

**The Role of Accent in the Use of EFL: Special Focus on a Group
of University Educators**

AID 116

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1 INTRODUCTION

As a result of its “enormous functional flexibility” (House, 2002: 243 cited in Majanen, 2008: 1), English now represents a true international language, bringing about a huge expansion in the number of speakers. In fact, the majority of English speakers today are non-native speakers, who, in the linguistic sense, brought about a large number of English varieties besides what we call the standard. This diversity primarily manifests itself in the different accents English is now spoken around the world (Majanen, 2008: 1). For a long time, English has not been a language that only carries the cultural elements of a relatively small group of native speakers, but one that has been a mutual means of communication for billions of people with vastly different cultural backgrounds. According to the most widespread practices in ELT (English language teaching), the ultimate goal or ideal for a language learner is usually to attain an accent of a native speaker, rendering foreign accents as something to retain (Majanen, 2008: 1).

Due to the dual nature of the perception of accent in ELT and as a result, in pronunciation teaching, and furthermore, owing to the fact that the study of pronunciation has been marginalised within the field of applied linguistics, teachers are often left to rely on their own intuitions with little direction (Derwing and Munro, 2005). Studies of this kind could help in highlighting aspects of the role accent plays in ELT that could have implications for further studies in bettering pronunciation teaching and as a result, ELT in its entirety.

By focusing on a very specific group of EFL (English as a foreign language) speakers, this study is set to find out how accent in a foreign language and identity is linked through introducing the perceptions, attitudes and views of highly proficient EFL communicators, true multilinguals (i.e. efficient speakers of two or more languages), who use English in several vastly different situational settings. The study involves seven university educators teaching at the English department of a Hungarian higher educational institute. It reviews the participants’ language acquisition process, taking into account factors that have – consciously or unconsciously – influenced the way how they speak English today and seeks to find links between accent and identity, reflecting the dynamic nature of both, looking for evidence that just as identity, accent is also continuously and often consciously negotiated based on what communicational setting we are in and whom we are speaking to.

1.1 A bevezetés magyar nyelvű összefoglalója

Az angol hosszú évtizedek óta már nem az a nyelv, amely csupán egy viszonylag szűk csoport kulturális alkotóelemeit hordozza magában, hanem emberek milliárdjai számára jelenti a közös kommunikáció eszközét. Az angol idegen nyelvként való oktatása során a kiejtés tanítása egy marginalizálódott terület az alkalmazott nyelvészetben belül, melynek eredménye, hogy az útmutatás hiányából kifolyólag a tanárok gyakran csak a saját megérzéseikre tudnak hagyatkozni (Derwing és Munro, 2005).

Egy kis csoport angolt idegen nyelvként beszélő és a felsőoktatásban angol szakon tanító egyetemi oktató példáján keresztül jelen kutatásban célom bemutatni az akcentus és az identitás közötti kapcsolatot. A résztvevők meglátásai, illetve példái értékes implikációkkal szolgálhatnak a nyelvtanítás, illetve az angol idegen nyelvként való tanításának további javításához.

A kutatás válasz Majanen (2008) kutatásának felhívására, mely szerint több kutatásra lenne szükség, amely az angolt idegen nyelvként oktató tanárok saját angol akcentusukkal kapcsolatos meglátásait és hozzáállását vizsgálja.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Defining Accent

The primary aspect of this research paper tying together the different relevant concepts is *accent*. Accent plays a significant role in language output as it is perceivable in all oral communication, thus, being an important characteristic feature of our use of language.

One definition for accent has been provided by Lippi-Green, describing it as a “loose bundle of prosodic and segmental features distributed over geographic and/or social space” (1998: 42 cited in Majanen, 2008: 24). Its segmental features include the phonological structure of vowels and consonants, in other words, pronunciation, while prosodic features are intonation, pitch, stress and tempo (ibid.). In terms of non-native speakers, accent is used to refer to the breakthrough of the phonology of the native language into the target language (Lippi-Green, 1998: 43 cited in Majanen, 2008: 24). Derwing (2003) states that foreign accents are a normal consequence of second language learning, and the phenomenon that we call a foreign accent is a complex aspect of language that affects speakers and listeners in both perception and production.

The way we speak describes us in a wide variety of ways. It is a tell-tale sign of who we are: where we are from, where we live, the social status we hold or even the one we want to possess. In case of a foreign language, this is all very similar. Besides indicating to what extent we have managed to acquire the language, it has many conscious and unconscious underlying aspects that tell those listening to us about our attitude in language learning, our attitude toward the culture of the so-called native community, that is, how our identity is affected by the language and everything else carried with it. Many scholars have confirmed that language use is a form of self representation that is deeply connected to one’s social identities and values (Miller, 2003; see Widdowson, 1994). Accent, in itself, is a significant factor in the formation of our linguistic identities (Majanen, 2008). As Lippi-Green (1998) points out, choosing to use a certain accent functions as a powerful social act (Majanen, 2008: 68).

2.2 Environmental Factors in Language Acquisition

In order to provide a more comprehensive background for this research, there are certain factors that should be taken into consideration regarding what affect EFL learning, especially in connection with accent. Two well-researched areas in this field are concerned

with the factors of age when language learning began and the length of residence in a native environment, where the target language is an L1.

2.2.1 Age and Length of Residence

In regards to age, the most well-known concept is the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH), first proposed by Penfield and Roberts and popularised by Lenneberg in the 1960s (Lenneberg, 1967). Lenneberg (1967) connected the success of language acquisition with the plasticity of the brain, suggesting that if language acquisition does not start before puberty and full mastery of the language cannot be achieved as the end of the sensitive period is creating a barrier for accent-free language acquisition (Lenneberg, 1967). Most researchers generally agree that the majority of adults who learn a second language will speak with an accent (Flege, 1980; Scovel, 1988; Moyer, 1999; Long, 1990 etc.). It is evident that the Critical Period plays a significant role in language acquisition. However, its effect on numerous aspects, such as grammar and syntax and even pronunciation, has been challenged. Purcell and Suter (1980) demonstrated that native language, aptitude for oral mimicry, length of residence, and strength of concern for pronunciation accuracy all play significant roles in one's ultimate attainment in acquiring the phonology of a second language.

The other important aspect of language acquisition in the case of the studied group of this research is the length of residence in a native-speaking environment. Studies, such as by Yamanaka (2003), concerned with the effects of the length of residence found that with continued practice and exposure to appropriate models, proficiency in speaking an accent-free foreign language might continue to grow.

2.3 Targets in EFL Learning

In the following section, I will present the most popular and well-researched areas in connection with pronunciation teaching in general and in the case of EFL and ELF (English as a lingua franca).

2.3.1 Nativeness Paradigm

Before the 1960s, the prevailing paradigm of pronunciation teaching was that learners of a foreign language should strive to achieve native-like pronunciation (Bian, 2009). It

contained the idea that learners of a language must use the native speaker as a yardstick for intelligibility (ibid.). This, however, meant that studying the language involved more than just the language itself: as Widdowson describes it, “standard English, then, is not simply a means of communication but the symbolic possession of a particular community, expressive of its identity, its conventions, and values” (1994: 381 cited in Majanen, 2008: 11). This concept however, poses many difficulties and a number of important issues for the learners: by setting a target group that constitutes an “educated minority”, this minority is represented as the gatekeepers for the non-native speakers, and often also to uneducated natives (Majanen, 2008: 11). Moreover, promoting the image of the “infallible native speaker” portrays EFL learning as a “never-ending elusive quest for native speaker competence” (Pavlenko, 2003: 259), suggesting that the learners are somehow “at fault” when they are unable to fully acquire a foreign language (Marx, 2002: 277).

This concept has had its negative effects on the attitude towards accented speech as well: countless studies have found that accented speech is assessed negatively compared to the standard among listeners both in the case of a native and non-native audience. Brennan and Brennan (1981/a, 1981/b), Nesdale and Rooney (1996) and Sato (1998) all found similar results assessing native speakers’ attitude toward accented speech. The studies of Riches and Foddy (1989) and Derwing (2003) explored the notion of accent as a status marker. It seems then what these studies suggest is that the judgemental and prejudicial approach towards accented speech presents itself as an obstacle in communication, though not from the aspect of mutual intelligibility but prefabricated misconceptions about the speakers’ educational and social status, giving a false picture of them based on irrelevant traits from the aspect of communication.

2.3.2 The Intelligibility Principle and Proficiency

As English is becoming more and more an international language, the problem of this negative bias towards accented speech has become more and more a central issue. As a counterweight, the spreading of the notions of English as a lingua franca (ELF) or English as an international language (EIL) are setting a different approach to the assessment of foreign accents. Several solutions have been suggested, such as instead of counting on the non-native speakers to make all the adjustments, we should expect natives to shoulder some of the communicative burden (Taylor, 1991) and that instead of applying the Nateness Paradigm (NP), the target in ELT should be the successful multilingual speaker of ELF: that is, “the

yardstick for measuring ELF speakers' performance should be an 'expert in ELF use'" (House, 2003: 573), without pressure from the dominant native speaker community" (Jenkins, 2006: 155). As a result of acknowledging that speakers of English can communicate well even with a strong foreign accent, researchers gave rise to the Intelligibility Principle, which contrary to NP stresses out "the overall assessment of how well a speaker can make himself or herself understood" (Bian, 2009, p. 67) and not how native-like he or she sounds.

Based on the intelligibility principle, the focus of ELT research has been shifting from the goal of "native speakerhood" to the target of a predetermined level of *proficiency* (Davies, 1996). Davies suggests a compromise between the goals of nativeness and proficiency so that that "the proper outcome for instruction is indeed the native speaker, realised or measured by a defined proficiency" (1996: 156). He concludes that although the native speaker concept is a *myth*, it is still useful as a model, a goal, almost an inspiration (ibid.: 157), and despite its theoretical shortcomings, the nativeness paradigm offers remarkable practical functions. This view is supported by other researchers as well: Huang (2005) found that even though most students are more positive toward native-like pronunciation and prefer listening to native speakers, what they truly interested in how intelligible their English is in international communication.

2.4 Identity and Accent

Language use has a major role in the representation of who we are. Therefore, it is only reasonable to investigate the relationship between the accent one employs and their identities and furthermore, to represent the similar qualities of identity and accent. Others have also recognised the effects of sociocultural factors on speakers' abilities to change their pronunciation. Avery and Ehrlich (1992) stress the importance of such research suggesting that the more speakers identify with a group, the more they might strive to sound like a member of that group, however, they may also maintain their foreign accent if they want to assert their own cultural identities.

2.4.1 Defining Identity

Language use is a form of self representation that is deeply connected to one's social identities and values (Miller, 2003). Accent, in itself, is a significant factor in the formation of our linguistic identities (Majanen, 2008). To emphasise the shifting and dynamic nature of

identity and the role of oral discourse in it, I will adopt the definition of identity by Varghese et al. (2005) and Joseph (2004), who define it as multiple, hybrid, shifting, fluid, and in conflict; “crucially related to social, cultural, and political context; and being constructed, maintained and negotiated primarily through discourse” (Varghese et al. 2005: 35), resulting in a never-ending construction process (Joseph, 2004). One of its key elements is change (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004).

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) divide identity into three categories: imposed, assumed and negotiable. From the aspect of this article, I only take into account the latter, negotiable identities; identities contested by groups and individuals, for instance in oral interaction (p. 20-21). Individuals usually adopt several, sometimes conflicting, identities that are being used in different situations. We are continuously negotiating our relationship with other people, depending on whether and to what extent we want to identify with them, (Majanen, 2008). Thus, individuals are “agentive beings who are constantly in search of new social and linguistic resources which allow them to resist identities that position them in undesirable ways, produce new identities, and assign alternative meanings to the links between identities and linguistic varieties” (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 27).

When users of a language speak, they are not only exchanging information with other target language speakers, but also organising and reorganising a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world (Norton, 1997). People construct their identities by setting themselves in contrast to others (Joseph, 2004: 8). On the whole, in this postmodern and globalised world, identity construction is a complex phenomenon (Jenkins, 2007: 198): linguistic identity, attitudes, ideologies and power intertwine in an intriguing manner (Majanen, 2008: 18).

