successful FL learners such as the ones in this study who have personal knowledge of several kinds of teaching techniques with several different teachers are willing or able to speak more critically about their language learning. It might well be the nature of young adults at university to speak critically. (One would certainly hope so – though critical thinking and

speaking skills are neither required nor encouraged in many quarters of Hungarian higher education.) Or perhaps it is because the interview questions seemed to encourage criticism of what most of them had generally encountered in the classroom in the past.

Overall, the learners seemed positively disposed towards TBLT, despite FL learning histories typically marked by the kinds of teacher-fronted, grammar- and translation-oriented classroom environments Nikolov and her colleagues described. Although some of the learners expressed a preference for such practices as translation, form-dominated exercises and text memorization, they also saw the pedagogic benefits of a task-based paradigm. Indeed, it would seem that these learners' scripts are still being written or perhaps re-written, a possibility that certainly bodes well for the potential success of principled, empirically backed classroom practices that might as yet be unfamiliar to them.

A learner's script is closely linked to a learner's beliefs. After all, if a learner expects certain things to happen in the FL classroom, they presumably also believe that they will work. Alternatively, they might simply have been conditioned to expect boring, unproductive classes. In Vygotskian theory, their socially and institutionally defined motives guide their thoughts and actions. At this point, let us recall Bernat and Gvozdenko's (2005) observation that learners' views about language learning may well affect their motivation and their experiences and behaviours in the classroom and that these views could thus hinder or boost their language learning success. If the learners in this study generally both understand and accept TBLT, then this would presumably suggest potential success with this paradigm. Harkening back to Abraham and Vann's (1987) suggestion that learner beliefs might affect specific learning outcomes, one is again heartened by the quantifiable potential for a teaching technique in which learners actually have a certain amount of faith. Certainly, this also highlights the importance of not only teaching learners, but also training them to grasp the rationale behind a new teaching technique like TBLT.

Finally, to the extent that many of these learners still held fast to some of their cherished beliefs based on their own experience, as observed above, it is entirely possible that with more exposure to TBLT, they might have embraced the paradigm more fully. I also realise that only one out of the nine questions, No. 9, dealt explicitly with TBLT and that this might have coloured the learners' sense of how important the researcher felt it was. Although other questions hinted at TBLT fundamentals – e.g. No. 4 asked about group and pair work, No. 5 about learner responsibility, and Nos. 6 and 7 about needs analysis and tailor-made instruction – learners

who are new to this paradigm could not have been expected to spot this. Even if they might well have caught the whiff of pedagogic novelty in those questions, a more explicit reference to TBLT might have elicited more support, as indeed TBLT-specific follow-up questions might have painted a different, more favourable picture. My rationale in formulating most of the questions in this implicit way was that I wished to steer clear of unduly suggesting to the learners that they should speak approvingly of TBLT, i.e. I was hoping to avoid ‘leading the witness’.

4.1.5. Conclusion

The findings from this part of the study may have implications for top-down or bottom-up innovation in language teaching as well as for pre-service and in-service teacher education. If effective, principled teaching practices are to be adopted in the classroom, it starts with making clear to both prospective and current teachers what their own beliefs are about learning and teaching – beliefs that were set long before they entered their first methodology class – and to encourage them to elaborate a principled set of teaching techniques to replace the intuitive sense of what they think works in the classroom, a sense that so many teachers have developed long ago largely based on their own ‘apprenticeship of observation’. This will make for more effective teaching and, presumably, more motivated teachers – this being key because, ultimately, only motivated teachers can motivate.

The findings also suggest that learners’ scripts and language learning beliefs may not necessarily be carved in stone. A learner may well be open even to a teaching paradigm to which they have only recently been exposed if it appears to work and if the rationale behind it is made clear.

Indeed, this part of the study has described a general openness to TBLT among a particular population of language learners: this, despite language learning histories that bespeak beliefs that may be at odds with TBLT principles. Certainly, cognitive dissonance would appear to be at work in the mind of a learner who sees two largely contradictory language learning paradigms as somehow compatible. Perhaps the contradiction lies in the superficiality with which any layperson might approach a specialized field like language pedagogy. At any rate, the openness these learners demonstrate suggests the possibility of a paradigm shift in language teaching in their context.

However, one wonders if the learners’ script that suggests a certain reliance on tools like translation and an incremental approach to teaching form should lead one to conclude that a task-*supported* programme (see

Müller-Hartmann & Schocker-von Ditfurth, 2011; Samuda & Bygate, 2008) should be implemented to ease learners and teachers into a sort of merger between the more familiar and the arguably more effective or if a bolder application of core task-based language learning and teaching (as in Flanders, see Van den Branden, 2006) is in order to afford learners and teachers an opportunity to develop a new script.

Finally, within an institutional context such as this one, that of learners developing their L2 through content, the benefits of content-based instruction (CBI) certainly bear mentioning. With its focus on relevant class material, learner engagement, hands-on learning, flexibility and adaptability, CBI shares a number of attributes with TBLT. Thus, learner openness to TBLT would also suggest openness to CBI as well.

This section has demonstrated the link between learners' motives in a particular language learning environment and the complex beliefs they have formed as products of that environment. The next section explores how these same motives inform their choices in contributing to task-based spoken interaction.

4.2. (Re-)shaping the task: Learner unpredictability in speaking task performance

It has been nearly 30 years since Breen ([1987b] 2009, p. 334) made the crucial distinction between 'task-as-workplan' and 'task-in-process' and the observation that 'any language learning task will be reinterpreted by a learner in his or her own terms'. Still, in that time, research on task performance has shown little vigour in responding to the challenge these points offer. Instead, as noted previously, much research on tasks has been conducted from a (laboratory-based) psycholinguistic perspective, which, while useful for a better grasp of the cognitive processes involved in language learning, tends to focus on the learner as a data processor.

In contrast, sociocultural research on tasks – particularly the classroom-based kind – has provided opportunities for more nuanced understandings of the diversity of learners' task performance. It is in this vein that this part of the study analyses the task-based spoken interaction of Hungarian students in the first year of an English/American Studies Bachelor's course and explores the unpredictable variety of approaches they take to meeting the demands of the task. This part is informed by three specific, complementary research perspectives: that of the language learning task and activity theory, discussed in Chapter Two, and classroom-based research, discussed in Chapter Three. It seeks an answer to the third of the six research questions listed in Chapters One and Three:

RQ3: In what ways do these learners contribute to the implementation of speaking tasks in the classroom?

It is anticipated that the findings will have implications for task development, lesson planning, and teachers' and learners' perceptions of classroom power relations.

In what follows, I point to the three perspectives that inform this portion of the study. I review relevant studies that have gone before. I then discuss my own research and findings and conclude with thoughts on the implications of such work.

4.2.1. Relevant studies

Though not abundant, a number of studies have been conducted on the role the learner plays in (re-)shaping the task. Several studies are covered here with a particular focus on Kumaravadivelu (1991) and categories he has proffered toward a clearer understanding of the gap between what teachers intend and how learners interpret the task at hand. Like the interaction studies discussed earlier (Section 2.2.3), this research generally focuses on post-puberty learners, not children, and thus researchers and practitioners with a primary interest in younger learners should bear this in mind when considering the results for their own contexts.

4.2.1.1. Learner contributions

Allwright (1983) has made the important distinction between the 'syllabus as plan' and the 'syllabus as reality'. In her study of classroom interaction, Slimani (1992, p. 209) has defined the former as 'a syllabus which attempts to predict what is likely to be learned from a planned learning event' and the latter as 'what actually happens in the midst of interactive work done by the participants'. She has concluded that ongoing interaction work creates a diversity of learning opportunities, which are formed (a) from the teacher's plan, (b) as a by-product of the teacher's plan, and (c) perhaps as a by-product of classroom interaction – independent of the teacher's plan. Indeed, Corder (1977, p. 2) has described lessons as 'co-productions' and 'socially constructed events' brought about by the 'cooperative enterprise' of both parties, where it is not merely what learners do in interaction that may come as a surprise to the teacher, but also what they take away from it. These points are fundamental to our understanding that what teachers – and materials developers – envisage for learners may not be what learners actually do in the classroom. A number

of studies have explored the contributions that learners make to the task as they plan and perform it.

As noted above, in his seminal study, Breen ([1987b] 2009) distinguished between the 'task-as-workplan' and the 'task-in-process'. He found a disparity between what learners derive from a task and what teachers – and task designers – intend the task to achieve. As he observed, 'Learners are capable of playing havoc with the most carefully designed and much-used task' (p. 333). However, beyond simply tolerating this, he pointed out, teachers must see that diverse outcomes are exactly what tasks were designed to generate. Coughlin and Duff (1994) demonstrated how the task-as-workplan is interpreted and re-shaped by learners in actual performance. In a similar paper, Murphy (2003) has pointed out that learner contributions increase the authenticity of the task by reflecting learners' personalities and interests and by potentially boosting learner satisfaction and motivation. In her study, Slimani-Rolls (2005) has stressed the importance of 'learner idiosyncrasy' over commonality in dyadic task performance and the inclusion of learners in a more thorough understanding of classroom life. In her study of learner task adaptation, Gourlay (2005, p. 209) has pointed out that a task cannot be understood as a 'static entity' and that we must also take active learner decision-making into consideration as well as the nature of the classroom process. She has observed that individual learners may interpret the task differently and thus use different language to interpret it, a situation that could stem from misinterpretation, but also from a deliberate strategy. Gourlay (2005, p. 215) has therefore suggested that an 'implicit procedural negotiation' between learners and teacher could represent a more constructive way of viewing learner task adaptation, thus suggesting 'a more fluid conception of "the task" in which the students' active choice of enactment determines exactly which skills and focus it will allow them to practise'. Finally, just as Breen has urged teachers to embrace a diversity of outcomes in learners' task performance, she too has encouraged teachers to see learner task adaptation 'as a sign of *success* in terms of learner-teacher negotiation, not a failure in teacher instruction-giving or learner comprehension' (Gourlay, 2005, p. 216). Alternatively, Samuda and Bygate (2008) have pointed out that the disparity between what it is hoped that learners will do with tasks and what they actually do may provide insights into possible improvements in task design, alternative ways of using tasks, and ways of briefing learners on task implementation in future.

4.2.1.2. A tentative taxonomy of sources of mismatch

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

In this study, Kumaravadivelu collected data on learners’ speaking task performance and created a tentative taxonomy of ten sources of mismatch, which is outlined in the figure below.

Table 9. Ten sources of mismatch in task performance (Kumaravadivelu, 1991, pp. 101–106)

Type	Source	Example
<i>Cognitive</i>	Mental processes or understanding of the world	Learner does not see how a home made of wood would be of additional value
<i>Communicative</i>	Skills through which learners exchange information	Learner has difficulty explaining a concept because a word is lacking
<i>Linguistic</i>	Syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic knowledge of the target language	Teacher does not anticipate that learner may be unfamiliar with a common abbreviation
<i>Pedagogic</i>	Teacher/learner perceptions of task objective(s)	Teachers and learners differ on task purpose, i.e. what is being learned or practised
<i>Strategic</i>	What learners do to learn and to regulate learning	Teacher envisages long discussion, while learners take short cut to conclude quickly

<i>Cultural</i>	Prior knowledge of relevant target cultural norms	Learner cannot see why anyone would rent something as personal as a wedding dress
<i>Evaluative</i>	Measures used by learners to monitor own language learning	Learner and teacher are at cross purposes as learner attempts to check understanding of grammar rule
<i>Procedural</i>	Paths chosen by learner to solve problem	Learner explains how to solve problem instead of providing actual solution
<i>Instructional</i>	Understanding of instructions for performing the task	Learner misunderstands key word in instructions
<i>Attitudinal</i>	Learners' attitude to nature of L2 learning/teaching, classroom culture, and teacher-learner relationship	Teacher and learner disagree on word use; learner finally defers to teacher as authority

Kumaravadivelu (1991) stresses that these categories are neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive. While most of these categories are clear, the difference between the strategic and procedural sources of mismatch perhaps requires some clarification. Kumaravadivelu (1991) contrasts the procedural, which involves 'locally-specified, currently-identified, bottom-up tactics which seek an immediate resolution to a specific problem' (p. 104), with the strategic, which 'pertains to broad-based, higher-level, top-down strategy which seeks an overall solution in a general language-learning situation' (pp. 104–105). The distinction becomes important when one replicates the original study.

4.2.2. The study

This part of the study explores how the 57 learners described previously contribute to a speaking task in a range of ways in line with Breen's important point about the change a task may undergo from the point it is designed to when it is implemented in the classroom to when it is actually performed by learners there. The task being implemented in this case (and described in Chapter Three) is called 'Lord Moulton's millions'; it has learners review a list of several less-than-perfect candidates to arrive at the

difficult decision of which of them should inherit a fortune left behind by a recently deceased millionaire who neglected to write a will. (The three samples below are taken from learners performing this task.) The purpose of the task – at least for the task designer and teacher – is for learners to argue for their own choice and against those of others so that they converge on a single candidate. Indeed, the learners were briefed accordingly in class. However, as this part of the study shows, learners may have different plans.

4.2.3. Results and discussion

Many of Kumaravadivelu's (1991) mismatch types could be identified in the speaking data in this part of the study – though, interestingly, some could not be (as I will discuss further below). In sample 1 below (which can be found in context in Appendix E, data file 3, ll. 50–63), the learners in the dyad are uncertain about the best candidate to inherit Lord Moulton's millions (a task briefly described in Section 3.6.3 and found in its entirety in Appendix B) and end up arriving at their decision with an unexpected twist. They have managed to short-list two candidates and seem a bit too eager to draw the discussion to a close.

Sample 1: When cons become pros

- J: Tim Brodie and Miss Langland.
 L: Miss Langland is 40 years old. She can still go work.
 J: Maybe they can half the money.
 L: The others think Miss Langland have enough.
 J: I think it's important to help young men to study and I vote for Tim Brodie.
 L: He can change and be honest...
 J: Lots of girlfriends, it's a good thing, I think. I want lots of girlfriends.
 L: Yeh, yeh, he can support study to go abroad
 J: He wants to
 L: And maybe he will change the world one day
 J: Tim Brodie won.
 L: Tim Brodie's the winner.
 J: Yeh.

In the task-as-workplan that J and L are working with, Ur (1981, pp. 76–77) has listed some of Tim Brodie's pros and cons as follows: 'An attractive and popular young man, drives a motorbike much too fast, *lots*

of girlfriends, not very honest' (emphasis added). Here, having a large number of girlfriends is clearly presented as one of a litany of cons, one which this pair have already understood as such (earlier in the discussion) and have made light of as such. However, at this point, having been influenced by a decision made by a neighbouring dyad, J and L have turned this con into a pro so as to justify selecting the candidate. They have even added further justifications *a posteriori* (Tim Brodie's being able to study abroad and changing the world one day), all in an effort to move along to the end of the task as they interpret it. Thus, these learners have ultimately implemented the task in a way that the task designer would presumably not have envisaged. Certainly, it was not what their teacher was expecting.

In the next sample (Appendix E, data file 2, ll. 1–10), the participants have chosen to perform the decision-making task as if the text in front of them were not actually there, as if they had come to know the facts through an imaginary grapevine and were discussing the matter naturally over tea.

Sample 2: The tea party

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

Rather than the teacher-anticipated discussion aimed at reaching a decision, the task performance in sample 2 represents the sort of role play the participants would have had experience with in previous language learning and testing. It is the sort administered on Hungary's Matura exam in English and on other proficiency exams familiar in that country, such as the ORIGO exam. This sample illustrates Vygotsky's (1978, 1987) point, noted in Chapter Two, that our learning is intermingled with motives formed by our social and institutional experience.

The sample also exemplifies the imaginative and creative activities that are seen as facilitative of learning in Vygotskian theory. As Sullivan (2000) has pointed out, ‘The role of play in the development of language is viewed as one that creates a zone of proximal development in which the child behaves “beyond his age, above his daily behaviour”’ (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 102). Similarly, Lantolf (1997, p. 32) has observed that playful activities ‘seem to have a positive effect on the learners’ confidence to use their second language’. Other learners that were observed likewise joked and engaged in light banter.

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

Similarly, in sample 3 below (Appendix E, data file 5, ll. 1–15), one learner applies his own strategy of meticulously reviewing each item in the task, actually reading it aloud, taking notes, and categorizing each candidate’s pros and cons.

Sample 3: Chairman of the Board

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

Here Z seems to take the lead, actually describing what he is doing as if engaged in a think-aloud protocol. He uses lines from the text verbatim

in his decision-making process as well as correcting his own language use in the process. This facet of the discussion represents another strategic mismatch; it is a rather one-sided discussion which both largely excludes the other participant in this dyad and which only seems to lead to a decision with M's good-natured acquiescence in the end. Z's effort to work toward a decision largely on his own also strikes one as illustrative of private speech (as described in Section 2.3.3). Further, this putative failure to engage in the intended even-handed exchange may be seen as an attitudinal mismatch inasmuch as the learner's (Z's) previous educational experience seems to suggest to him that a speaking activity is meant to be task-oriented, not goal-oriented, thus again pointing to the Vygotskian notion of socially and institutionally defined motives guiding our learning. As Slimani (1992, pp. 197–8) has put it, learners may have 'preoccupations or goals on their personal agendas that they attempt to clarify during interactive work'.

Other incidents of strategic mismatch from the data include the following: learners listen in on other dyads instead of engaging in the task at hand as if perhaps to trawl for ideas or strategies (as in sample 1 above); one participant readily defers to the other to end the task as soon as possible; and learners ask the teacher for the 'right answer' – indeed, this is what they typically expect of the teacher in this context (as discussed in Section 4.1.1.1). Beyond Z's reading the text aloud, some learners demonstrated an overdependence on the text, reading out long parts of it instead of interacting naturalistically.

I also observed procedural mismatches, such as learners deciding on more than the required single choice and learners adding one or more conditions to the final choice. While these two examples may appear to be failures on the level of arriving at no decision at all, in fact they represent innovative 'stated or unstated paths' (Kumaravadivelu, 1991, p. 104) to solving the problem at hand. While not entirely in keeping with the task designer's or teacher's intention of the dyads selecting one and only one candidate under the conditions given, they have in fact made a choice.

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

perhaps being that dissimilar personality types should not be assigned to the same pairs or groups.) Certainly, the learners may simply have understood the task differently than the task designer or teacher had intended – despite efforts on the parts of both to make their intentions clear in the instructions provided.

Perhaps even more interestingly, some of Kumaravadivelu's mismatch types were not observed in the data. I experienced no cultural mismatches, for example, a fact which may owe to the fact that Kumaravadivelu's learners represented a multilingual and multicultural group in an ESL class in the US, while the learners in this study were all Hungarians in an EFL class in their own country and the teacher was relatively familiar with both cultures – and therefore able to anticipate any potential puzzlement. Thus clashes of culture are relatively improbable in this context. Such disconnects are also prevented because, as noted earlier, EFL teaching in Hungary usually consists of instruction in the culture(s) of the Anglophone world (as pointed out in the discussion of the choice of task type in Chapter Three), and thus situations such as one Kumaravadivelu (1991) described of a young Malaysian learner being at a loss as to why an American would wish to *rent* a wedding dress as opposed to making it herself and keeping it become far less likely in this context.

While the dyads displayed a range of mismatches, as illustrated above, such mismatches were relatively uncommon in the data. This suggests that the learners were generally able to implement the task as the task designer and teacher had intended. They discussed the pros and cons of each candidate and managed to arrive at a single choice, while allowing each interlocutor a chance to participate.

4.2.4. Conclusion

According to Vygotsky (1978, 1987), and indeed as noted above, spoken language is a key mediator in *any* learning. Specifically, as concluded by the metastudies conducted by Keck et al. (2006) and Mackey and Goo (2007) (noted previously), spoken interaction clearly aids in language learning. This being the case, successful language teaching would certainly involve ample speaking tasks that provide opportunities for learners to interact. If we are to design and implement such tasks as effectively as possible, then the field would certainly benefit from further research on the wide range of learner interaction that naturally occurs in task-based/task-supported language classrooms around the world.

Carried out in such a classroom setting, this part of the study has explored some of the ways learners may surprise – and confound –

teachers in the way they perform tasks, e.g. by creating their own playful role-playing variation of the standard argument structure, as A and V did in sample 2, and by dominating the interaction, as Z did in sample 3. Kumaravadivelu (1991) pointed to the stress L2 pedagogy lays on how learners and teachers perceive goals and events in the classroom, while it deemphasizes the roles of the syllabus designer and materials producer – thus expanding the possibilities for both misunderstanding and miscommunication in the classroom. This holds no less true decades on. I would agree with Kumaravadivelu (1991) that a clearer, more specific understanding of potential sources of mismatch will (a) sensitize us as teachers to what he aptly referred in the abstract for his paper as the ‘interpretive density’ of language learning tasks and (b) aid us in working with learners to achieve desired learning outcomes in our classrooms. After all, as Slimani has pointed out,

The discourse is not something prepared beforehand by the teacher and simply implemented with the students. Instead, it is jointly constructed by contributions from both parties so that learners are not just passively fed from the instructor’s plan. (Slimani, 1992, p. 197)

I also wish to reiterate Kumaravadivelu’s (1991) point (above) about the relative learner autonomy afforded by task performance. Such research provides a deeper insight into the constructive possibilities of learner autonomy. Given the wealth of evidence that relative autonomy leads to superior results not only for language learners, but for all learners – as indeed it does for their teachers and institutions as well – it is all the more urgent to fully grasp the pedagogic importance of autonomy throughout the educational enterprise.

This section has examined learners’ contributions to speaking task performance vis-à-vis the socioculturally formed motives they bring with them to the classroom. The following two sections will explore how these same motives appear to prompt them to produce collaborative moves in their interaction. The first section (4.3) covers the variety of such moves in the task performance data, and the next (4.4) offers explanations as to why the learners seem to prefer these to more halting negotiation moves.

4.3. Beyond the black box: A sociocultural exploration of speaking task performance

Learning and communication are collaborative undertakings. That is the fundamental understanding of this part of the study, which explores the

‘constructivist’, or collaborative, processes (Samuda & Bygate, 2008) that take place as the 57 participants described in Chapter Three engage in spoken interaction in the classroom. This section points to earlier research on negotiation for meaning (Long, 1981, 1996) and stresses the need to explore and better understand learners’ constructivist processes. It points to a sociocultural theory of mind (SCT) (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987), discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two, as a theoretical framework within which to more fully grasp these processes. It also presents new data that illustrates the working of such processes in a particular sociocultural context. It seeks an answer to the fourth of the six research questions listed in Chapters One and Three:

RQ4: In what ways do these learners collaborate in interaction?

At this point, I wish to reiterate that the research referenced in this study and, indeed, the new data presented here centre on interaction between post-puberty learners, a point that may be particularly important for those engaged in teaching younger learners with different expectations and needs.

4.3.1. Negotiation for meaning

As discussed in detail in Chapter Two, negotiation for meaning (Long, 1981, 1996) has long been held to be at least conducive to classroom language learning. This is an effort on the part of two or more interlocutors to overcome a breakdown in their communication, e.g. through confirmation checks and clarification requests. An example of a clarification request would be as follows:

- A: The door has hinges.
B: Hinges? I don’t know what that means.
A: Like hinges hold it together
B: Uhuh

(Pica, 1993, p. 440)

As also reported in Chapter Two, the concept of negotiation for meaning is central to Long’s Interaction Hypothesis (Long, 1981, 1996), which holds that learners acquire language forms as they attend to them in solving a communication problem. Relevant investigations of negotiation for meaning produced in talk involving learners (e.g. Gass & Varonis, 1985a; Long, 1981; Pica & Doughty, 1985; and Pica, Kanagy, & Falodun,

1993) are credited for having provided a richer understanding of the role of naturalistic talk in promoting language learning.

4.3.2. Beyond negotiation for meaning

More recently, Samuda and Bygate (2008) have observed that classroom speaking produces a greater variety of moves than has been described before, such as prompting, eliciting, responding, questioning and elaborating. They use the term 'constructivist processes' to cover 'all those processes whereby individuals work together to develop and clarify their own and each other's understandings, whether of background knowledge, of previous and current situations or of their intentions' (Samuda & Bygate, 2008, p. 117). Studies have been conducted in this vein (Blake & Zyzik, 2003; Donato, 1994; Foster & Ohta, 2005; Swain & Lapkin, 2000, 2001), but more work is called for to gain a clearer grasp of these processes and their role in second language learning.

Unlike investigations into negotiation for meaning, which have proceeded from a cognitivist view of language learning that focuses on the mental processes involved and favours quantitative analyses of data, studies of constructivist processes tend to start from a sociocultural perspective that sees language development as a social process. As Foster and Ohta have put it, 'Language development can be studied by examining distributed cognition – how a learner makes use of the L2 in interaction with other people and artefacts' (2005, p. 403). This approach involves smaller data samples and thus endeavours 'to preserve the human experience and to avoid reductionism' (Foster & Ohta, 2005, p. 403).

Ohta (2001) has referred to such processes as peer assistance, which include directly requesting and receiving aid, continuing an utterance with which one's interlocutor has been having trouble, making suggestions, offering and accepting corrections, and waiting for a partner to complete an utterance. Foster and Ohta (2005, p. 414) have pointed out that assistance offered and accepted 'creates a discourse that is a joint performance, something that can be seen as an important precursor of individual production'. The Vygotskian concept of the zone of proximal development (ZPD), introduced in Chapter Two, is used among socioculturalists to understand how peer assistance is linked to language development. Ohta has defined it as 'the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by individual linguistic production, and the level of potential development as determined through language produced collaboratively with a teacher or peer' (2001, p. 9).

Finally, such processes differ markedly from negotiation for meaning in that, far from hinging on a breakdown or blockage in communication, they preserve the flow of the conversation and save face for learners. This promotes an atmosphere that is conducive to learning. In Chapter Two, I discussed sociocultural theory (SCT) and its application and relevance to learners' task performance and how this approach differs from a cognitivist paradigm.

4.3.3. Results and discussion

For this chapter, the spoken interaction data has been analysed from the perspective of SCT. It is believed that this perspective can provide new and nuanced understandings that can be beneficial to task-based interaction research and to TBLT generally. This will include the central SCT concepts of activity theory, mediation and the ZPD. This section also explores the 'constructivist' interactional strategies used by the participants.

Swain (2000) has made two key points about learners engaging in collaborative dialogue. First, this 'collective behaviour' may be turned into individual mental resources, i.e. they are creating individual knowledge, and this 'knowledge building ... collectively accomplished may become a tool for their further individual use of their second language' (p. 104). Second, such dialogue draws attention to problems and enables them to verbalize alternative solutions (Swain, 2000). In other words, the verbalization provides an object for the speakers' consideration (Swain, 2000). Drawn from my data, the three samples below illustrate this well with a peer offering assistance in the form of missing lexis and her interlocutor accepting the offer toward the completion of his assertion.

Sample 4

- P1: Lord Moulton should have written a (pause) paper...
 C: Yes he should write a will.
 P2: Yes.

Sample 5

- R1: But the evidence could be fake. So an expert should be (pause)
 J: hired
 R2: hired yes to prove that she is the daughter of late Lord Moulton.

Sample 6

- K1: Yes, if I'm not sure that this charity will use my money for ...
B1: for good reasons
K2: for good reasons then you know it's sad because if – OK I don't know what its name is you know when 1% of your tax is for charity – there were a charity for children with cancer and it turned out that they spent the money for their...
B2: Well that's why I don't like charity cases.
K3: Yes, that's why I don't want to give my money.
B3: Yes, I must admit that you are right. But what about Lady Searle?
K4: I just can imagine her as hysterical or too much, you know.

In sample 4 (Appendix E, data file 10, ll. 42–44), C is helpfully aiding P by providing the appropriate noun *will*, but in focusing on this word does not attend sufficiently to verb form and thus says *should write* instead of *should have written*, a form which P has produced accurately. The two interlocutors here appear to be on a path of learning from each other through this collaborative dialogue. As Swain (2000) has pointed out, 'Together their jointly constructed performance outstrips their individual competencies' (p. 111).

Additionally, in sample 6 (Appendix E, data file 1, ll. 30–39), in engaging in the task of discussing who should and should not inherit Lord Moulton's millions, K chooses to argue against the money going to a dubiously run orphanage and, in so doing, draws on her strongly held personal belief that donations intended for those who need it may well be misused. K is clearly working hard to explain herself, and, as van Lier (2000) described the efforts made by a learner in his own data, 'there is a personal investment in the information she constructs for her interlocutor' (p. 250). This represents a particularly personal meaning-making and thus, potentially, language learning.

Thus, in these three examples of peer assistance, participants in each of the three dyads collaborate to construct meaning. (Sample 5 can be found in context in Appendix E, data file 9, ll. 40–42.) All three samples illustrate a speaker hesitating on a particular lexical item as if searching for the right one (in turns P1, R1 and K1). His interlocutor then volunteers a suggestion (C1, J1 and B1), sensing a need for help. Indeed, Foster and Ohta (2005, p. 422) have found that 'hesitation may be seen as an indirect request for assistance'.

That the initial speaker understands and accepts this suggestion is indicated by the word 'yes' in the follow-up move (P2 and R2) in samples

4 and 5 and, in samples 5 and 6, by the immediate use of the suggested item (R2 and K2). Also, in these last two samples, the speaker, now supplied with an appropriate lexical item by his interlocutor, is able to forge ahead and finish making his point (R2 and K2). Such helpful suggestions that serve to move the project forward abound in the data, indicating that this is a common type of move among the participants.

Another recurring strategy can be found in B3 in sample 6. Prompts such as *But what about Lady Searle?* suggest a concern about getting on with the business at hand or an interest in one's interlocutor's opinion and also serve to maintain the pace of the task towards arriving at the final decision. Similar prompts from the data include *What about local orphanage?*, *So next*, and *simply Jane?*, which suggests moving on to the next candidate in question. These are examples of task management.

Certainly, as we saw in the previous part of the study, an important part of meaning-filled conversation is play, a key element of learning for Vygotsky (1978). Here too I refer to Sullivan (2000), who has drawn on Vygotsky's (1978) point that play in language learning, being a form of creativity, enables children – and indeed any learner – to create a new zone of proximal development. In sample 7 below (Appendix E, data file 1, ll. 17–26), play in the form of humorous exaggeration, strengthens the conversational bond between the interlocutors and thus the possibility for learning.

Sample 7

- B1: Yes, and when we arrive to town, maybe Tim Brodie should get the money, but I don't think so.
 K1: Yes, because he's (inaudible).
 B2: Yes, I don't like him from his description [des-].
 K2: (laughing) Yes, why?
 B3: Not the kind of people I usually get on well with.
 K3: You mean the motorbikers?
 B4: No, motorbike is not a problem. I have many friends from school that usually motorbike. They crashed into a tree sometimes, but it's not a problem [K laughs].

Here, the two learners appear to have veered off task, yet the genuine interest shown by B in K's objection to Tim Brodie not being 'the kind of people I usually get on with' and K's amusement at B's observations represent mediators of learning. As Sullivan (2000) has pointed out, such 'playful exchanges serve as tools that result in awareness of language meaning and form' (p. 123). As in the previous section, Lantolf's (1997)

observation that playful activities appear to build learner confidence in using their L2 certainly applies here as well. While he was referring here to individual play, this could certainly also apply to play in pairs or groups.

In terms of interaction strategies, B and K are discussing a particular candidate, whom neither appears to support as the final choice (see turns B1 and K1), but, instead of dealing with the next candidate and moving swiftly toward their final decision, they linger and engage in an exchange that appears relevant on the surface but is ultimately off-task. In K2, the speaker is amused and offers a continuer to encourage her interlocutor to elaborate on his previous statement. Provided with a response, she then makes what would appear to be a confirmation check (in K3) but could just as well function as another continuer to signify that she is genuinely interested in her interlocutor's opinion. This reflects the point raised by Foster and Ohta (2005) that we must delve beneath the surface form of a negotiation move (such as a confirmation check) to ascertain pragmatic function (such as expressing interest rather than confusion). Indeed, like other dyads, B and K require no confirmation checks or clarification requests because they seem to understand one another's interlanguage.

Donato (1994) has reported on learners' jointly scaffolding each other's talk in a variety of ways, including prompts, directions, reminders, evaluations, corrections and other contributions in productive interactions, examples of which also emerged in the speaking data in this study (e.g. sample 6 above contains the prompt 'But what about Lady Searle?' – with a number of other learners in the data relying on similar 'what about?' prompts – and samples 8 to 10 below all contain corrections). Ohta (2001) described learners taking risks and attempting new language forms and in so doing creating a sense of movement and improvement for themselves. In the diverse samples below, learners permit each other the space and time to negotiate both meaning and form.

Sample 8

- B1: Well, who [wu:] do you think should get the money?
K1: Well, hard question. I think Miss Langland (pause) deserves the money (pause) much more.
B2: Yes, the most.
K2: The most, thank you.

Sample 9

- T1: What about Miss Langland, the nurse who attended Lord Moulton?
- R: Oh, I—it can be because she likes work and she’s not too old and she’s well already.
- T2: Yes, I suppose because she treated well Lord Moulton and he was affectionate and loyal to him – she was affectionate and loyal to him – in his last years. I guess she could be the one who will get the money because she deserves it and yes she made—she made some things to get it so it’s not just—it’s just a waste of money, but it will go to—it will go to a person who works for it. What about Tim Brodie?

Sample 10

- A: The orphanage, it would [not] deserve it, as the text says the money may find its way into the pockets of officials and not for the orphans.
- B1: Yeh.
- C: Yes, maybe, but if they keep the money for themselves, the orphans get less and less money but [if] the orphanage get the money the orphans can get more from it. Well, I say that not all of the money. Maybe the officials are corrupt, but they will get nothing if the money don’t—doesn’t go there.
- B2: I see your point. You mean that even though the part of the money will be the officials’, the orphans will get some as well.

Samples 8, 9 and 10 all illustrate either correction directed at one’s interlocutor when it has been sensed that assistance is needed (e.g. because of hesitation) or assistance directed at oneself (though it is certainly true that the learners do not address all the lexico-grammatical errors in their talk, e.g. in sample 10, C says ‘the orphanage *get* the money’ and B2 says that ‘*the* part of the money will be the officials’). In sample 8 (Appendix E, data file 1, ll. 1–5), B provides K with the opportunity to complete her thought, pauses and all, and then gently corrects B even as he agrees with her point. In 9 (Appendix E, data file 11, ll. 11–19), T is allowed to keep the floor while he self-corrects (e.g. his pronoun use). In 10 too (T. Williams, 2013, p. 11), C is permitted to complete a relatively long turn and thus make a point, with which B agrees and which B validates further by offering a confirmatory summary. These samples show the give and take of a productive interaction with even uncertain interlocutors feeling sufficiently safe to assert themselves and affording others the opportunity

to do the same. As Samuda and Bygate (2008, p. 119) have pointed out, the quality of jointly constructed talk depends on the interactive involvement of the participants. Here we see that involvement entails more than taking the floor and may include simply listening and gently recasting an interlocutor's inaccurately expressed utterance.

Sample 8 would appear to be an example of other-correction (in B2). While the speaker's utterance in K1 is perfectly clear, her pauses may suggest uncertainty. The speaker's reaction (in K2) to what her interlocutor has offered seems to imply that this was indeed what she would have wished to say and that the correction was therefore useful to her.

However, participants typically caught and repaired their own errors. Samples 9 and 10 both illustrate self-correction (in T2 in sample 9 as well as in the last line of C in sample 10). The latter sample also provides an example (in B2) of an interlocutor restating the previous speaker's utterance in part to demonstrate that he has grasped his point and perhaps also to clarify the point for the benefit of a third participant. Self-correction was quite common in the data, perhaps more than other-correction, a fact that seems to reflect Foster and Ohta's (2005) observation that learners prefer to modify their own utterances. This could be a matter of not wishing one's interlocutor to lose face. Possible explanations for this and similar tendencies are explored in Section 4.4.

In the final two samples below (Appendix E, data file 7, ll. 27–31 (sample 11) and ll. 51–56 (sample 12)), each learner is stretching their own boundaries to find the right lexis for their dialogic purposes.

Sample 11

- K1: Yeh that's true, but then why would she got the million?
 G1: I don't know.
 K2: [I don't know.
 G2: Maybe she could find a–a (pause) health care centre, I don't know.
 K3: Oh.

Sample 12

- K1: Yes, maybe that lord will give the money to him because er he paid the education, he loves that boy.
 G1: He's the son of the gardener.
 K2: OK, but maybe once in the future when he–he has the I-don't-know-what–the *lehetőség*–the possibility to learn–to study he will become a good part of the society.

As Swain (2000) has pointed out, such language-related episodes (LREs) – the points in the interaction in which a lexico-grammatical item becomes the focus of attention – ‘may be thought of as serving the functions of external speech in the external speech stage’ (p. 110) within the learning model explored by Talyzina and her colleagues. Swain (2000) observes that, as each interlocutor speaks, ‘their “saying” is cognitive activity and “what is said” is an outcome of that activity. Through saying and reflecting on what is said, new knowledge is constructed’ (p. 111). I would suggest this also holds true for a word or form that a learner already ‘knows’ – in the sense that they have encountered it before and thus feel it is familiar – because it is only through regular application of knowledge we have gained that we can internalize and sustain that knowledge.

In terms of interaction strategies, these two samples illustrate a form of tacit cooperation that enables a speaker to resolve his own temporary shortcoming. In both samples, a speaker is searching for a lexical item and is given the space by their interlocutor to do so. This waiting for one’s interlocutor is another example of peer assistance (Ohta, 2001) and can be seen as tacit cooperation. Sample 12 also contains yet another example of self-correction (in the last line of turn K2), where the speaker realises it is *study* and not *learn* that is the more appropriate verb in the context of higher education. Turn K2 also illustrates a word in one’s L1 triggering an item in the L2. Uttering the Hungarian word *lehetőség* aids the learner in remembering an English-language equivalent within his interlanguage, *possibility*. Although *opportunity* would have been the more appropriate choice here, the learner’s existing lexis was reinforced as they called to mind and made use of this rough and ready English-language equivalent.