2.4.2 Identity in Foreign Language Use and ELT

Similarly to other studies concerned with language and accent as a significant player in identity construction (e.g.: Majanen, 2008; Sifakis, 2005), in the core there is the social concept of identity, language as a sociocultural phenomenon. As identity, language and accent are so interdependent, we are faced with interesting issues surrounding the identity construction of the EFL speaker. As a social phenomenon, identity construction is affected by language in various ways. In this respect, accent – as well as attitudes related to accents – is in the spotlight (Majanen, 2008). Picking up or keeping an accent is not a question of a set of circumstances that fall out of the understanding of the learner any more and also not

necessarily an indicator of achievement, but has very important implications for the learner's identity both as a speaker of a foreign language and a multilingual individual. This has been identified in modern assessment of second language acquisition, resulting in extensive research and discussion of issues surrounding learner identities (see Brutt-Griffler and Samimy, 2001; Yoshizawa, 2010; Wu, 2011).

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) argue that social, cultural and political contexts affect identity construction. Here we reach the problem of what we have already discussed earlier in the case of the Nativeness Paradigm: being a political product, one of the key social roles of standard language (e.g. Received Pronunciation) is to establish hierarchy for measuring and comparing individuals (Joseph 2004: 225). This means that "speakers of official languages or standard varieties may be regarded as having greater moral and intellectual worth than speakers of unofficial languages or non-standard varieties" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 15 cited in Majanen, 2008: 18). Thus, from a social point of view, it is not surprising that acquiring a standard variety of a language is often considered as valuable, and that an individual's linguistic identity is often influenced by hegemonic language ideologies (ibid.).

Investigations on how English learners construct their identity as learners and negotiate their identities between the cultures and languages they live with and imagine being part of reveals unique aspects of EFL learning in the Expanding Circle (countries where English is taught as a foreign language) (see Sifakis, 2005; Majanen, 2008 and Yoshizawa, 2010). Research based on poststructural theories (i.e. Miller, 2003; Norton, 1995; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Pavlenko, 2001) emphasise that learners' are sites of constant contestations as they are conducting sensitive social negotiations.

2.5 Introducing Motivation

To fully understand one's identity, we must also recognise one's investment (Norton, 1995). Investment includes the learners' urge to learn the language, in other words, their *motivation*. McKay and Wong (1996) point out that a learner's needs, desires, and negotiation must be understood as a constitution of learners' lives and their investment in learning the target language.

In his account of a socio-educational model of language acquisition, Gardner (1985) claims that motivation to learn a foreign language can be described as a complex of constructs, involving both effort and desire, as well as a favourable attitude toward learning

the language at hand (ibid.). His model promoted the notion that self-identify and identification with the foreign language community is important to the language-learning process (Winke, 2005). Gardner (1985) identified two main types of motivation: *integrative* and *instrumental*. According to Gardner, an individual is integratively motivated if he or she is highly motivated to learn the language, has an open and accepting approach to other cultural groups and/or a strong emotional interest in the target language group, and has a positive evaluation of the learning situation.

Investment in the target language is also an investment in the individual's own identity, which is constantly shifting through time and space (Yoshizawa, 2010: 36). In the case of teachers this imposes very interesting questions as they are constantly negotiating between their identities as teachers and bilingual individuals.

2.6 Studies of Accent and Identity

Even though a wide variety of the aspects of accent has been a subject to research, most of them have been concerned with questions such as age of acquisition and intelligibility (Derwing, 2003). There are fewer, however, that are concerned with the perceptions of non-native English speakers regarding pronunciation (Sifakis, 2005).

Discussing the importance of the study of pronunciation in the case of ELT, Derwing (2003) points out that “an understanding of the interrelationship of language, accent, and social factors may help learners to be more realistic in their goals” (2003: 562) and thus, could lead to more efficient foreign language teaching (ibid.). In their respective studies, Majanen (2008), Yoshizawa (2010) and Sifakis (2005) argue that more research ought to be carried out in contexts where English is taught as a foreign language with special focus on the attitudes toward pronunciation among non-native speakers in the Expanding Circle. This study fits well into the line of research done in the spirit of examining the perceptions of EFL teachers and communicators (see above) to analyse the speakers' accent and their attitude toward pronunciation in a foreign language to find its role in identity construction and representation.

This study is loosely based on Majanen's research (2008) with Finnish educators of English, and is in some ways an answer to the author's call to conduct research of this kind in other expanding-circle countries to investigate the relationship between the identities of English language teachers/speakers and the accent with which they speak the language. The participants, the method and some of the themes are similar, yet there are significant differences in the focus of the two studies. The centre of Majanen's study is the international

status of English, trying to indicate the necessity of a shift in focus in language teaching from the native-bound toward a more international approach from the aspect of pronunciation. Although my research also mentions these concepts, it revolves around the interrelationship between identity and accent in a foreign language and the dynamic nature of both.

2.7 Az elméleti háttér magyar nyelvű összefoglalója

A legfontosabb szempont és fogalom, amely jelen kutatást összefogja, az akcentus. Mivel az akcentus érzékelhető a szóbeli kommunikáció minden formájában, rendkívül fontos eleme a nyelvhasznatnak. Lippi-Green (1998) definíciója szerint az akcentus prozódiai (hangsúly, tempó, intonáció) és szegmentális (magánhangzók és mássalhangzók fonológiai felépítése) jellemzők összessége. Nem anyanyelvűeknél az akcentus az anyanyelv fonológiájának áttörése a célnyelvi kiejtésbe (Lippi-Green, 1998: 43). Az akcentus szoros kapcsolatban áll az identitással és egyéni értékeinkkel (Miller, 2003; Widdowson, 1994), fontos tényezője a nyelvi identitásunknak (Majanen, 2008), és mindez megfigyelhető egy beszélt idegen nyelv esetében is.

Az akcentus körütekintő vizsgálata során szükséges megemlítenünk a nyelvtanulás környezeti tényezőit. A legelterjedtebb fogalom ezen a téren az úgynevezett „kritikus periódus hipotézis” (CPH), amely az idegen akcentus nélküli nyelvelsajátítást az agy plaszticitásához (rugalmasságához) kapcsolja, és azt állítja, hogy ha a nyelvtanulás a pubertáskor után kezdődik, az adott nyelv idegen akcentustól mentes elsajátítása már nem lehetséges (Lenneberg, 1967). Jóllehet a kritikus periódus kétségkívül jelentős hatással bír a nyelvtanulásra, további tényezőket is figyelembe kell vennünk, például a célnyelvi környezetben eltöltött időt. Számos kutatás (például Yamanaka, 2003) rámutatott, hogy a célnyelvi környezetben eltöltött idő nagyban növeli az akcentus nélküli idegennyelv-elsajátítás megvalósulásának esélyeit.

Az idegennyelv-tanulás és az akcentus kapcsolatának vizsgálatához figyelembe kell vennünk az elterjedt általános célokat. Az úgynevezett „anyanyelvi paradigma” lényege, hogy a nyelvtanulókat az anyanyelvi kiejtés elsajátítására ösztönzik (Bian, 2009), ez azonban több nehézséggel is járhat: nyelvtanulás sikerességének mércéje nem az érthetőségen, hanem a valóságban elérhetetlen anyanyelvi normákon alapul, továbbá a célcsoport (jelen esetben az angol anyanyelvűek egy adott csoportja) a célnyelv egy olyan magasan iskolázott kisebbségi csoportja, amely irreális mércét támaszt a nyelvtanulók és gyakran a nem előnyben részesített változatot beszélő anyanyelviekkel szemben is (Majanen, 2008: 11). Az angol nyelv

terjedésével, illetve nemzetközi nyelvként betöltött szerepének emelkedésével ennek ellenpólusaként jelent meg az úgynevezett „érthetőség alapelve”, amely az anyanyelvi normákkal szemben a kölcsönös megértést veszi alapul, sikeres nyelvelsajátításként pedig a célnyelvben való magas szintű jártasságot határozza meg (House, 2003: 573).

A következő fontos szempont az akcentus és az identitás kapcsolata. Varghese et al. (2005) és Joseph (2004) definíciója szerint az identitás többsikú, hibrid, változó és folyamatosan konfliktusban van; szoros kapcsolatban áll a társas, kulturális és politikai kontextussal; folyamatosan változik, diskurzuson keresztül fenntartott és pozicionált. Pavlenko és Blackledge (2004) az identitás három típusát különbözteti meg, amelyből jelen kutatás szempontjai alapján az egyiket, a pozicionált identitást vesszük figyelembe. Ennek lényege, hogy az emberek folyamatosan pozicionálják, azaz változtatják a kapcsolatukat más emberekkel attól függően, hogy milyen mértékben szeretnének azonosulni velük (Majanen, 2008). Egy adott nyelvet beszélve az emberek nem csupán információt cserélnek, hanem folyamatosan újraalakítják saját magukat és azt, hogy miként viszonyulnak a külső társadalmi világhoz (Norton 1997). Mivel a nyelv szociokulturális jelenség, az identitás felépítésének kiemelkedően fontos része az akcentus: az identitás, a nyelv és az akcentus kölcsönös összefüggésben állnak.

Annak érdekében, hogy megérthessük a nyelvtanulók identitását, figyelembe kell vennünk a nyelvtanulásba fektetett energiát is, amely magába foglalja a tanuló a nyelvtanulás iránti motivációját. Gardner (1985) kétféle motivációt különböztet meg, melyből a számunkra az integratív motiváció a lényeges: ez a motiváció legmagasabb formája, magába foglalja a nyitottságot és az elfogadást a célnyelv kultúrájával szemben. A célnyelvbe fektetett energia az adott egyén saját identitásába fektetett energiája is egyben, amely időben és térben folyamatosan változik (Yoshizawa, 2010: 36). A vizsgált csoport esetében ez nagyon érdekes kérdéseket vet fel, mivel a kutatásban részt vett tanárok folyamatosan pozicionálják az identitásukat.

Mindezidáig kevés tanulmány készült, amely az angolt idegen nyelvként tanulók akcentussal kapcsolatos vélekedéseit tárgyalja (Sifakis, 2005; Majanen, 2008), pedig ahogy azt Derwing (2003) is kiemelte, a nyelv, az akcentus és a társadalmi tényezők kölcsönös kapcsolatának megértése segíthet realisztikusabb célok kitűzéséhez a nyelvtanulás során. Yoshizawa (2010) és Majanen (2008) is felhívja a figyelmet az ilyen jellegű tanulmányok szükségességére. Mindezek alapján a jelen tanulmány igyekszik hiányt is pótolni.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Aims and Research Questions

The main themes of this study revolve around finding out what the teachers' own perceptions are about their accents, what they think have contributed to the way they speak English today, especially considering conscious decisions behind the process and also how accent is playing a key role in revealing the shifting nature of identity even in a foreign language.

My hypothesis is that the members of the assessed group of proficient EFL speakers are conscious about their English accents; there are conscious targets and influences in the process of learning a foreign language, which are manifested in how one speaks the given language. Furthermore, in many cases there are well-established and conscious decisions behind how one speaks English as a second language and these can be observed in real-time as well; constant changes in accent to match, support or indicate constant shifts in one's identity.

Consequently, the purpose of the present research is to reveal how Hungarian university teachers of English perceive their English accent and their identities as English speakers. The results of this study are comparable to studies related to accent, attitude and identity conducted in other expanding-circle countries, particularly in Europe. The research questions are the following:

- 1) What is the teachers' own perception about their accents and are they conscious about their accent?
- 2) In what settings did the participants acquire English and how did that affect the way they speak English?
 - a) Did they have any target or reference groups in mind when learning English?
- 3) Does the way they speak English with play a role in their identity as Hungarians, as English teachers and as bilingual?
 - a) Is their accent static or dynamic? Do they change it to adjust to certain situational settings?

3.2 In the Focus: University Educators of English

The studied group of English users in this research consists of seven non-native educators at the English department of a Hungarian higher educational institute. Teachers are major players in the educational world (Marjanen, 2008). Teachers, especially at a university, are highly educated, appreciated by society, and furthermore, their views and perceptions are worth paying attention to. Teachers are naturally those who influence English learners the most, they are the core of the educational system (Majanen, 2008: 2). Varghese et al. (2005) point out that “in order to understand language teaching and learning we need to understand teachers; and in order to understand teachers, we need to have a clearer sense of who they are: the professional, cultural, political, and individual identities which they claim or which are assigned to them” (p. 22).

Due to the prevailing power, status and dominance of native English speakers (Varghese et al., 2005: 25), non-native teachers have traditionally strived to identify with the native English-speaker community, in spite of realising that it is practically impossible. However, a teacher’s role points beyond the simple question of nativeness: in their study, Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (2001) indicate that there are limitations in the native/non-native dichotomy as applied to highly skilful international speakers of English. In her description, Seidlhofer (2001) defines language teachers as bilinguals who “know the target language as a foreign language, share with their students the experience of what it is like to try and make it their own, often through the same first language/culture ‘filter’, and can represent relevant role models for learners” (p. 134-135 cited in Majanen, 2008: 11). In other words, non-native teachers are usually both competent speakers and pedagogues (instructors) of the target language by knowing the process of foreign language learning and also knowing the students’ first language (Seidlhofer, 1999: 236- 237; Llurda, 2004: 318 cited in Majanen, 2008: 12).

What this study is especially concerned with is what Bernstein (1996) and Bourdieu (1991) have already pointed out: the views of teachers about pronunciation extend way beyond the classroom environment and reflect their beliefs about more general concerns, such as their identity as teachers and users of English in an expanding-circle country, their understanding of pedagogic practice, and of relationships between knowledge and power, identity and communication.

The sampling process of the research can be defined as criterion sampling (Dörnyei, 2007: 128): the criteria being that the participants had to be Hungarian-speaking English teachers teaching at the English department of a Hungarian higher educational institute. Based

on that, the participants in this study include six Hungarian-born non-native teachers of English and another who, although fits the criteria mentioned above, cannot really be categorised, though he is a very interesting sample from the point of view of this research. I had known most of the participants before making the interviews, but I had not discussed the themes of the study with them. Seven informants turned out to be sufficient: gradually, common themes started to emerge and these seven people provided data that was multifaceted enough to paint an interesting picture of the diversity of the topic at hand.

3.3 Research Method

This study can be defined as qualitative research, with the focus narrowing gradually and the research design evolving flexibly as the study progressed (Dörnyei, 2007). It seemed obvious to use this research method as the aim of the study was to explore teachers' personal views and perceptions. Semi-structured interviewing is based on pre-prepared guiding open questions and cues. Contrary to fully structured interviews, semi-structured interviews are characteristically open-ended and leave room for the interviewee's elaboration and allow the interviewees to focus on different aspects of the topics emerging during the interviews (ibid.: 136). The method proved to be an adequate choice for the purposes of this study: complex individuals usually produce data that reflects complex realities (ibid.: 125).

The role of the interviewer in the semi-structured interviews is double: it ought to be a continuous balancing between staying unbiased and giving enough feedback and encouragement to the interviewee (Dörnyei, 2007: 141). Offering options to the interviewee and encouraging them to elaborate may also result in deeper data (Dörnyei, 2007: 142-143), which was my primary objective during the interviews. The main tool in semi-structured interviews is the interview guide (see Appendix). Its most important trait is that at the same time, it is both flexible and systematic (Dörnyei, 2007: 143). The first questions of the interview guide gradually lead us into how the teachers perceive their accent and tell us the prevailing factors that have affected the way they speak English. The subsequent questions introduce the concept of identity and identity construction, narrowing themes to that of the interrelationship of accent and identities. The questions were designed to reveal the process of identity construction through the forming of one's accent. The questions were drawn up with the intention of avoiding partiality and are worded as neutral as possible.

The interviews were conducted between May and June 2012. The teachers were approached in person or by an introductory e-mail, asking whether they wished to participate

and introducing the main themes of the interview. All the interviewees were interested in the topic themselves and were eager to participate in the study. The interviews were recorded with a digital tape recorder. The interviews were conducted in English. The participants proved to be very enthusiastic and talkative. The interviews lasted from 9 to 24 minutes, the mean being 16 minutes.

The analysis of qualitative data is interpretative, rendering complex ideas into increasingly abstract insights (Dörnyei, 2007: 257 cited in Majanen, 2008: 32). Before the analysis, the interviews were transcribed, leaving out in the final quotes such irrelevant items and features as longer pauses, cues for laughing, self-corrections, repetitions, false starts or overlapping speech. For the purposes of this study, the central element was the content and the central message of the interviews. Since the nature of accent perceptions and identity formation is fluid and highly subjective (Majanen, 2008: 32), I did not anticipate universal view of the themes to emerge. Still, common features, salient themes and dominant views appeared, making it possible to generalise to some extent (Dörnyei, 2007: 257). The following chapters will not analyse the questions one by one, but examine the different themes that emerged including relevant quotes by the teachers.

Just as Majanen in her study (2008), for the sake of clarity, I have separated the findings and the discussion into two chapters (Dörnyei, 2007: 297), in order to keep direct findings from the interviews apart from my speculative thoughts and ideas. To make sure that the anonymity the privacy of the informants are kept, I have renamed the seven participants to A, B, C, D, E, F and G, and will refer to them in the masculine form in the findings and the discussion.

3.4 A kutatási célok, kérdések és módszer magyar nyelvű összefoglalója

Jelen tanulmány célja az volt, hogy megvizsgálja a kutatásban résztvevő tanárok vélekedését saját angol akcentusukról. A hipotézisem, hogy a kutatás résztvevői tudatában vannak az angol akcentusuknak: meg tudnak határozni csoportokat és hatásokat, amelyek befolyásolták nyelvtanulásuk folyamatát. Ezenfelül bizonyos esetekben megfigyelhetők megalapozott és tudatos döntések a nyelv mindennapi használata során: az akcentus változtatása, amely jelöli az identitásbeli változásokat és igazodik azokhoz. Az eredmények összevethetők más, az akcentussal, az attitűddel és az identitással foglalkozó kutatásokkal, amelyeket olyan (főként európai) országokban folytattak le, ahol az angolt idegen nyelvet beszélik.

A fentiek alapján a kutatási kérdéseim a következők voltak:

- 1) Milyen a tanárok saját felfogása a saját angol akcentusukról, illetve tudatában vannak-e az angol akcentusuk jellemzőivel?*
- 2) Milyen körülmények között tanulták az angol nyelvet, illetve ez miként befolyásolta az akcentust, amellyel a nyelvet beszélik?*
 - a. Volt tudatosan választott cél- vagy referenciacsoport a nyelvtanulásuk során?*
- 3) Játsszik-e, és ha igen, milyen szerepet az angol akcentusuk a magyar, a tanári, illetve a kétnyelvű identitásuk alakításában?*
 - a. Az akcentusuk statikus vagy dinamikus? Változtatják-e az akcentusukat bizonyos helyzetektől függően?*

A vizsgált csoport hét, egy magyar felsőoktatási intézményben tanító magyar anyanyelvű oktatóból állt. Az egyetemeken és főiskolákon tanító tanárok azért érdekesek számunkra, mert magas végzettségű, a társadalom által elismert egyénekről van szó, akiknek véleményére érdemes adni. A tanárok általában azok, akik a legnagyobb hatással vannak a nyelvtanulókra, ők képezik az oktatási rendszer magját (Majanen, 2008: 2). Varghese et al. (2005) szerint annak érdekében, hogy megérthessük a tanítást és a tanulást, először meg kell értenünk a tanárokat, szakmai, kulturális, politikai és egyéni identitásukat. Seidlhofer (2001) szerint a nyelvtanárok olyan többnyelvűek, akik mivel a célnyelvet idegen nyelvként tanulták, ismerik a tanulók anyanyelvét, illetve a célnyelv tanulásával kapcsolatos nehézségeket, ezért releváns modellként jelennek meg a nyelvtanulók számára.

Jelen kutatás kvalitatív, melynek fókusza a folyamat előrehaladtával folyamatosan alakult ki és szűkült le (Dörnyei, 2007). A résztvevők megkérdezése angol nyelven, félig strukturált interjúk során egy előre összeállított „interjúkalauz” segítségével történt. Az interjúkalauz magyar változata a 2. mellékletben található. Az interjúkat digitális felvevővel rögzítettem, a felvételekből pedig átirat készült, melyekből a releváns idézetek alkotják a kutatási anyag törzsét. Az interjúk a tanárok előzetes beleegyezésével készültek. A résztvevők névtelenül szerepelnek, illetve minden olyan személyes információ, amely felfedhetné kilétüket, kihagyásra került. A felhasznált idézetek magyar fordításai a 3. mellékletben találhatók.

4 RESULTS

4.1 Perception of Accent

First of all, I asked the participants about their own perception of their accent, because assessing how accurately they perceive the way they speak already signifies how conscious they are about it, and the extent to which they answer might indicate how deeply they are concerned with the way they speak English, which can give us an indication about the role it plays in their identity construction.

4.1.1 Hungarian Accent

Though the questions were not directed at the accent Hungarians speak English with, from the answers of the participants we can see that they identified a typical Hungarian or “Hunglish” accent:

(Q1) B: I think there is a typical Hungarian accent in general

However, it does not seem to be a universal perception:

(Q2) A: I’ve heard quite a lot of people speaking the English language, on the basis of whose pronunciation I could easily tell where they were from: German, French, Korean ... [their] pronunciation is absolutely characteristic [...] but I have no idea what the Hungarian peculiarity is

4.1.2 The Teachers’ Accent

In most cases, the participants were realistic about their English accent. They generally described their accents as a mixture of Hungarian, British and American English with the exception of a few cases where they identified Scottish, Irish and Outer-Circle influences.

Generally, the participants seemed to be content with their accents, mostly due to the fact that they are professional educators with several years of experience with realistic perceptions about their limitations and have grown to accept the way they speak the language.

4.2 Factors in EFL and Accent Formulation

The next part will include the most important external factors in accent formulation. The two themes are (1) the environmental factors, with special focus on the language acquisition process (at what age, where and in what circumstances they started learning English) and (2) the targets or target groups the participants had in mind (who influenced them, and what motivational factors intervened) while they were studying the language.

4.2.1 Age, Settings of Acquisition and Time Spent in Native Community

Even though reaching a similarly outstanding level of the command of English, the seven participants had vastly different routes toward acquiring English regarding age and time spent in a native environment.

One extreme is participant A, who began learning English at the age of 12, studying at a private teacher and grammar school simultaneously up to the age of 18 and having spent only a couple of consecutive months in England. Similarly to him, participant C also began learning English later, at the age of 14. He also studied English through secondary school and university in Hungary, although, he spent a considerable amount of time, several years in Canada, where he continued his education and worked as a teacher. Participant E's case is very much alike. He also started learning English in Hungary when he was 14 and he, too, spent several years in England to study after graduating from university.

Participant G began learning English slightly earlier, at the age of 10, although rather interestingly, he did not consider himself ready to study language, claiming that it was “a very [...] immature age, so I wasn't ready for English at that time ”, and added that he had only began learning English seriously from the age of 14 on. In contrast to the others who began learning English relatively late, he spent many years in native countries. He stayed several consecutive years first in the southern part of England, then in Scotland and finally, in the United States before coming back to Hungary.

The second group includes those interviewees who began learning English at a much younger age, within the sensitive period. Participant F began learning English when he was six in Hungary as part of an experimental curriculum. During university, he spent a year in the United States within a student exchange programme and later another four and a half months to work there.

Participants B and D also form a separate group. They are those who mastered English in a native environment. Participant B moved to the United States with his family at

the age of 7, where he spent most of his childhood. Then he moved to an EU state for five years where he went to secondary school and also started university. He also mentioned having spent time in Canada. Although participant D's case is somewhat similar, he was also exposed to English very young, he is also special in many respects. He was born in an Outer Circle country to Hungarian parents, so his mother tongue depends on what level we are looking at: according to him, he learnt language in Hungarian and was educated in English in a native environment, so to some extent, his case is similar to that of participant B.

4.2.2 *Influences in Language Acquisition*

I will now turn to the primary influences during the participants' language acquisition process. These include factors that the participants were open to as influences.