Finally, the reader may have noted the unevenness of the learners’ speaking task performance in this study. As noted previously, these learners were preparing for an upcoming C1 speaking exam, and yet many of them do not appear to be exhibiting the fluency, accuracy or complexity in their speaking that this would presuppose. As pointed to in Section 3.4, there could be a number of reasons for this. Certainly, their language learning experience has not included much practice with speaking or writing. Recall Attila’s comment from Section 4.1 about his plunge into Australian society after years of English language learning in Hungary: ‘I couldn’t speak a word, literally, so I couldn’t understand what they were saying and [it] just was confusing.’ It is also possible that, since the learners were aware that they were not being assessed and that the main purpose of the task was to communicate their thoughts on the task, this might have affected other aspects of their performance. Or maybe they were not sufficiently challenged by the tasks and thus produced talk of a

lower level. The question of why so many of these learners appear to be falling far short of the C1 mark would certainly be worth exploring in another study.

In sum, these extracts illustrate a range of processes: collaborative dialogue, which creates a space to build individual knowledge and to verbalize alternative solutions; personal investment, which stimulates meaning-making; play, which builds confidence and strengthens interpersonal bonds; joint scaffolding, which encourages risk-taking and experimentation with new language forms; and strong participant involvement in various forms, which promotes a relatively high quality of dialogue. Importantly, as has been pointed out previously, these processes facilitate language development (though it is not the purpose of this study to demonstrate this). It is thus in providing opportunities for learners to participate in such processes as often as possible that we aid them most effectively in enhancing their own learning.

In addition, the data provides evidence of a variety of constructivist processes, including continuers, co-construction, prompts, self- and other-correction, and simply allowing the speaker to keep the floor. An analysis of the data indicates that co-construction and self-correction were more common than other-correction and other collaborative processes, a tendency which is comparable to those of other studies. I also found very little evidence of negotiation for meaning, as will be discussed in Section 4.4.

4.3.4. Conclusion

In this section, I have analysed the second language task performance of young adult learners of English, whose first language is Hungarian. I have moved beyond more established task-based research paradigms to explore the data from a sociocultural perspective. The data I have collected and presented is certainly not unlike that of other learners of English elsewhere in the world, yet researchers and teachers familiar with Hungarian and Hungarians will instantly recognise the unique composition, flow and even content of the conversations. This manifests itself in a number of ways, including characteristic lexico-grammatical errors (e.g. ‘has the ... possibility’ (sample 12, K2), ‘arrive to town’ (sample 7, B1) and ‘the part of the money will be the officials’ (sample 10, B2)), pragmatic tendencies (e.g. the repeated, self-effacing use of ‘I don’t know’ by the dyad in sample 11) and local-knowledge references (e.g. the mention of a 1% income tax deduction for charitable giving in Hungary that may not be

entirely clear to the uninitiated but would certainly be familiar to a listener/reader at home in this context (sample 6, K2)).

However, whether the data is familiar in a more universal or specific sense, it is in appreciating the sociocultural nuances of the collaborative efforts of our learners that we can hone our own intuition and skills in researching, teaching, teacher training and materials development so that we can ultimately provide learners with optimal opportunities, both quantitatively and qualitatively, to engage in similar task performance and thus enable them to build their knowledge. Indeed, when we move beyond the black box, that is, beyond a construct of learners' merely processing lexico-grammatical items, we avail ourselves of the chance to more fully understand the wealth of speaking processes in which learners engage as they develop both collaboratively and individually. These are certainly among the lessons I have taken home from analysing this data set.

As noted, this section has investigated the collaborative moves made by learners in task-based interaction. The next, and final, portion of the study seeks to understand the motives that lie behind such moves.

4.4. A dearth of communication breakdowns: 'Can we have a ... question?'

How do learners develop their L2? As discussed in Chapter Two, Long (1981, 1983) has argued that L2 input and interaction lead to L2 development, for example, in performing speaking tasks in an ESL/EFL classroom. He has also hypothesized that negotiation for meaning, which takes place as learners attempt to achieve understanding during a communication breakdown, plays a central role in this development; he has supported his hypothesis through a metaanalysis of previous studies of NS–NNS interaction (Long, 1996). Examples of negotiation for meaning include comprehension checks, such as 'You know what I mean?'

Subsequent studies have demonstrated a range of results with regard to the prevalence of negotiation for meaning among particular sets of learners (Eckerth, 2009; Foster, 1998; Gass, Mackey, & Ross-Feldman, 2005; Harris, 2005; and others). This section reports on the final, classroom-based part of the study in this chapter. Despite Long's stress on the prevalence of negotiation for meaning in spoken interaction, the learners in this study, in line with those in some of the studies above (Eckerth, 2009; Foster, 1998; and others), opted for different interactional strategies.

In fact, the qualitative data in this classroom portion of the study suggests that, with rare exceptions, these learners tend to eschew negotiation for meaning in favour of interactional strategies that are less

confrontational, more face-saving, and, indeed, co-constructive. The research explores the potential reasons behind this phenomenon. Specifically, it seeks to answer the following research questions, the final two of the six listed in Chapters One and Three:

RQ5: To what extent and why does learner interaction actually break down, as generally assumed, for meaning negotiation?

RQ6: To the extent that negotiation for meaning is uncommon in this context, what might explain this phenomenon?

The findings may have implications for language learning, language teaching, language assessment (and speaking assessment in particular), and teacher training.

This section is structured as follows. Samples are provided from many hours of transcribed data, first, of ‘constructivist’ moves (discussed in Section 4.3), which were common in the learner data in this study, and, second, of some of the very few negotiation moves that did occur. A discussion follows of possible reasons behind the relative dearth of negotiation moves in the data. These potential explanations focus on learners in general and on these learners vis-à-vis their cultural milieu.

4.4.1. Results and discussion

As discussed in Section 4.3, the learners’ interactions were characterised by collaborative processes. This point bears repeating before the analysis shifts to moves that more closely resemble Long’s negotiation for meaning. First, two further examples of learner collaboration: the first sample illustrates self-correction; the second demonstrates both self-correction and a continuer. (These two samples can be found in context in Appendix E, data file 4, ll. 29–30 (sample 13) and ll. 25–27 (sample 14).)

Sample 13

K: ... it would be a highlight for her life, but I don’t know if she use it well ... *uses* it well.

Sample 14

K: Erm in my view she doesn’t deserve that possibility because he had er she had a mental breakdown and she’s not able to do this task.

D: [Yeh, she’s not so.... Yeh.

As noted previously, self-correction was very common in the data, more than other-correction, a fact that seems to reflect Foster and Ohta's (2005) observation that learners prefer to modify their own utterances. As for D's encouraging continuers in Sample 14, Foster and Ohta have contended that such peer assistance creates 'a supportive environment which encourages L2 production' (2005, p. 421).

A great deal more data illustrative of the constructivist processes described above is discussed in detail in Section 4.3. The many instances of such moves include collaborating, providing mutual assistance, creating playfully, using humour, constructing knowledge together and engaging in a host of other dynamics that facilitate language development. We have seen many of these in the analysis so far. Importantly, these examples also demonstrate a general tendency among these particular learners to eschew negotiation for meaning.

The few examples of negotiation for meaning among the data were rather unique. Sample 15 below (Appendix E, data file 12, ll. 58–66) involves uncertainty about the gender of a particular character in the task:

Sample 15

- M: (reading) Da-Daphne ... Braun ... 21 ... single ... and her family ... or his? Is that a boy or a girl? (laughs) Daphne Braun?
- A: (laughing) I think he's a–she's girl.
- M: (asking teacher) Can we have a ... question?
- A: Daphne is a ... girl.
- T: [...girl
- M: A girl. Cool. [A laughs.] Good to know. Erm.
- A: (reading) ... the daughter...
- M: Yeh, the daughter (laughs).

Here M requests clarification from his interlocutor, A. Given the uncertainty of her (otherwise correct) answer, they then both turn to the teacher to repeat the clarification request. This breaking out of the bounds of the learner interaction to check with the teacher as knowledgeable agent is unusual in data I have seen elsewhere and, indeed, in this data set as well. Certainly, the teacher as ultimate authority is a role with which Hungarian learners would be particularly familiar in the largely classical humanist education system in which they have been socialized (see the discussion on educational value systems below). Toward the end of the exchange, as A reads on to find that the answer to their question has been right in front of them all along, their laughter is certainly one of slight

embarrassment, but it is shared laughter, nonetheless. A camaraderie has emerged that suggests the sort of encouraging environment conducive to learning noted above. (The question of whether familiarity with a cultural element like a personal name is an essential part of language learning or not is debatable, but certainly these learners felt this was something they needed to understand better to complete this speaking task.)

In sample 16 below (Appendix E, data file 13, ll. 133–143), when he has a question about lexis, the speaker, N, immediately bypasses his interlocutor, Á, and turns to the teacher.

Sample 16

- N: (reading) ‘generous’, ‘good friend’. That means that er she can know his er ... not assistants, but er ... I don’t know what is er er er ... (to teacher) Can I have a ... question?
- T: Yes.
- N: What is the *ügyfél* in English?
- T: Er client.
- N: Client. (Turns to his interlocutor) So–so she can know er her clients to be more–more er better and, no not more better, better and better, you see?
- Á: Yes yes.
- N: She can find things that can help them...

In addition to this clarification check with the teacher, it bears mentioning that, while N’s message might still not be entirely clear to Á (despite his efforts to make it so), Á offers an encouraging continuer in ‘Yes yes’ instead of asking for clarification. Á appears to want the conversation to continue toward its goal in the hope that all will be sufficiently clear by the end (see the explanations offered by Foster and Eckerth below).

Finally, in sample 17 below (Appendix E, data file 14, ll. 5–19), as B and K engage in the shared work of determining the pros and cons of the various candidates on the task sheet, B suddenly realises that he is at a loss for a lexical item, and, instead of using a different word or asking the teacher (as in the samples above), he asks his interlocutor, K – but he does so in an unexpected manner:

Sample 17

- B: ... according to this small article, he’s not really talented person, so... er ...
- K: Why do you say that?

- B: Because er the article mentions that he's not–'not of outstanding natural ability'.
- K: Uh-huh.
- B: So maybe he's not that kind of intellectual person who ... can er finish, or who will, law school.
- K: But if he's hard-working, he can learn all these ...
- B: (interrupting) ...he can – he can – he can learn all these things. He must have worked to ... (whispers) *Hogy mondjuk azt, hogy eltartani?* [How do you say 'provide for?']
- K: Erm ... ahem.
- B: ...to make an appropriate ['æ prɒv-] living for his family. And he's a taxi driver. And er taxi drivers should work in er – also in the [ði:] morning and in the evening, so er I wonder how can he do this.

One might call B's question about a word a clarification request. However, the fact that he has whispered it and asked his question in the L1 he shares with his interlocutor suggests a certain 'under-the-radar' quality. This is just meant to be between the two of them. Even here where there appears to be evidence of a negotiation move, an interactant seems to be taking great pains to avoid a clear and obvious interruption of the conversational flow – though, certainly, they knew the teacher–researcher would be listening.

Thus, it becomes clear that the few negotiation moves these learners may use are far outweighed by the range of constructivist processes they tend to prefer instead. This stands in stark contrast to the data in so many other studies. So now *Can I have [ask] a question?* Why is there so little sign of negotiation for meaning in this learner data?

4.4.2. Insights into the dearth of negotiation for meaning

This section explores a range of possible explanations as to why learners would avoid breakdowns in communication in task-based interaction. First, insights will be offered into learners generally, followed by a review of factors relevant to learners' motives in this cultural context in particular. Importantly, as noted previously, these findings and observations focus on post-puberty learners, not children, a distinction I wish to reiterate in particular for peers who primarily deal with FL learning among children.

4.4.2.1. Learners generally

In her groundbreaking study noted previously, Foster (1998) reported that learners interacting in both dyads and small groups produced far less negotiation for meaning that led to modified output than earlier studies had found and less than had been assumed by SLA researchers and theorists. The participants in her study were lower-intermediate learners of English aged 17–41 (with an average age of 21) taking classes part-time at a municipal college in Britain and representing a diversity of L1s.

Foster (1998) has offered compelling explanations as to why her findings have run counter to those of other researchers. Her first point was one of context. She observed that a great deal of the negotiation for meaning research had been conducted in an ESL context at US universities under laboratory conditions with volunteer participants who had been loaned out by their teachers for the purpose of the experiment. She questioned whether those findings could be extrapolated (a) for ESL environments outside the United States, (b) for EFL settings elsewhere in the world or (c) for normal classroom conditions.

With regard to the classroom conditions in her study, Foster (1998) suggested that both the relative informality of the setting and the lack of a strict requirement to complete the task prompted participants not to attend to form very much. In Foster's view, this would explain unanswered signals of incomprehension. For example,

- A: 'the sports field, swimming pool and equipment may be used free of charge.'
B: Free of charge? What is that?
C: (laughs) Yes.
A: sports day

(Foster, 1998, p. 15)

- A: There is this one, this one, and after to camping site near Oldfield.
B: Oldfield?
C: Anyway, the best thing I think is er camping.

(Foster, 1998, p. 16)

Out of the 918 c-units analysed in Foster's study, there were only 87 negotiation moves (Foster, 1998, p. 15). Of these, modified responses were only made 20 times – and 13 of those were concentrated within three particular dyads (Foster, 1998, p. 15). The examples above are typical of

the negotiation moves in Foster's study that fell by the wayside during interaction, mostly in small groups, but also in dyads.

Another point raised by Foster is that of the differing effects of NS–NNS dyads vs. NNS–NNS dyads with regard to communication breakdowns. She referred to Pica et al. (1989) as observing that in the former type, NNS partners might experience an unequal status with regard to the language. Thus, they might feel that they were to blame for any communication problem that has stood in the way of task completion and that they are therefore responsible for making any repairs and for making language more comprehensible. According to Foster (1998), however, no such tendency was in evidence in her study. Indeed, I would suggest that in such a scenario, the NNS partner might feel motivated to downplay the relative shortcomings between themselves and their NS interlocutor, not highlight them by making repairs.

With regard to NNS–NNS dyads/small groups, Foster (1998, p. 17) referred to Gass and Varonis (1985) as observing that they have a mutual responsibility for communication breakdowns because both speaker and interlocutor(s) are mutually incompetent in the language and thus would both/all feel prompted to negotiate meaning. However, according to Foster (1998), in such a situation, NNSs might rather feel discouraged from the challenging and possibly frustrating job of modifying their lexis, morphology or syntax to render it more comprehensible. Similarly, Foster (1998) has pointed out, a NNS speaker who has concluded that their NNS interlocutor is responsible for a communication breakdown might not feel the need to hazard a repair. Similar to my comment above, I would add that a NNS who had come to see their NNS interlocutor as more proficient would be *more* likely to press on instead of stressing their weaknesses relative to their more proficient interlocutor. Furthermore, a momentary lapse in total comprehensibility might be glossed over by both NNSs in the interests of keeping the conversation moving along and thus saving face for one or the other – or both of them, in what I call a 'conspiracy of solidarity' among learners – particularly in the shadow of the teacher–researcher hovering nearby.

Foster (1998) also suggested that holding up an interaction whenever there is a problem utterance and going to great lengths to repair it simply make the task frustratingly slow. Likewise, according to Foster (1998), making it clear to others that one has not managed to understand them tends to make one feel and look incompetent. Aston (1986) observed that speaking tasks designed to prompt a great deal of negotiation for meaning could well demotivate and discourage learners in that it makes them feel

unsuccessful and incompetent. Further, Pica (1994) has admitted that one too many clarification requests can be 'downright annoying'.

In contrast, Foster (1998) has suggested, learners may use a different communicative strategy when they encounter a gap in understanding: 'pretend to understand and hope a future utterance will cast light on your darkness' (p. 18). This way, Foster (1998) has pointed out, a learner will continue to feel they are playing a part in the interaction even if their knowledge is not complete and their contribution is limited; they will continue to experience a sense of accomplishment.

Foster (1998) has explained her findings in part as the outcome of certain learners' adapting a strategy that 'could reduce some information exchange tasks to a format whereby the side holding the information need only answer yes or no to the informed guesses of the other side' (p. 11). From my own experience, the interlocutors of such speakers appear to be quick to pick up on such strategies and enable their partners accordingly.

Thus, with only 87 out of 918 c-units representing signals of problems in understanding in Foster's study (1998), it seems clear that some learners prefer the 'pretend and hope' rather than the 'check and clarify' strategy (p. 19). As Foster (1998) has put it, 'learners appear to choose not to negotiate for meaning' (p. 20), and has concluded that we teachers/researchers should not attempt to make them do so.

In a study replicating Foster's research (1998), Eckerth (2009) added a stimulated recall protocol to the original design to record learners' accounts of their own performance. His participants were similar in many ways to those in Foster's study: they were at the lower-intermediate level, they represented a similar diversity of L1s, and their age ranged from 20 to 42 years (with an average of 23). However, while Foster's participants were ESL students in Britain, those in Eckerth's study were learning L2 German at university in Germany. Eckerth's findings confirmed many of Foster's (1998) assumptions about why many learners eschew negotiation for meaning, for example, that 'learners will put up with partial understanding in order to keep the task interaction moving forward' and 'how learners will smooth over the bumps rather than make explicit their lack of complete understanding' (Foster's comments following Eckerth, 2009, p. 130). Eckerth (2009) also observed many of the same results, for example, interactants' adapting to their lack of full understanding.

Eckerth (2009) has pointed out that a relative lack of negotiation moves may be a product of the multifaceted nature of task-based learner-learner interaction. According to Eckerth (2009), such an interaction seems to be more than merely a cognitive language learning activity; it is 'a communicative event and a social process that is mediated by socio-

affective variables' (Eckerth, 2009, p. 122). It is possible that interactants sometimes 'react to social motives at the expense of their own pedagogical achievement, to preserve their social relationships' (Slimani-Rolls, 2005, p. 208).

Furthermore, Eckerth (2009) has explained that comprehension can take place with relatively little input processing. He also made reference to research that points to a range of strategies that aid learners in understanding their interlocutors' utterances: top-down processing of existing linguistic knowledge (Ellis, 1994; Faerch & Kasper, 1986); guessing from linguistic context (Frantzen, 2003); guessing on the basis of what is socially appropriate (Hymes, 1972); and feigning comprehension and trusting that further clues will be forthcoming in the ensuing conversation (Firth, 1996; Hawkins, 1985). Eckerth (2009) also cited previous studies as suggesting that, far from pursuing a 'the more, the merrier' principle (Allwright & Bailey, 1991, p. 145; Aston, 1986), learners tend to make only moderate use of requests for clarification and confirmation or comprehension checks in an apparent reflection of the social nature of what Seedhouse (2004, p. 123) has termed the 'interactional architecture' of the L2 classroom.

These insights into the collaborative tendencies in learners engaged in spoken interaction generally may well apply to these particular learners in Hungary. But are there characteristics specific to Hungarian learners that may also be germane here?

4.4.2.2. Learners in Hungary

This section provides insights into culture-specific factors relevant to these particular learners: the educational value system, the notion of saving face and other pragmatic phenomena, and characteristics associated with willingness to communicate – all socially formed motives.

At the heart of the educational context in which Hungarian students find themselves is the value system with which it is imbued. This may well explain some of the assumptions and reflexes that many students in this context share.

But how can this ideological system be characterised? R. White (1988) described three distinct value systems on which education systems are built: progressivism, reconstructionism and classical humanism (cf. also Csapó's (2004, 2010, 2012) comparable goals of learning and organisation of knowledge). The first is characterised as 'problem-posing education', which 'extracts a concern for the real-life situation of the learners as well as a perception of the student as decision-maker' (Crawford-Lang, 1982, p. 88). Central to progressivism are the two pedagogic notions of *praxis*

and *dialogue*, praxis being a matter of reflection and action on the world in an effort to transform it (Freire, 1973, 1976) and dialogue being ‘the educational context, the place where praxis occurs’, the purpose of which is ‘to stimulate new ideas, opinions and perceptions rather than simply to exchange them’ (Crawford-Lange, 1982, p. 89). With its focus placed firmly on the growth and self-realization of the individual, progressivism is associated with J. J. Rousseau, J. H. Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel.

Reconstructionism is tied to a systems-behavioural approach to learning based on Skinner’s ([1968] 2003) application to education of the ideas of operant conditioning, where the stress is on incremental and mastery learning, in which each step is founded on the previous one and ‘it is assumed that, given appropriate learning activities, all students can achieve mastery if they have enough time’ (Crawford-Lange, 1982, p. 88). With its emphasis on education as an instrument of social change, reconstructionism is associated with the work of John Dewey.

Finally, classical humanism stresses the ‘transmission of an esteemed cultural heritage’ (R. White, 1988, p. 24) and is tied to the work of T. S. Eliot and Matthew Arnold. It regards learning as an analytical, rule-oriented, scholarly undertaking and knowledge as encyclopaedic. It is therefore often accompanied by the rote learning of large quantities of material, and a high value is assigned to complete and precise mastery of such material.

Generally speaking, it is this last value system that dominates in Hungarian education. Little wonder. As Csapó (2010) has pointed out, this approach to learning enjoys a particularly strong standing in Europe with at least half a century head start over the other two systems in terms of tradition and infrastructure. It is thus common, due to the importance assigned to a declarative mastery of predetermined knowledge, for teachers to engage in rigorous, tightly controlled classroom practices in this context. Duff (1995) found that history teachers in a dual-language secondary school in Hungary commonly engaged in initiation-reply-evaluation sequences with students in class and also regularly had their learners recite the material from the previous class meeting, a practice designed to produce fluency, academic register and content mastery – though it typically represented a stressful and authoritarian experience for students. While Duff made these observations in content classes over two decades ago, these pedagogic practices persist in this context and the teacher-fronted exactitude and emphasis on regular displays of incrementally and flawlessly learned material are very much present in FL classes as well.

Csapó (2012) has also found that Hungarian schools concentrate on the promotion of expert-like knowledge in each discipline and focus less on applying knowledge outside the strict confines of the discipline. In this context, ‘teachers themselves point out clearly that, in their opinion, “our schools train “little scientists”” – that is, their aim (conscious or unconscious) is to groom future members of their own field (Csapó, 2004, p. 41). According to the PISA 2000 survey, Hungarian learners viewed the reproduction of teaching material as the primary aim of learning and memorization as one of the primary learning strategies (OECD, 2003). Indeed, Németh and Habók (2006) found that learners actually prefer reproductive learning strategies in the earlier stages of schooling as well – certainly a product of socially constructed motives. They likewise demonstrated a prevalence of rote learning in Hungarian education (Németh & Habók, 2006). In a study of Hungarian students’ writing, Godó (2008) has pointed to this educational and intellectual tradition that prevails in Hungary as essential to understanding the rhetorical structure of their argumentative writing and how it differs from that of North Americans. (She has also noted that the same tradition can be found in other systems in the region, e.g. the Czech and Polish contexts.)

Perfectionism among students (discussed below) is common in this system; as Furka (2011, p. 71) has observed, ‘In Hungarian cultural practice, trying and not succeeding is generally considered a failure’. Competitiveness (also discussed below) prevails among students as well. On the other hand, so do collaboration and peer assistance – both in terms of students’ academic work and their spoken interaction. Another aspect to this is a highly pragmatic, efficient, goal-oriented approach (Irénn Annus, personal communication, 22 January 2015): just as, say, thirty pages of a history text must be committed to memory for next Tuesday, so too do students feel oriented to move briskly ahead to the completion of a speaking task without an undue number of questions, corrections or negotiations to hamper their progress.

Pragmatics may offer some insights into tendencies among these particular learners. For Małgorzata Suszczyńska (personal communication, 15 January 2015), the key for certain learners in the classroom is to keep communication flowing even at the cost of partial misunderstanding; for these learners, communication breakdowns may be too costly in this context and cause more harm than benefit in what pragmatists call the ‘cost-benefit dimension’. In Suszczyńska’s experience, Hungarian students often opt not to ask questions in class, even when encouraged to do so because they may see it as face-threatening or fear that they might be

positioning themselves as arrogant, unduly bold, lacking modesty or not sufficiently humble.

In a comparative, small-scale study on pragmatic moves among Americans, Poles and Hungarians, Suszczyńska (1999) cited Wierzbicka (1985b, 1991) as pointing out that speech acts (e.g. apologies) are ‘not language-independent “natural kinds”, but culture-specific communicative routines’ (p. 1058) and that conversational moves represent culture-specific attitudes and ways of social interaction that characterise a particular culture (Wierzbicka, 1985a). Thus, a Hungarian or Polish L1 speaker of L2 English may well draw on their L1 culture in engaging in certain communicative routines in the L2 and this is likely to stand in contrast to what many L1 English speakers in Britain or the US might expect. Suszczyńska (1999) provided the example of English-language films in which serious offences seem to be resolved with a light apology, which typically strikes Poles and Hungarians as somehow insufficient (‘They just say, I’m sorry!’ (p. 1059)); thus, from the point of view of their culture, this formula proves relatively weak given the gravity of the offending action.

Instead, as Suszczyńska has pointed out, Poles and Hungarians would tend to use more emotionally involved expressions, for example, a request for their interlocutor to withhold anger (‘*Ne haragudj!*’ in Hungarian, which is approximately ‘Don’t be annoyed/angry’). These express greater deference and indebtedness, but do not distance interactants from one another or threaten face. Similarly, there is a tendency for the offending party in these cultures to speak of themselves in an unfavourable way, e.g. ‘*Szörnyen ügyetlen vagyok*’ (‘I’m terribly clumsy’) and ‘*Borzasztóan figyelmetlen voltam*’ (‘I was terribly careless’) (Suszczyńska, 1999, p. 1061). Suszczyńska observed that ‘It is precisely this humbling of self that seems to reveal a culturally important attitude’ (Suszczyńska, 1999, p. 1061). Thus, it seems that these tendencies in Hungarian interactants to wish to save face for themselves and their interlocutors and in each interlocutor to retain an unassuming humility may explain why they would not wish to stand out negatively, to cause their interlocutor to do the same, or to slow or halt the flow of the interaction.

In their qualitative study on the motivational factors behind Hungarian university students’ use of English, Nagy and Nikolov (2007) found a great deal of evidence of reticence to communicate in English. This certainly has a bearing both on the one-sided classroom interactions in my data, where one or more learners remained relatively silent, and on the disinclination of interactants to disrupt the conversation with questions.

Of 64 English majors at the University of Pécs in southern Hungary in Nagy and Nikolov's study (2007), most (54) described contexts beyond the classroom where they were most willing to communicate in English, while four were most willing both inside and outside the classroom. Thus, despite a keen interest in English, the number of respondents who wanted to speak in the classroom was relatively low. This reluctance to communicate among these Hungarian English majors is familiar to me in my context at the University of Szeged as well. In Nagy and Nikolov's study (2007), the formal teaching context at university tended to be tied to negative feelings for many of the students. According to one respondent, 'I am very disappointed and sorry to say, but I felt least willing to speak English first in my life at university' (Nagy & Nikolov, 2007, p. 157). Many of the students felt inhibited, perceiving that others in their classes had more proficiency and experience in English, perhaps because they had had the opportunity to live abroad. As one respondent put it, 'I noticed that many of my peers are better than me. Some of them seem to be quite proficient, self-assured. This makes me feel inferior, so average' (Nagy & Nikolov, 2007, p. 158). As another student described it, 'So I'm afraid of saying anything during classroom activities, especially when I see that others have much better English' (Nagy & Nikolov, 2007, p. 159). In fact, their relatively fluent, more self-confident peers seem to intimidate them in seminars and thus throw up hurdles to smooth group dynamics in the classroom (Nagy & Nikolov, 2007, p. 159).

According to Nagy and Nikolov (2007), another reason for learners' reluctance to speak was the extremely high anxiety they felt with regard to English. They were ever at pains to be seen as perfect in front of their peers and teachers in class (Nagy & Nikolov, 2007). A number of them described concerns that they would make errors in speaking which their fellows might notice – and, indeed, for which they might mock them (Nagy & Nikolov, 2007). According to one student, 'I was afraid, that when I speak, they will laugh at me' (Nagy & Nikolov, 2007, p. 160).

Tóth (2010) has pointed to similar phenomena among English majors at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University in Piliscsaba (near Budapest). Tóth (2010) has attributed their strongly negative feelings to speaking in English seminars to their transitions from secondary school to university seminars with the more intensive and challenging learning context and higher academic requirement they now had to face. Nagy and Nikolov (2007) have observed that the constant competitive comparison that these English majors make with others, this 'desire to excel in comparison to others' (Bailey, 1983, p. 96, as cited in Nagy & Nikolov, 2007, p. 162), is common in second language learning research and has been tied to

language anxiety (Bailey, 1983; Gregersen & Horwitz, 2002). Similarly, in her mixed-method study of a similar population of university students (at the University of Pécs), Dombi (2013) found that FL anxiety lay behind certain participants' intercultural performance. She characterised it as *debilitating* as opposed to *facilitating* anxiety, noting nervousness, apprehension, fear and even panic. As one participant even recalled, 'I hate speaking English in front of those better than me' (Dombi, 2013, p. 168). Dombi's research (2013) demonstrated communicative apprehension, though generally less than that found in Nagy and Nikolov (2007) and Tóth (2010).

Both Dombi (2013) and Nagy and Nikolov (2007) highlighted the role of learner confidence in communication behaviour. Dombi (2013, p. 225) specified that perceived communicative competence probably has a greater effect on learner communication than linguistic self-confidence. She also noted that both perceived communicative competence and perceived L2 proficiency aid students in feeling more secure in their interactions (Dombi, 2013, p. 226). Indeed, Dombi (2013) pointed out, the more learners believe they can communicate, the more likely they are to engage in interactions in English (p. 228). Finally – in a very telling distinction for this context – she observed that 'there are students who believe they are good at English, but fewer of them believe they are good at *communication* in English' (Dombi, 2013, p. 226, emphasis added).

Finally, Nagy and Nikolov (2007) also saw perfectionism as a common personality trait among their learners, one also related to language anxiety (Gregersen & Horwitz, 2009). Nagy and Nikolov suggested such characteristics seem to be common for FL learners in Hungary – but not necessarily for FL learners elsewhere. Interestingly, however, this competitiveness and perfectionism were manifested primarily in interactions with other Hungarians – but participants reported not being averse to talking in front of non-Hungarians. Kang (2005) and MacDonald, Clément, and MacIntyre (2003) report similar findings with their varied learner populations. In Nagy and Nikolov's (2007) view,

In foreign language education in Hungary (and most likely in other subject areas in compulsory education) it is continuously stressed how important it is to make no mistakes and to be perfect in every sense. ... It is a widely held myth that the best and most talented students never make mistakes and thus get the highest grades. (Nagy & Nikolov, 2007, p. 163)

4.4.3. Conclusion

This section has reported on a study of constructivist processes in learner–learner classroom interaction. It has also discussed samples in the same data set involving negotiation for meaning and collected possible explanations as to why such negotiation moves would have occurred so seldom in the data. Ultimately, the apparent clash between (a) cognitivists, who have focused on the primacy of communicative breakdowns in learner interaction and the learning they generate through often quantitative data sets, and (b) socioculturalists, who prefer to explore more collaborative interactional – and thus acquisitional – processes among learners with often qualitative data, may well be lost on the experienced ELT practitioner. She might rightly ask, ‘If we’ve got the learners engaged, talking, asking questions, helping each other, stretching their resources, getting creative with the language, both trying out new lexico-grammatical items to express their intended meaning and re-activating old ones, and generally losing themselves in completing the speaking task, then where on earth is the problem?’ Indeed, perhaps a more inclusive approach that places pedagogic value on a wider range of interactional processes would be called for.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The research project that has culminated in this book has produced qualitative data to establish (a) the socially and institutionally defined motives that drive arguably successful English language learners at a Hungarian university and (b) (the nature of) the interactional moves they employ in a task-based classroom there. As Nunan and Bailey (2009, p. 434) have observed, such qualitative data are ‘powerful’ for their capacity to ‘explain important concepts to teachers, administrators, journalists and parents in human terms, while quantitative data sometimes seem too abstract and detached or – conversely – too concrete and impersonal’. It is this immediacy and clarity that the study has aimed for.

This chapter concludes the book with a summary of the main findings, a brief discussion of the limitations of the study and thoughts on further directions in this line of inquiry.

5.1. Main findings

The four interrelated parts of the present study have endeavoured to answer the six research questions listed in Chapter One. Their respective answers, provided in the foregoing parts of the study, are summarised as follows:

RQ1: What is the view and experience of these learners as regards English (and other foreign) language learning in Hungary?

The learner–participants in this study have supplied a rich discursal tapestry of FL learning histories (Section 4.1). Overall, the data indicates exposure to traditional classroom practices (featuring an overemphasis on correct form and learner errors, with attendant learner anxiety, rote memorization, grammar practice tests, translation exercises, and teacher-fronted or individual work in class with little pair or group work) with a few exceptions (e.g. Dávid’s stimulating immersion French lessons). The learners’ views of their experience also vary, with some recounting

positive memories ('...it was good in that way' (Albert)) – even of arguably ineffective practices, such as a focus on forms approach to grammar ('When we learned a new tense, we came to know everything about it. So I think it's OK for me because I like to learn everything about that tense...' (Albert)). Others, however, had negative recollections ('I can't think of any good activities that we did' and 'I couldn't speak a word, literally, so I couldn't understand what they were saying and [it] just was confusing' (Attila); and 'It makes us nervous and anxious to make a mistake' (Alexandra)).

RQ2: How does their view and experience inform their attitude to the task-based language learning and teaching (TBLT) paradigm?

As reported in Section 4.1, the learners responded positively overall to the speaking tasks and the task cycles they had experienced in class – despite the seeming artificiality of two speakers of the same L1 interacting in a L2. This general response is likely because their educational context has predisposed them to completing the task at hand and because they generally found these speaking tasks motivating, therefore explaining their favourable view of TBLT. Certainly, the novelty effect of their brief experience with TBLT might also have played a role. While the learners were receptive to this paradigm, their views about language learning were sometimes at odds with TBLT principles and thus that script would need to be addressed, either with careful learner re-training or with a task-supported compromise solution.

RQ3: In what ways do these learners contribute to the implementation of speaking tasks in the classroom?

Just as the learners bring a range of socially acquired motives to the classroom, so too do their motives drive them to perform speaking tasks in a variety of ways that neither the teacher nor the task designer could possibly anticipate. As reported in Section 4.2, these ranged from (a) playful role plays and shared humour – examples of the sort of creative work that leads to learning in Vygotskian theory – to (b) modifying the task instructions to (c) allowing the interaction to veer away from the goal ahead in favour of other topics. In these various instances, and many others, the interaction represents a constant and thus learning is presumably facilitated, from the perspectives of both Long's interaction approach and Vygotskian sociocultural theory. While the data also includes cautionary tales for the teacher – such as Z's idiosyncratically

dominating the interaction with his think-aloud approach to the task (Section 4.2, sample 3) – no teaching paradigm or classroom is free of such challenges. Even examples of learner–participants carefully studying the text for the speaking task and reading it out loud or simply pointing to it – instead of interacting naturalistically – illustrate comprehension and engagement with a FL text, which suggest learning and perhaps a chance of interactional involvement the next time as anxiety is hopefully allayed and confidence boosted. The lesson for teachers and task designers would be to understand when this diversity of contributions should be embraced and when new strategies should be employed to guide learners' task performance more effectively.

RQ4: In what ways do these learners collaborate in interaction?

As reported in Section 4.3, while learners' contributions led to a number of 'mismatches' in task implementation (Kumaravadivelu, 1991), these learners also cooperated toward joint learning in a diversity of ways, including collaborative dialogue, personal investment, play, collective scaffolding and strong participant involvement in a range of forms – all of which represent fertile soil for learning in Vygotskian theory. A host of constructivist processes are also in evidence in the data. These include continuers (e.g. 'Yes, why?' (with an encouraging laugh) and 'You mean the motorbikers?' (both in Section 4.3, Sample 7)), co-construction, prompts (e.g. 'But what about Lady Searle?' (Section 4.3, sample 6)), self- and other-correction, and actively allowing a speaker to keep the floor – despite their hesitation.

RQ5: To what extent and why does learner interaction actually break down, as generally assumed, for meaning negotiation?

As pointed out in both Sections 4.3 and 4.4, communication breakdowns and thus negotiation moves were relatively uncommon, contrary to the findings of early interaction investigators. While breakdowns did occur – learners searching for the right word or checking on the gender of a character with an unfamiliar name in a task – even here learner idiosyncrasies were in evidence, as when B asks K 'How do you say "provide for"?' in whispered Hungarian – as if this breakdown would somehow be off the record this way.

RQ6: To the extent that negotiation for meaning is uncommon in this context, what might explain this phenomenon?

As elaborated in Section 4.4, a range of possible explanations exist, both for learner–learner interaction generally and for the Hungarian milieu in particular. First, Foster (1998) suggested context, specifically the possibility that an EFL setting (as opposed to an ESL environment) and actual classroom conditions (as opposed to laboratory-like ones) would produce different results. She also pointed out that NS–NNS dyads might operate differently than NNS–NNS pairs. She further posited that interactional holdups and repairs make the task frustratingly slow, while a learner’s owning up to a lack of comprehension may suggest incompetence. Instead, learners opt for the ‘pretend and hope’ strategy to maintain the flow of the interaction and to remain a part of it.

Eckerth’s (2009) findings reinforced those of Foster. He also observed that learners may see their own immediate pedagogic needs as *less* important than the social, communicative project in which they are engaged. Indeed, Seedhouse (2004) envisaged an ‘interactional architecture’ of the L2 classroom that implies a moderate use of negotiation moves.

With regard to Hungarians’ learner–learner interaction in the L2, the classical humanist ideology that generally characterises schooling in Hungary suggests a host of learner motives, which favour such tendencies as collaboration, peer assistance and an orientation toward swift and efficient task completion without undue interruptions. Suszczyńska (personal communication, 15 January 2015) also referred to a ‘cost-benefit dimension’ to learner interaction – especially in this context – with frequent pauses due to misunderstanding being seen as too costly. She further pointed to the importance of saving face for oneself and one’s peers and of maintaining an unassuming humility (cf. Suszczyńska, 1999), which translates to a mandate not to (appear to) stand out negatively in an interaction, cause others to do the same, or halt the progress of the interaction.

Similarly, Nagy and Nikolov (2007) reported a great deal of reluctance to communicate among similar populations of university language learners in Pécs (southern Hungary). Tóth (2010) has made similar observations elsewhere in Hungary as well (in Piliscsaba, near Budapest), thus, in my view, explaining the relative silence displayed in class by some learners and a general aversion to interrupting the discourse with questions among most of them. High learner anxiety was likewise cited in these studies, and this was tied to perfectionism and competitiveness, also hallmarks of the classical humanist system described above.

These findings strongly suggest the importance of a broader, more open and inclusive approach among researchers and educators to understanding learner interaction, in its many forms, as a powerful tool of learning. The results also clearly point to the significance of learner autonomy in the classroom learning process. Further, they urge us to implement paradigms of learning and teaching that are not only theoretically and empirically sound, but also attuned to the needs of particular learners in particular contexts. Given the dire figures for FL learning discussed in Chapter One, the need for real change in this context along the lines described here is all the more imperative.

5.2. Limitations of the study

Like every study, this too is marked by certain limitations. Since, as Dörnyei (2007) and others have pointed out, qualitative and quantitative research designs complement one another, the results of this qualitative study would thus certainly have been rounded out by quantitative data. For example, a count of c-units in the speaking data would have provided statistics to confirm my conclusions about the dearth of negotiation for meaning in the learners' interaction. In addition, the relatively small sample size, while typical of qualitative studies, can be seen as restricting the generalizability of the results. However, according to Dörnyei (2007) 'even if the particulars of a study do not generalize, the main ideas and the process observed might' (p. 59).

If we take a closer look at particular parts of the study, only one of the nine interview questions mentioned task-based language teaching (TBLT) explicitly in the questionnaire/ interview phase. If more questions had focused more explicitly on aspects of TBLT, this might have affected the responses in the interviews. In addition, in all three of the studies in the task performance phase, a stimulated recall protocol among the learner-participants would have provided further information on the speaking data. Similarly, a video recording during that same phase would have supplied valuable information on the learners' nonverbal communication during their task performance.

5.3. Directions for further research

The study provides a natural springboard for further research. One line to follow up on would be to gather similar data from a comparable population to check the findings of this study. Another line of inquiry would be to compare the Hungarian learner-participants and the foreign

students noted in Section 3.4. Data was collected from the latter as well (though this was not used in the study). That data could certainly be used for a comparative study of cultural differences in terms of learner beliefs, learner contributions to task performance and/or types of interactional moves. In addition, the task performance phase could be reproduced with a small population of pre- or in-service teachers. This could be followed up by a modified interview to elicit their responses to TBLT and classroom-based research. If this project were done with in-service teachers, a classroom observation of their actual practice could follow to compare their stated beliefs about language teaching with their actual practice (cf. Basturkmen, Loewen, & Ellis, 2004).

A central assumption of this book is that interaction facilitates language development (cf. Keck et al., 2006, and Mackey & Goo, 2007). However, a sceptic may wish to see similar results in their own language teaching context. A study of whether TBLT actually promotes language learning in the Hungarian FL classroom involving task-based pre-, post- and delayed post-tests would certainly round out the literature in that regard.

As many of the learner-participants did not appear to perform at the (near-)C1 level and one assumption was that a low-stakes classroom speaking task may not promote optimum learner fluency, accuracy or complexity (cf. Section 3.4), another follow-up study could compare the difference in the task performance of a small group of learner-participants on a low-stakes speaking task in a regular classroom setting compared to that performed on a high-stakes task-based speaking test. A subsequent interview with the participants would round out the findings. Another task performance study could pair L1 Hungarians who are novice NNS English speakers with expert partners to ascertain if negotiation for meaning is more likely to occur than with pairs that are more evenly matched in their proficiency.

All in all, the qualitative data gathered in this study has shed light on these particular learners' motives in terms of both their beliefs about language learning and the types of contributions they make in performing speaking tasks. It has also explored the range of interactional moves they make in the process – and those they do not make and why. The urgency noted previously of understanding these dynamics in greater depth and breadth in the service of greater efficacy in FL teaching cannot be reiterated often enough. This is important because a move toward greater efficacy in FL teaching starts with a clearly stated emphasis on where we might start on that journey – as teacher trainers, as pre- and in-service

teachers, as experienced educators and as learners – before we head out. And such a journey may also benefit from occasional confirmations of whether we are still heading in the right direction.

Finally, throughout this book, I have cited evidence to support a number of claims: on the centrality of *spoken interaction* in FL learning; on *language as a mediator* in any and all learning; on *collaboration* not only between learners in the classroom, but also between learners and teachers in FL (and other) learning; indeed, on a range of *twenty-first-century skills* in FL (and other) learning; and on *autonomy* among learners (as well as among teachers and schools) for FL (and other) learning.

However, evidence in the service of more efficacious FL (and other) learning matters very little in a policymaking environment in which it is largely ignored. Given the dismal statistics for FL learning in our country (cited previously) – and given recent PISA results that tell a similar story for other learning here (OECD, 2016) – it would be incumbent on educational policymakers to institute only those policies that have been demonstrated to bear fruit in schools – and eschew all others. Otherwise, far from making progress, our results will continue to sink in FL (and other) learning – indefinitely.

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APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire Code: _____

- 1) How old are you?

- 2) Are you a woman or a man?

- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor–German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

- 4) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

- 5) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

- 6) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?
- 7) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially
5 = very much)
- 1 2 3 4 5
- 8) How many years have you been learning English?
- 9) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you
had in past years?
- 10) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for
your English lessons?
- 11) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the
classroom that require English? If so, what are they?
I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).
I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language
radio stations.
I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.
I have or have had private lessons.
I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.
I lived in an English-speaking country.
I write letters or e-mails in English.
I chat in English on the internet.
Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if
necessary):

- 12) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?
- 13) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Thank you for your help!

APPENDIX B

THE SPEAKING TASKS

The two speaking tasks, ‘Lord Moulton’s millions’ and ‘The scholarship’, which are performed in dyads during the task performance phase of the study require complex decision-making toward a convergent outcome. They are borrowed from Ur (1981, pp. 74–77).

Lord Moulton’s millions

Convergent goal: To agree on which of the following potential heirs should inherit all of the late Lord Moulton’s millions. There can only be one heir, and Lord Moulton has not left a will.

Lady Searle Lord Moulton’s widowed cousin, his only living relative, aged 66, living alone in a small village in comfortable but not luxurious circumstances. The money would enable her to hire a nurse (she is often ill), travel, move into pleasanter surroundings. She has no immediate family, is not very popular in her neighbourhood. Has not been on speaking terms with Lord Moulton for years, following a quarrel.

Miss Langland The nurse who attended Lord Moulton for the last four years of his life, 48 years old, loves her work and is professionally very able. Was very well paid by Lord Moulton, and her savings will enable her to take a long holiday before taking up another similar post. An affectionate and loyal attendant, she undoubtedly eased Lord Moulton’s latter years.

Tim Brodie The son of Lord Moulton’s gardener. Lord Moulton took a liking to him, paid for his education and took a constant interest in his welfare. Tim, who has a flair for languages, desperately wants to study abroad, but has no money so will have to get a job and save if he can. An attractive and popular young man, drives a motorbike much too fast, lots of girlfriends, not very honest.

Jane Smith A penniless young unmarried woman with a small baby who has recently appeared on the scene claiming to be Lord Moulton's daughter. Has a letter which appears to be in Lord Moulton's writing and signed by him, addressed to her mother (now dead) admitting paternity and proposing marriage. Refuses to give any further details of her past life, and has no references.

The local orphanage A charity which receives no help from the State, though new legislation might change this. It has occasionally received donations from Lord Moulton in the past and is certainly badly in need of funds. However, it is badly run, and there is a possibility that much of the money might find its way into the pockets of officials rather than being used for the orphans.

The scholarship

Convergent goal: To agree on which of the following candidates should win a scholarship to study law at your university. Only one candidate can win it.

Albert Smith Aged 37, not of outstanding natural ability but very hard-working. Married with three children; until now a taxi driver. His applying was probably due largely to his wife's ambition. Albert made a good impression, but seems a little nervous at the whole idea of law school and the effects his new career might have on his social life and family. If he fails the scholarship he will go back to taxi driving.

Basil Katz Aged 19, brilliant but not very hard-working. A likeable personality, of left-wing sympathies, has taken part in some more or less violent demonstrations and has been in prison at least once as a result. Lots of girlfriends, has a reputation for treating them badly. Very musical, has founded and runs a pop group. Will probably make this his career if he fails the scholarship, which would be a 'terrible waste' according to his school tutor who recommends him.

Carole Anderson Aged 20, a quiet, attractive girl, responsible and able, but rather pliable in character, engaged to be married to a doctor, would like to finish her university studies before settling down. Her fiancé says: 'I want Carole to fulfil herself in every way, but of course once she is married, home and children will occupy her first and foremost.' Her parents cannot afford to finance the course.

Daphne Braun Aged 21, single, the daughter and granddaughter of lawyers. Enthusiastically Women's Lib., ambitious and career-minded. Academic record erratic, some very good results, some mediocre. Had a mental breakdown last year, was in hospital for three months but appears to have made a complete recovery. Fined recently for being in possession of marijuana. Parents cannot finance her studies. In character rather aggressive and quick-tempered, but generous, a good friend.

Edward Mbaka Aged 24, has been in the Army and seen active service. Divorced, no family. Highly motivated, wants eventually to go into politics. 'I want this course more than anything,' he says, 'and only the scholarship can get it for me.' While in the army he was once found guilty of accepting bribes. Charming personality, fluent and eloquent speaker. A citizen of this country, but retains the nationality of his native African state, to which he may eventually return.

APPENDIX C

THE QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

Data file 1

Questionnaire

Code: G1G1NGC120

1) How old are you? 19

2) Are you a woman or a man? Man

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.) English major (American Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

German, for 4 years. Basic, introductory level.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

My whole life has always been, and always will be concerned with the language of English.
My aim is to prepare myself for an entirely English speaking life.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

12 years

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many you had in past years?

35 lessons. In the first year of high school 7, and finally for in the last year oh, shamefully, only 4.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

Depends on the amount of homework

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

- ✓ I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).
- ✓ I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.
- ✓ I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.
- I have or have had private lessons.
- I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.
- ✓ I lived in an English-speaking country.
- I write letters or e-mails in English.
- I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

I speak with my mother in English, ~~though~~ she is not a native speaker of English. though she speaks it as much as if it was her mother tongue

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Doing pair work, but most of all talking entirely in English

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Doing continuously doing grammatical texts.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 2

10

Questionnaire

Code: _____

- 1) How old are you? *I am twenty years old.*
- 2) Are you a woman or a man? *A man.*
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)
My status is: English major (English Studies)
- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

I have learned German for nine years, however I have forgotten almost everything.

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I love the English language itself. I would like to be a book translator.

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

I have learned English for four years in the secondary grammar school. So this is my fifth year in the English education.

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

I have three > Communication skills, (the) Writing skills, English foundation. In the grammar school I had two or three per week.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

Right now it's the very beginning so I had just a few hours of studying, but it will increase soon I assume.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers). ✓

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. ✓

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them. ✓

I have or have had private lessons. ✗

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know. ✓

I lived in an English-speaking country. ✓

I write letters or e-mails in English. ✓

I chat in English on the internet. ✗

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

grammar test: to develop the grammar

talking: communication skills

translating: vocabulary exercises

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Yes I have experienced these.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 3

10

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you? *20*

2) Are you a woman or a man?

woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (English Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
college
 university

Your mum:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
college
 university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

German for 4 years. Sorry, but I know nothing in German.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I'm interested in other cultures and I really like making new friends. The English language is a big help for me.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

About 13.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

*3 seminars
3 lectures**In the last few years I had only one lesson in a week.*

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

It depends how much work I had. I can't say it in hours.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

- ✓ I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).
- ✓ I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.
- ✓ I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.
- ✓ I have or have had private lessons.
 - I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.
 - I lived in an English-speaking country.
- ✓ I write letters or e-mails in English.
 - I chat in English on the internet.
 - Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking as much as possible. It improves your vocabulary and makes you braver. If you meet someone, you have to speak and not explain the grammar rules.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

*That was the main thing but of course we translated and learnt the grammar too.
We often do projects.*

Thank you for your help!

Data file 4

10

Questionnaire

Code: LOTR

- 1) How old are you? *I am eighteen years old.*
- 2) Are you a woman or a man? *Man*
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

*In primary school I learnt French for 6 years, but I didn't like it seriously
so my knowledge isn't worth much.*

*In grammar school I've learnt German for 4 years. In the first two years I've
learnt well, but after that I neglected it.*

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

*I am learning English because I like this language very much. It's a world
language so we have to be able to speak English. But I must note that I'd like
to achieve at least advanced level ~~for~~ in it because I'd like to speak
it as perfectly as possible. I'd like to use it in my work.*

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 5

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

8

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

Three double lecture and three double seminar so I might say ⁶ 4.

I had 3 always

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

I don't know yet because this is my 2nd second year.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

During my holiday week sometimes I've had to speak English to the foreign guests.

- I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).
 - I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.
 - I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.
 - I have or have had private lessons.
 - I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.
 - I lived in an English-speaking country.
 - I write letters or e-mails in English.
 - I chat in English on the internet.
- Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking improves communication skills.

Translating helps improve both the mother language and the foreign one.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

I've experienced these.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 5

14

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you?

19

2) Are you a woman or a man?

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

French - 4 years - A1 (in grammar school)

German - 4 years - A2 or B2 - Intermediate (in grammar school)

Latin - 4 years (in grammar school)

Serbian - 12 years (I've learned in elementary school & in grammar school)

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

When I started the 5th class, I had a really great English teacher and I love learning languages. I decided that I'll learn English.

Before that I haven't learnt English, so it was new for me. It helps me a lot when I go to a holiday, I can speak with almost every people.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

8 years

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

now: 3 seminars and 3 courses

past: 5 or 6 in a week - in grammar school (it was my main subject)

4 lessons - in elementary school
(per week)

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons? *4-5 hours per day...!*

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers). ✓

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. ✓

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them. ✓ → my favourite! "

I have or have had private lessons. ✓

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know. ✓

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet. ✓

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

My godmother and her family live in Canada and she sends some newspaper for me and I communicate/talk with my cousins in English.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

- talking

- doing pair work

- watching films and after it discussion

because it's interesting and fun

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

It was a very similar classroom activity, but the teacher was boring and serious... so we didn't enjoy that very much... But this classroom activities are good.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 6

19

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you?

18

2) Are you a woman or a man?

woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (English Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

I studied German for 4 years in secondary school but I didn't
really reach any level. I might speak a little bit in German.
We had to study German and we couldn't choose any other
language.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I want to do English related job. I would like to be a translator.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 ⑤

7) How many years have you been learning English?

8

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

In the past years I had 3 lessons a week but I also had an extra
lesson because at school I got the English education to wasn't
too good.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

About 5 hours.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

I watch movies in English with or without English subtitle.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

*Translating (especially from Hungarian to English)
Listening to tests. For grammar multiple-choice tests are useful. Talking is also really important and more interesting than tests.*

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

*We didn't do pair works and we didn't talk too much (we had to ask questions from our teachers and she answered)
We had to study memos. For example memos of holidays, events, passages or inventions. I don't know whether it was helpful or not but I can't really remember them.*

Thank you for your help!

Data file 7

14

Questionnaire

Code: _____

- 1) How old are you? 18
- 2) Are you a woman or a man?
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.) English major (American Studies)

- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

(Serbian, but it's not a foreign language, 'cause I'm from
Serbia... I learned it for 12 years at school)
German - 4 years ... I think the level I reached is B1 or B2.
Spanish - 3 years ... no comment. (A2 maybe...)
(and Latin for 4 years...)

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I like this language, simply because of this. My aim is
to "professionalise" my English and to learn more about the
American culture.

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 5

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

8 years I think...

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

I have 3 seminars + English foundation

In past years I had 5 lessons/week, and (1 lesson = 45 minutes)
translation 2 lessons/week

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

When I have enough time, 4-5 hours/week,

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers). ✓

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. ✓

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them. ✓

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet. ✓

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking about interesting things, watching movies ~~in~~ in English.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Yes, we did a lot of things in the grammar school. (Pair-work, discussing films, listening to music etc.) We were lucky I think, because our teacher was really creative!

Thank you for your help!

Data file 8

14

Questionnaire

Code: _ _

1) How old are you? 18

2) Are you a woman or a man? woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (American Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

French, 4 years, I took an intermediate language exam

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

Because I love this language and I have many
friends from other countries with who I communicate
in English. I also enjoy watching movies and reading
books in English and for example watching an American
movie or reading an American English book is more enjoyable in the
original

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = language.
very much)

1 2 3 4 (5) ☺

7) How many years have you been learning English?

Since I go to school, for 10-12 years or so.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

now: Reading Skills, Communication Skills, English Foundation,
Intro to American Studies, Intro to Am. Literature and Culture,
Intro to Linguistics

in high school: 5 classes / week

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

I don't know yet, but around 5-6 hours. (1 hour a day)

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and (translate them).

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

I think talking and actually using the language is the most useful thing in language learning. In Hungary sometimes practising grammar and doing tests is taken more seriously than talking and so people are afraid to talk and they have problems with communication (however they might know the grammar perfectly).

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

-11-

Thank you for your help!

Data file 9

14

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you?

18

2) Are you a woman or a man?

MAU

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major - American Studies

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

Spanish. I had been learning it for 4
years. However, my Spanish is not that
good. It is at a low level.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I'm learning it because it has been
my favourite subject since primary school.
I would like to live in an English speaking country

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = for a
very much) while.

1 2 3 (4) 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

12

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

I used to have 5 lessons a week.
(including a lesson with a native speaker)

As I'm not mistaken I also have
5 English lessons now.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

About 4-5 hours.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking is absolutely useful as we can improve our communication skills.

Multiple-choice tests can help us to improve our grammar.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Yes, mostly they are the same I've experienced.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 10

14

Questionnaire

Code: ___

1) How old are you? 18

2) Are you a woman or a man?

Woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
 (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
 English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
 University of Reading (UK) etc.)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
 (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
 university

Your mum:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
 one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

French, for 4 years

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I would like to know more about British and American
 cultures, and because English is the main
 language.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
 very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

3

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
 past years?

Now I have 5 lessons a week.

I had 2 lessons a week.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

15-20 (3 or 4 hour a day, not always)

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

talking - it's important to know how to use our knowledge in everyday situations.

doing pair work - it's important to see things from more than one point of view.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Listening

Thank you for your help!

Data file 11

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you? 19

2) Are you a woman or a man? Woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (English Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

SERBIAN - 12 years (school), private class (5 years)

GERMAN - 4 years (school), private class (3 years)

→ I have emeltsintli eretslgi and it is a B2

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I love travelling and it was always useful,
I could communicate, I could make new friendships.
and I decided to study it.6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

11 years

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

3 seminars and 3 courses

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

2-3 hours a week

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

talking, maybe watching films and discussing

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

~~My~~ My private teacher did a lot of activities, like cooking together, ~~he~~ he made an English camp to his students, watching films, etc.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 12

14

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you? *12*2) Are you a woman or a man? *woman*

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (English Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

French I learned French for five years, and I completed the French school leaving exam in the middle level.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I'm learning English because I like English culture and literature. I'm thinking about working in a foreign country (maybe in the United Kingdom).

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

12

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

In high school I had five English lessons per week, now I have ~~5~~ three language courses.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

Sometimes it's change but ~~it's~~ usually ~~two~~ five - six hours.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers). *yes*

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. *yes*

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them. *yes*

I have or have had private lessons. *no*

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know. *no*

I lived in an English-speaking country. *no*

I write letters or e-mails in English. *yes*

I chat in English on the internet. *yes*

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking, doing pair work because these can help developing our communication while developing our communication.

Translating, because it can "teach" us more words, it gave us more vocabulary.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

We ~~had gone over much~~ we worked with different types of tests but I didn't liked them.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 13

14

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you?

18
2) Are you a woman or a man?3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)Your dad:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
universityYour mum:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?*I have learned Italian languages but unfortunately I
can't say a word ~~more~~ Italian sentence. I didn't
like my Italian teacher too much.*

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

*My foreign language show you a different world of culture. I had
some experience of the British and American life and I liked it.
That's why I said I want to know much more about them.*6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

10

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?*- 6 lessons a week at the university
- In the past years I had around 4 lessons a week
plus private lessons twice a week.*

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

I have 10 classes. 30 sounds great but it's a lot of time.
Like 10 hours. → I'm not sure.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. ✓

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them. ✓

I have or have had private lessons. ✓

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know. ✓

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English. ✓

I chat in English on the internet. ✓

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

→ If 3 months count then yes.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

talking, translating → feels what's interesting for the students.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Well, sometimes true. I did this kind of activities but the way they teaching is not the best. I don't know what would be the best as I'm not a teacher. I don't think that is help you so sorry.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 14

14

Questionnaire

Code: _____

- 1) How old are you? 20
- 2) Are you a woman or a man? man
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.) English major (American)

- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

language: German
years: 2
level: pathetic

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

originally I started because ~~of~~ the computer science ~~'s~~ language is
English and I wanted to be a programmer
now I'm studying it because I really like it

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

10 (the first 5 years ~~the first 5 years~~ meant nothing)

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

in the first year of secondary school I had 30 lessons a week. And then 8/week.
I have about 4-5 now.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons? *if there is essay writing which has to be done then 1-2-3 hours, if not half an hour*

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

I watch insane amount of movies in english.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

*talking - that's the hardest and it needs to be practiced
multiple-choice test - helps with the grammar if you check it thoroughly
essays - because they are fun, and that's the most important in learning*

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

these are the ones

I also had teachers from the US and England (it was a bilingual class)

Thank you for your help!

Data file 15

14

Questionnaire

Code: _____

- 1) How old are you? 20
- 2) Are you a woman or a man?
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

Because it's ~~the~~ fun, and I'd like to be
a translator or something like that.

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 5

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

IDK, I have American and Australian relatives
so I started to relative ~~from~~ early.

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

I never had a ~~private~~ private teacher, in
high school I had 3 lessons a week, so

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

Depends on the homework. 10-20

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

*(Things to learn a second word ... the language
we got to have a lots of history to develop fluency
'cause this is the most know | important skill.*

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

*It's not the best way to learn a language, but in
high school our teacher always told us
about his 'fishin' stories'.*

Thank you for your help!

Data file 16

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you? 16

2) Are you a woman or a man? woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

french for 3 years mid-level
russian for 2 years beginner

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I have family in England, Australia and
America. They motivated (are motivating) me.
I like the language. Everybody speaks it.
I would like to work as a translator or work in English.
speaking country.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially very much 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

About 10 years.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

I had more lessons about 12-15 a week, now I have
5, but these are more difficult lessons.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

About 4-6 hours a day.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers). ✓

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. ✓

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them. ✓

I have or have had private lessons. —

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know. ✓

I lived in an English-speaking country. —

I write letters or e-mails in English. ✓

I chat in English on the internet. —

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

My Cousins from England and Australia often visit me and sometimes I visit them.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

- Singing together famous songs. (I've tried it, it helps a lot.)
- playing word games in English or Acting in English
- check and talk about homework in every lesson.
- playing, reading about plays (scripts)

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

- I was in a summer camp 2 years ago, and there were different teachers from America, and they showed us a lot of ways to learn. For example: playing together, sharing our opinions and experiences...

Thank you for your help!

Data file 17

12

Questionnaire

Code: _____

- 1) How old are you? 20
- 2) Are you a woman or a man? man
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
 university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
 university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

unfortunately I have not.

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I find it interesting and important.

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 ⑤

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

for eight years

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

Now I have seminars and courses in English.
 In past years I had three lessons a week.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

- × I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).
- I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.
- × I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.
- I have or have had private lessons.
- I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.
- I lived in an English-speaking country.
- I write letters or e-mails in English.
- I chat in English on the internet.
- Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

*talking, doing pair work
because in the communication is
my weak point.
I need to practice it.*

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

No, I had not native English teacher until now.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 18

12

Questionnaire

Code: 1

- 1) How old are you? 13
- 2) Are you a woman or a man? Man
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.) (English Studies) - English Major

- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

German, for 5 years - I am not too familiar with the language, since
it was 'forced upon me' in grammar school and I didn't like it much.

Started to learn Arabic and French on my own, but I have abandoned them after
half a year or so. (I am planning to learn Russian and Arabic in the future), both of.

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

English is one of the few the few things in my life that I feel comfortable
with and ~~is~~ told to be good at, so I am trying my best.

I don't have 'definite' plans just yet. Working as a translator sounds interesting.

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

I have started to learn it in 1st grade - officially.

My sister 'taught' me English since I was 2 years old.

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

A bit... and I didn't really have any in the past years, because I did my

CESE early at high school and I didn't have to attend them.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

As many as it takes.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers). ✓

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. ✓

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them. ✓

I have or have had private lessons. ✓

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know. ✓

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English. ✓

I chat in English on the internet. ✓

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

*(native) English speaking 'relatives' (brother-in-law, niece, cousins...)
... etc.*

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

*All sorts of communication, (~~which~~)
which is simply the best method.*

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Not exactly, I only received very basic forms of teaching, at school at least.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 19

12

Questionnaire

Code: _____

- 1) How old are you? 18
- 2) Are you a woman or a man? man
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (English Studies)

- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:
 primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
college
 university

Your mum:
 primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
 university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

German, 6 years, low level

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I would like to know the language, I want a job connected ^{with} to this language.

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 5

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

11 years

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

Three: Reading, Communication Skills, English Foundation 1.

In grammar school I had 4 a week.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

2-3-4-5 hours

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

~~I watch English-language TV channels~~ or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

~~I have or have had private lessons.~~

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

~~I chat in English on the internet.~~

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

* I watch English-language movies sometimes

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

talking, translating, doing exercises and tests,
because they help your written and oral English.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Yes, we were doing a lot of exercises, but we didn't speak so much.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 20

12

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you? 19

2) Are you a woman or a man? woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (English Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

Serbian 12 years advanced
German 4 years beginner
Latin 2 years beginner

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

↳ like languages. English is a ~~subject~~ ^{language} for me that
↳ like to learn. ↳ haven't decided yet if I want
to be a teacher or a translator.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

8 years

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

now 6 weekly
past years 2-3 weekly

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

2-3 hours a day

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers). ✓

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. ✓

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them. ✓

I have or have had private lessons. ✓

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet. ✓

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking. It develops the communication skills and the vocabulary. Doing pair work → you can learn new things from the other person.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

They are. We did short theatrical performances in groups and had to perform it in front of the classroom. We watched films and talked about it.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 21

12

Questionnaire

Code:

1) How old are you? 20

2) Are you a woman or a man?

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:
 primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
 college
 university

Your mum:
 primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
 college
 university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

I learnt german from 9 to 12 years old, then 2 years missed, then 3 years again, but I stopped it because I didn't like it and my teacher ~~was~~ too.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

↳ this is my favourite subject till I started learning english in primary school. ~~I~~ I'm not interested in languages or being bi-lingual, ~~but~~ rather language learning. Well, I haven't got a career, I'm thinking about it all the time, but I like the language and I would like to work in that kind of atmosphere where

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = I can use it very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

This is my 11th years.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

now: Comm. Skills, Reading, English Foundation, Introduction to Am. Studies, Intro to Lit. and Culture, Intro to Lit., so 6.

Past: From 11th class to 8th A had 5 a week. Then in High School I attend a bilingual course, so I lasted 5 years. First year I had 11 lessons a week, included geography. 2007 in english then I learnt 2 years Maths in english and my final exam was zero

in English in parts. Then Zeynep I learnt economics in English, ~~and~~
~~then~~ then CIV (civilisation lessons) in the last 2 years, one
year about England, then one about America and had a final exam of it in
English. I got my language exam in high level in English.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

Well, I haven't know yet.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

- ✓ I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.
- ✓ I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.
- I have or have had private lessons.
- I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.
- I lived in an English-speaking country.
- ✓ I write letters or e-mails in English.
- I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

'cause you have to use ~~the~~ vocabulary and spend enough time to solve it.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

~~Yes~~, Yes, and we had to learn a short text by heart then perform it, it's like a presentation we will have to do.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 22

12

Questionnaire

Code: 1

1) How old are you?

18

2) Are you a woman or a man?

man

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (English Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

I've studied Italian for four years, but I'm still on a basic level.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I'm learning English, because I'd like to be a teacher.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

3 years

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

I have 4 English lessons a week.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

4-5 hours

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Those I think that those ~~is~~ ^{up there} written down
A ~~few~~ the most useful methods.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

These are the activities that we do, but I
think learning passively (reading, watching programmes)
was a bit more useful method.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 23

12

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you?

19

2) Are you a woman or a man?

Woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major - English Studies

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

I have learned French for 4 years I guess I've reached
a basic level.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I'm learning English because it was my favourite
language, I found it interesting to learn more about
the grammar, the history, the literature of it.
My aim is to speak 3 languages perfectly and do what I can
really be satisfied with.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially very much) 5 =

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

10 years

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

In the past years I had 3 lessons per a week.
And now I have 5.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

10 maybe 12 hours a week and I didn't count film watching as learning but I do it regularly and I read books, newspapers.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

*I'm not sure what exactly means, I'm sorry if I wrote the same in the "OTHER" COLUMN.
One part of my family lives in the USA so I keep in touch with them regularly, we talk almost everyday on the internet.*

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

In my opinion talking is useful to learn to speak nicely and translating is also important to build our vocabulary.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

I have experienced the same activities.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 24

12

Questionnaire

NAME
Gede: _____

1) How old are you? 18

2) Are you a woman or a man? WOMAN

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

ENGLISH MAJOR (ENGLISH STUDIES)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school (STUDYING AT COLLEGE NOW)
college
university

Your mum:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

FRENCH, FOR 5 YEARS, UPPER-INTERMEDIATE LEVEL
SPANISH FOR 1 YEAR, I CAN SPEAK QUITE FLOWINGLY
GERMAN FOR 2 YEARS, I SPEAK IT FLUENTLY

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I CHOSE ENGLISH AS MY FIRST FOREIGN LANGUAGE AT PRIMARY SCHOOL, AND I REALLY LIKED IT. I WOULD LIKE TO BE A HIGH-SCHOOL TEACHER OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH. ~~THIS~~ MY HOBBY IS LEARNING LANGUAGES AND IMPROVING MY KNOWLEDGE

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

I'VE BEEN LEARNING ENGLISH FOR 9 YEARS

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

I HAVE 3 SEMINARS AND 3 ENGLISH LECTURES A WEEK. AT GRAMMAR SCHOOL, THERE WERE 11-15 LESSONS A WEEK AND I ATTENDED PRIVATE LESSONS (2) FOR MANY YEARS AS WELL.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

I CAN'T SAY AN EXACT ANSWER TO IT, BUT I
SPEND AT LEAST 5-6 (OR 7) HOURS PREPARING FOR IT.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

I THINK TALKING AND 'INTERACTIVE' TASK HELP
THE MOST. IN MY OPINION, THE MOST IMPORTANT
THING IS THAT STUDENTS TAKE A LOT AND TRY TO
EXPRESS THEIR THOUGHTS.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

I HAVE EXPERIENCED THESE ACTIVITIES + LISTENING
EXERCISES

Thank you for your help!

Data file 25

12

Questionnaire

Code:

1) How old are you?

18

2) Are you a woman or a man?

woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

German for 4 years - beginner

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I'd like to be a translator, and learn
the language very well.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

8

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

in grammar school 3 times a week, but our teacher
wasn't very good
in past 10 years 4 hours a week. (private teacher)

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

about 3-4 hours a day

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

*doing pair work because we can practice speaking
translating because we can learn so much new words*

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

*reading novels
watching films in English*

Thank you for your help!

Data file 26

10

Questionnaire

Code

- 1) How old are you? 20
- 2) Are you a woman or a man? woman
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)
English major / English studies / - History minor
- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

I have learned German in a grammar school as a second language for four years.

I would maybe I'd like to work for a large company in abroad

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations? almost
I would like to understand people ~~around~~ in the whole world and companies.

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 (3) 4 5

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

10

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

Now I have 2 seminars / audit + 1 audit & /

In grammar school I had the most English lessons, because I had prepared for the higher level of English final exam.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

It is changeable, but maybe 5-10 a week.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

My boyfriend is working for the CDYTEK company and we had lots of ~~colleagues~~ colleagues from abroad, especially from America and I like talking to them in English very much.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

I think talking and translating are the most important tasks.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

I have experienced these activities in your class, too, that's why I would have liked to audit here.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 27

10

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you?

I'm 13 years old.

2) Are you a woman or a man?

I'm a man.

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (English Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
 university

Your mum:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
 university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

I learned German in secondary school for 4 years, 3 times a week, but I don't have a language exam, and I didn't choose it as a 5th subject for my final exam. I wanted to take at least a basic language exam in the end, but in the end, I didn't attend it.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations? (I got a 5 in it at

I like English, and I believe I have a good knowledge of it, and I can easily understand it. Well, so far, at least. As for my aims, I'd like to be translator, ~~but~~ or perhaps an interpreter.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

If my memory serves me well, I've been learning it since I got to 3rd class in primary school, so about 10 years now.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

I have 6 English lessons a week, and I had 6 lessons a week in secondary school as well. Actually, at the first two years there, I only had 4 lessons ~~per~~ a week.

** But 4 of them are that actually (teacher) improves our English*

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

A least 3-4 hours a day, so around 21-28 hours a week. (but it changes sometimes of course)

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

I was working at the local spa in August (as a "pool guard"), and sometimes we had foreign visitors, who I spoke to (helped them, provided them information, asked them not to do certain things, etc.)

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Working in groups, discussing things, arguing about topics, translating are good ways to learn English in my opinion.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Also yes, they are the same or similar to them.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 28

10

Questionnaire

Code: 1

- 1) How old are you? 19
- 2) Are you a woman or a man? woman
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)
English major (English Studies)
- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

I have learned French for 4 years.

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

Maybe I would like to be an English teacher.

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

I have been learning English for 12 years.

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

I have 5 English lessons.

I have had 5 English lessons a week.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons? *I do homework 5 hours a week.*

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they? ~~Yes, I had had to show my ability to Danish students.~~

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

talking, doing pair work

You can learn a lot from your speaking partner.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

~~We read a lot of moving activities~~

We had to read a book in English. We talked about the chapters and I liked this activity.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 29

10

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you? 19

2) Are you a woman or a man? MAN

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (English Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

German 13 years (C1)
Serbian 13 years

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I want to be a translator or a teacher.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 ⑤

7) How many years have you been learning English?

9-10 years

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

I have 4 seminars now. In the grammar school
I had it 4 times in a week.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

I learn 5-10 hours a week.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

- ✓ I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).
- ✓ I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.
- I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.
- ✓ I have or have had private lessons.
- I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.
- I lived in an English-speaking country.
- I write letters or e-mails in English.
- ✓ I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

I read Poe novels, watch movies in English. I like listening hip-hop music just in English...

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking helps a lot in learning English. Pair works are good too, because we can meet other people.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

~~These thing were~~ I have experienced these activities in the grammar school

Thank you for your help!

Data file 30

/10

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you?

18

2) Are you a woman or a man?

man

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (American Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

german, for 8 years. I took the intermediate language exam

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

*I'd like to be an interpreter or maybe an english teacher,
and I'd also like to work abroad*

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

4 years in school, none on my own.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

*I have 4 seminars and 2 lectures ~~and 1 class~~ (but have something
to do with ~~technical studies~~).**I used to have 4 classes a week, and one class with
an english lecturer.*

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

4-8 hours

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

I think talking and translating are the most important ones, because we don't practice speaking English.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

yes mostly, and lots of grammar exercises.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 31

10

Questionnaire

Code: 6

1) How old are you? 18

2) Are you a woman or a man? woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.) English major (American Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

Italian, for 4 years, I have an ~~inter-~~ intermediate ~~and~~ language exam (just the written part)

and I started to learn Spanish, here in the university, a week ago.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I like the language and I want to improve it and maybe one I'd like to go to America to study or work...

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

I have been learning English for 10 years.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years? I have 3 now.

~~I have almost all of my lessons are in English, except for 4 or 5. I have had~~
(it's about 8)

4 or 5 per a week in the past years.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

I just started university but I have a lot of homework, so I have to study a lot, but I like it.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

✓ I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

✓ I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

✓ I have or have had private lessons.

✓ I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

✓ I write letters or e-mails in English.

✓ I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

I like doing pair work, because we can get to know each other while practicing the language. I like also translating and talking, and I think playing some kind of games can help, too.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

We didn't talk a lot in the grammar school so it would be good if I could improve my ~~no~~ communication skills. We wrote essays and did tests.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 32

10

Questionnaire

Code: _

1) How old are you?

10

2) Are you a woman or a man?

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (English Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
 university

Your mum:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
 university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

Not yet

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

to understand the language itself (philology)
 to be able to travel across the world and speak with different people
 to understand the world around me

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

I've been learning English for 5 years.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

past years: 8 hours a week

now: 3 English lessons

~~English lessons~~

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

I do homework every day and read a lot as a hobby and watch movies in English.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

I write a lot of conversations in English about almost everything.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Exactly.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 33

10

Questionnaire

Code: T

1) How old are you? 19

2) Are you a woman or a man? I'M A MAN.

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.) ENGLISH MAJOR (ENGLISH STUDIES)3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)Your dad:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
universityYour mum:
primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?GERMAN (4 YEARS)
SERBIAN (12 YEARS)
FRENCH (1 YEAR)

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I WANT TO BE A TRANSLATOR OR TEACHER SOMEDAY.
I ALSO WANT TO TRAIN MYSELF TO IMPROVE MY ENGLISH FOR FUN AND PROFIT.6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

AROUND 13.

MY PARENTS SAY I STARTED SPEAKING ENGLISH AT THE AGE OF 4.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

3 (WRITING, COMMUNICATION, FOUNDATION)

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

2-3

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. (I used to)

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

| WRITE MUSIC REVIEWS FOR A WEBSITE IN ENGLISH.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

TALKING A LOT. IT HELPS ~~ME~~ WITH LEARNING ENGLISH NEEDED IN REAL-LIFE SITUATIONS. INTERACTING ALSO HELPS IN MY OPINION.

~~INTERACTING~~

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

PARTLY YES, ~~THEY~~ ~~WERE~~ THERE WERE ALSO BORING AND LESS HELPFUL EXERCISES, SUCH AS PLAIN GRAMMAR TESTS, BUT I GUESS THEY'RE ALSO NECESSARY.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 34

10

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you?

21

2) Are you a woman or a man?