As the most important factor in the early period of language acquisition, several participants mentioned single individuals from the educational setting, teachers mostly, and even those who learnt English in a natural setting, identified certain individuals as sort of role models, who played a key role in the learning process. Participant F mentioned three important persons: the first one is his father as the main source of motivation to learn English:

(Q3) F: I believe the fact that my father speaks good English ... I think that was the determining factor that I wanted to be like [my father], so I wanted to master whatever he could master

In addition, he mentions two teachers, who played a crucial role in motivating him in the learning process:

(Q4) F: I had a [...] series of [...] teachers up until [...] I was an eight-form student, and from then on I had marvellous teachers, [...] I was 13 when I had this wonderful teacher, he's really very good [...] [with] state-of-the-art methodology, and also very strict and he made us learn lots of words [...] he was young and I think to some extent he was like a role-model to us, a young intellectual.... I think we envied the way he used English, and also he was very interesting so I think for him we would do basically anything, and [...] I learnt a lot in that period

(Q5) F: And then, the next person I got was an elderly [teacher], who was extremely strict, [...] and was into grammar. So he made us work like hell, and I think it was basically these two people who taught me much of my English

Participant D, even though growing up in a native environment, identified influences from the very beginning of his learning the language:

(Q6) D: at the age of 3 I went to nursery school and my nursery school teacher was Scottish ... so there's quite a Scottish influence at the beginning.... I don't know if any of the other teachers were particularly influential [...] only Mrs [...] who was the first primary school teacher ... when I changed [...] to high school, I was taught by Irish nuns

Although not in the early years of language acquisition, participant B mentioned a person as a source of British influence in his otherwise American-bred English use:

(Q7) B: Here I had [...] a British woman for my English teacher, so there came the [British] influence ... through that British teacher or native speaker, I got an other layer on that foundation you might say

As one of his early influences, participant G brought up his native English friend and claimed that her accent was very influential:

(Q8) G: I had an English friend who influenced my accent, so I started to have her accent, picked up her accent, which was southern British accent

Above the individual level, participant D also identified a community as an influence from a very early age:

(Q9) D: As a consequence [of my parents' occupation], I had a lot to do with the art world, and there's a sort of a typical Yiddish-influenced Johannesburg accent that I could identify [...], which was also part of the language I heard growing up

Similarly, participant F also identified the role of international English speakers around him and claims to have been motivated by that influential environment:

(Q10) F: We had guests over who were English-speaking, not necessarily from an English-speaking country but [...] the common language that we could use with them was English...and that also helped [...] when I was ten or twelve or so, I had to speak to visitors every now and then, I think, I think that boosted my motivation more than anything

4.2.3 *Targets in Language Acquisition*

Now I will make a distinction between those factors that influenced and those that served as consciously-chosen targets for the participants. Here I will consider the target groups which suggest impact by a larger community or even motivation to integrate into a particular community. The two questions in the interview guide were interested in whether they had any target groups in mind in terms of their pronunciation and what the reason was for the bias towards these group or groups.

First, let us see those who had the strongest urge to integrate owing to the fact that they grew up or lived in a native community for a considerable amount of time. Besides the influences from the educational setting, participant B and D both identified communities that influenced them. Participant B explained his motivation to integrate with the affection toward the American environment:

(Q11) B: As I was little when I learnt [English] in the United States and I really loved living in the United States at that time, I think that the whole milieu, the school, everything made it attractive for me, so that's why I wanted to, you know, keep with it

Participant G well represents the traits of integrative motivation. Judging from his own account, and also based on his apparent pronunciation, he took up the most significant features of each native community where he spent a significantly lengthy period:

(Q12) G: I moved to Scotland, [where] I started to develop a Scottish accent, at least that's what the locals said.... And after that, I moved to America and lived [...] there for three [...] years [...], by the end of which time I developed a strong American accent

To my question why he felt it necessary to pick up the local accent wherever he went, he denied a conscious decision in the background and he rather explained it as a natural phenomenon among non-native speakers staying in a native community:

(Q13) G: I think what I picked up was the most conspic[uous] features of that mixture of accents ... I think I was prone to pick up some of the Scottish accent obviously and because I lived in the south of the United States, I also started developing some of the features I assume ... I wouldn't call [these accents] attractive, it [...] subconsciously [...] just happens to you, when you move to a community, you start to pick up their accent

Participant C as well did not think that his accent had been formed based on conscious urges, attributing it that he speaks with more Standard British pronunciation to the

fact it was taught in school, although he claimed to have picked up a Canadian accent during the time he had spent there:

(Q14) C: When I started learning English that was the standard British English, in Canada I guess I gained a Canadian accent

However, he later contradicted himself when he claimed that he actually strives for speaking with a British accent:

(Q15) C: I think what I try to speak is more British English than anything else. So when I look up the pronunciation of a word [...], it's always the British version that I'm looking for

For participant E, the urge to integrate to the British culture came from early adolescence with his initial affection towards British rock music:

(Q16) E: My main motivation was rock music, and it was the Queen ... so the accent, I think also because of this [...] if I'm attracted to an accent, that's the British accent, [...] the standard English accent, the one I could hear [...] on the radio sometimes or on television, that's what I like most, and that's what I like most to this date actually, and this is what I can understand the easiest

His attraction to the British culture grew stronger and stronger into adulthood with more and more appreciating country and its history and the role the British played in certain historical events. He also made it clear-cut that his attraction is not directed to just one native community but he brought up his experience in the United States to further emphasise his attraction to England:

(Q17) E: [My attraction is] connected to the UK, it's connected to England for some reason, not English as a whole...so in my case I think there is quite a strong integrative motivation in all this story ... there were times when I could easily imagine to actually stay in Britain and live there. It's also [...] because of their history, because of the way they responded to certain very critical events in life and now here I think of the Second World War for example ... I also visited the United States [...] three times, but [...] somehow [...] I didn't really like what I saw there as opposed to Britain.

Although he claimed that he did not feel close to the British speakers of English solely because of the language, he admitted that language indeed played an important role:

(Q18) E: I am attracted to that culture, and this is the culture and the people and the country and not only the language. But the language, the way they speak, [...] is a part of that

Though he said that he strived to use the Standard British variety, participant C admitted that his language use sometimes differed from the standard because of some features he had picked up from the local dialect when he stayed in England:

(Q19) E: I still think that I speak Standard English, although there are some things I picked up there, which you would call more colloquial ... which you would not use in Standard English ... Instead of saying 'if it were the case', [...] I say 'if it was the case' because everybody said that there, and I do not make any efforts changing this, somehow it just comes spontaneously and I do that

Participant B faced a crossroads in his English education, and from then on he consciously chose to follow the American route:

(Q20) B: That's where I actually decided, well, since I already had an accent, to follow up [...] continue with the American line then, rather than start turning British, which would [have been] a lot more difficult for me. So I continued using [...] the American accent more so consciously from then on

Participant F identified a double goal in connection with what kind of targets he had while he was learning the language:

(Q21) F: I think I had like this double target, I wanted to master both [British and American], probably that's the best way to put it.

4.3 Accent and Identity Construction

I will now shift the focus to identity and the role accent plays in the identity construction of the participants. First, I will consider the aspects of their identities in connection with accent in the different settings they use English and then I will present the implications that suggest the shifting nature of their identities and its manifestation through their accent, by showcasing the dynamism of accent through the examples that the informants provided.

The relating question from the interview guide asked whether the participants distinguished between their identities as teachers of English and Hungarian bilingual or multilingual individuals through the way they speak English.

4.3.1 Identity as Teachers of English

A number of participants brought up their special roles Hungarian teachers of English and the advantages it carries with it:

(Q22) F: I think it's a very...precious role that one could find for himself. I think it's good that I'm Hungarian when I teach English, because I know the kinds of problems that are problems for Hungarians, so like this 'he/he' thing which does not exist in Hungarian and this is a constant problem and I can anticipate that, whereas if I were born a native-speaker English, I wouldn't understand what's so difficult about it.

In addition, participant E stresses out that his shared culture with the students might be a source of motivation for them:

(Q23) E: [As a teacher] my aim is to teach, to persuade [the students], to motivate them to do what I'd like them to do, therefore I think that it's important to show [...] a mutual cultural belonging

When asked about why he had chosen these standard variations as targets, participant F connected it to prestige and an indication of intellect and social power, which imply a connection to issues related to identity:

(Q24) F: Prestige was a key factor ... in the United States there were no birthrights unlike in the UK, so nobody was born an aristocrat or there was this huge potential of social mobility ... [which] is not something that cannot be done, [...] you have a potential [...] to belong to more prestigious parts of society [than] your parents or grandparents or the people you know or the people you went to school with. And one of the key elements is how you use language, what educated words you use, how complicated sentences you can come up, and I think that was [...] my case [...] so I think use of language and use of my intellect were [the] tools that I thought were [the] ways to prove myself, to make my name, to become accepted by prestigious circles of society and I think, I think this is basically a way that is open to anybody, so I think that was also motivation

He also explained his appreciation toward the General American accent:

(Q25) F: I realised that somebody who is [for example] a university professor uses in the United States a kind of English that is just as sophisticated as anything you would hear in [...] a most prestigious university in England. So it was there that I developed a respect for [General] American English

Participant A had similar goals to attaining an educated accent, although he had completely different reasons for it. His goals were to become intelligible, to make sure he would be understood, and master an educated accent to secure his position as an English language teacher:

(Q26) A: What we, EFL learners of the English language [...] can attempt is to have some kind of an educated pronunciation, and this is what I'm trying to achieve ... because I'm a teacher [...] and I need to set an example for my students, and if this is educated, then this is okay, acceptable [...] for myself [...], I can stand in front of my students

Adjusting to EFL Teaching Norms in Hungary

In the majority of the cases, the informants identified a standard in ELT in Hungary; a standard teaching-norm that is based on Standard English and Received Pronunciation concerning accents:

(Q27) B: All of the books, or the majority of the books available here, teach the British, [...] the Received Pronunciation

(Q28) G: It's very obvious that all those topics are British, the books are British and the accents are all British... in Hungary it's the British English that's being taught

The reason for its significance is that in several cases, owing to the fact that they still pose as models for English learners, the participants felt they needed to adjust themselves to this wide-spread target as a result of prevailing teaching methodologies in Hungary, even in spite of their own preferences regarding accents. This was an aspect where a direct connection between accent and a separation between identities could be clearly observed.

As an English speaker who learnt the language in America, participant B felt he had to stress out that students should not follow his pronunciation and always strived to point out the standard:

(Q29) B: I always tell the students [...] “listen to this, don’t listen to me” [...] I give them both pronunciations then if I can, so [...] I try to make them aware of the differences in pronunciation and often I try to make them aware of the different phrases, different expressions used on the North American continent and within Europe for example if I can

The same strategy can be observed in the case of participant D, who as growing up in a native-speaking environment also has non-standard features in his language use:

(Q30) D: For example [...] I [...] say ‘italics’ [artæliks] and I will tell students ‘don’t learn that from me’ the dictionary says ‘italics’ [itæliks]

Participant D however, dropped several distinctive features of his speech to match his role as a teacher:

(Q31) D: I’ve dropped a lot of my [dialect] words... I do try, I think, not particularly consciously, but I do try to speak close to the standard

Participant C’s case is even more interesting. According to his account, he consciously dropped his Canadian accent because of his new role as an English teacher in Hungary. He explains this by noting that maybe if he had not started teaching English to elementary-level learners but university students, this deliberate change would not have been necessary. This indicates a huge influence of his identity as a teacher in his identity as an English-speaker, as he made a change in his accent which otherwise had been fine for him as a bilingual and even as an educator in a higher educational institute:

(Q32) C: I consciously got rid of the Canadian influence, because I had to teach a more standard version of English ... So I think if I had had a job at an institution of higher education [...] after coming back [from] Canada, it would have been no problem to keep my Canadian accent, but because I had a job at a language school teaching English at [...] beginne[r] level, and up to intermediate level, it would have been absolutely confusing for the students [to keep my Canadian accent].... When you are in a setting, which is higher education, it makes no difference, or that’s what we assume for the students, actually you have to become familiar with different versions of English and you have to be able to understand them, but not when you start learning the language

He explains that the primary reason for this adaptation is that students are his most important communicational partners:

(Q33) C: [The students are] the target audience basically and the people I talk to.... Since I started working, I've been teaching English, and I think it also makes a difference that I started working as a teacher of English, not a teacher of literature, and I think that also makes me rather sensitive to the command of English of my students, and because I spend most of my time among students, they are more important than any other English speakers I meet

The same process can be observed at participant G as well. Due to the fact that he had lived in many different native-speaking environments, he picked up accents that were quite different from the standard we are discussing here, such as Scottish or from the Southern part of North America, he had, and still has, distinctive features in his speech, yet he felt it necessary to force a more British-like accent to perform well as an English teacher in Hungary. It is also interesting to note that according to him, this is the same integrative process he described earlier why he picked up the accents of the communities in which he lived: his "living community" now consists of the students (and other Hungarians) he teaches and speaks to in Hungary, and he is now adapting to them:

(Q34) G: After [...] I came back to Hungary [...] I had to redevelop an R-less version of my speech ... I kind of tried to ... because now, well, I teach a non-rhotic accent because I play listening comprehension exercises [where] [...] everything is British, so that's my community now, because I don't have any other living community to which [...] I can join. While I had an American community [at the institute he works at] [...] [with] American teachers here, I usually socialised with them and I had more American-like accent, but nowadays what [...] I hear, I mean I very rarely speak English apart from giving lectures and talking to students during classes

He also found some difficulties that had arisen from this switch to the British standard. Having received more American influence, thus being more familiar with the American expressions, he admittedly had to look up expressions he needed for his class but had not been familiar with:

(Q35) G: All those Britishisms that I had to teach...I wasn't familiar [with], I had to look up those in the dictionary. Although, I mean, if it were an American book, I think I wouldn't have had to look those vocabulary items up, and sometimes I just mused, [...] this is funny how the British say that because the Americans use this word in a [...] slightly different way

4.3.2 Identity as Multilinguals

After taking into consideration how the informants adapt to their roles as English teachers via their accents, let us move forward and look at how they consider their identities as bilinguals, taking into account how they see themselves as Hungarians speaking another foreign language. Similarly to the roles of a language teacher, the theme of the roles of a multilingual also emerged during the interviews. Participant F pointed out the unique role of being a multilingual:

(Q36) F: I think this can be like a cultural interpreter, so somebody who can explain to one community what they don't understand about the other community

Remaining Hungarian or Separating Identities

Participant A denied that he had had any integrative motivation to strive to pick up a native accent, instead, he saw himself as an international speaker of English with a strong Hungarian identity, unaffected by the second language:

(Q37) A: If my motivation had been some kind of an integrative motivation, [...] I guess my pronunciation would be much closer to British or American or whatever, Australian [...] pronunciation. So if you want to integrate, you want to be as similar to the native speakers in as many ways as possible.... And one feature is pronunciation ... but I never wanted to be integrated into the British culture, I never wanted to be mixed being an English person myself, no, I'm Hungarian, that's what I am

Participant C had a rather neutral attitude toward indicating his nationality in his speech:

(Q38) C: I don't think I have to make a conscious effort to indicate my Hungarian background because it comes through ... I don't try to hide it but I don't try to show it either

Rather interestingly, the rest of the informants seemed to strive for separating themselves from their Hungarian identity when speaking in English. Participant B manages that through his native-like accent, which does not indicate where he is from:

(Q39) B: If I start talking, no one really recognises me as being Hungarian, 'cause I don't have a Hungarian accent.... My Hungarian identity I think is completely different ... my English and my English accent is almost like another me, and my Hungarian me is another person

He explains his attitude with the fact that he had learnt English earlier than he had the chance to develop a conscious Hungarian identity:

(Q40) B: My English environment came first and my English accent and my knowledge of English, and my Hungarian identity started formulating after I was 15-16-17-18 [in] a totally different period of time, so I think that these two are somewhat separate for me [...] personally

Participant F also identified an urge to separate himself from the fact that he is Hungarian when he speaks English:

(Q41) F: I try to make people forget that I'm from Hungary

Though he acknowledged that he had Hungarian characteristics in his accent, participant E explained it with his limitations in attaining a native-like accent and not with a conscious effort to keep it as an indication of his nationality:

(Q42) E: I do not keep my accent so that I make a distinction between myself and native speakers of English. So it's not a conscious decision if you like, but that's what I can do, that's how far I can get

However, unlike participant A and D, when speaking to natives, participant E tries to create a bridge and indicate that he is indeed to some extent part of that community and is familiar with it:

(Q43) E: I would also like to create links between the person [...] because I think I belong to two cultures, [...] I know that I am an outsider there [in a native environment], but in a way I am not, because I have lived there, I know a lot about them, I appreciate them

His second identity as an English-speaker even comforts him to some extent, knowing that he has one more identity:

(Q44) E: I'm not afraid of losing my Hungarian identity, because I also have another one

4.4 Dynamism of Accent

Here we reach the final part of the research findings. In the next part I will present the dynamic and ever-changing nature of accent through the examples of the participants. Here I am concerned with how they change their accent on a situation-dependent basis.

4.4.1 *Adapting to Natives vs. Non-natives*

The shifting nature of how the teachers speak English can be observed on many levels. The first one shows how they adapt to the different cultural backgrounds of the people they speak to, depending on whether they speak to native or Hungarian speakers of English. Participant B claims that he strives for the same correctness and proficiency in all settings:

(Q45) B: No, I don't think there is [a difference], I think in both cases I strive to or I tend to speak correct English and to use the language correctly

In contrast to them, the rest of the informants provided plenty of examples of difference in language use based on the communicational setting. Participant E described how he differentiates between speaking to people with the same cultural background as his and native English-speakers, whose culture he is also familiar with:

(Q46) E: You see when I am in a language classroom, the culture I share [...] with the students [...] is a different culture, because the culture we share is the Hungarian culture. But when I talk to say a British person, I can make cultural references to that culture to show that I am also part of that

His admitting how he makes a difference is a clear-cut sign of shifts in language use in different situations:

(Q47) E: When I talk to a native, then, again just to make the discussion as cooperative as possible and be on mutual terms, I can actually use references, talk about things, talk in ways, which indicate that I am aware of certain cultural [...] values and conventions that exist in that culture, but maybe not in the Hungarian culture, so yes, I would make a difference here

Although he emphasises that this is not necessarily in connection with accent, it is strongly connected to identity:

(Q48) E: This is not a language issue, it's not an accent issue, it's an identity issue and how you define your identity and [...] maybe it is important [...] for me [...] to indicate to a native speaker that I also belong to that cultural circle, whereas when I'm with Hungarian[s], I would not like to separate myself from them

4.4.2 Adapting to Different Levels of Proficiency

The next aspect is similar, it also indicates a differentiation in speech based on a native vs. non-native factor; however, instead of the cultural backgrounds, it is connected to how the participants relate to English-speakers with different levels of proficiency. This could be identified in the case of the majority of the participants:

(Q49) C: Of course, [...] when I talk to students and again if their English is at a low level, I use different vocabulary, simple grammatic[al] structures, when I'm among native speakers, I know that my English changes, [...] unconsciously I begin to imitate their accent and also my style changes, so I think that the English that I speak with them is different in that respect.... So my level of English also varies depending on the level of English the person I speak to has

Participant D also identified this process in his speech production:

(Q50) D: Yes, I do [differentiate]. If I'm speaking with non-native speakers, I try to adjust to their needs... I tend to speak relatively fluently, but I stress words more when I'm speaking to non-native speakers

Participant E ascribed this phenomenon in his own speech production to his non-deliberate adapting to the communicational partner(s):

(Q51) E: What I feel is that when I speak to natives, it's easier to be at a high level than when I'm surrounded by people whose English is not very good [...] so I can actually, I tend to somehow adjust to their level [...]

In his account, participant G clearly connected this to pronunciation, emphasising that this is a common phenomenon and that everybody or at least every teacher does it:

(Q52) G: Of course, I do some things consciously, but for example if I'm talking to a student whose level is lower, of course I'm trying to adapt my speech to a lower level and I will pronounce things differently [...] all people do that so I think people put on a [...] different identity with advanced and different identity with beginning students

4.4.3 Adapting to Different Native Speakers

The following aspect of the dynamic quality of accent could be clearly observed in the account of participant F and D. Although he admitted he did not differentiate whether he

was talking to native and non-native speakers, participant F related how he strives to adapt to different native speakers of English, such as British and American, through his accent:

(Q53) F: I feel that I have the same urge, so when I talk to people from the United States, I have this urge to try and sound like them... The only difference is [...] whether I talk to people from Britain or people from the US, because I tend to use a different accent with these people, respectively. I think I do [consciously differentiate]. ... So with Americans I use American and with everybody else I use British, I think this is my strategy

Participant D also gave account of this phenomenon, although at first, he did not recognise its conscious elements:

(Q54) D: In Canada I have [relatives] so I'm with them a lot of the time, and [...] I don't know that I'm doing it, but people will comment on it that if I'm speaking [with people there], I'll speak differently

He explained it with the fact that this is an automatic process that a language teacher does to facilitate communication:

(Q55) D: It's automatic, if you're an English teacher, you accommodate, it's what you do, you adjust to maximise the ease of communication

4.4.4 *Adapting to Different Social Situations*

The next aspect can be connected to a distinction between formal and informal situations. Participant F linked this to deliberately picking up non-standard elements to adjust to informal settings:

(Q56) F: But there are kind of folksy elements in American that people are using [in] conversation, like this 'ain't' or double negation, and I think those can be used to create an informal atmosphere, and I think that may be a factor in trying to choose [...] non-standard elements in my own language production.

The last aspect of changes in pronunciation in regards to standard and non-standard elements could also be observed in the case of participant D. Although he admittedly strives to speak the standard in most situations, he uses his strong dialect for very interesting strategic communicational purposes. Just as he mentioned how he tried to facilitate communication, he

also has strategies for making himself distant, even repulsive, usually when he is “irritated” by someone or the situation he is in:

(Q57) D: What I have found is if I’m irritated by people, and I wish to some way to distance my, [in a strong dialect] I start to speak with a really strong [...] accent [...] just to show that I’m different. And I have noticed that, that it’s a sign of irritation in my case, it’s a sign [...] of distancing.

4.5 A kutatási eredmények bemutatásának magyar nyelvű összefoglalója

Az eredmények végigvezetnek a résztvevők az interjúk során tárgyalt témák alapján csoportosított válaszaiban. A fejezet törzsanyagát a résztvevők válaszaiból kigyűjtött idézetek alkotják, amelyek a 3. mellékletben olvashatók. A könnyebb eligazodás érdekében a különböző részek felsorolásánál feltüntettem a témákhoz tartozó idézetek számát. A felmerülő témák részletesebb elemzése a Tárgyalás (Discussion) fejezetben található.

Először a magyar akcentussal kapcsolatos meglátások kerültek bemutatásra, melyet a résztvevők saját angol akcentusukról adott jellemzése követett (Q1-Q2). Ezután került sor a beszámolókra a nyelvtanulás környezeti tényezői, azaz a nyelvtanulás kezdete, valamint körülményei alapján. Ezt követték a résztvevők által megemlített külső befolyásoló tényezők és hatások (Q3-Q10), valamint a résztvevők által az angoltanulás során tudatosan választott célok: a tanárok viszonya az anyanyelvi normákhoz, illetve az angol nyelv nemzetközi szerepéhez és motivációjuk a nyelvtanulás folyamata során (Q11-Q21).

A fejezet második felében az akcentus és identitás összefüggésével kapcsolatos idézetek kerültek bemutatásra, ezen belül kiemelt figyelmet fordítottam a résztvevő egyetemi oktatók különböző lehetséges és felismert identitásaira (Q22-Q36), arra a jelenségre, hogy a Magyarországon angolt tanító nyelvtanárok saját beszédükben is alkalmazkodnak az országban elterjedt tanítási normákhoz, valamint arra, hogy hogyan törekednek az identitásuk különválasztására (Q37-Q44).