Man

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
 (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
 English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
 University of Reading (UK) etc.)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
 (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
university

Your mum:

primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
 one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

Italian (2 years)

basic level

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

~~I~~ I love English and want to be
 as good at it as possible.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
 very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

11 years

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
 past years?

6 lessons/week ~~3~~ hours in Hungary

2 years in Australia ~~in~~ at High School

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

5-10

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

~~about 3 years~~

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Combination of talking about general things and just chatting about every day life.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

More or less

watching movies, tendency to radio in english

Thank you for your help!

Data file 35

10

Questionnaire

Code: 1

1) How old are you? 18

2) Are you a woman or a man? Man.

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major (American Studies)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

German, for about three years, but I'm still at the basic level.
(Never liked German.)

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I would like to know a language, that is known worldwide and I would
like to understand the lyrics of my favourite bands and so. And well, I
always liked learning new languages. (Especially German.)

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

For about 3 years.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

Three English lessons, and some other, which is connected to English
of the language of the class is English.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

Around three or four ~~hour~~ hours.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

- ✓ I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).
 - I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.
 - ✓ I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.
 - ✓ I have or have had private lessons.
 - ✓ I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.
 - ✓ I lived in an English-speaking country.
 - ✓ I write letters or e-mails in English.
 - ✓ I chat in English on the internet.
- Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking, translating and pair work. In my opinion, these are things ~~that~~ which are the best to improve our skills and to learn new words. And it's fun, too. :)

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Yes, I've experienced most of them with my other English teacher. Unfortunately, I don't have too good English teachers, so I don't have any useful idea or experience.

Thank you for your help!

Your welcome. :)

Data file 36

10

Questionnaire

Code: _____

- 1) How old are you? 19
- 2) Are you a woman or a man? man
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.) English minor - History major
- 3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:
 primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
university

Your mum:
 primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
university

- 4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?
 Latin for one year. I'm not good in it.

- 5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?
 I don't want to learn a new language, and I'd like to be a history - english teacher.

- 6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially very much)

1 2 ③ 4 5

- 7) How many years have you been learning English?

12

- 8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

Now I've got 2 course at the university.
 In the past years I learned english ~~at~~ about 6 or 7 lessons in a week.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

It depends on the type of the homework. About 4 or 5 hours.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

I watch sci-fi series ~~like~~ ^{for example} Stargate, and I watch movies in Eng.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking, because that's a two-way communication, and the human brain easily remember to that kind of communication.

Translating, because that's the second best way of learning.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Yes, they are.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 37

10

Questionnaire

Code:

1) How old are you? 20

2) Are you a woman or a man? woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English minor - Biology major

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

French - for 6 years in high school (no language exam)
Japanese - for 1 year (and still)

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

- I want to make myself understood "worldwide"
- I enjoy learning it pretty much
- maybe I'd like to teach it later

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

about 17 years (since kindergarten :))

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

6/week (3 seminars + 3 lectures) now
5/week in high school

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

maybe 2-3 hours

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

- I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).
 - I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.
 - I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.
 - I have or have had private lessons.
 - I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.
 - I lived in an English-speaking country.
 - I write letters or e-mails in English.
 - I chat in English on the internet.
- Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

- *talking (improving communication skills is essential)*
- *translating (practising both English and Hungarian grammar and vocabulary)*
- *reading (vocabulary)*
- *writing assignments (improving writing skills)*

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

I've experienced these both & with English and other teachers.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 38

Questionnaire

Code

1) How old are you?

20

2) Are you a woman or a man?

woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English minor - Philosophy of Arts major
(certified)

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

2 years, German, but I don't speak German well.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

Unfortunately my English isn't so good, but I think
I should be better, because I have to use English in
my major and I'd like to read a lot of philosophical books in
English.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

8

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

Now: 3 seminars
3 lecture

Past years: 2-3

10

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

about 6

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. X

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons. X

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking!) and doing pair work, because I am not too brave, if I should speak in English.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Unfortunately we didn't talk much. We did a lot of grammar exercises and listening tests.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 39

12

Questionnaire

Code: *f*

1) How old are you?

20

2) Are you a woman or a man?

Woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)

Spanish major - English minor

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

*Spanish intermediate (up)
for 3-4 years*

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

*I love English language.
I want to use it in a high level.*

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

5 years

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

*2 lessons per week
earlier 3-4 lessons*

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

1 hour

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

I watch movies just in English
I lived in Denmark for 4 months,
where I spoke just in English.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

doing pair work → learning from
talking in groups → the other one(s)
too

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

We were divide into 2 groups (the class)
and we got a topic and let's
argue about it. → We were more than to
so not everyone could say his ideas.
→ didn't talk

Thank you for your help!

Data file 40

12

Questionnaire

Code: 10001) How old are you? 212) Are you a woman or a man? woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English minor

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad: no idea
 primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
 university

Your mum:
 primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
 college
 university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

French: 4 years (I forgot most of it)German: 8 years (language exam type C mid level)~~English: 4 years (I forgot most of it)~~

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

My major is film theory and film history, so with the English part my diploma'll look better.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

4

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

In the past: 5 times a weekThis Semester: 7 courses

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

5

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations. ✓

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know. ✓

I lived in an English-speaking country. ✓

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking is the most important, there are people who know everything about grammar, but they ~~freeze when they have to talk~~ freeze when they have to talk.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

We watched a lot of movies with our English teacher in high-school.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 41

14

Questionnaire

Code: _____

- 1) How old are you? 19
- 2) Are you a woman or a man?
- 3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.) *English minor*

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:
 primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
 college
university

Your mum:
 primary school
 trade school (3 yrs.)
 technical school (4 yrs.)
 grammar school
college
 university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

German: about 4 years and I reached the lowest level.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

Because I like foreign languages.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 = very much)

1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

About 10 years.

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

Now I have 5 lessons, last year I haven't got language lessons.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

About 5 or 6 hours, but I think it will be more.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

✓ I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

✓ I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

I started to ~~reading~~ reading English comics 2 weeks ago.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

I think it will help if we have to speak a lot, because I think for example I think I can't speak very well. I have grammar mistakes.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Thank you for your help!

Data file 42

14

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you?

I'm twenty four years old.

2) Are you a woman or a man?

woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.)My major is Russian and Hungarian studies. I have already
~~done my master's thesis and I finished it~~3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?I have learned German for four years - The level I have reached: communication
on a basic level, but I understand everything in German.I've been learning Russian since four years.
I have learned English at primary school, high school and at the Hungarian
college, department. I learn my some of
my subjects in English.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

English is the language everybody speaks nowadays. People
travel to meet up abroad or in every kind of situation.
I want my aim is to teach Hungarian in a foreign country.6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)

1 2 3 (4) 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

about 10 years

I have been learning English from primary school on.
I've taught the end of the high school.8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?

3 English lessons I have now.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

*As I don't study at the Institute of English not so much.
But I have a lot of foreigner friends so I use English every day.*

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

sometimes I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

I have foreigner friends so the language we use is English of course.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

*talking - This is the only way ^{to learn} how can you express yourself in another language.
And if you have a text you have to transfer it and tell it to write your own words by heart. In my opinion it's very useful.*

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

*In my 12 high school we didn't speak a lot we just learned a lot of grammar and practice it. We had a lot of tests and vocabulary but we didn't use the language so often.
we just worked in pairs.*

Thank you for your help!

Data file 43

14

QuestionnaireCode: 1234567891) How old are you? 212) Are you a woman or a man? woman3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies?
(e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies),
English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at
University of Reading (UK) etc.) English minor - Hungarian major3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed?
(Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which
one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?German: 3 years - the base
Russian: 15 years - the base

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I'm interested in English and I want to be teacher.6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially 5 =
very much)1 2 3 4 5

7) How many years have you been learning English?

108) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in
past years?now: 5 hours courses / week
in past years: 3-8 hours / week

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

5 hours

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

X I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

X I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

X I have or have had private lessons.

X I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

Sometimes I had to read English literature according to some English writers in Hungarian major.

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

Talking, because you can practise real situations.

Translating, because you can improve your vocabulary.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

Sometimes we watched films and we got questions about it.

Thank you for your help!

Data file 44

12

Questionnaire

Code: _____

1) How old are you?

18

2) Are you a woman or a man?

woman

3) What is your status at the Institute of English and American Studies? (e.g. English major (English Studies), English major (American Studies), English minor-German major, Erasmus student (History major at University of Reading (UK) etc.)

English major - English Studies

3) What is the highest level of education your parents completed? (Underline the level.)

Your dad:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

Your mum:

primary school
trade school (3 yrs.)
technical school (4 yrs.)
grammar school
college
university

4) Have you learned other foreign languages besides English? If so, which one/ones, for how many years and what level have you reached?

I have learned French for 4 years. I guess I've reached
~~also~~ basic level.

5) Why are you learning English? What are your aims or motivations?

I'm learning English because it was my favourite language, I found it interesting to learn more about the grammar, the history, the literature of it.

My aim is to speak 3 languages perfectly and do what I can really be interested with.

6) How much do you actually like learning English? (1 = not especially very much) 5 =

1 2 3 4 (5)

7) How many years have you been learning English?

10 years

8) How many English lessons do you have now? How many have you had in past years?

In the past years I had 3 lessons per a week.
And now I have 5.

9) How many hours a week do you do homework or study at home for your English lessons?

10 maybe 12 hours a week and I didn't count film watching as learning but I do it regularly and I read books, newspapers.

10) Have you been involved in any kinds of activities outside the classroom that require English? If so, what are they?

I read English (e.g. novels, newspapers).

I watch English-language TV channels or listen to English-language radio stations.

I listen to English-language song lyrics and translate them.

I have or have had private lessons.

I regularly talk or used to talk to a native speaker of English I know.

I lived in an English-speaking country.

I write letters or e-mails in English.

I chat in English on the internet.

Other (please explain, or say more about any of the above, if necessary):

*I'm not sure what exactly means, I'm sorry if I wrote the same in the "OTHER" COLUMN.
One part of my family lives in the USA so I keep in touch with them regularly, we talk almost everyday on the internet.*

11) What kind of classroom activities do you think help the most in learning English or any foreign language (e.g. talking, translating, doing pair work, going over multiple-choice tests etc.)? Why?

In my opinion talking is useful to learn to speak nicely and translating is also important to build our vocabulary.

12) Are these the kinds of classroom activities you have experienced with English and/or other foreign language teachers? If not or if only partly, what other ways of learning have you experienced?

I have experienced the same activities.

Thank you for your help!

APPENDIX D

THE INTERVIEW DATA

Data file 1: Lili

T: Have your teachers done any speaking and writing in classes?
Yes, they have. Mainly my English teacher, not my French teacher.

5 T: Have they focused a lot on grammatical correctness?
Yes, they have.

T: How did they do that?
You mean with speaking or writing?

10 T: Both.
In primary school we had to write a lot of compositions. Yes. So the teacher correct it and she gave it back and that was the way in primary school. In high school it was the same with my teacher and when we did a speaking task in high school she corrected it. She corrected us if
15 we did any grammatical mistakes.

T: With the speaking, did they correct you after a few minutes?
No, no, she let me speak and after that she corrected or if I did a big
20 mistake she said no no no it's not 'do' it's 'does'. But she let me speak after my mistakes.

T: It didn't get in the way of communicating?
No.

25 T: What about group or pair work?
Yes, we did because we learned the book called Headway, and there were a lot of tasks like this. So we did.

30 T: Was it useful?
I think it's useful if you have a partner like you, if she doesn't want to speak, then I can't make the task with him. I cannot make him speak. So it's a good way to improve if your partner has the same level of

35 knowledge as you. So I think it's good, but in other ways not really.
And it's not good either if I speak a lot and it's OK for me, but it's not
useful for him or her.

T: Or maybe they know as much as you, but they're very shy.

40 Yes, that's why I was afraid of the language exam when there are
some, for example, two strange people went in and they have to do the
tasks with each other and I was afraid so what kind of people should I,
not should I, what kind of people will I get? What if I get a people who
doesn't want to speak any words but I haven't done this exam? I did
another one.

45 T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major
grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it,
and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt. Is that familiar?

50 No, my teacher gave some material and after that we did tasks and so
we did practise this grammar point, and, after that, when we went on-
the grammar rules, we revised it. So we did tasks with that we
learnt, so we revised all the time everything.

T: What was the first handout?

55 The teacher was speaking and writing on the board, and we have to
take notice and that's it. We didn't get handouts. So she explained it
and we had to write it down and when we were just practising we
could use the grammar exercise book so what we wrote down we could
see it and for the big test we had to know it.

60 T: Did you teacher cover everything about a grammar point at once?

Yes. So we didn't do the exercises in the Headway book. She gave us
other sheets for the grammar. She made those. We were just reading
the texts from it, we were learning the words but we didn't use the
grammar in the book because she taught us in another way.

65

T: What was different about it? That she wanted you to know everything
about that point?

70 Yes, yes. So if we were learning about the present perfect, she told us
everything about present perfect so we didn't have to go back and
again tell everything that, OK, you use present perfect for this, this,
this and this, so she did this way.

- T: Your grammar seems very good so did you think that was a good way to do things?
75 Yes, I liked it because my sister has another teacher but she's learning from Headway and they are doing that way which is in the book and she's confused about things. And I can help her to tell her about things. It's like this and that, and it's OK for her. But the book is not really understandable on grammar.
- 80 T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?
I completely agree with this point.
- 85 T: Have teachers encouraged this?
Yes, she did.
- T: The English teacher.
90 Yes. She recommended us films, for example, to see or she said that we should listen to songs and we should read articles on the Internet and I did those what she recommended us.
- T: Did she ask about them?
95 Yes.
- T: What did you do on your own then?
I read novels in English, for example, Harry Potter. I read those in English.
- 100 T: After having read them in Hungarian?
The first four I read in Hungarian first and then in English. And the fifth, sixth and seventh, I read it in English.
- T: Was it hard?
105 Yes, a little bit because there were many unknown words for me, but the teacher said you don't have to look everything up in the dictionary because you can get through with it. I learnt it and I read the books. So it was OK. And I liked the English one more than the Hungarian one. I think it's better.
- 110 T: How do you compare?
So I wouldn't say it's better. I liked the English phrases and the English grammar. I mean like conditional and passive, like these, I

115 liked these very much. So that's why I would say I liked the English more.

T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook? Or has she shared other materials?

120 She gave us other texts, for example, about economy, about science, yes. She gave another topics and another text—other texts.

T: Were there photocopies from other books or something she had created?

125 Yes, it seemed.

T: But I guess the science texts were from the Internet or something. But did she add questions?

130 Yes, so we were sort of doing reading stuff with questions and with summary and we had lots of tasks we did.

T: Were the materials and topics useful and interesting?

Yes, I liked them very much.

T: Were the vocabulary and grammar useful?

135 No, we had to learn the vocabulary from Headway. I think it was a good stuff. Because in the texts there were so many unknown words that we had to learn and my teacher gave us another vocabulary—other vocabulary sheets.

140 T: What did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Did you think it was fun? Do you think it was effective?

145 I think it was interesting. I like doing argumentative tasks when you have to convince the other partner of your opinion, so I liked it. But it was a bit hard because in every person I found good and bad features, so it was a bit hard to choose with that one, but I like it—but I like this kind of task.

T: Were you really arguing and trying to convince each other?

150 It was a little harder with one partner. He didn't want to speak a lot. I listed my arguments, and he was like, yes, OK, but I think. So it was not really useful. But with the other girl it was really good to speak with her and it was fun. I liked it. I liked it and we were practising a lot for the Matura examinations in English because I had to do so the upper level. And there was a task like this when you have a statement

155 and you have to argue about it. So we were practising a lot. With phrases, like I completely agree with you, I can only agree with you on this with reservations, so we were practising a lot.

T: Do you think a class made up of such tasks would be effective?

160 I think it's better if you learn a little bit or so a little bit of everything because we shouldn't go at the edge.

T: What do you mean?

165 *A végletekben gondolkozni.*

T: Oh, so go to extremes.

I think it's better if you learn grammar, you do activity and speaking tasks, you do listening tasks, but they have to be the same quantity.

170 T: In the same proportion.

Yes, I think that's the best way.

T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?

175 I mentioned a lot. I liked her vocabulary lists and I liked her grammar tasks. They were very hard and difficult but it was good. We got used to that level. And maybe these. I can't say another thing. I liked everything. I liked vocabularies. I liked speaking tasks. I liked them. It wasn't boring. So we always did something different from the other lessons. So I liked it.

180 T: These vocabulary lists, were they based on some story or text you had covered?

185 Both of them. I mean we got gerund lists or infinitive lists and we had vocabulary lists from the texts and from other topics I mean family, education or like these, so we had all kinds of lists for vocabulary.

Data file 2: Albert

T: The first question is that you said it on your questionnaire that you think that grammar tests are useful to develop grammar, and, when you said that, did you mean ABCD multiple-choice tests?

5 Well, either that or the fill-in tests or anything that is with the grammar.

T: And when you've had language classes in the past, you said you had German, you said that this wasn't so successful, why was that? Because you weren't so interested?

10 Well, I think the main thing was I wasn't really interested, yeh, but I learned five years in my school and then in the secondary grammar school I learned four more and I got a really good teacher and I liked her and everything but German language is not for me, I think. After I learned five years of German, I learned two years of English and I understood English better and I spoke English better than German, I think. I just like English, not German.

T: OK, a lot of people have a good feeling about English and a kind of a negative feeling about German. OK. And in the language teaching that you have had, how important was grammatical correctness? So if you made a mistake in speaking or writing, did the teacher talk about it right away, point it out? How was that generally?

20 Well, it happened that I learned English four lectures per week and three lectures per week German, so, if I can say, English was my major and German my minor in secondary grammar school. In the German classes, the teacher didn't really care about it, so sometimes when I said a very, very bad sentence she corrected me, well, put a little word order in it, so it was so bad she corrected me. But anyway she didn't really care because she knew that we learned rather English, but on the English classes I think the teacher—the teacher tried to keep a level. She wasn't so strict, but if we made a great mistake she corrected us.

T: So you'd say something and would she sort of tell you in the middle of your sentence or after you'd finish speaking or....

35 After I'd finish speaking, but she told me, put a little word order into it.

T: That was the English teacher...

- 40 No, that was the German, but it was because I couldn't speak German so....
- T: And you thought that was OK because grammar is important and it was OK to correct you.
I think that I was lazy to learn it. I could have had a certificate, but I was lame.
- 45 T: We did this speaking task in class. How much have your foreign language teacher used group or pair work in the classroom?
Don't really remember if we did things like this. Maybe in the English. In German sometimes we had to memorize some conversations and we had to perform it in each class.
- 50 T: So it was all written down. You had a script, you had to memorize it and then you did it.
- 55 It was just to learn how German grammar works, so it was like *Anna ist eine ungarisches Mädchen*. It was the first sentence we had to learn, and everyone knew it because we had to memorize it. And it was good because we remembered always that sentence. If you forget that how is 'Hungarian', oh, it's *ungarisches*, and we knew that from the sentence.
- 60 So it was good in that way, but we were always afraid that we can't perform it, forget it or something. It was a burden. Actually, it was good in one aspect.
- T: But the kind of thing where you worked in pairs ...
- 65 We rather worked individually. We got a task, we had to do it, and we spoke about it. I don't remember that we did anything like this.
- T: How was grammar taught?
- 70 When we learned a new tense, we came to know everything about it. So I think it's OK because for me I like to learn everything about that tense and I like to know how to use it properly. But I think it's also a little bit confusing for someone who didn't even hear about it and we use it then and then and then and these are the definitions and everything and that's too much for once. But I think we used it after that so it wasn't that we learned it and just leave it so we used it continuously so once we learned then we read a text and in the text there was something about that tense we just shouted that's a use of it and that's great.
- 75

- 80 T: So if you were to become an English teacher, would you cover
grammar that way?
I think I would gather all the information and just put it here or just
give a handout to the students or I just say to them write it down and
then we practise and if they don't know anything then they can see
85 what they wrote down or look at the handout but I wouldn't just leave
it I think practicing is really important.
- T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside
and outside the classroom. What do you think of this?
90 I think it's perfectly true because that was the problem with my
German so I was lazy to do anything outside the classroom and that's
why I don't speak German now but with English it's the opposite so
when I don't know a word I try to look it up and try to get to know it
how do I say it or what does it mean exactly. And I listen to American
95 music, I watch films in English, so I think it's really true and because
of this a student can really improve himself.
- T: Is it that there is more English out there and not a lot of German?
100 I think I can gain access to German things if I really want to but I don't
really want to.
- T: Why are you motivated in one and not the other? Is it about English
speakers vs German speakers?
105 No, I think it was just the learning of the German. So I have a friend
from Germany and I like her a lot because she's funny and we can
speak about anything and we speak English through letters but
sometimes I use a German word and make her laugh because I know
now that word, so I don't have problem with the German language. So
if I got to Germany and I had to live there I think it would be OK, but
110 to learn it with a lot of articles, *der die das*, it's too much for me. So
that's why I prefer English. I think English is better for me because my
favourite band is American, my favourite series is American ... I also
like to watch that in English they use a lot of phrases that I don't know
and I look them up in the dictionary. I try to memorize it, but I think
115 it's good that I can work on my own.
- T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook?
Headway and the exercise book for Headway.
- 120 T: Do you think that's good or bad?

I think it's a great book and it can teach a student everything then it's OK, but of course every book has benefits and drawbacks so once we finished that book I think it's good that we got some handout. Maybe that OK these are materials that are not in the Headway book, for example, I think it could be a way of teaching.

125

T: Do you find the Headway book and the other materials and topics interesting and relevant?

130

Yes, there were many different and great stories. I don't really remember, but it was about Indians and a burglar and an old lady who lived in an airplane, funny stories, and we loved to read them.

T: So they were motivating.

135

Yes, they were interesting.

T: So the vocabulary and grammar were stuff you would need. You say you want to translate books?

140

I've felt that everything I've learned in English was useful in one way or another.

T: The speaking task, what did you think of it?

145

Well, it was good for speaking because we could argue about these and we had many options about that but I had always a strange feeling about working in groups because my experience, especially in the grammar school, was that everyone started to speak in Hungarian, OK, what did you see on TV last week? We didn't do the task properly.

T: What was the task?

150

It was like this. I don't remember, but I know if we had to do something it was like that.

T: Why didn't people speak Hungarian here?

155

Here not because everyone came here to learn English and it's much better here but in a school where students don't really want to learn languages they don't have the inspiration to speak so it would be better if the teacher would tell them, OK, you and you, just go and speak about something and if they made a mistake or something then the teacher could just go and correct them. I just mean that they should be watched what they're doing because sometimes students tend to forget their task and speak about anything else and they comprehend that it's done.

160

T: But I wonder if it's the nature of the task?
It's the nature of the students.

165

T: It's the nature of the students? OK, because I've given students tasks to do because they were in the book and this is what's used on tests and this is what everybody knows and I realised years later that the task is simply crap, you know, and no wonder people start speaking Hungarian or start saying, *Hát, mit kellene csinálni?* I mean it doesn't motivate them, it doesn't inspire them. That could be a point. So students' motivation is very important.

170

I would emphasize not here because everybody came here to study English also not in the Communication Skills course because when people came here they have something to study and not here but I think that's in secondary school that it's a problem where they can't work in pairs.

175

T: OK, you said that tasks like this work here because people here are motivated to learn English and they're here to communicate. Is there anything else about this that worked for you or you think works?

180

I think it's good that we argued about things that OK, I like it, I don't like it, I got an idea about already about five. A not so good thing is that we are both Hungarians and if we make a mistake then the other think it's good that's why I prefer to speak with a teacher because he or she can correct us and if we speak with another Hungarian we can make mistakes and nobody to watch, OK, that was a really worst sentence.

185

T: OK, but I suspect that if you're partner made a mistake you noticed it and if you made a mistake he noticed it because presumably you make different kinds of mistakes.

190

Of course.

195

T: Yes, but yeh then who's going to tell you? Mm hmm.
And we won't correct each other.

T: That's right. So it's practice, but it's not necessarily checking the grammar.

200

Yes, but it's indeed good for speaking and for arguing, I think. If that's the point in this task, then it's a really good task.

T: What has been the most successful technique/activity/approach you have experienced?

205 It's a very good question. Poo. I don't know. There are many kinds of tasks and each is good for something so what I said that this task is particularly good for communicating and arguing but a grammar test is good for improving grammar or reading a text is good for pronunciation and vocabulary learning so I think it should be a collage
210 of them.

T: I wonder, though, are grammar tests good for improving your grammar when you speak or when you write or are they good for improving your test-taking ability?

215 I think it's good for writing skills because we see it again on the paper, I mean for most people but not for me because I forgot everything when I filled the gap in this task and I check it and I wonder I do it right or I do it wrong what's the problem. I notice that but after that I forget it sometimes so that's why it doesn't really work for me so I
220 would prefer for myself to learn or read English texts or books because maybe I can memorize. I think it can improve either writing skills or probably communication skills too because if we see it a lot of times put on paper, then we can say it if we communicate we just need to read, hear it.
225

T: You want to be a book translator. You're not planning to be a teacher, is that right?

I would like to because I like books, I like to read English texts and I also like to work alone and I think it would be nice just to sit down, get
230 a book and translate it and when I translate it I get the money for it. I think it would be a nice job for me, and I even have a dream that I could work at home and I have a little office or something because I like that way of working it will turn out.

235 T: It sounds good. Why not?

Data file 3: Anett

T: How important has the correctness of grammar been to your foreign language teachers?

5 Yes, I think it was so important I just learned English so it was very important for my English teachers and I learned Latin but it's a kind of different language because it's a very hard language and it's a dead language so it's not the same as English but it was also important.

T: Do you think learning Latin helped you with your English.

10 No.

T: How has grammar been corrected?

15 When I said something they corrected me right away or when I wrote something down she or he corrected me in tests and if the problems were too much with my grammar then I got a bad mark and everything else.

T: Was that useful or productive?

20 Erm yes, sometimes because it was productive for some types of people and it wasn't productive for other types of people who couldn't really speak English anyway.

T: What was the difference? They weren't as interested in learning English? Why didn't they speak as well?

25 They didn't have the talent for learning languages and it was much harder for them to learn these things and they couldn't learn it anyway.

T: Have your teachers used group or pair work?

Yes, we had these kinds of lessons.

30 T: Did it depend on the teacher?

Yes, one of my teachers really liked these kinds of things.

T: How was it? A pair would work together and then report to the whole class?

35 Yes, and sometimes it was bigger groups and we have to do some kind of presentation five of us or something like that and then two of us (inaudible).

T: Can you give me an example?

40 We were given a topic and then we had to give our opinion, but in bigger groups – I don't know why, but it was always in bigger groups of four or five.

T: Did you work together in English?

45 Yes, we had to talk about the topic and then we had to tell everyone what our opinion is.

T: And what kind of topic was it? Public transport?

50 I don't know, for example, women's role in society.

T: This is when you were in secondary school.

Yes.

T: So young adult kinds of topics.

55 And those were motivating, I think, because everyone has a strong opinion on those kinds of topics.

T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt.

60 Yes, most of the time in secondary school that was the normal way of learning grammar. I learnt the grammar of verbs and these kinds of things like present perfect and everything else in a language school because they were teaching in a different way. They taught us, OK, here's the past, the present, future, present perfect and the present
65 simple. And I was, oh, now I understand it because in secondary school and in primary school.... So at the language school they showed us the logic of these things, but in secondary school they didn't show us the logic of the verb tenses and everything else.

70

T: But you had learnt all of those things or some of the things.

We did but one month we learnt the present perfect and then two months later we learnt the future perfect continuous or I don't know so it was really a random thing.

75

T: And when you learnt the present perfect, say, in school, you learnt everything there was to learn about the present perfect and then moved on to something else.

Yes.

80

- T: Did you ever go back to the present perfect?
If we had some serious problem with these things, then yes.
- 85 T: At the language school it was good (yes) because they reviewed everything and put it into a neat logical structure.
Yes.
- 90 T: And why did you feel you needed to go to the language school because you felt you weren't getting enough at school? Of the grammar?
Yes, and I wanted to take an advanced language exam and that's why I went. It was the IELTS. I learned English in England for 1½ months, and they said that IELTS was really good.
- 95 T: That's good. Did you think so?
Yes, I learned to speak in English but not so much so ...
- 100 T: Did you think IELTS was a good exam?
Yes, because it's international and it's not like ORIGO because you can go to the advanced level exam and if you don't get the points you get nothing but if you go to the IELTS and you can't get the points for the advanced then you get the lower level.
- 105 T: That seems fair. What do you think of this statement?: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom.
I think it's good.
- 110 T: What do you think it means?
Maybe learning some language in the classrooms is not enough to be really good at that language (inaudible).
- 115 T: Some teachers will say, Find what you're interested in, action films, comedy series, etc., go for it.
Not just the homework, you can watch movies. Nowadays I always watch movies in English or in English subtitles if it's really hard I mean some art movies are not for my language skills and I have to use subtitles for it and I read some things on the internet.
- 120 T: Have you had teachers say that?
Yes, one of my teachers said it's really practical to watch movies or something on TV in English and she said that if you like something

- 125 very much and you watch it in English then you will learn a lot about it and that's why I started to watch Friends in English because I'm a really big fan of Friends and I know the subtitles and everything else in my head and I could realise that Oh, that's the word in English or I don't know what because I knew it from before.
- 130 T: Have your teachers generally used a set textbook or other materials?
A textbook plus other things. Copies of other materials. And stuff that they created.
- T: Why depart from the textbook?
Not everything was in the textbook.
- 135 T: Did you find the topics and materials that the teacher used relevant and interesting?
Yes, these talking tasks were always interesting.
- 140 T: Did they teach you vocabulary and grammar that you felt you needed?
Sometimes no. I had to learn words about ships in the language school and I thought it was really useless. I still don't know why. Sometimes on the advanced exam we can get really stupid topics and they can be really (inaudible). Like ORIGO or Euro language exams.
- 145 T: What did you think of the speaking task?
I think it was interesting and if someone is communicative enough it was a really good argumentative topic or something like that because a lot of these characters are really good like an angel or something like that so we could argue about them I think that was good.
- 150 T: Yeh, that makes it more difficult if there was one angel and the rest were awful then it wouldn't even be worth doing. The point is that this is real world or real life. Do you feel it's like real life?
When we did this task I didn't think about it, but now I think so. Like no one's perfect. Many things depend on luck and anything else.
- 155 T: And how does luck enter into it here?
I think in the class many people voted for Jane Smith or Tim Brodie, and you never know who takes the decision about your life.
- 160 T: Can you imagine a language class made up of such speaking tasks?

Yes, but it has some dangers because if we do it in pairs there's the risk that it's half English and half Hungarian speaking. When the teacher is there, it's English....

165

T: Although no one was doing it in the group.

No, it's just a danger when we had these pair tasks when the teacher was somewhere in the place then we spoke in English, but when he or she wasn't there then we spoke in Hungarian and she or he couldn't realise that.

170

T: What are the most successful methods/approaches/techniques for you?

It's a hard question because I think the most successful in the classrooms were when the teacher was speaking and he or she gave us questions and all of the class was working together and speaking together and writing, that was the best in the classrooms. In my language learning, in my speaking, the best thing was when I was in England and I had to speak English because I didn't have any choice because no one was Hungarian there. I was there for learning English, but the classes weren't really good. I speak much better now than when I was in England, but that's not because of how I learned but because of how I had to live.

175

180

Data file 4: Attila

T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?

5 I've had that experience and I think it helps you. But I don't think teachers should correct little mistakes. I think they should teach you the grammar and the way you should speak the language, but if you make a mistake I don't think it should be such a huge problem. They still understand. I don't think they should focus.... You know, Hungarian teachers tend to focus extremely hard on the grammar and these technical things, and I think they should focus a little bit more on speaking the language and just having fun with the language.

10

T: You had English before you went to Australia right?

Yes, I think nine years.

15 T: Where did you go to school?

Deák for two years and then we left. In Year 3 I started in Tisza parti.

T: You say that you think that Hungarian teachers spend a lot of time on grammatical correctness (yes) but with that approach weren't you prepared pretty well for Australia?

20

No, I wasn't. I couldn't speak a word, literally, so I couldn't understand what they were saying and just was confusing.

T: And how much had you had here?

25

A lot! I started in Year 3 and finished in Year 11 here and literally couldn't communicate at all. So it was really hard.

T: When you were over there, did they put you in an ESL class for a while?

30

Yes, I was in a grammar school for three months and then started the actual high in Year 11 and then graduated in Year 12.

T: And in the classes that you had here, did you do group or pair work?

35

Not so much, I don't think. I can't remember actually doing group or pair work.

T: But in the ESL class in Australia?

There, yes.

- 40 T: How was grammar taught?
It's familiar. I'm not an expert in teaching but they teach you the
grammar, but it doesn't mean that you can use it in real life. You can
use it in a test and you can get a good mark but it doesn't mean that
you can use it like if you go out you can't use it in the streets in a real
45 conversation because you forget a lot of things. I don't think it's the
best way to teach a language. Of course you have to learn the grammar
first because you can't use the language if you don't know these
technical stuffs.
- 50 T: How would you cover grammar?
I'm not sure. I think I would use a couple of techniques first and
whatever works best I would use it. I'm not sure...
- T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside
55 and outside the classroom. What do you think of this idea?
I think that would work. The topic that they would choose they would
probably like so they would get into and enjoy it and probably learn
more than in class where they don't pay that much attention to the
teachers because they're not that interested at all. If they found a topic
60 that they're interested in, they would probably enjoy it more than
sitting in class and doing some stupid exercises.
- T: Have your teachers encouraged this?
65 No, not at all.
- T: Even the ESL teachers in Australia?
We had excursions and we went out to the city and we had fun. It
wasn't like sitting in a room and studying for hours. It was a bit more
fun and playful. We had a lot of group work as well, and we actually
70 went out to see movies at the theatre so it was fun.
- T: Have your teachers generally used a set textbook or other materials?
We usually had one book for each year; we went through it and then
had some tests in the lessons. They didn't develop their own materials.
75
- T: Did you find the topics and materials that the teacher used relevant and
interesting?
Yes, they had some interesting stuff, but basically it was focused on
the grammar so it was basically a little bit boring. The way we learned
80 English we would read a short text, just analyse it, do the vocabulary

thing, write out the words we don't know, check them in the dictionary and basically that's the way.

T: And what did you think of the speaking task?

85 Definitely interesting. I loved that we discussed it in class and had a little bit of a debate. I think it was fun. It makes you think about things you wouldn't naturally think about. It's a good text. You actually get a lot of information.

90 T: How is it real world?

 Basically, the text is using today's language so it's not Shakespearean language, that's one thing. And it's real life because the people are living right in today's world and you know you can get into a situation like that anytime 'cause you know somebody dies and they're going to have a will

95

T: Can you imagine a language class made up of tasks like this?

 I think that would be useful. Anything with speaking, having a conversation in class would be useful. That's what makes up most of our English, speaking with people, and any communication would be useful 'cause it can prepare you.

100

T: What are the most successful methods/approaches/techniques for you?

 What teachers would do they would have a class where they tell you everything they have to tell you and you just sit there and listen to the stuff till the class is over and then you go out we didn't have activities that much where you would have a conversation with people next you maybe just sit there and write the stuff that wasn't boring I can't really think of any activities I really liked. In Hungary. But in Australia there was lots of group work we had to essays and speeches there was a lot of interaction between students in class but in Hungary I can't think of any good activities that we did. Maybe in the first five minutes of the class, where we would have a bit of a chat with the teacher.

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Data file 5: Péter

T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your teachers?

Well, they usually gave you fewer points if you made grammar mistakes in the test but they didn't take it very seriously so you had a penalty for making mistakes but it wasn't that serious so and when we were correcting the tests together we revised them and the teacher repeated it and so it could be understood.

T: Did your teacher correct you right away in speaking?

Sometimes, but she usually waited for us to finish the sentence.

T: What kinds of errors did she correct?

She usually let us choose our own words. If she wanted us to use a synonym or a phrasal verb then she wanted us to use that, but she usually corrected all the grammar mistakes so verbs which wasn't correctly used or things like this

T: Was there group or pair work?

We did it every ... there were 15 units in a year we did group work in every unit sometimes more or less when we prepared for a final exam or a language exam, for example, we were working in groups for the oral practice, but sometimes we didn't work in groups because it wasn't needed.

T: Was it the ORIGO exam?

Érettségi and language exam as well. I did the TELC.

T: Did you use a set textbook or additional materials?

Channel your English. We also used GCSE and Oxford exam ExCels but we used GCSE and Oxford Exam ExCels for the final exam and final exam and we used Channel for studying English in general.

T: How was grammar taught?

Yes, our teacher used examples, sketches, drawings and examples from books and all examples, and she, well, we had to do tests from each of the units and sometimes there were more units in a test, but, yes, we had to learn all of them and write a test.

T: Did you find this helpful?

40 Yes, because if I don't know which tense to use and if the sentence that was mentioned over and over again comes to my mind it is much easier and I remember that sentence was attached to that tense and it is much easier.

45 T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom. What do you think of this?
You mean teachers don't have that much?

50 T: I'm thinking of your responsibility and not just in the classroom.
You mean own practice at home.

T: I mean doing things like watching films and reading books in English that you love.
Yes, they can be very helpful. I rarely watch a film in English. Well, I don't watch television that often, but if I play a computer game, for
55 example, I play it in English so I don't use Hungarian texts.

T: Have teachers encouraged this?
They asked it but not very often so if the topic of that class was about that the teacher usually asked who read what in English and watched
60 that film in English and so on. Or when the conversation had that topic so maybe we started from a very different topic but then we ended up there and then the teacher asked. If we said we saw that in English then we had to tell what it was about and what we liked about it. We could also talk about a film we saw in Hungarian but we talked about it in
65 English.

T: Were there other materials like handouts?
She usually brought us thousands of handouts, but we used books most
70 of the time. Both her own handwriting but mostly from books.

T: Did you find the topics and materials interesting?
Yes, for example, at the beginning of each unit, there was a conversation about, for example, films or anything else that was interesting and there were short stories in it and the book was quite
75 interesting and made it easier to learn English and to help you have more fancy to learn it—it was interesting.

T: Were the vocabulary and grammar you were taught something that you felt you needed?