A fejezet végén olvasható az akcentus dinamikus tulajdonságainak bemutatása, amely a résztvevők példáin keresztül szemlélteti, miként alkalmazkodnak a mindennapi nyelvhasználat során különböző helyzetekhez attól függően, hogy az angol nyelvet angol vagy magyar anyanyelveikkel, az angolt magas vagy alacsony szinten beszélőkkel, illetve milyen társas szituációkban használják (Q45-Q57).

5 DISCUSSION

After presenting the findings in a more neutral manner, in the discussion I will highlight the most salient themes in each section, generalising the results to some extent. The discussion is divided into a number of subsections that follow the structure of the results chapter. At first, I will consider the aspects that are related to the participants' perceptions related to their own accents. Next, I will discuss the results concerned with accent and identity, and I will take a look at the dynamism of accent, showcasing examples of constant changes in the English accents of the participants and strategies behind these phenomena. Finally, I will discuss implications of the findings for further research in the field and ELT in the expanding-circle.

5.1 Perception of Accent

Although not asked, in some cases the participants seemed to identify a characteristic Hungarian accent, hence referring to their own accent and Hungarians' in general as "Hunglish" in some instances, although no negative connotations were mentioned. This may result from the fact that as university educators, the participants have developed a much broader tolerance toward accented speech. Another tendency was that the teachers felt that the characteristic features of other non-native accents are much more salient than those of Hungarian-influenced pronunciation, thus rendering it a less stereotypic variant than some of the other accents of Outer and expanding-circle countries mentioned in studies investigating the general perception about foreign accents (see Sifakis, 2005; Brennan and Brennan, 1981; Nesdale and Rooney, 1996; Sato, 1998; Derwing, 2003)

When describing their own accents, some of the teachers seemed to be very modest. Taking into account that they are highly proficient and educated speakers of English, just as the Finnish participants in Majanen's research (2008), this could be taken as a sign of underestimation. Nevertheless, similarly to the informants in Sifakis' study (2005) of Greek teachers, they all accepted and were content with their own accents.

5.2 Environmental Factors in EFL and Accent Formulation

I will first take into account what I referred to as external environmental factors in language acquisition. It is interesting to note that almost half of the participants (A; C; E)

began learning English relatively late, after the age of 12. Owing to their profession, they were all familiar with the concept of the Critical Period Hypothesis and the sensitive period in language learning, and they all seemed to have attributed their difficulty to acquire a fully native-like accent due to these as well. From the aspect of language acquisition, the members of this group are very similar to those in the research of Bongaerts et al. (1997), identifying some exceptional Dutch speakers of English who started to learn the language after puberty. All members of this group spent a considerable amount of time abroad in native-speaking environments, however, only one of them (C) identified that his accent was influenced by the local variety. The rest of the group only identified benefits from the aspect of grammar, vocabulary and fluency but not their accents. Rather interestingly, one participant did not think that the age he started learning English (when he was 10) was appropriate but claimed that he only took it seriously after the age of 14. Nevertheless, later he found it easy to adopt features from various native accents, which could be related to the fact that he was exposed to the language quite early or the outstandingly significant time he has spent in native-speaking communities.

The second group consists of those participants who began learning English at a young age. One of the participants (F) did this in Hungary, while the other two (B and D) both began learning English in a native environment in educational institutes along with native students. They all claimed to hold native-like accents free of Hungarian characteristics, and two of them (D and F) turned out to be very conscious of their use of accent for various strategic purposes in communication. The findings also indicate that even though spending time in a native environment does play an important role in improving language skills, the urge to integrate into the given community by adopting their accent also depends on the attitude of the speaker based on other factors, such as the start of language acquisition (A).

5.2.1 Influences and Targets in Language Acquisition

In almost all cases, the informants identified role models in their language acquisition process and in relation to the accents they were exposed to. Similarly to the participants in Majanen's research (2008), the teachers in this study particularly named one or numerous teachers who played a significant role in their process of language learning, giving account of a teacher-based attitude towards language learning. Moreover, several participants (D and F) also identified groups of native and international speakers of English as significant influences during language acquisition, although these are not necessarily part of the learning

environment but the learner's own personal surroundings. This indicates that both individual teachers in the educational environment and individuals and groups surrounding the personal community of the language learner pose as important influences in the process of language acquisition and attainment of accent.

If we move forward and begin to investigate the conscious targets in the participants' language learning process with a focus on accent, the first thing we notice is the dominating role of the Nativeness Paradigm. These results conform to Majanen's and several other studies (Timmis, 2002) which show that learners (and teachers) of English strive to native norms and hold a native-bound perspective concerning accent. This can be attributed to a natural process in the case of one part of the participants (B; C; D; G), who lived in native-speaking communities for a significant amount of time. Their targets arose from the motivation to integrate into the target community, which manifested itself in the way they speak the language now or spoke the language at the time of living in the given community. Some participants (e.g. E and F) developed an integrative motivation towards a variety of English in Hungary. This motivation was not a consequence of being part of the given community but a want of belonging, resulting from the appreciation of the culture of the target community.

It is interesting to note that many participants did not have concrete targets in regards to accent until a later period of language acquisition. On one hand, the participants were not aware of different varieties only until a much later phase of language acquisition, such as participant F. On the other, as in the case of participant B, conscious choices did not play a role in language acquisition until he was suggested to keep to one accent externally by an external agent (one of his university professors).

A number of participants preferred educated native accents, such as RP or General American. This indicates a direct link to their identity construction. Admittedly (see participant F) they may see the speakers of educated accents of greater moral and intellectual worth (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004), and associate this group with social power (Widdowson, 1994; Varghese et al. 2005). Participant F is the clearest example of this, though not the only one. Participant A also identified a striving for standard dialects as appropriate indicators of education, especially for teachers. There are clear-cut examples of attraction toward educated variants in Majanen's research as well: a "social aspiration to belong to the superior group and upper class culture, in search of a new, more favourable identity" (2008: 68).

Just as in the case of Sifakis' (2005) study, the results here also mark a paradox. On one hand, most of the teachers seem to have held a strongly norm-bound perspective and native pronunciation models. On the other however, they also emphasised that the most important factor in communicating in the foreign language is the need to create a discourse that is appropriate for the particular communicative situation and comprehensible for all interlocutors.

Although for the most part, they seemed to have a special attraction towards native-based targets in their own speech formation, the participants of this research also claimed to be aware of the international spread of English. The fact that they have been using English in various professional and communicative settings for a very long time seems to have affected their tolerance toward accented speech in general. All their negative experiences they mentioned were connected to past events and almost all of them emphasised how they came to be reconciled with how they speak English. This conforms to Wu's research (2011) suggesting that the assessed group of Chinese English speakers eventually became tolerant of their Chinese accent and even managed to feel good about their accents because it did not "obstruct communication" (p. 718). The results indicate that even though they are attached to the Nativeness Paradigm in their own speech production, they to some extent began to shift toward the Intelligibility Principle in their everyday use of English.

5.3 Accent and Identity Construction

I now turn to discussing the role of accent in the participants' identity construction. As expected, the teachers' identities as English speakers turned out to be dynamic, multiple and often conflicting. As Majanen (2008) also pointed out: this is typical of poststructuralist identities and also supports Varghese et al.'s (2005) definition of identity.

As university educators, the most salient aspect they identified was their identity as teachers, which also presented itself through their accent. Just as the non-native teachers of English in Majanen's study, the participants here also seemed to be willing to appreciate the importance of their non-nativeness in the profession of language teaching. Similarly to the assessed teachers in Golombek and Jordan's research (2005), the participants of the current study too considered themselves more competent teachers of English for Hungarians as a result of their familiarity with the issues and difficulties Hungarians might be faced with during language acquisition, supporting Seidlhofer's (2001) and Llurda's (2004) views on the importance of knowing students' first language in EFL learning.

5.3.1 Identity as Teachers

One of the most significant implications of the participants' accounts on the relationship between identity construction as teachers and the formation of their accents is how existing EFL teaching norms in Hungary, norms based on RP, affected the way they speak English in educational settings and even their general speech production. It appears that the teachers perceive the educational environment and the outside world as two separate entities (Majanen, 2008). No matter how they might use English in their relations with other, native or non-native, speakers of English, the participants admittedly strived to stick to RP within the scopes of the classroom. Thus, the attitude of these Hungarian teachers seems to be the same as that of Finnish and Greek teachers in Majanen's (2008) and Sifakis' (2005) respective studies: in educational settings, they hold native-bound principles irrespective of their attitudes in other communicational situations outside the classroom.

In extreme cases (such as participants C and G) they were even willing to conform their English accents to the primary groups of English speakers they communicate with, that is, students. This implies that not only their profession as English teachers influences their identity as speakers of English but also the fact that they teach English in Hungary based on well-established teaching norms. These findings represent the results of Majanen's research as well, in which the informants justified their restriction to native accents (RP) in teaching by reasons transferring responsibility to an external agent, for example the teaching material (2008: 54).

Participant C's example showing how his attitude would have been different had he not started teaching English at an elementary level reflects a norm-bound teaching orientation in the early stages of education and a more wide-ranging perspective regarding accent as learners get older, which conforms some of the informants' attitude in Sifakis' research.

5.3.2 Identity as Multilinguals

In addition to the special role of language teachers, the participants also identified the unique role of multilinguals. As one of them put it, they "create links" between the two communities and cultures. However, this role can only be efficiently carried out if the speaker is truly knowledgeable of the two (or more) cultures at hand. Looking at how the participants considered separating their identities as bilinguals (speakers of English) or Hungarians, we can see that they held vastly different views and reported on several separate strategies. With his lack of integrative motivation, participant A constitutes from the aspect of ELF an

international (Hungarian) speaker of English, without any attachment to one of the native-bound targets. Though he is aware of his limits in pronunciation, there seems to be an interrelationship between the two: he now claims that he does not strive for a native-like accent because of his age and having been long over the sensitive period, although due to the fact that he did not want to integrate into a native community, he never really strived for an authentic accent in the first place.

The rest of the participants showed a completely different attitude toward their identities as Hungarians and speakers of English. A significant proportion of the informants claimed they did not want to indicate or even want to hide their Hungarian identity when speaking English. One of the participant's opinion about how he is not afraid of losing his Hungarian identity because of his other, English identity is an interesting twist of how Derwing's (2003) research subjects thought of their own identities considering their accented use of English: when they were asked about why they did not feel that their own identities would be at risk if they were able to speak without an accent, they said they had nothing to lose as that their own first languages were fully intact (*ibid.*).

The majority of the participants seem to conform to Davies' approach towards attaining a native-like accent and the consideration of proficiency. Just as in Huang's research (2005), the participants of this study also seem to set native-bound targets in how they speak English, yet they also recognise the central role of intelligibility and the importance of speaking "correctly".

5.4 The Dynamism of Accent

The findings related to this theme showcase the similar nature of foreign accent and identity through presenting the dynamic and ever-changing nature of both, implying that just as identity, accent is often consciously formed based on the timely needs and motivating factor of the speaker.

The findings provide clear-cut evidence for the teachers' negotiable identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). First of all, the findings clearly indicate that the participants differentiate between their identities as teachers and users of English which is manifested in how they use English with natives and non-natives. In addition, they also adapt to speakers (students) with different levels of proficiency. In most cases, the participants indicated changes in the prosodic features of their pronunciation, such as intonation, stress and tempo (Lippi-Green, 1998), yet some of them claimed to change segmental features as well, such as

in the case of participants C and G. This adapting seems to have two separate reasons: on one hand, their aim is to facilitate communication either by trying to be helpful mostly with students with lower proficiency, hence the changes in prosodic features. On the other, the segmental changes they identified are resulting from an unconscious and often unwanted adjustment to the interlocutor.

Secondly, shifts in the participants' English accent could be observed in their recollections of how they use English with native speakers from different native-speaking countries. It is obvious here from the example of participant F how one can consciously strive to adapt their accent to the interlocutor even to such extent as switching between two vastly different pronunciation variants such as General American and Standard British. Participant D's case is another indicator of this phenomenon, though admittedly, he is less in control of it.