- 80 We didn't have that many quotations, but as I said already, it was, for example, the activity started as a conversation. It was that are usually based in the present time. It had phrasal verbs and words that we use nowadays, and we usually had to learn the most important of them.
- 85 T: The book that you used had texts and things that used everyday modern language.
Well, of course, there was future science fiction and stories about the past as well.
- 90 T: And what did you think of the speaking task?
I liked it as it was. I like, for example, work that is done in groups so you have to persuade others and listen to their opinions and share your own ones as well. It helps improve your speaking skills as well. It is interesting what others think of certain people in this example.
- 95 T: What purpose do you think it serves?
Express yourself and your opinions and what counter-opinions others have and what do you react to that and well we don't meet these people very often and we are almost strangers and I think it is a different story if you have this exercise with my secondary school classmates. It is different because I had known them for a long time, so here we had to talk to strangers.
- 100
- 105 T: Do these tasks seem like real-world tasks?
It is easier to imagine this than a story that is based on another planet, for example, but we don't have many connections with these people and their homeland and it can happen anytime so it can be real as well. We might have read about similar stories or seen them on TV so we might have experiences with it.
- 110 T: Can you imagine a language class made up of speaking tasks?
I think it's good as every other English class we have is about writing or re-writing, but here we can practise our speaking skills and if you write down what we did well and what we did wrong and if examples follow them we can learn them immediately, for example, but if we write it down as well, I usually write them down and then you can learn it at home and hopefully you don't make that mistake again.
- 115 T: What are the most successful methods/approaches/techniques for you?

- 120 She used easy and very common sentences as an example for certain tasks, and we used them very often. She used it if we learnt a new tense and we didn't understand it then she used easy and not complicated sentences.
- 125 T: So she explained grammar in English also?
Yes. If it was very complicated and we didn't understand it or someone ... even if she explained it earlier then she usually said it in Hungarian but mostly in English and we had to learn many texts in school she often brought in some handouts which was all about the
- 130 texts or some books that had some texts in it. Well, I didn't understand why she wants us to learn it, but later, when I was going for my language exam, I was practicing for it, I realised and my classmates as well that it helped us a lot, for example, with letter writing or in the general tasks we had to learn many texts but in the end it's worth it so
- 135 we just realised it. We always thought, for example, a conversation has nothing to do with us if two people are talking about something we didn't know or something like that but it's worth it. She used drawings if it was possible or sketches. She organised them well, so it was easy to understand.

Data file 6: Alexandra

- 5 I had French for five years and Russian for two years. For Russian one teacher for French three. I had relatives in England and Australia visiting us since I was little. And I learnt English in school for about eight years, with three or four teachers in primary school, 11 teachers in all. I moved around a lot. 12 hours a week. Five years in school in a program with different teachers.
- 10 T: Did your teachers think grammatical correctness was important?
They didn't correct us but we wrote a lot of grammar exercises and we exercised and we exercised a lot our own grammar.
- T: In speaking?
In writing, not in speaking.
- 15 T: Why?
There wasn't so much speaking in classes. The classes were mostly the same in teaching us. I think I had one teacher in one class where I had to speak, but nobody wanted to speak so ...
- 20 T: Was their pair or group work in those classes?
Most of them used it because we didn't want to work alone so we had to do it in pairs. ... Teacher talks and student listens and you do work at home.
- 25 T: Gosh! How much have you actually experienced that?
Maybe there was two or three teachers who do it this way but most of them prefer working together.
- 30 T: What kind of work?
We did exercises together, grammar exercises or activities together, not with the teacher, but together or summarizing the video. We had grammar books and we could do exercises, but the teacher was very creative. One coursebook, one grammar book and one exercise book.
- 35 T: You feel that worked?
Yes.

- 40 T: Do you feel you would have learnt as good English without all your relatives coming? Would you have spoken as good English without your relatives?
I think because when I went to grammar school there were a lot of students and they were not on the same level of English, of course, but there were total beginners and there were, we, and the teachers started to teach English from the beginning and it was (inaudible) and they
45 promised us that in two years we would have a language exam and there was nobody who could do it because they were starting from the beginning.
- 50 T: ORIGO intermediate?
Any intermediate one. And I was the one in five years to do the advanced English language exam. Maybe there was a guy in another group to do this in the whole school, so it was...
- 55 T: Where?
In Csongrád.
- T: How did teachers teach grammar?
This is the way mostly every teacher does.
- 60 T: Russian, French too.
No there it's a bit different. Because in French on the first day the teacher came in and she was always speaking French and we had to communicate with her in French so she wouldn't listen to us when we talked to her in Hungarian which is a bit different but I love French
65 and I learned it well from her and this was a very good way to teach, I think, because from time to time the same words came again and it was good.
- 70 T: She wouldn't cover grammar in this way?
No, she had a lot of exercises, but we didn't use the book so much. She was very creative in teaching French.
- 75 T: What about Russian?
I've been learning Russian for two years and it was very difficult because we had to learn the whole alphabet and it took us a year to learn to read and write and we go through elementary book for little children to learn the alphabet and after one year we had some proper books to learn from. Then we could learn how to read them and then

80 we could start the grammar. We read texts and little exercises and
there were small parts and when we didn't understand something we
asked and our teacher explained. When we reached a certain level, we
learned some grammar and then we had to discover what we don't
understand and we had to think about what that is and why we don't
understand because we haven't learned that part of the grammar yet.

85

T: Why do they teach grammar in English the way we spoke about?
I think that it's because people in Hungary have to learn English for
about 10 or 20 years and before that they had to learn Russian and
there were many Russian teachers and just suddenly they had to teach
90 English so they had to learn English and they had to learn how to teach
English and there's many teachers who teach Russian or English and
it's a kind of the effect of the previous system.

95

T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside
and outside the classroom. Have you been encouraged to think this
way?

I don't think so. Well, I always love reading English and watching
movies and I had to because some parts of the year my cousins come
to—to us to have parties, and they just speak to me only in English and
100 they don't listen to me when I speak Hungarian.

T: Is it because they don't know Hungarian?

Not really well, but they know a little bit. Some cousins know it well,
but they don't want to talk to me in Hungarian because they want me
105 to learn and communicate with them and improve my English.

T: And have your teachers encouraged you to take responsibility as a
language learner?

In English no, in French yes. My French teacher wanted us to know a
lot of things about the world. In Russian it's different because it's very
hard to get something to do these things because I have a channel on
110 TV and I can't understand it.

T: What did you think of the speaking task?

115 It was useful because we had to speak, but my friend, my partner does
not like to speak and when we were studying for our exams in
grammar school we spoke a lot and I wanted to exercise and to
communicate with her but she doesn't like it and she doesn't like to

120 say anything on her own and that was the situation with this and I was just trying to speak and trying to make her speak...

T: Maybe she's intimidated by you.

125 Maybe, but it's not just with me but in the class in general. She's a shy person. It was good for me. I like these kinds of exercises, but it was very hard for her I think. And we wrote down these names and the pros and the cons, and I wanted to talk about it. I prepared in little notes and so did she but she didn't want to speak about it.

130 T: And so in the end, did she agree with everything you said just to get out of speaking?
Maybe.

T: What do you think the purpose of such speaking tasks is?

135 To think about the advantages and disadvantages and to think about the names and to think about the connection and to logically get something. But in speaking tasks most people don't want to speak because most students and language learners are afraid of making a mistake. I was afraid of making a mistake for five or six years and then finally I learned that everybody makes mistakes and somebody will
140 correct you and you have to speak.

T: Why do you think so many students are so anxious?

145 Maybe that's because when we start to learn a language, we have to learn a lot of rules and we have tests and when we make a mistake, just a little mistake, they don't want to help us in this way, so they don't correct it but give a mark 1 if you don't know something. It's so frustrating when somebody tells you *this* is not good and *this* is not good and *this* is not good.

150 T: But you get a lot of that as students.

Yes. It makes us nervous and anxious not to make a mistake and that's why.

155 T: Do you think it would be good to have a language class based on speaking tasks with feedback?

Maybe it would because it improves communication skills but I think most of the students who learned in this way in Hungary, they are not, so most of them wouldn't think this is so good because they are afraid

160 of making mistakes and if you know the mistakes and take it on board
they will ignore or something.

165 T: So what is your feeling about teachers correcting students' mistakes?
Maybe it's good when you do it not in front of the whole class but for
that person to go there and that was wrong and that was wrong but not
in front of the whole class.

170 T: What about waiting a while and telling the group as a whole?
Of course, but everybody would guess who could write that. It's in
Hungary very popular. We do these kinds of things. For example, there
was once a reading where everyone had to type up an exercise, send it
by email and the next day class all the sentences were criticized, but
everybody knew which sentence had been written by whom and this
was not the best way. It was very frustrating for me. It's not always the
175 best. You don't have to name them but they will guess or say, Oh, she
is so clever or she is not. If you do it in front of the whole class, it's not
so good, I think, but if you do it to the person and go there and say this
is wrong it's better.

Data file 7: Gabi

T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?

Most of the time, they teach grammatical, so the main focus is grammatical, but I don't really get what they try to teach [laughs].

5

T: Why is that?

Because I have friends, native American friends, and they use a different language, and the past simple is just fine for me for everything... so that's why. I came really to talk to them and we were fine, thus I came back and ... Now since I'm here I need to practise it and I have to sleep with the English practical book, and I woke up with the book on my chest

10

T: Wow, because it's such exciting reading! Well, and one of the differences is that in America, we don't use the present perfect. It really is used in Britain, and Americans don't really care.

15

Sometimes I tell, Yes, it's true. why is it so much good and now that I'm here I don't understand. My friends moved to Hungary, they were really natives from Phoenix, Arizona, and the girl, 13 year old, starts to attend grammar school here in Budapest, like the American grammar school, some Christian thing, and she got some make-up sometime from Britain. Every time I she came home from Britain she said something like, Did you know that torch is light? Oh, it's so funny, holiday is vacation. That's the way I learned, that's how I understand you.

20

25

T: Have your teachers corrected their students' grammatical errors in the classroom?

Yes, my teachers corrected me. Here in Hungary in grammar school and high school they don't teach that. The teachers don't care if I get it or not. Here is the text and read it—you understand it?—yes, OK, let's move on. I guess I had to go private lessons and that's how I learnt. I have to tell that I learnt at a high school and it was a pleasure to be there.

30

35

T: So your English is so good because you have friends in the US?

Yes, and I know that I have problems. I know that I can't express myself. Every time, I talk to them they have the same topics. I mean, I

- 40 would talk about that. About other things, but they do not care about them
- T: And, actually, I can't imagine anyone would say, Gábor, you can't do this with the third person singular! So they're not going to help you with your mistakes.
- 45 Yes, but it would be a help not just to talk about the weather, what did I do buy today and this kind of stuff.
- T: And what do you think about the fact that teachers haven't focused so much on the grammar? Do you think it's good?
- 50 Focus more grammatical things and to hear more native speech is good, and we used to hear Hungarian English, or Hunglish or what they call it, so that's a problem. And that the parents here, they don't know really how important language is.
- 55 T: You think so?
Yes. They know maths and physics, but I don't think they know how much it is important.
- 60 T: Really? (Kindergarten kids) I thought learning English has become somewhat chic.
I don't know. I'm not a parent. But I know that my dad is very serious about language. And he wanted me to learn a lot and wanted me to go private—get private lessons.
- 65 T: How much have your teachers used group or pair work in the classroom?
No. Never. In primary school, I had English class, we had linguistics lessons a week, we learned textes [*sic!*] by heart and to tell back, learn how to write letters, and we had to talk about pictures, picture
- 70 describing, but we never really work in groups.
- T: Even when you did a picture description, you didn't do it in groups?
No, we described the objects, yes, and we ...
- 75 T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt.

80 Yes, it is familiar with high school, that's what we learned. The others who weren't really interested in English, they were, yes, we understand it, move on.

T: Right. Great.

85 So that's what I learned from private lessons. We learn, we do exercise together. I tell them what I think about the text, and my imagination about what tenses to be used, and they, she said that it's right or not, it's not correct. I like that way. So it's not only grammar now. It's finding grammar in a text, and then talking about it. And there were various exercises: I read out, I tell my imagination, she correct me, and we correct what was the matter.

90

T: OK.

95 That's what in a class students don't do that, and I understand that. We never say that. Or there is a question, Do you understand this? Yes. And half of the group has this no idea what's going on. That's true. And we—I know I do the same. We never talk back.

T: Why is that? Because you don't want to look stupid in front of the teacher?

100 Yes, and I think that Oh, I can get it at home, and, of course, we don't deal with it at home, and this is kind of society. This means peer pressure or I don't know why.

T: You have to look clever.

105 Yes, be polite. You have to pretend to be smart.

T: And do you think teachers encourage that? Do they hurry the classes?

110 If you look around and watch little bit the teacher come into the room: We have time, we have to do this, this, this, for that time and, OK, and looking at the hours on the watch and, OK, better if I don't think of it.

T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?

115 Yes, that's what I said, that we don't read homeworks and like, repeat class at home. Thinking about what happened in class, I think the idea is, if you like science fictions films or romantic novels, OK. We do read in English, but that's not all the time.

T: Do you feel your teachers have encouraged you to do that?

120 They told that it's a good thing that you do that but What's your opinion about, like or not, no question like this. Just the today's open the book and the first passage.

T: So you do it because you're studying English and you're interested and have English- speaking friends?

125 Yes. And you learn things from teachers, you don't feel that special thing, I don't know, they don't have that attitude, that I'm not you, OK, just in general. It's you, it's not you, I'm talking about you, come in smiling, and I know that kids in your class, it's like to attend your courses.

130

T: Well thank you.

I'm not telling you because I want..., I know that there are some courses [courses]: Now I don't go in, I don't like it, it's boring and some English teachers look at you like, I know you don't know, hahaha, why don't you don't know? You should know. Yeh. And may just care and in this way he's gonna be more silent and less question back.

135

T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook? What about their own materials?

140

One coursebook and we had like one unit like listening, some speaking and reading part in units and every lesson or every week we do one unit, and there's like twelve units a class, yeh, that's it, but no other grammar books to look at them.

145

T: And so no other materials that they developed?

They think that the CDs and the listening part is the fun part.

T: What book have you used? Headway?

Headway in primary school, yes, and then it's called Channel.

150

T: Channel your English?

Yes, we used that one. Yeh, I liked that, yes. I don't know any other, I didn't use, that's the main we used. The one with squares on the front.

155

...

T: To prepare you for the ORIGO exam?

Oh, every kind of exam. I don't know, I liked them. There is a key at the back of the book. And you can copy them. To correct myself.

160

T: Have your teachers used materials or topics that you feel are really interesting? Have they taught you vocabulary and grammar that you feel you will need?

165

In Channel, yeh, I liked them. I mean, Headway had a story about deities. ... Yeh, the old one, I know there is a new one, they told me. And the old one was nothing interesting for me. That's what I liked about this book, it was all right. ... And there were about volcanoes, they were interesting, new songs, I mean, pop music and it had vocabulary too, depend on how they read the text, I don't know what was in the Headway.

170

T: Isn't Headway rather meant for older kids? Maybe it wasn't the right age group.

We liked that old traditional things.

175

T: But it was about money, too?

But the children had to buy the book.

180

T: Did you feel it was something you need?

The grammar but every time I sometimes realised that's why we learn it. So it should be useful. But we don't know that it is. So they have to show you that why are they teaching you that. So we don't know, we're just sitting there and, OK, present perfect, and why do we use that, but it's not the same.

185

T: What did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Did you think it was fun? Do you think it was effective?

Mm, it worth it, it was new for me that I had to talk to others. I remember the group.

190

T: So you haven't done this?

No, no. I was a little scared that Oh, I have to talk. And how about her image, I'm so bad, man, she wouldn't understand me, but it was good, I liked it. But we were three, and the other girl was the main who talked the most. And I just said two or three sentences, I don't know, the third girl, she was totally quiet.

195

T: You aren't much of a talker in class, but you talk very comfortably now, though!

200

I don't know, maybe I'm stressed, so I like, so it's good.

T: And what's good about it?

205 I mean, we have to compare things, we had to discuss, not just talk about what is the fact, there's no, there's no solutions to the problem so the conversation keeps going till you end up or somebody else. So depend on the text whether it's fine for the class or not, but it's true you have topics and different topics for different times of class.

210 T: There's a way of teaching that takes a text like this, introduces the students to it and has them do a speaking task like the one you did. Do you think that could work?

215 And it's good you discuss in the group and maybe you're asked to say back or decide or whatever, and you talk in front of a group, it is a hard, I think, yes, because they are mean. Yes, that goes around and we don't want to talk in front of each other, I think, I don't know what the others say, but that's my problem. ... For us, the worst is that you say... to a few, do it now. In front of everybody. But if you don't do that, you don't know what you're talking about, and they correct you.

220 T: So you can check it.
OK they did, but you can't do it every time

T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?

225 Maybe when we were watching movies together in English. In the classroom. So maybe a show that could be interesting. But these were really rarely, and, I don't know, in Italian, the teacher every time brought the laptops in, and saw short videos about Italy, and how they, I don't know, made cheese...

230 T: I see, and did you like that?

Yes, it was good, but there we didn't do anything with it. With the short film. I mean, like write down what did you see before. We just watched it and, OK, let's go home. So there was no point to watch it.

235 T: So this was not good.
No. But we had to find out...

240 T: But could you understand them?
No. Well, they were speaking in Italian.

T: So how did you understand this?

That was the problem, we didn't understand it. So maybe that's why we didn't have to write down what we heard.

245

T: So there weren't really any good methods for you. Sorry to hear that.

Data file 8: Zoli

T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?

5 I think it was quite important because I think that's the basic of the language. If our grammar is not correct, then it's not good, it was basic in both English and Spanish classes.

T: They do place importance on it, and you think it's right?

I think it's right, in my opinion.

10 T: How much have your foreign language teachers corrected their students' grammatical errors in the classroom?

Our English teacher did correct us, yes, and our Spanish teacher did the same as well. But they were very different. As far as I remember, she [the Spanish teacher] didn't correct that much.

15

T: How did they work, did they correct you immediately or wait a while?

She let us tell what we wanted to tell, and then she corrected us.

T: Was that grammar or choice of words?

20 I think lots of grammar. Yes, especially in Spanish. So the past tenses there for me are harder than in the English language. There are so many irregular verbs, so for me it was extremely hard I think.

T: How much have your teachers used group or pair work in the classroom?

25

Well, it wasn't that common, so... although we did some exercises, when people talked to one another, so we haven't really done group exercises.

T: So it was rather the teacher talking and the students answering?

30

Yes, sometimes the teacher was doing reading comprehension, and she was impatient, she wanted us to translate something. And of course it was frustrating.

T: So group and pair work has not been so common? What do you think of it?

35

I think it's useful because besides working in groups we get to know each other, and I think that's good. Maybe together we can make up something together. Then on our own.

40

T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt. Is that familiar?

45

Yes, it is. We always discussed it, the different tenses, and then we practised it and then used them.

T: When covering grammar, did the teachers look at one part at a time, or rather all at once?

50

All at once.

T: Is this satisfying or rather confusing?

55

I think better for me to learn it all at once than in several parts, and I don't know, it was just better for me. So I had all the tenses in one page and it was better than every other page there is another tense, I think it's better to learn.

T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?

60

I think it's good because it helps if someone can practise English beside the classes and to get in-depth knowledge and to get bigger vocabulary.

T: Have you been doing this?

65

Not really. But it would be the best way.

T: Have teachers encouraged you to do that?

Not really.

70

T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook? What about their own materials?

Yes, they used the given books, so there were obligatory books to use and after we finished them then they brought other copies and used them.

75

T: And these copies were from other books?

Yes.

80

T: Did teachers create their own materials? Or provide handouts for grammar explanations?

Sometimes. But most of the time they were from other books.

T: Have your teachers used materials or topics that you feel are really interesting? Have they taught you vocabulary and grammar that you feel you will need?

85 Well, yes, I liked the listening tasks and I liked these simple exercises, it was good, they were easy and very fun as well.

T: What about vocabulary and grammar? Have you had the feeling that the tasks you do are irrelevant?

90 Yes, sometimes I used to think that if we learn so many words we will forget these, but now I can come across it in a text and there are several unknown words, then maybe it is useful to learn almost every word that we can because I have to admit that most of the time, for example, at language exams, I had problems with the reading part, so...

T: I see, so you saw afterwards the good sense of learning all those words. And what did you think of the speaking task you did in class?

100 I think it was interesting and useful as well because we also learned in pairs and we had different ideas than another person and it was good to discuss it with another person.

T: What purpose do you think such an exercise serves?

105 Maybe to improve our knowledge, or to be more determined. I think that was the purpose of it.

T: Can you imagine a class structured around tasks like this?

110 I think it would be useful because we can learn from our mistakes and then maybe it would be good to do just one text in whole class but it would be good if in some classes we'd do something like that.

T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?

115 Well, our English teacher used to focus on these kind of ... so, for example, what is it you call phrases ... expressions, idioms. She used to focus on these kinds of expressions, so our English would be better if we used these expressions and more colourful. At least, I liked these expressions because you like them and you can tell them the total different meaning and she would translate it for us.

120

T: So he'd show you these expressions and make you guess what they mean?

No, I tried to guess.

125

T: Anything else?

Well, I don't know.

T: Thank you very much.

Data file 9: Bálint

T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?
Well, in English, my teacher was always, well, so.

5 T: It was important for him? He would always correct you?
No. Sometimes I corrected him. He know I wanted to be an English teacher, and that's why he always watched that I say it perfectly, I write it perfectly, and in the right order, and sometimes I corrected him, so just to show him that I do know it.

10

T: So then maybe he was proud of you?
Yes, he still is.

15

T: How would he correct you?
If I said something wrong, he just corrected it.

T: Did you ever feel that it kind of got in the way?
No, I think I needed, so I need others to correct me if I'm wrong, no, so I can be better.

20

T: Have you had just one teacher for English?
No, so far I had four teachers.

25

T: Four one after the other, or doing different things?
One after the other.

30

T: In how much time?
Well, first one was for two years, next one was for three years, and one for one year and the last one for three years.

35

T: Oh, that's not too bad. And have they done group work or pair work?
Not so much. Well, the thing is that my class was never good. And in English, or at English, they just chose it over German because, because English is world language and for computer games it is suitable, but they wasn't that good so my teacher just taught us the grammar and other things. We never even made lessons like this Communication Skills course.

- 40 T: Do you think that would have been helpful? Maybe your classmates would have been motivated to speak if done in pairs or groups.
No. My teacher tried, but when he asked a girl to describe a picture she couldn't even say that the sky is blue.
- 45 T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt. Is this paradigm familiar to you?
Yes, it was that one.
- 50 T: What about students who say that they'd rather practise it bit by bit? Well, that was why my classmates complained. They needed more explanations and practices, but they never admit that, they just said that this is not good. So I have done, I have explained things to them.
- 55 T: How do you think the teacher could have done it better?
In my opinion, it was the teacher's fault because he wasn't that old but he couldn't understand how the students think, well, I guess he was like me that he wanted to know how it works, when it works and then it is done. But he didn't understand that the students in the class are
60 just want to graduate from it and then forget it.
- T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?
65 Yes, actually, that helps. I often told them [the other students] that, for example, if they watch TV in English and it's better if it has subwords in English as well, then I think they can see the words and hear it at one time and then in the listening skills they... well, it's good for their listening practices. That is the prime reason.
- 70 T: Have your teachers made a point to tell you all to read or watch whatever interests you?
Yes! He mentioned it... one or two times.
- 75 T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook? What about their own materials?
Well, officially we had one book, and he offered us to buy English grammar in use book and we all agreed, so it became another book for us and we made exercises from them, homeworks, and he always

- 80 brought us some paper that were copies from primarily from practice books.
- T: Did the teacher make any own materials?
They were all from all from these books.
- 85 T: Have your teachers used materials or topics that you feel are really interesting? Have they taught you vocabulary and grammar that you feel you will need?
It was for the level of my classmates, so I needed some complicated...
- 90 T: But did you get those?
Yes, I did.
- T: So most of the materials were for you classmates' level?
I already know all of them. When we at class learned the conditionals,
95 I have already known it for two years. I learnt it from him.
- T: You mean you learnt it before?
Yes, I learnt it, but the others didn't.
- 100 T: What did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Do you think it was effective? Was it fun? Was it enjoyable?
The task was easy. We all needed to tell each other our opinions. And these five people, or four people on the orphanage, were ... so some of them, some of them deserved it, some of them didn't deserve, and
105 there was a little argument about it – for the first sight we had our opinions for all of them. There was one person we all agreed on... it was Jane Smith... we said that if she can prove it, then she deserves it the most. So we didn't argue about it so much. It was clear for all of us.
- 110 T: What was the purpose? You argued. What other purpose was there?
Well, I think the purpose is that we told each other our opinions and we so we had to think about it and as a matter of fact there was one other person who we thought that she would deserve the money, that
115 was Lady Seal [*sic!*], because if the letter isn't correct then she is the only living relative. And she's often ill, so she needed the nurse. But if Jane Smith can prove that she is daughter, then she deserve it more.

- 120 T: If I had more time in class, I would have gone around in class and presented the good and bad things you all did, maybe did the same thing again. Can you imagine a language class centred on such a speaking task? That it would be effective?
Well, maybe. But I think only arguing is not enough for this. For communication skills, of course.
- 125 T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?
I think that a teacher must make the students more enthusiastic, and –
- 130 T: Did this teacher do that?
I already had all my enthusiasm and the others couldn't be on it, so my poor teacher couldn't do anything for it.
- 135 T: You think the teacher ought to be enthusiastic?
Yes, so he should make the exercises fun. Fun, yes, and the topic of those exercises should be things what, things that the students are interested in. So maybe about cars or about fashion or something like that, movies, for example. Yes, and when I will be a teacher, if I will be a teacher – I hope so – I will try to understand what my students could understand about my lesson and that's not enough, my teacher always at the end of lesson always ask all of us that is it clear, any questions, but there is always silence because we don't want to say we don't understand this, he or she could be look like a fool, or why don't you understand it. But I guess I would ask randomly one of them and ask him or her about something that was the lesson, and according to the answer I hope that I would understand what he or she could understand. And that what's the problem, what are the hard things about it and explain it to him.
- 140
- 145
- 150 T: Yeh, I heard people are expected never to say, I don't know. Teachers ask whether there are any questions, but don't really expect an answer. My teacher always asked that Any questions? Well, if there's no question, then I think that you all know it, so in the test, you will be tested. And the other thing is that if maybe you will say that Any questions? and then you should wait for, for ten seconds maybe because the students may be thinking that yes, that was clear, and that was clear, and that, that... but maybe they don't have enough time to think about it.
- 155
- T: This was very helpful.

Data file 10: Enikő

T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?

I think like it was the most important thing. So we only practised grammar. So I think that's what they thought the most important thing was.

5

T: So more than speaking or?

Yes. I think that's the problem.

10

T: Uh huh, why?

Because, of course, grammar is very important, and we didn't practise speaking too much and erm I think erm that was the main problem that we learned grammar again and again, like tenses and structures. So of course that's the basis, but for like six years of English just a little boring. They could use some more ideas.

15

T: How much have your teachers used group or pair work in the classroom?

Well, I had a lot of teachers, so I think everybody was different, but the er well erm some of my teachers er had grammar like every other class. That was quite good but er erm I had a lot of teachers who just did a few times erm but yeh.

20

T: What kind of group work was it?

Yeh there were different tasks. There were situations what we had to solve or er well I think the – what we had the most times was that there is an exercise book with questions related to the topic and we had to discuss these questions. .

25

30

T: What was the book called?

We used – what was it called? – Opportunities. There was a book called Gold something. I should look it up.

35

T: So there was a standard book?

I think one of the problems was after we finished a series like upper intermediate, the next book again was pre-intermediate and like that.

T: That's not very motivating. And how have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have

40 the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt.

I think what they did is start with like present, present simple and when do we use it and erm we practised it with many exercises. And then had tests.

45

T: But you said the teachers repeated the same thing again and again. Was it the exact same explanations again and again?

Yeh, kind of. What I meant was after we finished the book in like half a year or a year next year, we started it again. So it's like every class we did the same thing like the whole English learning, what I had like through eight years. In my last school, it was like not too motivating, like you said, because the stages were not like up up up and then there is a high level or where we practise fun things, but it was like, OK, we finished this book, let's do another one and then we repeated things what we already knew so.

55

T: Did you repeat only grammar?

Well, yeh, mostly.

60 T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom. Did your teachers encourage that kind of thing?

Well, yeh. They did, but I think practising English or using it is very important inside the class too. But class is not enough, and that's what helped me a lot. Because I had my friends from many countries and I read books and I watched movies and these things helped me a lot. Erm I don't know, I don't remember my teachers saying that OK, you should have those friends, but we did sometimes watch movies in the classes.

70

T: So there wasn't a push from the teachers.

No, it was us.

75 T: What did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Did you think it was fun? Do you think it was effective?

Well, I think it was fun. Er because it was more like an interesting topic, so it's not academic so or talking about things that we don't really know. It was just a very not everyday topic but er it was I think er it was quite interesting so—so I enjoyed it.

80

T: So you had to convince your neighbour and argue a point. Was that very successful?

We tried. Erm, well, it was not that easy.

85 T: Why?

Because it was hard to decide and er we didn't really argue. We had problems deciding who should get the money because we didn't really like either of them. But I think er practising argument is very important, so this is good, I think it was very useful.

90

T: But you said you didn't have a real argument.

Well, I think one reason was that it was first time we had this practice with a person that we don't really know. In high school, I knew them like everybody for like eight years, but here it was like, OK, I'm a bit afraid to talk and we had to record it and it made us nervous. I think most people thought so. That's the reason. Maybe with time it's going to be better.

95

T: Do you think a language class made up of such tasks would be effective?

100

Yeh, I think it would be a bit more useful. When I say all that is or why I say all that with all the grammar issues is that what I see is that people after learning English for like eight years still have problems with speaking English because they are not used to it and they are afraid to use the language. They might know the grammar quite well but they have problems with using English because their teacher wasn't encouraging enough because we always had in class that let's speak Hungarian, most of the teachers didn't care too much. So they didn't say, No, don't speak Hungarian, say it in English.

105

110

T: So you did pair work in Hungarian.

Well, sometimes. I mean we did the pair work for like two minutes and then we started talking in Hungarian and then the teacher usually didn't care too much.

115

T: But you had finished the task.

Well, yeh. But yeh. Well, I think yeh these pair works are quite useful, but they are not enough if we don't discuss it more. The teacher doesn't take it seriously enough.

120

T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?

125 Well, I said I had a lot of teachers in high school er because I changed every two years. I got four teachers, but I had one teacher who was really, really good and what he did was erm we kind of learned everything, not just grammar not just having speaking tasks, but a mixture of all these so he kind of found time for everything. And
130 sometimes we had erm these fun tasks, like he always found out something crazy, like we had to create a story and then erm er – what was it like? – we had to leave the room and then somebody had to tell the story to the next person and then the next person had to tell the story to another person and just to come in the room and then another person. In the end, of course, there was a very different story. So it was fun. It was not like we didn't try so I think that was quite good and
135 there were many games things like that we also enjoyed and was also useful. It was quite good.

Data file 11: Lilian

- 5 T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?
There was a great importance or emphasis on grammatical correctness, but erm it became more and more important in Szegeged University. And erm erm secondary school teachers erm, of course, are right to teach the grammar correctly, but we didn't learn everything so.
- 10 T: So here in your English major as well as in your German classes?
Yes, it is important, but they excuse us in German classes for grammatical correctness.
- 15 T: How much have your teachers corrected grammatical errors in the classroom?
It depended on the type of exercise that we did so if there was a cloze test or grammar test she corrected it a lot, but during a presentation or a communication task she didn't corrected it, she didn't correct me a lot. ... Or after the presentation she emphasized the points, problems or things like this.
- 20 T: Did you have different teachers in secondary school?
I had two.
- 25 T: What kinds of errors did they correct?
Conversation, but the first year we had twenty English classes per week so in a bilingual class.
- T: So that includes history in English and so on?
Yes.
- 30 T: Where was that?
In Békéscsaba. Széchenyi István.
- 35 T: Was it good?
Yes, it was, since I loved it.
- T: How much have your teachers used group or pair work in the classroom?

- 40 There were not any group works. There were some but not much. Not enough. ... I think it's very useful. A communication task, but it was not enough.
- 45 T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt.
We learned the main points about the present perfect and had some practice of course and a test, but we kept practising the present perfect for years. And any other points and rules.
- 50 T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?
Yeh, they wanted us to have fun and, for example, read English books or whatever, but it's erm a weird story in my life because I really love English language and I erm always or most of the cases I think in English or I watch the films in English of course and everything I can do in English I do it so but not enough. The whole studying English is fun for me. So a lifestyle, essential.
- 55 T: What got you so excited about English?
60 My mother is an English teacher and my second father or my step-father is an American, so I have relations and I try to get to use interesting words so pronunciation, for example, or phrases or *frappáns*, funny things, sentences, terms.
- 65 T: Have your teachers encouraged you?
They just asked and not forced.
- 70 T: How can a teacher push students in that regard?
For example, watch films in class or ... and then they do it on their own. And do presentations about books, great books, and started to make the students do it.
- 75 T: And did your teachers do that?
Not much. But my mother do it.
- 75 T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook?
We studied from Headway or whatever and erm sometimes there were extra handouts and er they were OK and they were from other good books.

- 80 T: Any materials they had made?
There wasn't any.
- T: Have your teachers used materials or topics that you feel are really
interesting? Have they taught you vocabulary and grammar that you
85 feel you will need?
Mm. It's a complicated question. Some were interesting depending on
our mood. They were quite interesting. Er they were up-to-date. News
or music.
- 90 T: Did you think the vocabulary you were taught was useful?
If the subjects were in English, we had to learn specific words. I felt
that these words are not necessary for me, but mm they were essential,
useful for *alapintelligencia* (laughs). And in first year we always had
English classes. We were forced to learn a lot of vocabulary. The
95 amount of new vocabulary decreased in second, third year. There were
less English classes and our subject-specific words fewer. It's another
business.
- T: What did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Did you
100 think it was fun? Do you think it was effective?
The task was exciting since we had to record it. And it was OK. The
story was a bit strange but funny too, and it was very interesting to
decide, mm it was a moral question. We had to start to think about
inheritage [*sic!*] or the situation there and so on, that's all.
- 105 T: Did you get into an argument with your partner?
No we agreed. She was shy, or I don't know, and she had no idea at all
about this topic. She didn't want to talk and argue. It was a hard work.
- 110 T: But why do you think she didn't? Was she shy about her English?
Maybe. Or maybe it was me. I don't know. ... And the situation you
asked me or us to do is. Or the recording. It is a big problem for her. I
don't know why.
- 115 T: Would it have worked out otherwise?
It's always a good thing to argue about topics ... in English, of course.
Practice, practice.
- T: Did you feel it had some real-world use?

120 Yes, I really like fictional stuff. It seems surreal. ... It's possible.

T: Can you imagine a course with tasks like this?

125 Erm there would be a combination of two courses: the communication skills and practising tasks like this. So communication skills classes can be more tasks like this. And arguments and activities. That would always be helpful.

T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?

130 It was very memorable in last Communication Skills. I do—did my presentation and but two presentations and erm I had to work a lot on it and practise it. And I enjoyed it. It was hard work but a memorable one. Because of the oral part of the Academic English, I think it is very helpful.

135

T: Anything else from high school?

No.

Data file 12: Tomi

- 5 T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?
In primary school, we didn't really speak. We were—we had grammar. Grammar was the most important to teach us how to use language and vocabulary to learn lots of words.
- T: So where did you have the feeling that grammar was important?
Lots of exercises. Er German is very heavy, not heavy, hard language.
- 10 T: What about English later on? When did you start learning English?
At the school. There was one year.
- T: A 'zeroth' year.
Yes, yes, yes, we had twenty English lessons a week. And we had an English-speaking teacher.
- 15 T: What about grammatical correctness for the English teachers?
We had four teachers. There was one teacher who taught only grammar, how to use it, the present simple, the past simple, the tenses, and there were two books, one of them was to teach us how to write essays, introductions and one of them was to teach us new words and with the English-speaking teacher we really speak a lot. It was like communication class. It was pretty hard to speak for the first time because at first English was new to us.
- 20 T: Did he get you to speak on the very first day, this teacher?
Yes.
- 25 T: How much have your foreign language teachers corrected their students' grammatical errors in the classroom?
(inaudible)
- 30 T: How much have your teachers used group or pair work in the classroom?
When we were told to discuss something between each other it was not the best.
- 35 T: Why?
Most of us didn't want to speak to each other.

40

T: Because you were all Hungarians?
Maybe we didn't want the other to realise how our English is.
Something like this. And the teacher made us spoke to her.

45

T: The teacher didn't make you speak to each other?
First, she tried, but it didn't work out.

50

T: So what were they trying to do?
In the book, there were exercises: discuss this topic with a pair and
something like this.

55

T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major
grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it,
and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt.
The teacher went back to grammar very often. And even if you didn't
want to learn it you had to. It just kind of stuck in your head. ... The
teacher who taught us grammar in the first year was our headmaster
and in the following years she was our only teacher, only English
teacher.

60

T: So you said she kept going back to things. How did she do that?
For example, when something was new, he wrote it on the table, the
blackboard, and there were classes when there were things on the
blackboard that he already told us in the previous year. And for those
who remembered it it was not new, but lots of us wrote it down like it
was new.

65

T: So he told you the same thing again.
Yeh. There were new examples, but all was not new.

70

T: Was that effective, do you think?
It was necessary, yeh. Everybody passed the exam. Even those who
weren't particularly good.

75

T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside
and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?
We have exam topics, a book at the end of every year, so that book, we
had to read a book at the end of every year.

80

T: Any book?

Any book which is not very thin. We have to summarise it, and talk about it, usually literature, books from the school library, and the teacher of them, maybe.

- 85 T: What are some of the books you chose?
I read Lord of the Rings. The first half of the book I read in the second year and the next in the third year. But that was something I liked to read. I didn't choose it just to have a book to talk about.
- 90 T: And were there other things too?
Sometimes we went to the library. And we watched television, we watched English-speaking films in class. I think all of us watched films in English because films in English are sooner out than in Hungarian. ... They were series, they come out in Hungarian almost a half-year later. We all realised that films in English are all better. You can hear the actors' real voice.
- 95 T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook?
We had lots of books, for example, English Grammar in Use. That's a good book. And Headway, maybe. Headway books.
- 100 T: Other materials?
We probably stick to those, the book, the books were great really.
- 105 T: Have your teachers used materials or topics that you feel are really interesting? Have they taught you vocabulary and grammar that you feel you will need?
We had lots of boring topics, and we were preparing to the graduation. And the topics were not all exciting. For example, to talk about the European Union. Yes, and religion and something like this. We talked a lot about it. It was in the book. ... But there were other, good topics as well. Talking about wedding, environmental protection, for example, is also good. We can say whatever we want to be.
- 110 T: You can talk about your future.
Yes.
- 115 T: What did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Did you think it was fun? Do you think it was effective?
It's a good task, but talking to a different person is always hard. We really had a short amount of time for this. ... The second time was
- 120

harder not because it wasn't the same task but my partner always talked.

- 125 T: So you didn't have a chance to talk.
Not really. But in the end we reached a group decision. The other time, my partner was similar to me. It was good.
- 130 T: How?
The task was good. The time was short to talk about and maybe we could use a little time before we started to speak, to get together the ideas on our own and then discuss it with a partner.
- 135 T: Do you think this would be a good way to do a speaking task?
Yes.
- T: Even with other Hungarians and not with the teacher?
Yes, we have to learn to speak. And we are—there are a lot of people in the group.
- 140 T: Which of the teachers in your pre-year did you like the best?
The one who taught grammar.
- 145 T: Why him?
Maybe it was the fact that he was not just a teacher but the headmaster. And he could get the group together. We were split – there were not 25 in the class – we were split into three, that's about seven. The whole class was split into three. Beginners, intermediate and advanced. After the pre-year, we had two groups and it was er probably about our names. We were on the same level, more or less.
- 150

Data file 13: Zétény

T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?
In speaking, it was not that important because we were talking. In writing, it's usually what they were looking for.

5

T: You've taken German.
In elementary school and high school too. English only in high school.

10

T: Was there a lot of speaking practice?
Not so much.

15

T: So the teacher didn't give you many opportunities to speak.
If we wanted to we could speak, but usually he was doing the speaking.

20

T: Did you do group or pair work?
We didn't really do group work.

T: But you just said before that the teacher was happy if you said anything. So how did that usually work? He asked and you answered and that was it?
We had to talk about a text. It was an oral exam. *Felelés*.

25

T: The *felelés*. Was that about some subject other than English?
No, it was about a text from the Headway book. We had to summarise that. ... I had to stand up and give an oral exam and talk about things.

30

T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt.
I learnt grammar out of Headway. In German, we were always practising. So the teacher said a sentence in Hungarian and we had to translate it. Like the perfect tense. That was what we practised all the time. Simple sentences and more complex sentences.

35

T: So grammar was based on Headway? Did you have Headway the whole time?
No, the first two years we had Headway Pre-Intermediate. And Enterprise.

40

T: Did you feel the grammar was dealt with similarly?
Yes, Enterprise is more serious.

45

T: Which is code for more grammar, I think.
Ah, yes, yes.

50

T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?
It's true. The teacher can't teach you anything, I mean everything.

55

T: What would be an example of that?
To read something, watch movies, do English or German, do even more exercises than they make you do in class.

60

T: Have you done that?
I'm watching a lot of movies in English. Every movie. I like good movies. Hollywood movies. I also like watching TV series. Like Friends. I like them in English. I prefer them in English. Because of the original actors speak. And the Hungarians don't.

65

T: The Hungarian dubbing is often very good.
Yes, but I like the original better.

70

T: Have teachers encouraged this?
Yes, my second teacher did. I had two teachers.

T: What would he or she say?
To watch movies with subtitles. And also the German teacher said it. I had three German teachers. The third one said it.

75

T: How did they ask you?
They just recommended it. And we often watched movies with subtitles in class. That was English class.

80

T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook?
Yes, the book was translated by my German teacher into Hungarian. It's for Hungarian people. So she translated what you have to do. It's written in Hungarian. It wasn't a very good book, but he was translating it and we used that.

T: Did your teachers use other material too?
The English teacher gave us some handouts, and the Germans didn't.
The handouts were interesting, fun things, but the teacher didn't make
them, like 'I've got a hole in my pocket'. You know that.

85

T: Have your teachers used materials or topics that you feel are really
interesting? Have they taught you vocabulary and grammar that you
feel you will need?

90

I think yes, in English. In German, I don't know. The English books
were very good, Headway and Enterprise.

T: So you felt they were interesting and useful.
Yes.

95

T: And why didn't you feel the same about the German materials?
In German, we usually learned about the circus. There's always a
chapter about the circus. And we had to learn these words, like
elephant and trampoline [-b-] and stuff that was not very useful.

100

T: So every chapter was about the circus?
Yes, we were always coming back.

T: What did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Did you
think it was fun? Do you think it was effective?

105

It was fun. It was hard to decide. We don't know anything about them
just what was here, so we didn't talk a lot about it.

T: That's true, but this pushed you to do more talking.
Two minutes.

110

T: Did you agree early on?
We didn't agree. We arrived at a decision, but it wasn't a long process.

T: Why do you think that was?

115

It was very hard to decide. We all see the positive and the negative in
everybody.

T: Who did you finally agree on? Based on what?

120

Based on the information. We picked the least awful. I don't think we
were happy about anybody. We thought maybe two people should get
it. Both the orphanage and Jane Smith.

T: You two didn't talk a lot? Who was your partner?
[Judit]

125 T: Ah, you're both very quiet naturally. And what did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Did you think it was fun? Do you think it was effective?

It's not a bad idea if we are motivated. Maybe it's better if we talk about our own experiences. We don't know these people.

130

T: But you get types of people who don't want to talk about themselves. That's difficult.

Not necessarily about themselves but about something they have experience about.

135

T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?

There was a game we played. He asked the vocabulary. Two of us had to stand up and he asked the words and the one who could say it faster stayed in the game and the other sat down. It was a competition. And if you won three times you got a five. That was the first English teacher.

140

Data file 14: Lajos

T: Have you learnt other languages?

German for four years at high school. I didn't get to a certain level because I had so many teachers that I didn't have a chance to learn it properly.

5

T: Did you use the same books?

We used different books. I can't really tell the title. It was such a long time ago.

10

T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?

Yes, they put a real priority on grammatical issues and correct use of language but erm—but not many students got to that level that it would actually matter.

15

T: How do you mean?

Let's just say that we only got the basics of language both at elementary and high school. So we didn't really get too much into learning grammar. We were just reading and doing the exercises. That was about it. No writing. We rarely spoke. That was one of the weak points of teaching.

20

T: Why do you think that was?

I think they didn't even really care about it. It was like erm ten or eleven in a class. That's not very big, so it could have been easily managed. I don't know.

25

T: How much have your teachers used group or pair work in the classroom?

Not much.

30

T: We did that in class.

It was a totally new experience for me. But a great experience. It was pleurably surprising.

35

T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt.

40 We read a few paragraphs about it in class, and it was just all
cramming after that. We used Headway, I think. Actually, I did my
GCSE in English in tenth grade, so after that I didn't attend these
classes. And I actually rarely did because, OK, it really wasn't on my
schedule, on my timetable, I didn't really think I could improve at that
point so.

45

T: Your speaking is very natural. Have you ever been abroad?

No, I can say I have never been abroad. Erm, well, it may sound funny,
but I erm I've been watching a lot of cartoons so I was one or two and
I think that has something to do with it. But luckily there are more
50 interactive and fun ways today.

55

T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside
and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?

No, not so much. It would have been better. A lot better.

T: You went out and did it on your own anyway.

I did. I had to.

60

T: But why?

Erm that's a good question.

T: You didn't need to get a job in London, for example.

But I did. I did want to do that. I was going to do that some day. Yes.
And I don't know. I just somehow felt the urge to do so.

65

T: Did watching Cartoon Network as a kid make you enthusiastic about
the culture?

Probably as a child it did. But erm, actually, after a point when I
became a teenager, I really thought that erm I don't know I wanted to
70 open up a bit towards the world and meet a lot of foreign people.

75

T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook? Have they used
other materials?

I think it was mostly about using those books and doing all those
exercises. I don't know how you call them. Like those exercise books
that came with Headway. They were linked to a certain topic. The
workbook. No tests. And no handouts. It was very rare.

- 80 T: Have your teachers used materials or topics that you feel are really interesting? Have they taught you vocabulary and grammar that you feel you will need?
They certainly weren't. ... Well of course I did occasionally get my vocabulary up with them. I just turned the pages and looking at random words.
- 85 T: Did you feel the vocabulary you were taught was necessary?
Of course I think it's one of the most important points in language. It probably is the most important point.
- 90 T: But was all that vocabulary actually useful in your view?
I think we found a balance.
- T: What did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Did you think it was fun? Do you think it was effective?
95 It was definitely fun, but at the same time it's a pretty difficult exercise to do. It was just surprising at first.
- T: What made it difficult?
100 What made it difficult? It's a big question. We had to pick one after we read the text. Erm. I can't really tell it. It's probably that we had to – erm it was not about making decisions that was really hard but rather channelling thoughts over to each other. The communication between the pairs, I think.
- 105 T: Because the other person wasn't communicative?
Yes, probably that's it.
- T: Who were you with?
110 It was [Hédi], and she's rather quiet. OK, we got over the exercise, we got over with it, but it was very difficult.
- T: Did you find one person you could both agree on?
Yes, we did.
- 115 T: Can you see a teacher making a course out of this?
Oh, definitely.
- T: Why? Sounds like too much fun. Would you really be learning?

120 Of course, a lot. I don't know. I can just think about exchanging vocabulary with each other. Of course there is the chance to practise speaking also. I think it would be rather effective anyway. I mean, it's more active this way. It would just probably stick. Not just reading texts and words.

125 T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?

130 At school, it was like let's just get over with it among the students and the teachers. Erm actually, I took some after-school activity erm, which was about – actually, it was preparing for my language exam and it was a totally different experience which I think really helped much. There was a teacher and a small group of five including me.

T: What did you do?

135 Well, virtually we were preparing erm to take – I can't remember the expression. Actually, everything, yes erm, the whole group thing was very good, effective and we had a lot of fun. And we studied a lot at the same time. It was erm – and, of course, we were all pretty much at the same level.

Data file 15: Viki

T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?

5 It was really important both in writing and in speaking. Erm both my English and my French teacher wanted us to speak perfectly in every way.

T: How much would they correct you?

10 After we had finished. So not interrupting us but noting every mistake and then correcting it.

T: How should teachers correct students?

15 I think a pattern is very important and er I think no one can focus on every little mistake they do. So maybe if you correct only two or three of them when they make another mistake then you correct it but erm not all of them because no one can remember all what you said so.

T: And then there are the painfully shy people who shouldn't be discouraged with too much correction.

20 Yes, that's true.

T: How much have your teachers used group or pair work?

25 We didn't do any in French lessons. But we had an American teacher and we got that sort of communication skills in his class in high school also, and there we did that pair stuff and group work and presentations so kind of a similar thing to what we do now.

T: Do you think this is useful?

30 Yeh, it's really useful, but I have to admit that in the first two years in high school I really hated this presentation stuff because I was one of the shy ones who never wanted to open their mouths so I really hated those lessons but after a while when we started to do some pronunciation tasks and erm new vocabulary and all, then it became more natural so it's been useful.

35 T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt.

Yeh, sort of like this but not with forgetting about all of it. We kept practising all the stuff that we've been through and do it again and do

40 it again and do practices which remind us all of the other issues or I
don't know how to say that so er we never completely forget about
those things. So always get back to that grammar and then go into the
next so. But it was mainly in English classes so in French it was a little
45 bit different because the French grammar is a bit, it's really different
from English. So it was a bit like doing this and doing that and when
we started with the next issue of doing this and doing that it was much
more the same thing that you said. In English we would learn all the
uses of the present perfect and then practised it a lot.

50 T: Do you think that's how Hungarians like to learn? Getting everything
about a topic at the same time.

Yes, they mainly do, yes, so we can handle it, but we have to go
through it several times. So if we are given one task and then we finish
it erm I always think that it's not all what we can do with it. There has
55 to be more practice and more stuff and more vocabulary so erm I guess
this this is how it works so it was perfect for me when we were doing
this in high school. Erm it's like because I really liked my English
teachers so mainly that was the reason.

60 T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside
and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?

Our American teacher was like that so we had to speak ten minutes
with anybody or anywhere in English and we had to present in the next
lesson that what we have been talking about.

65

T: It must have been hard to find an English speaker. Are you from
Budapest?

No, it can be a Hungarian or anybody. Just we have to speak in
English.

70

T: OK, but did you do it?

No, not always. In first year, I really started to find someone and I was
trying to do this but after I thought it's not so easy to find and after all
the hard work I really didn't want to do this.

75

T: What did you do then?

I watched BBC Prime a lot and BBC World News until it was turned
off. I really like to listen to English songs and in I think in my ninth
grade in high school, in the first year in high school, I started a
80 vocabulary for myself to go look up the dictionary the words and try to

figure out what the song's about and yes it was very useful for me and I did it for one and a half year and I guess my vocabulary improved a lot.

- 85 T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook?
Yes Enterprise and Upstream, when we were preparing for the language exam in high level, then we bought that Upstream.
- 90 T: Did they use handouts?
Yes, photocopies from books.
- T: Did you find them interesting?
Mostly yes. I liked all English lessons, I guess. So I was in a special English class in high school so we had five English lessons a week so, but I think it was quite interesting always. So I liked that.
- 95 T: Have your teachers used materials or topics that you feel are really interesting? Have they taught you vocabulary and grammar that you feel you will need?
100 Yes, sometimes I think that I that these words may not be that useful, but I know when we were preparing for the language exam in high level in my eleventh year erm I really got a really useful vocabulary and I feel that I don't have it anymore because of the lack of practice in the several years. I mean, I don't think I've been speaking English
105 in the last few years so it's really wasted.
- T: What did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Did you think it was fun? Do you think it was effective?
110 I really liked it, especially my pair was good, so we had a really good argument on the topic. But I really liked it. I like to argue on these kind of stuff. So I'm really glad that this is the speaking task for the exam.
- T: It isn't going to be on the exam.
That's too bad.
- 115 T: Do you think a shy type may not do a task like this well or that they have to get used to it?
It depends really on the personality 'cause if someone really doesn't like to argue on anything and just want to accept everything what is
120 given, then it's not that easy to make them argue and make them

disagree and, I don't know, come up with new things. It's really depends on the personality.

125 T: Do you think a language class made up entirely of such tasks would be effective?

I guess it's because if you want to learn a language you have to learn how to speak a language and if you don't practise it from time to time then you won't be able to do this so if you're only listening to lectures and teachers speaking then you will never know how you speak this and how you say those words or those sentences, how you would connect them, how would you argue, and I guess it's very useful and for a language class it's mainly the only way that it's going to work.

130
135 T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?

Erm the most, I don't know, maybe eclectic thing was that this teacher really cared about us to learn what she said. So it's not just giving the tasks and giving grades and then, I don't know, corrects your texts and I don't know just—just really concentrated on our understanding and it was really useful to know that there is someone who really cares about if you understand this or not and you know this vocabulary or not because she had er—was always asking us I guess ten words every at the beginning of every class so I guess this was the thing that finally made us not only know the words but understand them and understand grammar and I guess this is really good.

145

Data file 16: Kristóf

T: Have you learnt other languages?

Serbian for twelve years in school, I learned German for four years in grammar school, I learned Latin for two years, well, Hungarian, of course for twelve years, English for eight years, four in primary school, four in grammar school and I also went to private lessons from the first grade in primary school. Actually, my first learning experience was from Cartoon Network. Actually, my parents say I started speaking English when I was four, so that's pretty interesting.

10 T: Kids growing up in Vajdaság tend to speak more naturally and confidently.

Yes, we have contacts with lots of other languages, so we also speak much better English than most Hungarians. So it's kind of the situation.

15

T: Did you know Serbian before you started taking it in school?

No, I don't know it now. I have some Serbian friends, but we speak English. That's the funny thing.

20 T: I thought people in Vajdaság were generally bilingual.

Lots of people, but I'm of Hungarian heritage and I grew up with lots of Hungarian friends. I know lots of Serbian kids from my childhood, but in some awkward way we always spoke English 'cause like they didn't know Hungarian, I didn't know too much Serbian, so....

25

T: How important has grammatical correctness been to your foreign language teachers in either the speaking or writing of their students?

Well, I had my first private teacher who taught me during the first four years of primary school. I didn't like him too much because he focused on the grammar very much, he taught me the basics so basically I knew how to speak but I didn't know how to write. I wrote *d-i* instead of *t-h-e*, so I didn't know anything. He taught me to read and write but then I moved on to another teacher, who is one of my idols, so to say. He taught me for eight or seven years. He prepared me for the FCE test later on, and he taught me pretty much everything else. We practised a lot, so I'm really thankful for him. Well, I was actually in the group of people who were two years older than me, so that was kind of weird.

30

35 T: So it was several of you.

40 It was like five or six of us. They were all older. I didn't like it at all.
But at this other teacher I went to him when I was in fifth grade, they
were all my age and there were Serbian kids, Hungarian kids, so we
interacted, we communicated a lot, and we learned from each other
and everything. So I corrected my mistakes and grammar. Well,
45 generally I'm a lazy person, so I didn't always do the homework and
things. But I had time to correct grammar and things I wasn't so good
at. It was basically fun and useful.

T: How much have your foreign language teachers corrected their
50 students' grammatical errors in the classroom?

I have no idea. Probably during tests. I think so and when we were
generally just talking we talked a lot about various things. We were
just like chatting and doing some exercise. Our teacher always told us
that this is wrong, you should say it this way or he gave us some ideas
55 regarding vocabulary, the words, because I always asked him for
obscure words that I didn't know. And he told me to buy a dictionary
and never wanted to answer me, like I don't know, I always had lots of
questions.

60 T: This is the idol.
Yeh. But it was pretty cool.

T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major
65 grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it,
and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt.

I always read a lot and I never noticed particular things like, I mean, I
used it, but I didn't know that it was called present perfect, past perfect
or past simple or anything. So I needed to be told what is what and
when I need to use it and then it was OK. Then I just incorporated it
70 into my everyday speak or how you say it.

T: So you used the grammar intuitively.
Yes, I used it naturally before. I just needed some clarification on the
proper uses. Presumably, I made mistakes.
75

T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside
and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?

So most teachers don't really care about what their students do. I think
it's really the students' responsibility, so if he wants to use English

80 then he or she would probably want to research it by himself. So that's
it, I guess. It's the responsibility of the student.

T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook?

85 Sometimes. They used Headway, I think. This is changing. All sorts of
private teachers and schoolteachers prefer different books. I used
Headway. I'm not sure.

T: Did they give you handouts?

90 Sometimes.

T: Their own handouts?

95 Yes, some of them were like manually selected and not er not
everything was made by themselves. They were selected by the
teacher.

T: Did you find the materials interesting?

Well not always, not really? I'm totally not sure. It all seemed
unimportant to me. But I paid attention because I don't know, I just
wanted to go through with it.

100

T: Did you think the vocabulary was useful?

Oh no, not me. Honestly, I never did because I researched vocabulary,
not so much grammar, but I researched lots of vocabulary at home on
the Internet, stuff like that, watching movies, doing anything, or I just
105 look up some obscure-sounding words that I think I might use later on
because that's something I like in English. There are lots of synonyms,
lots of words for complex things you can't really describe in
Hungarian, only with lots of words, so I like this. I find this interesting,
actually.

110

T: What did you think of the speaking task you did in class? Did you
think it was fun? Do you think it was effective?

I enjoyed it, actually. It was pretty cool.

115

T: Were you able to arrive at one decision with your partner?

We were basically on the same opinion. We talked through the whole
thing. We considered other possibilities and said why or why not they
should be chosen, but we basically agreed on the same two guys.
That's it.

120

T: What makes this cool or useful or effective?

125 Well, we converse. That's already pretty good. We didn't really do that much in grammar school classes. I mostly slept or drew through my classes and other things because it was really boring. It's always a very positive thing that students talk to each other so they correct each other, we learn from each other, it's very – how do you say? – the word doesn't come to my mouth, it's very immediate, I would say. So I think it's really good.

130 T: In elementary school, you said you didn't do a lot of pair work. Seldom.

T: You did some.

135 Yeh, in English class. Really, not too often, mostly we read texts, we did various grammar tests, and I don't know I wasn't really amused by that.

T: Do you think a language class made up entirely of such tasks would be effective?

140 Well, I think that's good. It's definitely a change from what I've mostly experienced. What I've experienced isn't always that good. I'm talking about grammar school particularly and primary school. I didn't like those classes. Private lessons were all right because we talked a lot but not so much in grammar school. It was definitely a breath of fresh
145 air.

T: I wonder if the teachers in the private lessons had it easy because they knew that grammar and translation were taken care of by teachers in school.

150 We did grammar and translation in the private lessons too. It was like – how do you say? – we had a much wider array of activities.

T: Why was that? Was it the class size?

155 I'm not sure about the class size. I think it's more about the teacher and the teacher's attitude, the teacher's methods of teaching. That's it.

T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?

160 I've no idea really because I can't judge on—I can't judge based on myself. Maybe I could say this if I had examined other people, but I have no idea about them so I think it's very useful for people to read

165

and do the stuff they're interested in, and talking is always a very simple way of doing so. That's how I felt. Tests are also necessary and good, grammar and to focus on the things people generally don't enjoy doing but er they have to do everything, not just grammar and not just speaking but kind of both. That's the most effective, I think.

Data file 17: Lari

T: Have you learnt other languages?
Yes, I have learnt French for four years.

5 T: Did you enjoy it?
Yes, I enjoyed it, but I think that this language is quite difficult for me.

T: Why?
Because, well, there are a lot of irregularities in this language.

10 T: Maybe the teacher made it seem hard.
Mm I loved my teacher because he was a funny guy.

T: Oh, well, that's very important. Did they have you do speaking in class?
15 Yes. Every week we have a lesson er where er we erm discussed er er a book erm so er we had to read er a book and er we discussed it.

T: Every week, you had to read a book and discuss it?
20 No, just a part.

T: Did you like that?
Yes, I liked it.

T: And was it a book that the teacher chose?
25 Mm no she offered some books and we can—we could choose one of the books.

T: So different students read different books.
No, we voted. We read Ten Little Niggers and Bridget Jones' Diary
30 [*sic!*].

T: Did the teacher correct you a lot?
No, not really. I think she didn't want to interrupt the discussion, erm I think she thought that speaking is more important than erm grammar.
35

T: When did the teacher deal with grammar?
Yes, we got a book and er we er got er exercises er from the book and er we always checked the next lesson. These were the grammar exercises.

40

T: You never had something where you would speak or write and the teacher would correct your grammar.
No, I had an exercise book. I only wrote two pages.

45

T: How much have your teachers used group or pair work in the classroom?
Yes, we did a lot. Erm there were pictures which er the teacher provided and then we could talk about these pictures in pairs.

50

T: Like doing what exactly, describing the pictures?
Yes.

T: How did that work?

55

We helped each other and after the discussion, one person had to summarise what we discussed.

T: So you started talking about what the picture made you think of?
Yes.

60

T: Did you think it was useful?
Yes, I think it was useful.

T: Why?

Because we could learn from each other.

65

T: What about learning each other's mistakes, though?
Yes.

70

T: How have you learnt grammar? Many teachers go over a major grammar point, say, the present perfect, have the students practise it, and then move on, assuming it has then been learnt.
Yes, I think we learned grammar in this way. Because in the book there were erm parts er of different grammars and er we went through this and after we did exercises and that was it.

75

T: Did you feel you never went back to the same grammar point?
I think we went back rarely.

80

T: Did you use a coursebook or textbook?
Yes, we used Opportunities.

- T: Did you like it?
Yes, I liked it.
- 85 T: Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom. What do you think of this statement?
I think it's important and in the classroom we didn't get marks erm so er it was our er our responsibility to do homeworks.
- 90 T: But outside of the homework? For example, listening to songs and learning vocabulary from the lyrics?
Yes, I like doing it. Er erm if I listen to music I heard new words I look it up in the dictionary.
- 95 T: But did the teacher ever encourage you to do these things?
I think our teacher loves movies and music, and we talked a lot about new movies and new songs in English.
- 100 T: So new songs, new movies, but I guess you saw the movies in Hungarian only.
Yes.
- T: But still you talked about them in English.
Yes.
- 105 T: Have your teachers generally used a given textbook? Have they used other materials?
Yes, she used other books. She provided us a lot of photocopies from other grammar books.
- 110 T: Did you think the materials or topics were interesting or fun?
Yes, I think they were always interesting because our teacher was interested in the same topics, like films and pop songs, as we were.
- 115 T: Was the vocabulary and grammar useful?
I find it interesting because we had two pages and we wrote idioms and expressions in English and I think these were interesting.
- T: What did you think about the tasks?
I liked it, but my partner, you know, spoke a lot.
- 120 T: Were there other problems? Did you arrive at a decision?

Yes, we had a person. We agreed on the same person.

T: Did you argue?

125 Yes, I think we just went through the names, and in the end we had the same conclusion.

T: Did you think the task was useful?

130 Yes, I think it's useful that we have to convince each other. I think I have to train myself.

T: Do you think a language class made up entirely of such tasks would be effective?

135 Yes, I think it's effective, but in secondary school I got partners who spoke less than me.

T: What if the teacher pushed you a bit more to talk?

Yes.

140 T: So shyness may stand in the way.

Yes, I would like to change it.

T: What has been the most successful method/approach/technique for you?

145 Yes, we did a lot of things. Before holidays we watched films with subtitles, and I think it was good. We listened to—listened to music. We've got the lyrics and there were gaps in it and we have to—had to fill them mm and we played a lot in the class, like Pictionary and other activity games.

150 T: That was the English classes, I guess.

Yes.

T: Anything else?

155 And we read the book, like Ten Little Niggers. There were a lot of funny games in connection with the book. I mean we had to make little performances from the different parts. So we have to make dialogues.

T: To write them or just to say them?

160 No, write them.

Data file 18: Laura

...

We talk about the test and then learn some other ones and then and er try to write the two smaller parts.

5

T: Er, in other words, you don't learn all of it at once and then do a test and forget it. You go back to it again and again. And when you say test, you mean one of these multiple-choice tests like A, B, C, D?

10

Not really er but er a test where I had to find the correct answer so I had a sentence and er a line and I had to write down the correct form of the verb.

T: OK, and is this a good way, do you think, to cover grammar? Is this, if you become an English teacher, is this what you might do?

15

Er, yes, I think it's useful, but I prefer hearing so I would like to—have more English speaking. I think that's the most em powerful way of learning a language.

T: Yes, listening to spoken English.

20

... and repeat it after that.

T: OK, here's a statement. Learners should take responsibility for their own learning both inside and outside the classroom and I think here they mean something like do extra studying on your own and watch movies in English. What do you think of that?

25

It's important I think because we have quite a few lessons during the week and er I think it's important to prepare for these lessons.

T: And have your teachers encouraged this? Has this idea come from you and or from teachers?

30

First from my teachers, and then I realise that it's important and that I should prepare myself for the test.

T: In the past when teachers have taught you, do they have a given textbook like Headway and have they stuck to that or have they used other materials or no textbook and just different materials?

35

We had a textbook, except for one year when I started the high school. I went to a special year. It is called 0 class, and there we had a book.

40 But it wasn't important, so the teachers tried to find other ways to
teach us.

T: Did she use that textbook at all then or not really very much?
We had three teachers and one of them used the textbook and the other
45 ones tried to communicate with us or do the listening part of the
teaching.

T: When you talk about different teachers, so you had one teacher for a
while and then another one and then a third or they were all teaching at
50 the same time?
Yes.

T: So did they split up the things they were going to cover?
Yes, one of them did the grammar part. the other one the listening, the
55 third one did the communication.

T: And the grammar bit came from the book I guess. (Yes.) What was the
book?
It was Enterprise.

60 T: What did you think of that book?
Er I liked it, it was OK, but I preferred the other two teachers and the
way they taught us.

T: Is it because grammar is not as interesting maybe?
65 Well, yes maybe.

T: And maybe the style was also different? And so those other two
teachers, did they use a lot of materials then?
70 Yes.

T: And did those materials seem to be ones that they created or that they
photocopied from different places?
Usually they created them but sometimes they gave us photocopies.
75 But most of them were homemade.

T: And when you covered the materials and the topics, you basically
found them interesting except for the grammar, right?
Yes.

- 80 T: And did you feel you were learning vocabulary and grammar that you needed, that would be useful to you?
Yes, I had to learn a lot of vocabulary. Unfortunately, I forgot most of them but I knew them. And we prepared for the language exam
- 85 T: ORIGO...
Not ORIGO, then Pannon.
- T: Pannon, oh I don't even know that one. Is that a monolingual exam?
No it's bilingual.
- 90 T: Where did you go to school?
Hévíz.
- T: It's a national exam.
- 95 Yes. We had to translate so.
- T: So there's translation, the ABCD type of grammar test and er.
And the rest I don't remember
- 100 T: Was it difficult?
No it was OK. I prepared for that.
- T: In all three classes. We had this speaking task about Lord Moulton and ... Tell me honestly did you think this was useful? Or stupid? Or fun?
What were your impressions?
It was fun I think. And it was useful because I had to listen to my partner's opinion and understand it first and then we could agree or make arguments about it so it was useful.
- 105
- 110 T: This is about solving a problem, arguing and arriving at one mutual decision. And the pair work that you did in the past, was it like this or?
Yes, sometimes, it was an argument; other times, it was something else, like, well, for example, we were in a station and I asked for help or in a shop and one of us was the shop assistant and the other one is
- 115 the customer so something like this.
- T: When you did the discussion, were you able to convince your partner of your side? Did you convince him or did he convince you?
Both.
- 120

- 125 T: Oh you convinced each other? Meaning you picked a third one or how did that work?
Something like this. As I remember, we hesitated a bit, and then decided to give the money to the orphans or maybe the old lady and finally we agreed that OK, let's give it to the old lady. So not the young lady.
- 130 T: So you think a task like this is useful. How is it useful?
First of all, to convince other people about our opinion and understand the other's point of view. So that's why I think it's important.
- 135 T: So you said you had fun in the speaking and listening classes. Can you imagine a class mostly made up of this kind of a speaking task? Do you think that would be productive or helpful?
Yes, but I must admit that grammar is important too so we have to do grammar tasks but er I think it's a more powerful way to use this.
- 140 T: More powerful than doing grammar? But you need grammar too so...?
Just read and translate read and translate, that's not good I think. This is a better way.
- 145 T: And why is there so much reading and translating. What's that about?
It's about vocabulary and grammar too. And lots of teachers don't really like speaking English.
- 150 T: Maybe they're embarrassed their accent isn't perfect or something?
Yes, and maybe they choose this method because they have a good fear.
- 155 T: And maybe that's how they were taught. When you say read and translate do you mean sentence by sentence?
Sometimes just one sentence, sometimes you can do a paragraph and translate or whole pages.
- 160 T: From English to Hungarian, to understand the text?
Yes.
- 165 T: What do you think have been the most successful things that teachers have done in the past?
The speaking part mainly, and they made me like the language.

T: And why is that so important?

Because after that it's much easier to improve myself alone. I don't really need so much help and I can do it alone. And I will do it because I like it.

165

APPENDIX E

THE TASK PERFORMANCE DATA

Data file 1: Balázs (B) and Klára (K) (Time: 4:59)

- B: Well, who [wu:] do you think should get the money?
K: Well, hard question. I think Miss Langland (pause) deserves the money (pause) much more.
B: Yes, the most.
5 K: The most, thank you.
B: Well, I think money. It's not a problem if you have a bit more money than you need. Maybe Jane Smith should get the money because if we are if we believe her she's Jane she's Lord Moulton's daughter.
K: But if we not believe her then she's just a liar.
10 B: We believe in people.
K: She was kind of a (inaudible) get money for herself.
B: We must admit that she is brave that she goes there and she says [sai:z] that she is Lord Moulton's daughter
K: ...(inaudible) If she is not the son of Lord Moulton maybe she won't
15 give the money to her child. Maybe she will spend it for unnecessary things.
B: Yes and when we arrive to town maybe Tim Brodie should get the money, but I don't think so
K: Yes because he's (inaudible).
20 B: Yes, I don't like him from his description [des-].
K: (laughs) Yes why?
B: Not the kind of people I usually get on well with.
K: You mean the motorbikers?
B: No, motorbike is not a problem. I have many friends from school that
25 usually motorbike. They crashed into a tree sometimes, but it's not a problem. [K laughs.] And what about local orphanage?
K: Well, I don't know. I don't really like corruption.
B: But it's just one it's not sure it will go (pause) to corrupt ['cor-] officials ['ou-]. Maybe they spent on the orphanage.
30 K: Yes, if I'm not sure that this charity will use my money for ...

B: for good reasons.

K: for good reasons, then you know it's sad because if OK I don't know what its name is you know when 1% of your tax is for charity. There were a charity for children with cancer and it turned out that they spent
35 the money for their...

B: Well that's why I don't like charity cases.

K: Yes, that's why I don't want to give my money.

B: Yes, I must admit that you are right. But what about Lady Searle?

K: I just can imagine her as hysterical or too much you know.

40 B: Yes, but maybe Searle is Lord Moulton's only living relative so maybe

K: Yes

B: his closest relative so if we see things that way she should get the money.

45 K: but they didn't get on well so that's why I say Langland or I don't know.

B: if she would get the money she would hire a nurse.

K: Yes.

B: Or she could hire Miss Langland.

50 K: Yes (laughs). It's good, ok, give the money for Lady Searle and she will hire Miss Langland.

B: Yeh.

Data file 2: Anna (A) and Vera (V) (Time: 4:09)

A: So [Vera], have you heard about the death of Lord Moulton?

V: Yes, I heard about it.

A: It's so sad. And I heard that he had a lot of money but he didn't leave a letter how—who to leave the money. What do you think?

5 V: I think Lady (inaudible) should got the money [A: Mmm.] because she is the only living relative of him. It's very important.

A: Yes, it is true, but I heard that they had a huge fight and they haven't talked in years. And I also heard that there is a boy called Tim Brodie, who had a good relationship with Lord Moulton and he paid for Tim Brodie's education for one years and ...

10

V: Yes, but (unclear: talking over each other) he no really and he was just a gardener and he has a lot of girlfriends But he had he's not very honest and Lady Searle is living alone so I think she's...

A: she could use the money

15 V: Yes, could use the money for example, for a nurse, she's often ill and it would help her.

A: Yes, that might be true but I think Tim is just a young boy and he you know of course well he has a lot of girlfriends and he's not too honest and it's kind of sad but if he gets a lot of money and it can have a huge effect on his whole life and he but you know Lady she's very old

20

V: Do you really think that he could change?

A: Yes, I think and I think what is most important Tim is you know if Mr Moulton would be still alive he gave the money to Tim Brodie because

V: Oh, I don't think so because his cousin has no immediate I think but it would be some help for her I don't know

25

A: Yes It's a very hard question I wonder why he didn't leave any record. Maybe or I have no idea.

V: So we should

A: I think it's old Lord Moulton

30 V: OK

A: Let's respect his wishes, his decision.

V: Yay! The money is Tim's.

Data file 3: János (J) and Lilla (L) (Time: 9:54)

J: OK.

L: So what do you think about the lady?

J: The lady's her only relative. That's definitely a pro. Er.

L: But she hasn't speaking [J: yes] for years.

5 J: Yeh, that's a contra. And er she has no family and er...

L: She's often ill

J: Yeh yeh yeh so she will die

(laughs)

L: That's a pro or a contra?

10 J: I think er she because she hasn't been speaking for years and er she quite a (inaudible) maybe she shouldn't get the money

L: I agree.

J: OK.

L: Langland.

15 J: She's affectionate and loyal but she'll get savings. She was well-paid by Lord Moulton. I think she can get the money but let's see the others.

L: I think we should choose the one who needs the most of the money

J: Let's see the others

20 L: I think Miss Langland is a maybe, a wannabe.

J: She doesn't need.

L: Yeh.

J: Tim Brodie er well

25 L: He's just the son of the gardener ['gɑ:rtənər], but er but er Moultons liked her

J: Him-him

L: Yes him

J: And he's got talent I think so he wants to study and that's a good thing erm because er well....

30 L: But probably he will die in a motorbike accident.

J: Yeh he will die but er maybe he-he won't, and lots of girlfriends, it's-it's not a problem for me

L: (laughing) But-but not very honest ['hɑ:nɛst], it's not good, but also...

J: But he's got talent so...

35 L: Yeh, Yeh, maybe-maybe he has to learn [J: Yeh.] - to study.

J: He knows languages so that's, I think he's-he's still one of the ... arri- ... he's a maybe ...

L: OK, he's an option

J: Yeh, an option

- 40 L: She's penniless. She's definitely wrong. So I don't think so.
J: She refuses
L: She's lying!
J: So I think she's out. Jane, you're out.
L: Yeh, the local orphanage the money will go into the pockets. I don't
- 45 know.
J: At first glance it seems nice
L: It will probably go into the pockets and that's not good
J: So I think the orphans are out
L: Because of the ...
- 50 J: Tim Brodie and Miss Langland
L: Miss Langland is 40 years old
J: Maybe they can half the money
L: The others think Miss Langland have
J: I think it's important to help young men to study and I vote for Tim
- 55 Brodie.
L: He can change and be honest
J: Lots of girlfriends, it's a good thing, I think. I want lots of girlfriends.
L: Yeh, yeh, he can support study to go abroad
J: He wants to
- 60 L: And maybe he will change the world one day
J: Tim Brodie won.
L: Tim Brodie's the winner.
J: Yeh.

Data file 4: Detti (D) and Kinga (K) (Time: 5:48)

D: So er Basil [bæzi:l] Katz. Katz. Well ...

K: If he's er ... He? Or she? I don't know.

D: OK (as if to suggest they should simply move on)

K: If he's not er hard-working, I think it's er...

5 D: That's a point. If he's not hard-working, so he ... he or she ...

K: ... in a law school *hát ez* it's a necessary ...

D: Maybe he's brilliant, but he's not deserve that opportunity because ...

K: Yeh. Yeh. Yeh.

D: Carole Anderson.