Lastly, participant D's example is another evidence for the dynamic and strategic use of accent while negotiating one's identities. It suggests that just as the participants used strategies to facilitate communication with less-proficient users of English and with different native speakers, some like to use their accents for the exact opposite, to distance themselves and deliberately hinder communication via means that are manifested through accent.

Besides providing evidence for the shifting nature of accent as an indicator of how EFL speakers, the participants of this study seem to have adopted what Majanen's research (2008) of similar nature suggests: as teachers they should perceive their natural tendency to adapt and accommodate their oral language production according to different interlocutors as an advantage based on the findings of Jenkins' study (2000) that claim accommodation is an extremely useful skill when encountering people with unfamiliar native or non-native accents.

5.5 A kutatási eredmények értékelésének magyar nyelvű összefoglalója

A résztvevők több esetben is meghatároztak egy tipikus magyar, úgynevezett „hunglish”, akcentust, ám ezzel kapcsolatos negatív konnotációkat nem említettek. Ez lehet annak a következménye, hogy egyetemi oktatóként jóval nagyobb toleranciát mutatnak az idegenszerű kiejtéssel szemben. A résztvevők általában más nemzetek tipikus akcentusait erősebbnek vélték felfedezni, mint a magyart. A résztvevők más hasonló tanulmányok résztvevőihöz hasonlóan elfogadták és elégedettek voltak saját angol akcentusukkal.

A nyelvtanulás kezdete és az idegen anyanyelvi környezetben eltöltött idő szempontjából a résztvevők között nagy eltérés mutatkozott. A résztvevők foglalkozásukból adódóan tudatában voltak a kritikus periódusnak és a legtöbben ennek tudták be az akcentus

nélküli kiejtés elérésével kapcsolatos nehézségeiket. Mindegyikük töltött hosszabb időt célnyelvi környezetben, ám csak egyikük ismerte el, hogy a helyi variáns hatással volt az akcentusára. A résztvevők felismerték a külföldön töltött idő hasznosságát.

Majanen (2008) kutatásához hasonlóan a résztvevők szinte minden esetben megneveztek tanárokat vagy egyéneket, akik fontos szerepet töltöttek be a nyelvtanulás folyamatában, amely bizonyítja a nyelvtanulás iránt mutatott tanárorientált hozzáállást.

Ha megfigyeljük a nyelvtanulás során kitűzött célokat, rögtön feltűnik az anyanyelvi paradigma domináns szerepe. Ezek az eredmények összhangban vannak Majanen (2008) kutatási eredményével, amely azt mutatja, hogy az akcentus terén a nyelvtanulók (és – tanárok) anyanyelvi normákat tűznek ki célként maguk elé. Ez egyrészt egy természetes folyamat, mivel a résztvevők közül négyen is jelentős ideig éltek célnyelvi környezetben külföldön, és a motivációjuk az volt, hogy integrálódjanak az adott közösségbe. Az integratív motiváció több résztvevőnél is megfigyelhető, az ő esetükben ez azonban nem az adott kultúrába való beilleszkedés, hanem a célnyelv kultúrája iránt érzett elismerés eredménye.

Több résztvevő is megemlítette, hogy előnyben részesíti az úgynevezett „presztízs dialektusokat”, a magas társadalmi pozíciót tükröző variánsokat, mivel úgy gondolják, hogy megfelelően tükrözi a műveltséget, amely a tanárok számára elengedhetetlen. A résztvevők továbbá felismerték az angol nemzetközi nyelvként betöltött szerepét és ez kialakított bennük egyfajta toleranciát a különböző akcentusokkal szemben.

Ahogy arra számítani lehetett, a tanárok különböző identitásai dinamikusnak, többsíkúnak és gyakran egymással konfliktusban állónak mutatkoztak. A legtöbben felismerték különleges szerepüket, mint nyelvtanárok, illetve mint többnyelvűek. Nagyon érdekes eredmény, hogy a tanárok sokszor a Magyarországon uralkodó angol nyelvtanítási normák szerint „írták felül” az általuk elsajátított vagy preferált akcentust, amelyből az következik, hogy nagyon fontos lenne a nyelvtanítási normák definiálása (különösképpen a kiejtésoktatás terén), mivel ezek nagyban befolyásolhatják a tanárok nyelvhasználatát és ezen keresztül a diákok nyelvtanulását.

Arra, hogy ki hogyan viszonyul ahhoz, hogy a magyarsága érződik az akcentusán, a résztvevők rendkívül sokféleképpen reagáltak. Az egyik véglet büszkén felvállalta nemzetiségét, azt állítván, hogy a kommunikációt nem hátráltatja a magyar akcentusa, illetve nem próbálja eltakarni a tényt, hogy honnan származik. A résztvevők egy másik csoportja nem kívánta mutatni, sőt, szándékosan el akarta rejteni magyar származását az angol beszédében. Egy résztvevő elmondta, hogy nem fél elveszíteni a magyar identitását, mivel az angollal már szerzett egy másikat.

A kutatási eredmények rámutatnak az identitás és az akcentus szoros összefüggésére abból a szempontból, hogy az identitás pozicionálása megjelenik az akcentusban is, illetve ugyanennek a fordítottja is igaz. A résztvevők válaszaiból kiderül, hogy különböző helyzetekben megfigyelhető az akcentus változtatása attól függően, hogy kivel és milyen szituációban zajlik a diskurzus. Bár a legtöbb esetben csupán a prozódiai jellemzők változtatásáról van szó (tempó, hangsúlyozás), számos olyan példát is hoztak, ahol kiejtésbeli, szegmentális, változtatások is megfigyelhetők. Ennek egyfelől lehet oka a tudatalatti, nem kívánt alkalmazkodás a beszélgetőpartnerhez, ám mint néhány résztvevő példájából látjuk, ugyanez lehet tudatos döntés eredménye is. Az utóbbi megjelenhet két vagy többféle variáns változtatásaként a megértés könnyítése, ugyanakkor helyzettől függően, a kommunikáció hátráltatása érdekében is.

6 CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study has been intended to add to the line of research in expanding-circle countries, the necessity of which was pointed out in Majanen's research (2008) concerned with the teaching of English as an international language and the promotion of EIL in English teaching.

The purpose of this study was to illustrate the interrelationship of identity and accent in a foreign language and how it is connected to different routes of language acquisition. Through the examples provided by the participants, I presented the perceptions of these teachers about their own accents; the vastly different ways how these exceptional speakers of English acquired the language and how they connect it to the formation of their identities as multilinguals and educators. Furthermore, the study focuses on a rather neglected field of language acquisition, pronunciation teaching.

In the beginning of the research my hypothesis was that this group of university teachers of English has had consciously chosen targets during their language acquisition process and that these targets have influenced the way they speak English, which is also in connection with how they negotiate their identities as multilingual English speakers and English teachers. Moreover, shifts in targets do not only affect the accent formulation process in the past but are also manifested on a real-time situation-dependent basis, depending on to whom and in what situation they speak the language. By the end of the analysis, all aspects of my hypothesis turned out to be valid.

The first research question investigated the participants' perceptions about their own English accent and whether they were aware of its characteristic features. The findings show that the teachers are indeed conscious about and – as highly experienced educators – also very content with their English accents, showing indirectly a perceivable tolerance toward accented speech.

The second research question was aimed at revealing how the participants studied English, whether in natural, native or foreign educational settings and whether they had any conscious or unconscious influences and targets during the process. The answers showcase the vast differences in the backgrounds of the learning process, indicating that differences in time and place of acquisition as well as influential individuals or communities significantly affect the attitude towards native or non-native-bound language learning. The results also support the claim that the role of a teacher is indeed an important aspect in language learning. The desire for native-likeness seems to be dominant with the motivation to integrate emerging

from vastly different sources, such as inward attraction to a target community or living in a particular community. On the contrary however, the participants' long teaching experience made them realistic about native ideals.

The third and final question investigated the relationship between accent in EFL and the participants' identities. The findings illustrate a crucial connection between the teachers' identities and their English accents. Differences could be identified in how the participants related to their role as educators and as multilinguals. In some cases, the teachers admittedly and deliberately tried to adapt to well-established Hungarian teaching norms no matter what their own preferences were regarding pronunciation or even what their students expected from them, which shows that prevalent educational norms have a huge influence on both the teachers' identities as educators and multilinguals. Furthermore, the participants' accounts on how they speak with different characteristics in their accents with different people and in different situations are tell-tale signs of the dynamism of accent, which, just as identity, is constantly negotiated based on the interlocutors and the communicational setting.

The findings point out that the majority of the teachers felt strongly about one or more native communities and this appreciation has significantly influenced how they speak English. Even those who conformed to teaching norms in Hungary have done so based on Standard English and not emerging EIL patterns. However, more research ought to be carried out in Hungary and expanding-circle countries as well to find out more about this relationship and how it could be used to better ELT in such areas. Although it is not directly in the focus of this research, the results represent an interesting and significant addition to research concerned with foreign language acquisition, as the seven different case studies represent seven vastly different routes to being a successful language learner, which is a result worth taking into consideration, especially at a time when the main concern in the fields of language teaching and language assessment is unification and standardisation. To draw conclusions however, more research should be carried out with educators at such level. This research is an adequate addition to Majanen's invitation (2008) to carry out research of this nature with English teachers from expanding-circle countries, which should be followed by more studies carried out in similar environments.

On the whole, the present research, conducted via semi-structured interviews and comprehensive discourse analysis, provided findings that express the complex relationship of accent and identity and its implications on EFL use, shedding some more light on the "enormous functional flexibility" of the language.

6.1 A konklúzió magyar nyelvű összefoglalója

A kutatás összességében jól illeszkedik a Sifakis (2005) és Majanen (2008) által elindított kutatási irányzatba, amely az angolt idegen nyelvként tanulók akcentushoz való hozzáállását, valamint az akcentus és az identitás kapcsolatát vizsgálja azzal a céllal, hogy értékes és megfontolandó eredményeket szerezhessenek, melyek alapján az angol nyelvoktatás még hatékonyabbá tehető. A kutatás célja az volt, hogy bemutassa egy csoport egyetemi oktató példáján keresztül az idegen nyelvi akcentus és az identitás kapcsolatát, valamint az akcentus folyamatosan változó mivoltát azért, hogy ráirányítja a figyelmet a nyelvoktatás egy meglehetősen elhanyagolt területére, a kiejtés tanítására.

A hipotézisem az volt, hogy a vizsgált csoport tagjai a nyelvtanulási folyamat során rendelkeztek tudatosan választott cél-, illetve mintacsoportokkal, melyek összefüggésben állnak azzal, hogy a résztvevők milyen akcentussal beszélik a nyelvet, illetve hogyan pozícionálják az identitásukat a különböző beszédhelyzetekben.

A feltevéseim minden pontja igazolódott. A tanárokról összességében elmondható, hogy tudatában vannak annak, hogy milyen akcentussal beszélik az angol nyelvet, továbbá beszámolóik alapján a legtöbben az okokat, célokat és referenciacsoportokat is megemlítették, amelyek mostani akcentusuk kialakulásához vezettek. A résztvevő egyetemi oktatók esetében egyértelműen látszik, hogy az angol akcentusuk kapcsolatban áll a különböző identitásaikkal mint nyelvtanárok, mint magyar nemzetiségűek és mint többnyelvűek. Ezenfelül néhányuk példája azt mutatja, hogy egyesek képesek az akcentusukat helyzettől függően változtatni, ezzel lekövetve identitásuk pozícionálását.