10 K: Well, she's so little maybe and shy. Well, I don't know. Er I'm sure she-she would er do this till the end ... does-does this Yeh does (laughs)

K: I don't think so because, as far as I can see, he or she (shared laughter) would do it for nothing because she want to be wife, to have children and er [D: Actually, Yeh.] she wouldn't be a lawyer. She-it would-it would be just a waste.

15 D: Yeh, maybe, actually, and if she marries the doctor she will have a good life so...

K: And his-his [hi:z] husband will be the boss.

20 D: Yeh, maybe.

K: He will not allow [ə'ləʊ] her to do what ...

D: And actually I think that a shy people cannot be a lawyer because you have to speak a lot [K: Yeh] so ... and Daphne Braun well hoo-hoo she has a mental breakdown, using marijuana, not the best.

25 K: Erm, in my view, she doesn't deserve that possibility because he had er she had a mental breakdown and [D: Yeh, she's not so...] she's not able to [D: Yeh.] do this task.

(inaudible)

30 K: ... it would be a highlight for her life but I don't know if she use it well ... uses it well.

(becomes inaudible)

Data file 5: Zoli (Z) and Márk (M) (Time: 10:30)

- Z: OK first let's check the pros and the cons. All right, with the first. First one here's (reads) 'Lord Moulton's widowed cousin.' Well he's eh oh no Lady. She's a Lady (laughs), so a relative to Lord Moulton. So that's pro. (Writes it down as he says it) 'Related... to... this... guy'.
5 All right oh she's 66 year's old, she's pretty old. I don't know if it's a pro or a con.
- M: Probably she would like some ...?
- Z: Well this is true. (laughs) All right it would be a con. (Reads on) 'living alone in a small village in comfortable but not luxurious circumstances.' Well, I think that's that's that's common. No you don't have to be in-live in luxury so that's no problem. Write it down. 'The money would enable her to hire a nurse ..., travel, move into pleasanter surroundings.' Well I would like to travel a lot and move to pleasanter surroundings, but I don't have such I don't know uncle not
10 it's cousin. So that's a con. 'She has no immediate family, is not very popular in her neighbourhood.' Well I guess there's a reason why she is so popular, so that would be a con. Not so popular. No don't have any family. Don't have any. All right. 'Has not been on speaking terms with Lord Moulton for years, following a quarrel.' That's absolutely a
15 con, so. She's a icy woman. All right so I guess it would be one of the worst examples, so I put an extra star here. She's a bad person. 'Miss Langland. The nurse who attended Lord Moulton for the last four years of his life.' Well, she's just an employee, so I guess
20 M: She was the one who took care of him.
- Z: Yes because that was her job.
- M: But we could leave some question.
- Z: All right. I'll write her down: 'paid ... at-ten-tion.' '48 years old, loves her work and is professionally very able. Was very well paid by Lord Moulton, and her savings will enable her to take a long holiday before
30 taking up another similar post. An affectionate and loyal attendant, she undoubtedly eased Lord Moulton's latter years.' All right then. It would probably. She has a chance to get the money. 'Tim Brodie. The son of Lord Moulton's gardener. Lord Moulton took a liking to him, paid for his education and took a constant interest in his welfare.' All
35 right, I guess this guy really liked this boy. I write it as a pro. That's in my opinion. 'Tim, who has a flair for languages, desperately wants to study abroad, but has no money so will have to get a job and save if he can.' If he can. Em that's a pro. I write it here. 'An attractive and popular young man, drives a motorbike much too fast, lots of

40 girlfriends, not very honest.’ So he’s just a young person. It’s not a
 con. Every young man is like that. It’s not a problem for me. ‘Jane
 Smith. A penniless young unmarried woman with a small baby who
 has recently appeared on the scene claiming to be Lord Moulton’s
 45 daughter. Has a letter which appears to be in Lord Moulton’s writing
 and signed by him, addressed to her mother (now dead) admitting
 paternity and proposing marriage. Refuses to give any further details
 of her past life, and has no references.’ Well I could say that I’m the
 son of this Lord Moulton as well, so she’s a liar. (Writes it down)
 She’s – just – a – liar. Probably. Of course I’m not sure It’s just my
 50 opinion. All right then. ‘The local orphanage. A charity.’ It’s a good
 idea to spend your money, so ‘receives no help from the State.’ That’s
 a pro. The cruel State. So evil. (Writes it down) receives – no – help –
 from – the – State. All right.

M: (inaudible)

55 Z: ‘It has occasionally received donations from Lord Moulton.’ Well this
 good Lord Moulton already give donations to this orphanage in his
 life, so it’s a pro.

M: Yeh.

Z: All right. (Writes it down) Already – gave – donations. Donations. All
 60 right then. (reads) ‘However. it is badly run, and there is a
 possibility that much of the money might find its way into the pockets
 of officials rather than being used for the orphans.’ That’s a bad thing.
 That’s a con. Corruption. Yeh, corruption. Bad. Em. There’s no other
 (inaudible) so it would be my idea to give the money to the orphans.
 65 Do you have any idea.

M: Maybe I would give it to Miss Langland. Or to Tim Bro-die [dai].

Z: To who?! To Tim. Tim Brodie [i:]. If you give it to Brodie you have
 one person, but if you give it to the local orphanage you have dozens
 or even hundreds of persons. I think it’s much better, even
 70 corruption...

M: Yeh, but.

Z: I know I know corruption is bad but if you can find some other new
 executive directors for this orphanage they could (inaudible) corruption
 the money could be (inaudible) Any other ideas?

75 M: if you (inaudible) the chiefs of it

Z: p p p p p but if you put someone away who’s corrupt usually you find
 someone who’s not

M: helpful.

- 80 Z: in my opinion the local orphanage. (Writes it down) Ma-ny guys.
Children with no parents. They're naturally poor. And it's a charity a
charity so that's the right idea the best idea in my opinion.
M: well you told me so let's stick to the orphanage
Z: I'm lucky there's no seventh-sixth opinion. They could give the money
to me. Well if we're done we're done.
- 85 M: Right.

Data file 6: Dénes (D) and Feri (F) (Time: 6:51)

- D: What do you think about ... Lady Searle [ʃər-li:]? Should he inherit should–she inherit the money?
- F: I think she should because er er she’s been alone and er she’s old and er she was er ill so she er may be now not and...
- 5 D: Yeh but she lives in comfortable circumstances and she she’s not really in the need of all that money.
- D: She’s old and she might die soon, then ... the money ... would be wasted ... on her.
- F: And what about Miss Langland?
- 10 D: Miss Langland? She ... looks to be a ... suitable ... candidate for the inheritance. ... She ... took care of ... Lord ... Moulton [mu:l-] for years.
- F: But she wants to go go on a holiday and er waits the money for it. So it was a useful thing to go on a holiday.
- 15 D: Yeh you’re right. She’ll probably find another good job with a ... wealthy man.
- F: Tim Brodie?
- D: Tim Brodie is young and he needs education [edu:-], but he’s not a honest person and
- 20 F: And and (quoting the text) ‘he drives a motorbike much too fast’.
- D: He might ... waste all the money ... on his girlfriends.
- F: Jane Smith... [D: Jane] she needs the money because she has a baby.
- D: Yes, but it’s very suspicious that she appeared right when the old man died [F: Yes?] and claims to have his daughter, but it might be untrue.
- 25 (long pause) The letter might be a fake.
- D: The local orphanage is in need of money, but the leaders might take the money for themselves and not turn it to the orphans.
- F: So what would be the best solution? (long pause) I don’t know.
- D: Should we consider to give the money to Miss erm Miss Searle [sər-li:] ‘cause she is the only relative real relative of the old man?
- 30 F: Yes.
- D: That might be the best solution.
- F: But I think Lord Moulton er wouldn’t er give her the money because of the quarrel.
- 35 D: Yes, but the quarrel might not be very important. It might be some small thing that they quarrel about.
- F: I think it wasn’t a small thing because they were quarrelling for years.
- D: That might be true. Then I think the most suitable would be the young man, Tim Brodie, ‘cause he is the youngest.

- 40 F: But he will wait a long time (laughs). I think we should gave the money over Jane Smith because of the good (inaudible).
D: The money to Jane Smith. The child might be really Lord Moulton's [mu:l-] daughter so she might as well the one.
D: *Leállitsam?* (turns off the audio recorder)
- 45 F: Uh-huh.

Data file 7: Gábor (G), Kati (K) and Szabina (S) (Time: 6:23)

K: I wouldn't get the money to this lady, the first one, the cousin of the man. He *vagyis* she's really, really old, like 66, and she will die in the near future and she doesn't have

G: She's gonna need money for medicine.

5 K: (Ignoring his point.) Yes, [G: Yes (laughs).] because she's the only living relative and they were in a (pauses) I don't know... They didn't have a good relationship so probably the man wouldn't give the money to that woman. I think there's no reason to give money to that woman.

G: But she's a lady so she needs a lot of money, a lot of shoes (emphasis).

10 K: But no [G laughs] she has the money because she's living in comfortable circumstances. She has a normal life and she can afford everything what she needs.

S: (pause) But er

G: Well, she's out.

15 K: Yeh, she's out.

S: What about the nurse?

K: (pause) She is old.

G: No, she's not old (laughs).

K: Not as old as this one.

20 G: Yeh (laughs).

K: But er I (emphasis) wouldn't give the money to this woman because erm yes, she was really kind to Mister I mean Lord I-don't-know-who, but (with emphasis) she was kind because she got the money.

G: But that's her job.

25 K: Yeh, that's her job.

G: I mean she's just kind because that's how they got the money.

K: Yeh that's true, but then why would she got the million?

G: I don't know.

K: I don't know.

30 G: Maybe she could find a—a (pause) health care centre, I don't know.

K: Oh.

G: (slightly mocking) But she's kind, you know that.

(inaudible)

35 G: (laughter) Yes, yes, of course, but she was nice because of the money and maybe she—she hated this Lord I-don't-know-who, in fact, but she was smiling because of the (pause) payment.

(inaudible)

G: OK.

K: Yeh. (To S) You? No? OK.

- 40 S: (inaudible) the gardener.
K: But he has an opportunity which are like he wants to go abroad and study. Maybe he can, he could get the money, he would start a new life, and would became, become a I don't know
G: he will study.
- 45 K: somebody. [G: (laughs) (inaudible) is that with you, you steal money?] maybe he will study and er [G: And now?] he will become a legal [G: No way, but I will] part of the society and he can give
S: He's young and he has (pause) future (inaudible) and maybe there is (inaudible) from the government [gu:v-] and he pay for his education and erm
- 50 K: Yes maybe that lord will give the money to him because er he paid the education, he loves that boy.
G: He's the son of the gardener.
K: OK, but maybe once in the future when he—he has the I-don't-know-what—the *lehetőség*—the possibility to learn to study he will become a good part of the society.
- 55 S: (inaudible)
G: Jane Smith. What? But she's
K: She's the girl who is the daughter of the man, but not officially.
- 60 G: Not officially (laughter). OK.
K: And what? (reading) She had a small baby.
G: So she needs the money.
K: Yes she needs (emphasis) the money, but she (pause) started caring about the father after his death.
- 65 S: I think she can get the money.
K: I would give the money to the orphanage, but there's no point because it's badly run. (reading) There's the possibility that much of the money would find its way into the pockets of officials.
G: There's no mind.
- 70 (inaudible)
G: To the baby.
K: But not the baby, to the mother.
G: Well, I would make a (pause)
K: Maybe the mother would get the money and er the baby wouldn't get anything, the grandchild. And maybe she's not even the daughter. She just says that she's the daughter.
- 75 S: (inaudible)
K: Yeh yeh 'admitting paternity'. Well, OK, I would give the money to Tim Brodie if he was honest but he's not. So I
- 80 G: But do you want to be one of his girlfriends?

K: Of course. But OK somebody can have lots of girlfriends and that doesn't mean that he's a bad person, I think.

G: I pick the baby.

K: OK.

85 G: I don't care.

K: And I don't pick any of them because I don't like them. There is—there is always something that tells that: Don't give the money to that person.

G: *Hoppá*. (inaudible) gonna get the money.

90 K: She will (emphasis) get the money.

G: I don't want to talk about it.

K: *Hany perc?*

G: Six. Enough. OK.

Data file 8: Gréti (G) and Hanna (H) (Time: 7:28)

- G: (sighs) Fine. Which one do you think deserves the money?
H: I think Miss Langland er is the one er who should get the money.
G: I think it's erm I think. Yes right so I think it's Lady Searle [si:rl] because she was the widow's cousin, so whatever.
5 H: But they haven't been speaking. They haven't been on er speaking terms. (picking up from expression used in text)
G: That's right. But maybe the quarrel [kwereɪ], we don't know the exact reasons behind the quarrel so maybe it was because Lord Moulton [mau:lton] was not a nice person and was extremely mean to [tju:]
10 Lady Searle [si:rl]...
H: (interrupting) You don't know that.
G: (picking up) And you don't know that either that she was not a nice person so the same reason stands for you. You don't know how she was like [H: OK], so you don't know if she, you know, OK. [H: Oh, OK.] So why do you think Miss Langland is the...
15 H: Well, I think Miss Langland is the one who should get the money because er (pause) she took care of Lord Moulton and she's 48 and because she's a nurse she doesn't have enough—she doesn't have enough money and he was with him for four years or I don't know...
20 G: (interrupts) Yeh, but it says here that [H: ...the 'last years'...] it says here that her savings are very good and it will you know let her have a long holiday therefore she has a lot of money (stress on *has* instead of *does* have). She was well-paid by Lord Moulton.
H: (interrupting) Yes but she was the only one who took care of him.
25 G: I know but she's only 48. She can you know do another job, while [H: Yeh well] Lady Searle [si:rle] is like...
H: (interrupting) ... er Lady Searle [si:rl] is 66 she so—so she's old enough and you can bury [bəri:] her then—you can bury [bəri:] her now.
G: (laughing) Well, she's not dead yet. You can't bury [bəri:] her if she's
30 not dead. (both laugh) OK, fine. You can't bury her. I know hate her because she's old and whatever maybe she's wrinkled.
H: Well she's old and why should she get the money?
G: Well you know it's the law she was 'a relative and you know it says here that she's not very popular in her neighbourhood maybe the
35 neighbourhood is full of ghetto people and they look down on her [H: Maybe she's awesome.] Yeh, maybe she's awesome and right, and maybe Miss Langland was only nice to Lord whatever Lord Moulton because she wanted his money. Did you ever think about that? Maybe she's a gold-digger. (Laughs)

- 40 H: Hmm well.
G: Well we can agree on that Tim Brodie, Jane Smith and the local orphanage should not get the money.
H: Yeh it says Tim Brodie, the son of Lord Moulton's gardener (dismissive emphasis on last word).
- 45 G: Yeh, whatever, and did you see that he had lots of girlfriends and not very honest. He does not deserve the money. He said he wanted to go to Europe but I bet that was a lie. I think he wanted to go to Europe so he could get together with girls. And that's what he should have—it's like he would have spent the money on girls, which is just horrible. [H: Disgusting.] Disgusting (singing it). I hate people like that.
- 50 H: Little SOB.
G: Let's start a Facebook group. We hate Tim Brodie. (Laughing) Right, moving on.
H: OK, what about Jane ... Smith?
- 55 G: (interrupting) Jane Smith. I have like various feelings about Jane Smith 'cause on one hand I do believe her story on the other hand why wouldn't she like give any details about her past life, you know? [G: Yeh, I don't believe her because...] I'm sceptical, very sceptical.
H: ...I don't think she's his daughter ...
- 60 G: Yeh, because she had like probably 30 years to claim that you know like hi Lord Moulton I'm your daughter. Why didn't she do so?
H: I don't know
G: Because you know Lord Moulton was you know wealthy so.... We're sceptical about Jane. What do you think about the local orphanage?
- 65 H: Yeh er it's kind of sad that the orphans couldn't get the money [G: Yeh.] because the—because the other people would put their hands on it so [G: Well if I were...]
G: Do you know what we should do, we should fire everyone at the orphanage...
- 70 H: Can we do that?
G: Yes, we can do anything we want. Because we're just. Because we're awesome. We're above the law. Whatever. So we should get new people to do the orphanage and we should give the money to them. What do you think?
- 75 H: Or fire everyone in the local orphanage, hire a—a kinda new staff [G: That's what I said.] – That's what you said. – but keep the money.
G: Oh, you're nasty. [H: But no OK er ...] We'll give the half of the money and keep the half... [G: keep 10%] OK good!
H: OK. Great.

- 80 G: Maybe we can get like a new wardrobe from 10%. Good? 'Cause it's like 5–5. Deal?
H: No, I meant give the local orphanage 10%.
G: (laughs) Oh my God.
H: OK let's say erm 30% for the local orphanage
- 85 G: Fine. You know. Let's do 50–50. That's only fair. Like think of the children, the dirty children, [H: OK.] like they knew some, they need some new clothes and you know to get the lice out of their heads.
H: So we should re-write the will
G: Yeh
- 90 H: Or write the will.
G: Wait, so do we have to decide because we're like the lawyers of Lord Moulton? Because if there—we're the lawyers we get a lot of money – you know? – for writing the will, you know what I mean?
H: Yes but because we're the lawyers we knew a lot of loopholes...
- 95 G: Yeh that's right, so we can you know like get at least 50% 'cause you know we work hard we're lawyers we don't see our families [H: because we're awesome and...] Yeh, and we don't see our family 'cause we're always working and stuff.
H: Because of Lord Moulton
- 100 G: Exactly. I hate Lord Moulton. He's just not a nice person.
(pause)
G: So Yeh Lady Searle is awesome and everyone's unfair to her and Miss Langland was the only one who took care of Lord Moulton [H: Yeh] OK. [H: Tim Brodie's whatever...] Whatever [H: ... the gardener] we
- 105 hate him. Jane Smith is a gold-digger and she's a liar and the orphanage is just—it's just not going to work out I'm sorry you're fired. Not you. The local orphanage.
H: OK, so we should keep the money?
G: No we should give 50% to... you know what, I just had an idea, how
- 110 about we keep 50% and the rest like the—the 50 that was left [H: the other 50, yes] we divide it between Lady Sirl and Miss Langland! Right so they get 25–25.
H: That's a great idea.
G: That's so awesome. We're so awesome.
- 115 H: I know, we're so awesome.
G: Yeh. So you get 25, I get 25, Lady Searle [si:rl] gets 20–25 and Miss Langland gets 25.
H: Great. [G: Deal?] Closed.
G: We're settled. Closed.

Data file 9: Roli (R) and János (J) (Time: 5:14)

- R: First here is Lady Searle. She's the widowed cousin and I don't think she should get the money because erm because she has not been on speaking terms with Lord Moulton for years so they didn't have a-a close relationship and they it is said have had a quarrel.
- 5 J: I agree with this because she's very old she's 66 years old. She relatively has settled down but she isn't a very pleasant person. Actually she doesn't really need the money. Miss Langland, the nurse, er she has been working with Lord Moulton for-for-for years erm according to him she would only use the money to go-go on holiday
- 10 and then go to another job so the money wouldn't be actually well spent
- R: Yes, because she helped Lord Moulton for years so erm from this group of people erm she should be the one who gets the money. She erm she earned it actually.
- 15 J: Yes, but she has been only working with him for pause
- R: for four years
- J: for four years.
- R: But that's not a-not a short time.
- J: Yes, but she'll only spend the money on a long holiday before she
- 20 takes a similar post so the money wouldn't be beneficial for anyone.
- R: I see your point. So she shouldn't get the money after all.
- J: Well, that's my opinion.
- R: And then there's Tim Brodie. He definitely shouldn't get the money because erm he would spend it on women, motorbikes, so that
- 25 wouldn't be beneficial either. But, on the other hand, Lord Moulton took a liking to him before his death so maybe if it was Lord Moulton he would decide to erm to give his money to Tim Brody.
- J: Yes he's er he wants to study. That's a a-that's a good thing. On the other hand, he has a he has a playboy attitude so if he gets the money
- 30 there's a danger he will spend it all on one place erm but he's talented he likes languages and perhaps he'll use the money or a portion of it to study and go to (inaudible) higher education.
- R: So next.
- J: Yeh, Jane Smith. She claims to be Lord Moulton's daughter. And she
- 35 only has a letter from Lord Moulton and signed by Lord Moulton that addresses to her mother now dead of course the mother and this is very questionable because she refuses to answer any questions referring to this but also she is penniless and unmarried so it might go to charity even if she's not the daughter of Lord Moulton.

- 40 R: But the evidence could be fake. So an expert should be (pause).
J: hired
R: hired yes to prove that she is the daughter of late Lord Moulton and it is erm debatable that should she get the money. I don't agree that she should get it.
- 45 J: Yes but if you look at the other candidates (inaudible) untrustworthy.
R: (inaudible)
J: The officials are very untrustworthy, trust-wor-thy. If I could choose, I would give it to the orphanage or on a person who would spend it on the orphans not on himself.
- 50 R: For me if I could choose that would be Miss Langland or the orphans I just can't decide.
J: I think Miss Langland if she heard [hi:rd] the money would go to orphans she should be happy about it. If it would go to her of course she would be happy because she would go on a large holiday and er yes she would probably make good memories from that holiday and she would go to another job similar post and if it goes to the orphanage the orphanage can improve in many ways and they need the money very much because they're very low on funds so I think it would go to a better place at the orphanage.
- 55
- 60 R: I think of the money as a salary for Miss Langland because she er er helped a lot in the last years of Moulton and er she eased his pain so maybe she would really deserve it but er but er the orphanage could of course use it for better cases.
J: Better uses.
- 65 R: Yes.
J: I think the money should go to the orphanage.

Data file 10: Paulina (P) and Csenge (C) (Time: 4:16)

- P: So I think that erm Tim Brodie er should get er the er the money erm as he's erm young and er and er Lord er Moulton like him and he he er gave him money so I think er he desire it.
- 5 C: Yeh but I think he's only the son of an employee so you know the son of a gardener so it's kind of strange that er he would get the money.
- P: OK so what do you think who should get the money?
- C: I think Jane Smith should get the money because er she has a letter which might be official and actually legal so er so er er if it's legal she should get the money because she has a right to inherit from er Lord
- 10 Moulton.
- P: But we don't know that if it's legal or not so maybe er she has just written it to get the money and she she has just in- she has just appeared-appeared erm.
- C: Yeh she has no references but er still she has a toddler a really small
- 15 baby and she needs the money and er if the letter is right then she's the daughter of Lord Moulton.
- P: But er I think er Tim Brodie the money is in a better place that's Tim Brodie because er he wants to study abroad and he could er build up a very good career er maybe abroad and then he could have lots of
- 20 children so.
- C: Well yeh Tim Brodie could have his own career and children but Jane Smith could lose her own child because I don't know by hunger or something like that (laughter). OK, eh what about the other competitors [-ti:ters]? What about with Miss Langland? Do you think
- 25 she could get the money?
- P: Just a second (reviews the page).
- C: Actually, she looked after Lord Moulton.
- P: Yeh, but eh Lord Moulton eh gave her money so er she could she can go to an own holiday and she's not very young so I think that the
- 30 money er so we should give the money to somebody who is er young and can get used to can use it not just for a holiday.
- C: Yes, but don't you think that if Lord Moulton has already gave her money given her money maybe he er he would er name Miss Langland as his er heri-tage (intonation on last syllable suggesting questioning).
- 35 P: Er but er Tim Brodie get also money from Lord Moulton so he could even get the money.
- C: Yeh of course (laughter) I don't know. (long pause) I don't know. OK, maybe Tim Brodie could get the money but it's still strange to er for a gardener's son to be...

- 40 P: I think that everybody is strange.
C: Actually yes (laughter). Yeh.
P: Lord Moulton should have written a (pause) paper...
C: Yes he should write a will.
P: Yes.
- 45 C: OK, Tim Brodie gets the money.
P: All right.
C: OK (laughter)

Data file 11: Tóni (T) and Román (R) (Time: 4:48)

- T: So what do you believe would Lady Searle deserve Lady Moulton's inheritance?
- R: I think not. She's too old and she's often ill and I think he she doesn't have to has to became the money
- 5 T: I guess they have quite bad relationship between each other because the text says they had a quarrel they haven't speak to each other so I guess that a woman at this age wouldn't deserve any kind of heritage because because she just won't live for long anymore and I think that...
- 10 R: I agree with you.
T: What about Miss Langland, the nurse who attended Lord Moulton?
R: Oh, I—it can be because she likes work and she's not too old and she's well already.
- 15 T: Yes, I suppose because she treated well Lord Moulton and he was affectionate and loyal to him – she was affectionate and loyal to him – in his last years. I guess she could be the one who will get the money because she deserves it and yes she made—she made some things to get it so it's not just—it's just a waste of money, but it will go to—it will go to a person who works for it. What about Tim Brodie?
- 20 R: He's a very educated man but he likes parties girls and he's not very honest so I think he doesn't have to get the money
T: I guess he's too extravagant [R: yes] and too casual so my opinion is that I wouldn't vote him for getting the money so let's move on to Jane Smith penniless young unmarried woman with a small baby.
- 25 R: I think she can get the money because she needs it
T: And apparently she's the daughter of Lord Moulton And the rightful heir of Mr Moulton of course the writing of this letter may be faked or something like that but be positive
R: What do you think about the local orphanage?
- 30 T: As the text says, the money that goes to that may go to bureaucrats, politicians and people who would get it for nothing I would vote against them
R: I think the same that you said so
T: So what's our conclusion?
- 35 R: Miss Langland or Jane Smith?
T: I vote for Jane Smith
R: Me too.
T: So we have an accord: Jane Smith will get the heritage.

Data file 12: Anna (A) and Matyi (M) (Time: 9:45)

- A: Albert Smith.
M: OK, so let's—let's discuss the first one.
A: Pros maybe. H—he's hard-working ...
M: Yeh
- 5 A: ... married with three children.
M: (writing it down) So he has a family background. (long silence as he writes) Cons maybe that he hasn't got anything to do with law school, I mean before he attended this scholarship. So ... he's just a taxi driver, we can say. (Writes it down.)
- 10 A: He hasn't got a good qualification for law school. (More silence as it is being written down.)
M: He's very hard-working. That's a pro. (Writing.) Er what about Basil Katz? He's young...
A: Yeh.
- 15 M: ... he has brilliant [bril-li:-ænt] talent, but he's not very hard-working. So that's a con. (More writing.)
A: Mm-hmm. (pause) Con maybe that he has taken part in violent demonstrations...
M: Yeh.
- 20 A: ... and he has been in prison also.
M: That is (inaudible) a negative thing.
A: And lots of girlfriends (laughing).
M: That's not necessarily a negative thing, but...
A: But another thing that is negative is that he treated them badly.
- 25 M: Yeh. (Writing.) And er he has also quite (inaudible) dreams that he's going to become a singer ['sɪŋgər] in a band or ... it's gonna be his other choice if he can't make the scholarship so.... he pretty much has a B plan for—for this.
A: Yeh.
- 30 M: So maybe it's not that important for him. (Writing.)
A: Mm-hm.
M: I don't really see a lot of positive things about this guy.
A: I don't either (laughing).
M: (laughing) OK so Carole. Twenty.
- 35 A: He's the most sympathetic to me.
A: Oh...
M: She.
M: ...but he's rather naïve and easily influenced, but...
A: Attractive girl (laughs).

- 40 M: What?
 A: An attractive girl is (inaudible) (laughs).
 M: (laughing) I don't see how that affects anything related to law school, but... it's definitely a good thing. Erm he has—he also has—she also has a good family background. She doesn't have er children but she has a
 45 fiancé and her fiancé also wants her to finish er school before settling down.
 A: Ambitious.
 M: Yeh, so she's ambitious (writing).
 A: She wants to be married and have children.
 50 M: Yeh.
 A: So maybe not with her career...
 M: And her parents—her parents maybe can't afford to pay, so ... it's pretty much her only chance to ... get into this.
 A: What are the cons?
 55 M: Maybe that she is easily influenced. That is not so good for a lawyer, but ...
 A: Yeh.
 M: ... she can work—work this out later (writing then reads) Da-Daphne ... Braun ... 21 ... single ... and her family ... or his? Is that a boy or a
 60 girl? (he laughs) Daphne Braun?
 A: (laughing) I think he's a—she's girl.
 M: (asking teacher) Can we have a ... question?
 A: Daphne is a ... [T: girl] girl.
 M: A girl. Cool. [A laughs.] Good to know. Erm.
 65 A: (reading) ... the daughter...
 M: Yeh, the daughter, yeh (laughs). So she also has a good family background for a lawyer because ...
 A: She's ambitious.
 M: She's ambitious, and her parents and grandparents are also lawyers
 70 (writes).
 A: Mm-hm.
 M: Am-bi-tious (writing). He has pretty good results, but sh—she had a mental breakdown and ended up being in a hospital for three months. But she's made a full recovery.
 75 A: And the other con is that ... being in ... (inaudible)
 M: (writing) men-tal break-down. And her parents also can't finance ['fi:nænts] her studies despite the fact that they are all lawyers. So it's pretty awkward. ... Maybe they're not that good lawyers.
 A: (laughs)
 80 M: They should find another career ['kæriə] for their daughter.

A: She's aggressive ['agressiv].

M: And quick-tempered, which is maybe not a negative thing for a lawyer

...

A: (inaudible)

85 M: A lawyer has to be er quickly reacting to things. She has to be on the spot. OK. OK. Er Edward Mbaka has been in the army, which is I don't know (laughs) if this is a negative or a positive thing.

A: (laughs)

M: But...

90 A: Absolutely negative that he is divorced.

M: Yeh (writing).

A: Has no family.

M: The marriage didn't work out too well, but he's highly motivated (writing) and maybe he wants to go to politics. And he says he wants
95 this course more than anything and this scholarship is also his only chance of getting it and, but...

A: But he was also guilty of accept-ting bribes.

M: But as the teacher said that maybe in Africa they look at bribery in a—in a different way.

100 A: Bribery is bribery, I think.

M: Yeh of course. OK so bribery is of course a negative thing. (writing)
And his ...

A: Charming personality.

M: (inaudible)

105 A: He's a good speaker.

M: His roots are important for him, we can say. He doesn't deny his African ... nationality (writing).

A: Mm-hm.

M: Well the most er ... Well for me Carole Anderson is one of the most
110 attractive one, and I also consider Albert Smith because he's just a taxi driver who wants to I don't know fulfil his dreams in becoming a lawyer and he's just gonna go back to taxi driving if he fails. ... He has a family background. He's hard-working. He's not that talented but—but—but he wants to do it. If he's working hard enough, then he can do
115 it.

A: Yeh.

M: Who—who's your favourite one?

A: My favourite is Carole Anderson also.

M: And she has to work on not being so pliable...

120 A: Yeh

M: ... on being strong with his opinions and supporting them carefully. I think we can agree on Carole. ...

A: Yeh.

M: Congratulations, you have won the scholarship.

Data file 13: Norbi (N) and Áron (Á) (Time: 13:46)

N: So (laughs).

Á: Yeh.

N: Of course. At first, let's er make it clear that what are the characteristics of a—of a good lawyer, so they are—would like to be
5 lawyers. What are the good characteristics of the lawyer?

Á: Er yeh er erm mmm

N: For example that er erm

Z: (referring to one of the candidates) She's a good friend, for example,
but it's not good ... she's ... mediocre [me-] ...

10 (Talking over each other.)

N: No no not we are not talking about her. We just er first ... at common
er er just let it clear that what are the good characteristics of a lawyer.

Á: OK good good good OK OK.

N: So what is—what is a lawyer about? So—so it's—it's not a bad thing if
15 you know the law.... [Á: OK OK OK.] First point that to know the
law. (Writes it down) ... the ... law ... well So. And maybe to
know your a er—what is the person your—the people whose life who
are—you are against or you defend. So if you are a lawyer, then you
have to know the—about the person who are you are against or—
20 defend er that person. Do you know what I mean?

Á: No er so er.

N: So a lawyer is a so-called *ügyvéd*

Á: Yeh, OK.

N: ... and er ... their—their job is to ... defend someone or speak against
25 someone er in front of the—the jury [zu-ri:].

Á: Yeh. Yeh.

N: So you have to know er the person you are with and you are against.

Á: Yeh.

N: So that who is it and er er to make your notes and make your er speech
30 with ... in er in er with the aim of er I don't know so you have to know
the persons that you are against and you are defend. So not—not the
jury maybe have a question about your er defendant or I don't know
what is maybe so he questions that if he married or not and if you
don't know that he's married or not then how—how would you like to
35 defend him maybe from other questions?

Á: Mm-hm.

N: So you have to know the persons you are defend or against to have the
right questions and the right speech in during the—during the jury [zu-
ri:].

- 40 Á: Mm-hm, mm-hm.
 N: So you have to be er open to the persons. You have to be a good er a good sense of er knowing others. It's a good point.
 Á: Mm-hmm
 N: Or er you have to be hard-working to—to s—study or to learn the law.
- 45 Á: OK. That is the first point, er and er (starts reading)
 N: So what are—where can we find these abilities? Albert Smith. (Reading) 'not outstanding natural ability but very hard-working'. He's hard-working. That's a good—that's a good point.
 Á: Yes, hard-working.
- 50 N: (reading) 'Married with three children; until now a taxi driver.' Oh he doesn't have really a—a background, so... 'family background', 'a good impression, but seems a little nervous' erm 'at the whole idea of law school and the effects his new career might have on his social life and family.' Hm. If you are nervous as a—as a lawyer, it's—it's not a—
 55 not a good point. So if you—if you are nervous, that means that are not you don't have enough er self-confidence and ... [Á: Yes yes OK.] ... and if you don't have enough self-confidence that's not a bad—not a good point.
 (Talking over each other.)
- 60 Á: So wife and family is er
 (Talking over each other.)
 N: ...as a lawyer it's hard to have a family and to work as a lawyer and study, so at this age, I think you should be with your family more, with your children.
- 65 Á: (trying to get a word in edgewise) Yes but ... I—I experienced er er my er ex-girlfriend has a father er lawyer and er er he hadn't got a time for—for er er his wife his er ...
 N: Yes, so it's a bad point too, so I think and in the text he doesn't have a—he doesn't really have a preliminary [pre-] sketch. [Á: Yes yes] So I
 70 think he—he won't get the scholarship, I think. ... Basil Katz. He's young. It's a good point. Nowadays it's a good point if you're young.
 Á: Yes yes.
 N: (reading) '...brilliant, not very hard-working.' But maybe he could—she could ... I wasn't very hard-working before the university and now
 75 I'm hard—hard-working. 'Not very hard-working', but 'brilliant'....er 'likeable...of left-wing sympathies....' Ohh. '...has taken part in some more or less...' And he has a *príus* ['prai:əs]. She—she or Basil I don't know if she or her ...
- 80 Á: I think it's more interesting (talking over each other) – don't think that it's a problem if he has been in demonstrations ...

- N: It's a point, but he has been in prison so he has a *prius* ['prai:əs] [Á: Yes yes] ... as a lawyer it's not a good point er but brilliant. I really don't know. I think it's a question mark. ... Carole Anderson. (reading) 'quiet, attractive girl'. Quiet. You have to be self-confident and er ... responsibility, this is a good point. If you're responsible. But
85 yes er she's—she's pliable, and if you are—if you are a lawyer you cannot be pliable, you cannot change your mind during the ... you have to be ... you have to er stick to your opinion, you have to, you cannot be pliable, during—during a sentence or something.
- 90 Á: Mm-hm.
N: Like, just like that's why I don't like Edward [-ward] Mbaka, or I don't know, he once he accepted bribes. That's mean that he could do it [Á: What?] once more. Accepted bribes. Edward [-ward] Mbaka. Accepted bribes.
- 95 Á: Yeh yeh yes
N: ... so he might could do it so it—he's not...
Á: Yes.
N: ... not... he's pliable too but in a different way so I—that's why I don't like Edward [-ward] Mbaka. (reading) 'highly motivated'. Yeh but
100 let's back to—let's back to.
Á: But it was once.
N: Oh and Carole and the other thing that Carole has to be at home er after he's settled down—after she's settled down [Á: Yes yes yes] she's er her er fiancé said that. So he cannot work as a lawyer [Á: Mm-hm]
105 she cannot work as a, so why now? ... The other. Daphne Braun. Young. That's good. Single, but good. '...daughter and granddaughter of lawyers,' that's good too because if she has a question they can help her. And ... [Á: Yes.] maybe if they are good lawyers, then er Daphne Braun has a name, then maybe she has a name, a good name [Á: Yes yes.] in—in—in this—in this career. ... (reading) 'academic record erratic' ...
110 Á: ... W—what's that? (reading) 'enthusiastically Women's Lib' [en 'tu: e zi: 'æs tikəli: 'wu mən 'lai:b].
N: It's er a kind of feminism, but er that could be—can be good.
115 Á: Ah OK OK.
N: That can be good. (reading) 'Academic record erratic, some very good results, some mediocre'. For me different good results are good, so that's good. '...mental breakdown last year', that means that maybe she was too hard-working. [Á: Yes.] Maybe he learned—she learned
120 from it. (Talking over each other) 'Fined recently for', 'fined recently for being in possession of marijuana ['mari:hiuana], so she's strong.

- 125 She fought against the marijuana ['mari:hiuana], and she won–won this–this battle. So ... 'aggressive'. [Á: Yes yes but...] It can be good too because [Á: Yes yes she's good...] during–during the situation er if you are aggressive and you are hard-working ... just saying your opinion and being this er saying the thing you can be er er it can be good.
- 130 Á: Yes but er but er Daphne lives–lives in England or American? The American er lawyer is–is good 'aggressive and quick-tempered' but in Britain...
- N: I don't know. I think American.
- Á: OK.
- 135 N: So (reading) 'generous', 'good friend'. That means that er she can know his er ... not assistants, but er ... I don't know what is er er er ... (to teacher) Can I have a question?
- T: Yes.
- N: What is the *ügyfél* in English?
- T: Er client.
- 140 N: Client. (Turns to his interlocutor) So–so she can know er her clients to be more–more er better and, no not more better, better and better, you see?
- Á: Yes yes.
- 145 N: She can find things that can help them... 'generous,' maybe she could be a bit cheaper [Z laughs] than the others, I don't know. So now my vote is her... Edward Mbaka has been in the army. Army man. 'Divorced, no family.' Why is he divorced? [Á: Yeh] Because of him? Because of her – because of her wife? Ex-wife. We don't know. 'Highly motivated' ... Politics.
- Á: He hasn't got ... a ... child.
- 150 N: ... 'the Army ... go into politics'. Hm-hm.
- Á: Too typical.
- N: Good point. Good point. 'Charming personality, fluent and eloquent speaker. ... A citizen of this country'....
- Á: Charming (inaudible)...
- 155 N: He can be a native African, yes? That's one, maybe a good point.
- Á: OK. I don't know.
- N: For me the most sympathetic is still Daphne. And Basil has a question mark.... So Basil or Daphne? What is your point?
- Á: Mmm I think Daphne.
- 160 N: Why? Why not Basil?
- Á: Er she's very *sympatisch* (both laugh) and er er

N: Basil is hard-working too. 'Left-wing sympathies' is one thing. 'A likeable personality,' [Á: (inaudible) Oh no my God.] (laughter)

165 N: I know it. I know but maybe it's a true left wing, not some... he has social ... [Á: Yes yes OK.] You know. I'm afraid of the *prius* [prai:əs] that he or she I don't know Basil is a (to teacher) a woman or a man. [T: A man.] Basil had a *prius* ['pri:əs] that I'm afraid of because of violent demon-less violent demonstrations but violent demonstrations. Less violent but violent, and he's so young but has been... [Á: And

170 and 'lots of girlfriends'] Lots of girlfriends but treating [tre-] them badly, has got, he's treating [tre-] them badly, has got a reputation for treating [tre-] them badly. (inaudible) So he's treating them badly. (Talking over each other.) OK so because of the prison and the reputation of treating the girls badly I think that Daphne will be our

175 contestant.

T: Which is the best one then?

N: Daphne.

T: Daphne Braun. OK. Are you agreed?

N: Erm yes.

180 T: All right. Sounds good.

Data file 14: Kálmán (K) and Boti (B) (Time: 7:24)

K: Albert Smith.

B: Albert Smith.

K: He's hard-working

5 B: Yes, he's a hard-working–hard-working man, and maybe he er has abilities to finish a law school but er according to this small article, he's not really talented person, so... er ...

K: Why do you say that?

B: Because er the article mentions that he's not–'not of outstanding natural ability'.

10 K: Uh-huh.

B: So maybe he's not that kind of intellectual person who ... can er finish, or who will, law school.

K: But if he's hard-working, he can learn all these ...

15 B: (interrupting) ... he can–he can–he can learn all these things. He must have worked to er ... (whispers) *Hogy mondjuk azt, hogy eltartani?*

K: Erm ... ahem.

B: ...to make an appropriate ['æprɒʊ-] living for his family. And he's a taxi driver. And er taxi drivers should work in er–also in the [ði:] morning and in the evening, so er I wonder how can he do this.

20 K: OK. Erm. Basil Katz....

B: Basil Katz.

K: Er that's the other side of things. He's brilliant but he's not very hard-working, so erm ... he has a bad reputation first ...

25 B: Er in my opinion er these kinds of people like Basil Katz can er do the university because if we think – if we consider the situation in Szeged, there are a lot of brilliant people in the university who is not really hard-working and finish their studies. But er maybe because he's obsessed ['ɒbsɛst] by these er left-wing sympathies and politics it er gains much of his energy and er his free time and er if he wants to do that er instead of learning it can er endanger his er studies.

30 K: Mm-hm. But I–I don't think you can finish er law–law school just with brilliance. You–you have to learn a lot and he's [B: Ah] not the kind of person who ...

35 B: Yes, we talked about law school, so I forget it. Yes, it's an–another really hard question. So (inaudible) tests or whatever.

K: OK, (dismissively) ah.

B: Maybe.

K: Maybe. Carole Anderson.

B: Carole Anderson.

- 40 K: Erm since he's pliable, I don't think that's the kind of person who should go to law school. For example if you want to be a lawyer and you are pliable, that's a really bad thing.
B: Yes yes that's really bad thing.... [K: Erm] A lawyer-lawyers and er people of course shouldn't be pliable.
- 45 K: Yes.
B: So maybe he-she's doesn't the person for that kind of work.
K: OK, so we got only [B: Carole Anderson.]
B: Maybe Basil Katz (Talking over each other.) Yes maybe but not really Carole Anderson.
- 50 K: Albert Smith won't have time for it, I think.
B: Albert Smith won't have time-won't have time and shouldn't give up his work because of his family. Basil Katz is communist. And Carole Anderson
K: Erm she's pli-pliable...
- 55 B: She's pliable. It's not [K: Let's go on] really her cup of tea.
K: Erm Daphne Braun
B: Daphne Braun.... Interesting name.... Yes, er maybe er she's ... is it a male or a female?
K: It's a she.
- 60 B: She. It's a she. (reading) 'the daughter' ... [K laughs] Maybe law school is not really for her because er she seems to be kind of a party-goer or a party face because she's addicted to drugs and so ... she I think she would smoke weed instead of learning at the university.
K: But he-she's a women's lib enthusiast, ambitious, career-minded (Talking over each other.)
- 65 B: She's ambitious but er she's on the other hand a mediocre ['medikor]-mediocre [medi:'oʊkɔr] person.
K: But if she's career-minded ['kæriər] she could work in a school finish a school.
- 70 B: Maybe yes.
K: And she has-she has lawyers in her family who could help her.
B: Yes with 'protection'. 'quick-tempered', 'generous' [K: But], 'aggressive' - it can be good in er that job...
- 75 K: She would need a job also because her parents cannot finance her [B: Yes yes] so that would be a hard thing to work [A cuts him off]
B: It would be a hard thing but if she could go to the university, aggressive, quick-tempered personality is er really an inappropriate [-'æprɔʊ-] form of behaviour to complete this er university and be lucky with her job in later life.
- 80 K: OK. Edward Mbaka.

B: Mbaka. ...

K: I—I think he’s the best candidate because he’s really motivated and—and it’s—it’s true that he accepted bribes but I—I think he learned from it.

85 B: Yes, if he learned from that break, he can be a good candidate for this thing but er if he actually doesn’t really learn from this of he’s guilty that he accepted bribes er it can be really er dangerous in his job because er bribes for – bribery for lawyers at the court people at court er is not really good thing ...

90 K: Erm How could you influence a lawyer with bribes. I don’t understand.

B: Maybe ... I ...

K: Because if he wants to be a lawyer then there’s no point in giving him bribes because ...

B: Yes maybe you are right.

95 K: So who’s the winner?

B: So the winner er ... so Albert Smith is not really. Basil Katz not. Carole Anderson [K: Carole Anderson absolutely not] absolutely not. Daphne maybe. Maybe we should choose between Daphne Braun and Edward Mbaka [K: Yes] but I would say that Edward Mbaka is the best person [K: Yeh I agree] so we agreed that Edward Mbaka is the winner.

100

K: OK.

Data file 15: Tomi (T) and Judit (J) (Time: 9:27)

- T: Then who's your choice?
- J: I don't know. I'm thinking about the first person. Mm of course he's already well not too young but I think that you know he's hard-working and er and being a taxi driver it's you know he...
- 5 T: But-but his but his wife pushes him to-to go and get a law [loʊ] degree and that's (exhales through nose)....
- J: Yeh OK.
- T: Well I think he-he shouldn't get-get the [ði:] scholarship.
- J: Well then that's not the ambition, right?
- 10 T: He he-he seems ha-ha-happy to me working as a (both laugh) taxi driver.
- J: Maybe I just chose him because I'm-I'm a girl you know and I'm just (feigning melodrama) my heart melts when I read something like this but yeh... Well the second person is very you know I-I don't like him
- 15 at all.
- T: He's-he's a bad boy but-but he-he-he's also successful at school e-even though he's not learning and studying enough. [J: Ah yeh] But eventually he gets some good grades.
- J: Yeh and probably well he's aggressive in his job. That could be good,
- 20 especially when he studies law [loʊ]. So yeh I got the point.
- T: But er running a pop group is-is more fun than sitting in court [J: Yeh] and being in and be-being a judge (both laugh). I think playing a guitar or drumming is much more fun and It-it-it would be better for him. I don't know.
- 25 J: OK so for me the first one is absolutely a no because...
- T: (emphatically) Why?
- J: Well because
- T: I don't want her to be to be married to-to-to this doctor because
- J: Neither do I but you know she's pliable and is already engaged
- 30 T: But pliable. You-you can ply something into-into good, into a good thing.
- J: OK I see but you know she-she wants to marry this guy then he he ...
- T: But the guy is a complete psychopath
- J: Yes that's what I'm saying. That's why she shouldn't be a ... Oh I
- 35 don't know God
- T: He-he-he w-well she shouldn't marry the [ði:] doctor he will-he will k-keep her I don't know what her name Carol in a cage to raise children, cook and. He sh-sh-she shouldn't be treated this way.

- 40 J: Well that's the point, but if she gets the scholarship then maybe she still would marry that guy and then she wouldn't work as a lawyer or a judge or whatever and so it would just be wasted.
- T: (insistent) But I don't want her to marry the doctor. I want her to be an independent woman working ...
- 45 J: That's the point. That's what I say as well but if she's you know in this situation I don't know OK let's move on (laughs)
- T: Third person?
- J: (sighs) Erm well you know I think she would be perfect if there wasn't this whole thing about the marijuana [-ihi:uæna] and you know this whole breakdown ... because probably it means there's--there's an awful lot of pressure on her and ... you know this the whole law thing I mean being a lawyer can be really hard to deal with I mean mentally. [T: I see] And..
- 50 T: Well that--that--that's a con about speaking with pr--pr--pros and cons but the [ði:] m--most importantly the--the--the [ði:] c--con for me is--is that she's--that she's the daughter and granddaughter of lawyers so--so they--they can pay for the--the [ði:] education and--and they don't...
- J: But the text says that they cannot ... finance her studies. I well I don't-- [T: Oh!] I don't understand this either, but I mean ...
- T: Oh I--I see--ee, but ...
- 60 J: Yeh, but...
- T: Well, at least she has a chance to be a successful drug dealer or ... [J laughs] or--or a--a butt--butthead, but--but why--why her parents cannot finance her studies?
- J: Probably they--they had a ...
- 65 T: ...then--then--then her grand--grand--grandparents will so...
- J: Maybe they are already dead or I don't know. OK.
- T: D. Edward Mbaka. I'm all but OK with that guy. He's--he's creepy.
- J: But you know because he accep-~~ted~~ the--the bribes [-bs], that's the point and
- 70 T: Yeh yeh yeh and--and--and he--he's been in the army and--and he--he fought so--so--so seeing active service (clears throat) but he's motivated and--and like he's a good speaker [J: Yes but] can give political speeches right that--that's a good professional touch for his personality
- 75 J: Yes but if he wants to be a politician or a judge while he talks about politics he [T: He shouldn't accept] Yeh.
- T: I--I think he--he will he will end up be--being the dictator of--of Congo or--or I don't know [J laughs] where does he come from (laughs)

- 80 J: OK so who is the most likely [T: He will have a nice child army and ... well] to get (laughs). OK so the point well actually you kind of when you were talking about Carole Anderson I
- T: I-I-I prefer-prefer Carole but-but also Basil ... I don't know
- J: Yeh they are both
- T: I stick with Carole.
- 85 J: Carole you think ohh it's hard
- T: No no Daphne or Carole Daphne or Carole Oh Basil can go play the guitar [J laughs]
- J: Well I wouldn't-I wouldn't choose Daphne because of her breakdown I mean if she hasn't got a so probably on everyday basis she's got a very strong personality but things just come and come and come and finally she will have a breakdown again I think and it will ruin her all her all life so
- 90 T: Mm-hm then-then Carole should get the [ði:] scholarship
- J: Maybe and maybe that would be the point
- 95 T: But that-that-that's a rather moral question (laughing) to-to-to discuss because
- J: Yeh I'm just thinking about being pliable if whether it she you know she is quiet I mean being a quiet person is not always good in this whole ... law business.
- 100 T: Yeh but all in all she should get-get the scholarship. He-he's He's? Sorry. She's the most sympathetic [*sic!*] candidate for me.
- J: (talking over him) Yeh well she is, but I kind of want to give her the scholarship because I feel sorry for her because I don't want to be a typical you know housewife because yeh ...
- 105 T: OK ... so-so-so Carole.
- J: All right Carole.

Data file 16: Tamara (T) and Zsiga (Z) (Time: 5:13)

- Z: So we should talk about every–every one of them. So we should start with Lady Searle (says the name with emphasis as if making an effort to get the pronunciation right).
- 5 T: (very long pause) I don't think she n–needs the money. ... Er she lives in a small village. She has her own house. ... OK he needs a nurse but maybe the family can help her.
- Z: But she had a quarrel ['kwærəl] with the lord. ... So I guess he's not gonna give her the money.
- 10 T: ... OK, forget about Lady Searle (laughs).
- Z: I think Miss Langeland [-lænd] should get the money. ... There is nothing against, except that she's not a relative. ... But I don't know.
- T: She–she took care about the Lord. ... But ... she was well-paid. ... OK, what about Tim Brodie ['brɒdi] ... gardener?
- 15 Z: Yeh, but he's not very honest. [T: (laughing) OK] At–at least he has a–a grant to study abroad.
- T: He–he has a job, so erm ... maybe he's responsible. OK, let's see Jane Smith. (laughing)
- Z: I think she's lying cause she–she ... she doesn't talk about her past life. I think she just found that letter somewhere. I don't know.
- 20 T: ... OK, so she–she has a baby and er they are alone. No–no father. ... I think er she needs the money. But is it to–to–to have a child alone?
- Z: Yeh maybe she's divorced. I think she's lying. (both laugh)
- T: OK, what about him? ... OK, what about giving the money for the local ... [Z: orphanage]?
- 25 Z: I don't know.
- T: ... I mean they need money.
- Z: It's true but officials can take most of the money. ... Er I don't know.
- T: What about erm giving them some presents, not the money but something what they need from that money? Is it possible?
- 30 Z: I–I don't know. He's dead–that–that lord is dead, so we can't do anything about that. ... No, I think Jane Smith should get it, I–I guess, ... unless she's lying (both laugh).
- T: All right. Then give the money to Jane Smith.
- Z: (inaudible)
- 35 T: She's a terrible old lady. ... She got a lot of money. ... This boy who doesn't care about anything (both laugh) just himself. Erm ... The orphans can get only a little money. She's the only one who can take the whole ...
- Z: Yeh OK.

- 40 T: All right.
Z: It's been five minutes. We will finish.

Data file 17: Rita (R) and Ági (Á) (Time: 1:34)

R: OK in my opinion er who will get the money is erm Jane Smith because er she's a young unmarried woman with a small baby and I guess she has the more chance to get the money

5 Á: I see your point, but I think that er Tim Brodie er is er--will be the best choice (laughs) because er he has no money and er he wants to study abroad so er I think that it's er more important

10 R: But er it seems that Jane Smith already got a letter from er--from this guy and er in it admitting paternity ['pætər-] and proposing marriage ... so maybe if he had already plans with her and er maybe with time with her (inaudible) (both laugh)

 Á: Maybe. I completely agree. (laughing)... OK I think that sums up all the points.

R: OK so Jane Smith will get it.

 Á: Yes.

Data file 18: Marcsi (M), Dorina (D) and Lili (L) (Time: 4:56)

- L: So I think that Miss Langland, the nurse, er should er get the money. She should inherit the fortune of er Mr Lord Moulton. Although she's er not a relative [ri:-] of er mm Lord Moulton, but er she er has shown mm the most tolerancy [*sic!*] and er affection towards this old man
5 while the others er didn't–hasn't–haven't really cared for him in the past few years.
- D: ...Mm OK but er I think er Lord Moulton er would give the money er for er Tim Brodie because er he financed er him the univers- the school and er I think er that ... *jó mindegy, nyomhatod.*
- 10 M: Yeh maybe he's young and that's why he has–yeh that's why he has a lot of girlfriends and later he will be much more better, whatever.
- L: And what do you think?
- M: I think ... OK it's a point that she's just appeared now, Jane Smith, er she has a baby and what if it's true that this is the father how–how will
15 ...?
- D: I don't think it's right. I think er that if the (inaudible) tries to get so much money
- M: OK but how do you know? You don't know the person.
- D: But he said one word that 'claiming'.
- 20 L: Yeh but even if she is er–she's the daughter, she
- D: (interrupting) But she has no references and er [L: She has no references and...] 'she refuses' er 'to give any details' so er...
(Talking over each other)
- L: Yeh
- 25 M: OK but they can
- D: It's not so clear
(Talking over each other)
- L: And even if there is genetical evidence. I don't er think that er she would er er have right to claim–to claim the money because she has
30 never had–she didn't ever have–didn't ever have any connections with Lord Moulton.
(Talking over each other.)
- D: But er how come she didn't have any connection?
- L: They had a great family but they knew him. This er woman doesn't
35 even know him. She didn't call him, she didn't care for him when he was dying.
- M: OK because she didn't know about that
- L: Oh I don't think
(Talking over each other)

- 40 D: If she just appeared after that lord died
 L: Yes she appeared after the death so—so I think that—that er she doesn't—
 doesn't have the right to claim the money because it's not blood that
 counts but—but er how you care for a person that really counts in life.
 D: If she could prove that er she's the daughter then I say it's OK but er
- 45 L: Ah I wouldn't say it's OK. So I—I can't agree with you. I think that
 there's no
 D: I think that
 (Talking over each other.)
 M: OK who is that we ... agree on to close up?
- 50 L: OK let's—let's make an official
 (inaudible)
 M: The last one?
 L: OK.
 M: The last one?
- 55 (Talking over each other.)
 L: The local orphanage. What do you think?
 D: I think they can rob the money.
 L: Yeh it's risky so
 D: OK then what do you think?
- 60 (inaudible)
 L: Yes, I—I agree with you.
 M: Maybe she was just a nurse because to get the money and she wanted
 to stay close.
 L: Maybe.
- 65 D: No, I think er she worked well ... because Lord Moulton paid for her
 ...
 M: *Nem mentette el?*
 L: *De, elmentette.*
 D: *Honnan tudjam?*
- 70 (Further conversation in Hungarian about the recording.)
 L: It's recording, it's recording. OK. So it's OK. Maybe we should make
 a decision. I don't know how long it will last.
 M: It seems that he's not OK because er
- 75 L: OK so we should choose er between Miss Langland and Jane Smith.
 ... Which one to choose?
 M: I vote for Jane.
 D: I vote for Miss Langland.
 L: OK then it's over.

Data file 19: Janka (J) and Angi (A) (Time: 4:51)

- 5 J: OK so my choice would be Lady Searle [si:rl] or how it's pronounced because I think it's always a good idea if a relative receives the ... funds of ... of the person who died no – not no matter how relationship they had. It's—it's very important they do have a good relationship but probably they did before only a quarrel ['kwærəl] er drifted them apart, I guess. So I think he–she would be the best choice.
- 10 A: Mm mm yes but er I think the quarrel ['kærəl] is important because erm they haven't spoken to each other for years, so [J: Yes] and–and she–she lives er comfortable so maybe she doesn't need the money so bad.
- 15 J: But so well I think she does need the money because she is recently ill and she would real- and you know the phar- not pharmacy, the pills cost a lot of money and if she needs er to take care I mean if she needs someone to take care of her I think she deserves it. And look at the age. She is 66 years old, probably they only haven't spoken for three or four years but before they have a long established relationship for 62 years probably or 60 and that's way enough I think. And old people tend to have arguments about idiot stuff so (they laugh) I think it can be forgiven – it can be forgiven or whatsoever.
- 20 A: Yes but er the text says that she has got an [sic!] immediate family so if she dies (laughs) then er Lord Moulton's money er would ... be ... the state's money so I don't know exactly the law [lɒʃ] but
- 25 J: Well if she writes a will it won't be, so we just have to give the money to these five people and after we give it to one of them they will probably write a will and decide what they will do with it or maybe Lady Searle [si:rl] will I don't know go er worl- around the world for (laughs) like a year or two travelling and maybe the whole money will be gone who knows.
- 30 A: OK (they laugh) [J: You agree] OK but–but my choice would be still the local orphanage [ei:dʒ] because erm erm although it is probably erm mm go–goes erm 'into the pockets of officials', but it's er not sure and I think erm if we donate the money or give the money to them then erm we could help not only one person but erm [J: Mm hm] several children and erm the text says that erm Lord Moulton has had
- 35 (scanning the text) well I don't know donated them [J: Yeh] occasionally so.
- J: Yeh but what's is actually bothering me that it says that a lot of 'money might find its way into the pockets of officials' so I don't think that's a good deed very much. So I don't like to give money to the

- 40 state and for other people only to – I don't know, it's kind of stealing,
right? I don't know, you know. If I give the money to a charity I
expect them to ... erm *ráfordít* (with question intonation) so I really
expect them to handle the money as I chose and spend it on the
orphans so I don't know so I wouldn't really give it to this kind of
45 charity where I know they don't run the funds very well. I don't know.
None of them are good probably, but I think the best competitor
[kəm'pi:tər] is Lady Searle [si:rl].
- A: Erm OK.
J: You agree?
- 50 A: Yeh (laughs)
J: Great.

Data file 20: Csanád (C), Ildi (I) and Petra (P) (Time: 4:28)

- I: Let's start.
P: Let's start.
C: Task 1.
I: So we both we're—will talk about Daphne Braun. I mean the girls. And
5 [Csanád] will defend Albert Smith.
P: Mm hm
C: Yeh
P: So we agreed that Daphne Braun should get the scholarship, er but I
believe we have different reasons for this argument.
10 I: Yes?
P: (laughs) My reason for this that even though she has some flaws
[flɒʊz] in her character I believe that erm because she's generous and a
good friend erm she will learn to be a better person, not so quick-
tempered and aggressive and because she is enthusiastic about
15 woman's right—women's right erm she can make a fine lawyer for erm
under- I—I don't know, to—tormented women.
I: Yes and I don't think that er being in possession [pos-] of marijuana
[,mærihiu'wɑ:nə] is a big deal at the age of er 21 because er he's
young and er it's not a big deal and I'm sure that er she erm will erm
20 get I don't know (laughs)
P: get over her [I: Yes] addiction if she has any
I: Yes. So [Csanád] what are you thinking?
C: I would give it to Albert Smith because [I: *Hangosabban.*] (now
louder) I would give it to Albert Smith because er he has a big family I
25 mean he's married, he has three children, and if he ... would be a good
lawyer I mean if he could complete the school he would have a much
better paid job and could fine his family better.
I: But he doesn't have er 'outstanding natural ability'.
C: But he's hard-working so he would catch up with the others with er.
30 P: Yes, but I think er he's too old so I mean [C: It's not a problem] he's
not got *vagy* [C: he hasn't got, yeh] he hasn't got er the ... *lelkesedés*
(with question intonation)
C and I: enthusiasm?
P: Yes (laughing) – [C: Well] for learning.
35 C: Yes, I don't know but if he would be able to complete it I think most
people are—trust er aged [eidʒd] lawyers better than young lawyers I
mean by their looks
P: Yes but er law school will take a lot of time. By the time he has
finished law school he's well over forty and to—and then he would

- 40 have to start a—some kind of a erm—I don't know—some kind of tuition work or something for free to get practice so by the time he's basically ready to establish his very own career ['kæri:r] he's over 45 and er he would need er money to set up a law firm or something
- I: And what about his family? Who will earn the money?
- 45 P: Yes because he will not bring back any more income as a taxi driver.
C: Well if he's clever enough he can do it both.
I: Both ah (laughing)
P: Well [C: I mean in part-time] I believe that is almost quite impossible because law [lɔv] school is extremely demanding [C: That's for sure] and I don't—I don't see it possible to do
- 50 I: Yes and Daphne is single so [P: Yeh] she has time and she's ambitious
P: Plus [C: She has marihuana [ˌmærihi'wɑ:nə] (laughing)] being a lawyer runs in her—her family [I: Yes] [C: (laughs)]. They can help her and maybe—maybe her records are erratic but it doesn't mean anything.
- 55 She has very good results and—and if she's interested in law school then I'm sure that she will perform er magni—magnific
I: magnificently [mæg'nifikntli:]
C: Well yeh OK then you convinced me.
I: All right.
- 60 P: OK. Thank you.
I: Thank you.
C: Bye.

Data file 21: Vivien (V) and Csilla (C) (Time: 2:36)

- V: (slowly, deliberately) I think Lady Searle should inherit or get money 'cause she's erm old and erm ill and erm she should enjoy her ... years left 'in erm comfortable erm circumstances'.
- 5 C: That is my opinion er Miss Langland should inherit the money because er she spent almost all time er with er this man. Erm er it's true that er erm he—she was a well-paid job but I think it's nothing.
- V: But erm she she gave up to get er another mm well-paid job in the future so what about this?
- C: I think that...
- 10 V: She's just 48 year old and erm but then potential to get another well-paid job.
- C: er but I think that only this...
- V: Lady Searle?
- 15 C: Searle. Erm erm that commercial that er she erm has been on speaking terms with Lord Moulton for years so I don't think it would be a good idea.
- V: Erm it's true but er she's ill and er enough and she's tired enough to er live longer and it's more important than just having a quarrel and erm not erm keep contact with Lord Moulton.
- 20 C: I think erm they should share the money.
- V: laughs. OK, then they will share the money.

Data file 22: Dávid (D) and Krisztina (K) (Time: 3:36)

- D: My choice was—is Daphne Braun because er he’s the daughter of two—daughter of lawyers, er enthusiastic [entu:-], he has good—she has good results erm yeh
- 5 K: Mm my choice is Albert Smith I think that he’s the most responsible’s the best er for the scholarship because er he’s a very hard-working man married with er—and has three children and er he didn’t have er time to fulfil [fu:l-] his dream and now he—he wants to attend the university and er make a better future er for er himself and er his family.
- 10 D: Yeh but Albert doesn’t have the ability, the natural ability to be a lawyer so he won’t make a good candidate so that’s I think he’s out of the question.
- K: But what he has to do is sit down and learn and er everything can be learned just er he has to be diligent.
- 15 D: Yeh but just imagine it if you are standing in front of like one-hundred people and you have to defend your—your erm er [K: yourself ... opinion... not] yeh your opinion then he’s going to stand there and say nothing because he don’t have the abilities. That’s—that’s all.
- K: Erm yes OK let’s see Daphne Braun. What’s the advantages of ... her?
- 20 D: Well, he’s ambitious, he has the natural skills because her parents are lawyers.
- K: Yes it is very good because she er was surrounded by lawyers from her childhood and er she could er learn much from them
- D: Yeh he er she grew up in that environment so it’s easier to adapt in a law situation.
- 25 K: And not only erm does her members of family are lawyers but er she’s also ambitious and career-minded so she wants to have a good life (laughs) [D: (laughing) Yeh]
- D: And I’m not—and I didn’t choose her because he’s not from the working class or the worker class but because of her skills
- 30 K: Yes. Unfortunately she had a mental breakdown last year and she was in hospital for three months but er she appeared ‘to have made a complete recovery’.
- D: Yeh so that’s not really a disadvantage (laughing). ... That a disadvantage could be that she was accused of being in possession of marihuana [,mærihiuˈwɑ:nə] but I think everybody (laughing) tried it once in his life [K: makes mistakes] so. Yeh it’s not a really big mistake.
- 35 K: And she learned a lot from these mistakes and

- 40 D: (laughing) Yeh she did
K: And I think—we think she deserves this scholarship.
D: Yay.

Data file 23: Adri (A) and Kati (K) (Time: 4:24)

- A: So er I think er Miss er Langland er killed Lord Moulton because erm he worked as a nurse for years and er he had been work- and erm ... I think it's very boring and she wanted to er get a little money
- 5 K: Erm I disagree because I think er Tim Brodie er killed him maybe because er he has no money and er he wants to er go abroad and study there er so maybe he just wanted er him money to aim ... his goals.
- A: Er but er Lord Moulton helped him so he paid for his education and er
- K: But it maybe wasn't enough for him
- 10 A: Well [K laughs] maybe it's true but er Jane Smith ... may ... have ... killed him because er er he could be the—the er er daughter of er Lord Moulton so ... and—and er he *vagy* she didn't have—she didn't have any money so
- K: But er it could be that Tim Brodie f—feeled ashamed because er er he hasn't got enough money although he's er very popular er he's a very
- 15 'popular young man' and er maybe er his friends er ... don't want to er accept [A' sept] him because he's poor (they laugh) and then in order to get the money er he just killed ... him
- A: Mm but Jane Smith er didn't know that he has money—that she has money er just er read a letter er that was written by Lord Moulton and
- 20 er it er said that er *vagy* er yes it said that er it could be her father so well she could have money. And er she's alone and unmarried and has a little baby so maybe he *vagy* she killed him. But maybe you have right.
- K: (laughing) Er I think maybe Tim Brodie er so he was er not very
- 25 honest [hɒnst] so maybe he—he could do this ... deliberate murder.
- A: Yes yes ... and
- K: Because I think er his family was also [A: And maybe he] er poor because his f—father was a gardener so
- A: And he wanted er and he may ... have ... wanted to become er more er
- 30 popular and the money er could help him.
- K: So we think Tim Brodie killed him
- A: Yes yes
- K: I agree.

Data file 24: Orsi (O) and Zsóka (Z) (Time: 3:20)

- O: OK so from my point of view the only one person who could get the scholarship er would be Carole Anderson, a twenty-year-old girl, a quiet, at-attractive girl. She's really responsible er and to tell the truth her parents cannot afford to er to finance ['fi:nans] the course for her
5 so that's why it is a hot issue to get the scholarship. Mm well er it's good to know that er she's engaged to be married to a doctor and she would like to finish her university studies before settling down. What do you think?
- Z: Well I think you are right. But I think that er the person who should get the scholarship should be Daphne Braun [O: Why do you think?] aged
10 21. Because er she's the daughter and granddaughter of lawyers so she already has er er big er push in his life because er maybe her parents want her to be a lawyer and er she quite did well in university well she did—she did a mediocre [,mi:di'ɔ:kri:] job but er she finished it and er
15 had a mental breakdown last year and er was called to possess [pos-] marijuana [mari: hiu ana] and maybe this scholarship could be the only way to—to get out of—of this breakdown she's in.
- O: OK I see your point but er I don't prefer this kind of people for instance who are erratic and yeh he has got some good results but not
20 the best person I think [Z: Yes but she also] could be aggressive [Z: Yeh but] quick-tempered oh no
- Z: If you consider being a lawyer it—it comes with aggression sometimes and also her parents doesn't have the money—don't have the money to—to support her in this way and maybe this aggression in her and this
25 quick-tempered characteris- character can be er ... can be the one ... to get the
- O: OK I see but er maybe after some changes she could get the scholarship but this is not his time I think
- Z: All right then maybe if there's another chance then [O: Carole Anderson?] she should be the one
30
- O: Now Carole Anderson well she's perfect for the job that's right.
- Z: OK OK I think we can go along with that. Carole Anderson's the best person for that scholarship.
- O: All right.
- 35 Z: Let it be Carole Anderson.
- O: OK. Thank you very much.

Data file 25: Máté (M) and Dani (D) (Time: 5:23)

- M: I think that these candidates ['kændi:keits] have many er things because er many things so they don't really er (whispering) *megérdemel–megérdemel* [D: deserve] deserve this money yeh
- 5 D: Well I agree you—I agree with this because obviously they all have some flaws as we can see but unfortunately one of them will get this money so we have to make a decision have to come to an agreement somehow. [M: Ah] So who do you think should really not get the money?
- 10 M: Ah first of all, I think Miss Langland because I mean he treated [D: she] er she treated Lord Moulton in his last years but er ... and it is written that he's well paid so [D: she] she (both laugh) she's well paid so I don't think that she would deserve more money because it was his duty to it was his job
- 15 D: Well I agree you with this—I agree with this and as you said she's well paid and she has already everything and don't need the money to maybe corrupt—this money may could corrupt her
- M: Yes he would er give up his job [D: she] her—she *basszus*
- 20 D: (laughing) Don't be nervous so and I think we both agree with that Tim Brodie doesn't deserve it because well in my opinion he acts like a playboy.
- M: Yes he could with his—with this money he could go abroad to study but I don't think that he er would er use this money for his studies but other than he would use it rather for er getting girls and things and buying motorbikes.
- 25 D: And what do you think about this orphanage?
- M: It is written that the officials would er steal the—steal a large amount of the money so
- D: If not all of it.
- M: Yes so we should need er people who check this situation
- 30 D: Yes but once the money is given to them maybe they'll just well I don't know and if they know an in- an inspe–inspection is coming then they might just [M: imitate] yes imitate, have a poker face or kind of like that and then we would be really careless. ... OK so what about Lady Searle or what's her name.
- 35 M: I think that er he's the only relative of Mr Lord Moulton so with er she could get the money by right [D: Of course] even if—even if they were in a quarrel but he's old and sick so it's an—it's a ... disadvantage [-vein-] of it.

- 40 D: Yes but if a family has quarrels then it's obvious then the dead person who just died, naturally, wouldn't want that money to end up in a—with a person who he or she in this case he hasn't spoken to for many years. I don't think it's the most proper thing to do.
- M: Erm let's see our last candidate ['kændi:keit], Jane Smith. [D: (whispering) *Ez* 'candidate' ['kændideit] *egyébként.*] (repeating it)
- 45 'candidate' ['kændideit].
- D: Well she ... That's a good question. What do you think?
- M: Er I think that there is some mischief [-tʃi:f] in it because no one can ... really ... prove that he's—that she's his er daughter I mean the baby.
- 50 D: Blood test. [M: Mm?] There's blood test that can prove that.
- M: But how can you get from a dead man?
- D: Well if he hasn't been dead for too long it could be useful I guess.
- M: Yes.
- D: Well if I have to make a decision I'd say then Jane Smith maybe.
- M: Yes er with er—with evidence she can get the money
- 55 D: OK
- M: We can—we can find out if she is or not
- D: OK so agreed then
- M: Yes we agreed that Jane Smith should get the money.
- D: OK thanks.

Data file 26: Fanni (F) and Réka (R) (Time: 5:41)

- F: So what do you think about this er circumstance? Who is the best member or some person who ... will be a good hmm (whispering) *hogy van az, hogy hogy ő aki tudod ... mindegy?*
- 5 R: I think the best character in this story mm is er Tim Brodie in my opinion.
- F: Tim Brodie who 'dr--drives a motorbike' and has a lot of girlfriend? [R: Yes] He's too easy-going, he's a too ... easy-going person I think.
- R: Yes, but er he--he wants to achieve something he has er aims [F: Yes] and er he er he would like to learn a road which is and I think he's ambitious [F: Yeh] so it's positive in him [F: Yeh] I think
- 10 F: Yeh I agree with you and I think that er Jane Smith is she's er a woman who er wants to get a hold of this money and but maybe she's totally un- [un-] unrelated to this former Lord Moulton. What do you think about her? Jane Smith. She's a [R: I think] con-girl or a con-
- 15 man?
- R: she's a fake--a fake daughter of--of him I--I don't think he--he would er have a daughter [F: Yeh] so I think that she ... just er wants to be rich because as we read she's unmarried but she has a child [F: Yea a baby] she has no money so she [F: she wants to get] needs some money to
- 20 erm earn ... a living for mm her and her child [F: Yeh] so I think she's not real.
- F: Yeh yeh I agree with you. Mm Miss Langland, she *hát* she had er helped er the Lord Moulton.
- R: Yes so I--I think she's a positive character in the story because er er it
- 25 is written er that she is very good at her work. So I think the she er she er would have helped a lot to Lord Moulton I think.
- F: Yeh and maybe she loved him to some extent so not in love with him but like him to some extent. [R: Mm yes] So I think we should er cut this erm money into pieces *szétosztani* ... I think
- 30 R: Mm yes yes maybe
- F: Because the local orphanage can be very ... would be very happy to ... get some donation--receive some donations so but also Tim Brodie somehow some [R: could learn abroad] yeh yeh ... so
- R: And what about Lady Searle? We haven't talked about her yet.
- 35 F: Also yeh she ... I didn't mm ... I don't think she ... I don't want to give her this money I think ... [R: Yes] I wouldn't choose her
- R: I think yeh she's not a very ... positive person [F: Yeh she quarrels a lot] I think she can't be

- 40 F: Yeh and she—she wasn't 'on speaking terms with Lord Moulton for years' so
- R: So maybe she has done something wrong [F: Yeh] for him. I think ... and er what about Jane Smith? I think she does not deserve this money [F: Yeh] at all but her baby maybe I would give er part of the money
- 45 F: Yeh but not all of the money. Yes so Miss Langland and Tim Brodie and the local orphanage would be the best choices [R: to give the money ... for] Yeh yeh and that's all [R: OK] The end!

Data file 27: Alexandra (A) and Zalán (Z) (Time: 2:46)

- A: In my opinion, Jane Smith mm should get the money because maybe she's er his daughter and er she needs the money to raise her baby and it's er not her fault that she didn't know his father.
- 5 Z: I don't think she speaks the truth because she has only recently appeared on the scene and er maybe she's not really her daughter. I think Miss Langland should be more capable.
- A: OK but er Miss Langland er has money because she worked hard and she has money but that girl she's poor.
- 10 Z: But Miss Langland is the only one er who
- A: OK but think of the baby
- Z: I think Jane Smith has just only wants the money er and now
- A: OK but she really needs the money because otherwise the child will die or I don't know
- 15 Z: Yes she—she really needs the money but Miss Langland was always there for Lord Moulton.
- A: OK but she's old and she—she has money
- Z: Miss Langland's not old. She's just 48 years old.
- A: That's old. (laughs) OK but it ... I don't think that she deserves the money.
- 20 Z: Jane Smith can—might also deserve the money but I think she doesn't speak the truth. ... She has 'no references'. That's what this says. And maybe she's not really his daughter.
- A: But—but maybe. ... I don't know.
- 25 Z: I think she should er—Jane Smith should prove—prove that she's really his daughter.
- A: OK but Miss Langland wants the money to go on holiday. ... Why is she better than Jane Smith?
- Z: She was always loyal (laughs) to Lord Moulton.
- 30 A: OK but she needs the money for a holiday, but Jane Smith needs the money to—to raise or to bring up her child (laughs).
- Z: Well, it seems that you are right.
- A: Thank you.
- Z: Maybe Jane Smith is really his daughter but ... yeh it's OK.
- A: I win.
- 35 Z: Yes you won ... this time.

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