A kutatás eredményei hozzájárulnak az idegennyelv-elsajátítási kutatásokhoz, ugyanis hét teljesen különböző utat vázolnak fel az ún. „sikeres nyelvtanulóvá” váláshoz, amely megszívlelendő kutatási eredmény egy olyan időszakban, amikor a nyelvoktatással kapcsolatban országos szinten egységesítési törekvések zajlanak. Nyilvánvaló a tanárok különösen fontos szerepe a nyelvtanításban, ezért mindenképpen fontosnak tartom, hogy további kutatások készüljenek az oktatók véleményét és tapasztalatait a középpontba állítva. Ezenfelül további hasonló jellegű kutatásra lenne szükség olyan országokban, ahol az angolt idegen nyelvként tanítják.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

1. How would you describe your English accent?
2. Please, describe how you learnt English: when did you first start and where did you study?
3. Besides the educational setting, what have been the most significant factors that have influenced the way you speak English today, could you list the prevailing factors that you believe have affected your accent to the largest extent?
4. Did you have a particular regional or social dialect or accent in mind when learning and speaking English or do you have any now? If yes, could you identify it and describe it?
5. What made this particular dialect or accent attractive in contrast to others, why did/do you feel connected to it and not to others?
6. Do you strive for perfect authenticity or do you try to indicate your nationality in your speech?
7. How does, in your view, your English accent influence your identity as a Hungarian-born teacher, as an English-language teacher and as a bilingual individual?

Appendix 2: Interview guide in Hungarian

1. Hogy jellemezné az angol akcentusát?
2. Kérem, mondja el, hogy tanulta az angol nyelvet: mikor kezdte és hol tanult?
3. A tanulási környezeten kívül melyek voltak a leglényegesebb tényezők, amelyek hatással voltak rá, hogy hogyan beszél most angolul? Fel tudná sorolni a legfontosabb tényezőket, amelyekről úgy gondolja, hogy a legnagyobb hatással voltak az akcentusára?
4. Volt egy adott regionális vagy társadalmi nyelvváltozat, amelyet célként tűzött ki a nyelvtanulás során, illetve van ilyen most? Ha igen, megnevezné és jellemezné?
5. Mi tette ezt a változatot vonzóvá a többivel szemben, illetve miért érzett vele kapcsolatot és miért nem másikkal?
6. A teljes autentikusságra törekszik a beszédalkotás során vagy próbálja jelezni, hogy a nemzetisége magyar, miközben angolul beszél?
7. Miként van hatással az angol akcentusa az identitására mint magyar, mint angoltanár, illetve mint többnyelvű?

Appendix 3: Quotes in Hungarian

(Q1) B: Úgy gondolom, általánosságban létezik egy tipikus magyar akcentus

(Q2) A: Elég sok embert hallottam beszélni az angol nyelvet, akiknek a kiejtése alapján egyszerűen meg lehetett mondani, hogy honnan jöttek: németek, franciák, koreaiak... A kiejtésük abszolút jellegzetes, de nem tudom, mi a magyar jellegzetesség

(Q3) F: Úgy gondolom, hogy az a tény, hogy az apám jól beszélt angolul... Azt hiszem ez volt a döntő tényező; olyan szerettem volna lenni, mint az apám, el akartam sajátítani mindent, amit ő tudott

(Q4) F: Egy sor tanár tanított egészen nyolcadikos koromig, onnan kezdve pedig nagyszerű tanáraim voltak; 13 éves voltam, amikor volt ez a csodálatos tanár, modern módszerekkel, elég szigorú volt és rengeteg szót tanultunk nála... Fiatal volt, és szerintem bizonyos szinten példakép volt a számunkra, egy fiatal értelmiségi; azt hiszem, irigyeltük, ahogy angolul beszélt és meg tettünk volna neki szinte bármit... Rengeteget tanultam abban az időszakban

(Q5) F: Onnantól kezdve a következő személy egy idősebb tanár volt, aki nagyon szigorú volt és inkább a nyelvtant erőltette. Rendesen megdolgoztatott minket, mindent összevetve ők ketten voltak azok, akiktől a legtöbbet tanultam angolt

(Q6) D: 3 éves koromban kerültem óvodába, ahol az óvó néni skót volt, így aztán az elején elég sok skót hatás ért... Nem tudom, hogy a többi tanár ugyanekkora hatással volt-e rám, talán még Mrs. [...], aki az első általános iskolai tanárom volt. Amikor középiskolába kerültem, ír apácák tanítottak

(Q7) B: Itt a tanárom brit volt, tehát innen a brit hatás... úgyis mondhatjuk, hogy rajta keresztül kaptam egy másik réteget [egy brit réteget] az [amerikai] alapra

(Q8) G: Volt egy angol barátom, aki nagy hatással volt az akcentusomra, szépen lassan felvettem az ő akcentusát, amely egy dél-angliai akcentus volt

(Q9) D: A szüleim foglalkozásából kifolyólag sokat láttam a művészvilágból, és volt körülöttem egy bizonyos jiddis-hatású johannesburgi akcentus, amelyet gyerekkoromban sokat hallottam

(Q10) F: Sokszor jöttek át hozzánk vendégek, akik angolul beszéltek, nem feltétlenül angol anyanyelvűek, de a közös nyelv az angol volt, és ez segített, amikor 10 vagy 12 éves voltam,

hogy időnként beszélgetnem kellett a vendégekkel és azt gondolom, ez minden másnál jobban felerősítette a motivációm

(Q11) B: Mivel még kicsi voltam, amikor az Egyesült Államokban az angolt tanultam, és nagyon szerettem ott élni abban az időben, azt hiszem az egész miliő, az iskola, minden nagyon vonzóvá tette, ezért is akartam ragaszkodni hozzá [az amerikai akcentushoz]

(Q12) G: Skóciába költöztem, ahol szépen lassan felvettem egyfajta skót akcentust, legalábbis a helyiek azt mondták... Ezután Amerikában éltem három évet, ahol felvettem egy erős amerikai akcentust

(Q13) G: Úgy gondolom, hogy felvettem ezeknek az akcentusoknak a leginkább felismerhető jellegzetességeit... Azt hiszem, elkerülhetetlen volt, hogy felvegyem a skót akcentus bizonyos jellegzetességeit, és mivel az Egyesült Államok déli részén éltem, ezért szintén felvettem néhány jellegzetességet... de nem mondanám ezeket az akcentusokat vonzónak, csupán tudat alatt megtörténik, amikor az ember elköltözik egy másik közösségbe, elkezd felvenni az ottani akcentust

(Q14) C: Amikor az angol tanulni kezdtem, a standard brit angolt tanították, amikor Kanadában voltam, gondolom, felvettem a kanadai akcentust

(Q15) C: Úgy gondolom, leginkább a brit angolra törekszem. Amikor megnézem a szótárban, hogyan ejtenek egy szót, mindig a brit változatot keresem

(Q16) E: A legfőbb motivációm a rockzene volt, a Queen, ezért az akcentus is, ha vonzónak találok egy akcentust, akkor az a brit akcentus, a standard brit, mivel ez volt az, amelyiket a legtöbbször hallottam a televízióban vagy a rádióban, ezt szerettem a legjobban, ez az, amit a mai napig a legjobban szeretek, és ezt is értem meg a legkönnyebben

(Q17) E: A vonzalmam az Egyesült Királysághoz kötődik, Angliához valamilyen oknál fogva, nem az angolhoz általánosságban... ezért aztán az én esetemben közre játszik egy erős integratív motiváció... Volt idő, hogy könnyen el tudtam volna képzelni, hogy Angliában maradok és ott élek. A történelmük is közrejátszik, az, ahogy bizonyos kritikus eseményeire reagáltak, például a második világháborúban. Voltam már három alkalommal az Egyesült Államokban is, ám valahogy nem tetszett túlságosan, amit ott láttam azzal szemben, amivel Angliában találkoztam

(Q18) E: Az a kultúra vonz és ez az a kultúra, az ország és ezek azok az emberek, nem csupán a nyelv. A nyelv, ahogy beszélnek viszont a része ennek

(Q19) E: Még mindig úgy gondolom, hogy a standard angolt beszélem, bár néhány kollokvialis jellegzetességet felvettem, amelyeket nem használnak a standard változatban. Ilyen például, hogy ahelyett, hogy azt mondanám, „if it were the case” [ha ez lenne a helyzet], azt mondom, hogy „if it was the case”, mivel ott mindenki így mondta, és nem próbálom megváltoztatni, önkéntelenül így jön

(Q20) B: Ez volt az a pont, amikor eldöntöttem, hogy, mivel már úgyis volt egy jellegzetes akcentusom, követem az amerikai vonalat, ahelyett, hogy britbe fordulnék át, ami sokkal nehezebb lett volna a számomra. Így hát azóta is folytatom az amerikai akcentus használatát

(Q21) F: Azt hiszem volt egyfajta dupla célom, el akartam sajátítani mind az amerikai, mind pedig a brit akcentust, talán így mondható el a legjobban

(Q22) F: Úgy gondolom, hogy ez egy nagyon értékes szerep. Szerintem jó, hogy magyar vagyok, mivel tisztában vagyok a problémákkal, amelyekkel a magyaroknak gondjuk akadhat, például az egyeztetés a személyes névmások esetében, ami a magyarban nem létezik, ezért állandó problémát jelent és fel vagyok rá készülve, míg ha angol anyanyelvű lennék, nem érteném, hogy mi ezen olyan nehéz

(Q23) E: Tanárként az a célom, hogy tanítsam, meggyőzzem és motiváljam a diákokat, hogy azt tegyék, amit szeretnék, és ehhez szerintem fontos, ha van egyfajta közös kulturális hovatartozás

(Q24) F: A presztízs egy kulcsfontosságú tényező volt... az Egyesült Államokban, ahol az Egyesült Királysággal szemben nincsenek születéssel járó kiváltságok, azaz senki sem születik arisztokratának... ott van ez a hatalmas lehetőség a társadalmi mobilitásra, ami nem valami olyasmi, amit ne lehetne megtenni, megvan a lehetősége bárkinek arra, hogy a társadalom egy magasabb presztízsű részébe tartozzon, mint amilyenbe a szülei, nagyszülei vagy az emberek, akiket ismer vagy akikkel iskolába járt, tartoztak. Ennek az egyik kulcsfontosságú eleme a nyelvhasználat, milyen szavakat használunk, milyen összetett mondatokat szerkesztünk, és azt hiszem, ez volt a helyzet az én estemben is, azaz a nyelvhasználatom és az intellektusom kifejezése volt az eszköze annak, hogy bizonyítsak, hogy elfogadtassam magam a társadalom előkelőbb köreiből. Azt gondolom, ez a lehetőség mindenki számára nyitott, és úgy hiszem, ez volt az én motivációm is

(Q25) F: Felismertem, hogy valaki, aki például egyetemi professzor az Egyesült Államokban, az angol nyelv egy olyan változatát beszéli, amely legalább annyira kifinomult, mint bármi,

amit egy előkelő angol egyetemen hallanánk. Így alakult ki bennem egyfajta tisztelet a standard amerikai nyelvváltozat iránt

(Q26) A: Amelyet mi, az angolt idegen nyelvként tanulók elérhetünk, az egyfajta művelt kiejtés, és én is ezt próbálom elérni; mivel tanár vagyok, példát kell mutatnom a diákjaimnak, és ha ez művelt, akkor rendben van, elfogadható a számomra is és kiállhatok vele a diákjaim elé

(Q27) B: Az összes könyv, az itthon elérhető könyvek nagy része a brit, a bevett köznyelvi brit kiejtést (Received Pronunciation) tanítják

(Q28) G: Egyértelmű, hogy az összes téma brit, a könyvek britek, az akcentus brit... Magyarországon a brit angolt tanítják

(Q29) B: Mindig azt mondom a diákoknak, hogy “ezt [a felvételt] hallgassátok, ne engem”... Megadom nekik mindkét kiejtést, ha lehetséges, megpróbálom elérni, hogy tisztában legyenek a kiejtésbeli különbségekkel, és gyakran megtanítom nekik a különféle kifejezéseket, amelyeket az amerikai kontinensen és Európán belül használnak

(Q30) D: Például én úgy mondom [a dőlt betű angol megfelelőjét], hogy ‘italics’ [aɪtælɪks] és azt mondom a diákoknak, hogy ne tőlem tanulják el, mert a szótár azt mondja, hogy ‘italics’ [ɪtælɪks]

(Q31) D: Sok tájnyelvi szót elhagytam... próbálkozom, nem feltétlenül tudatosan, de próbálok a standard változathoz közel maradni

(Q32) C: Tudatosan megszabadultam a kanadai hatástól, mert az angolnak egy standard variánsát kellett tanítanom... Azt hiszem, ha miután hazajöttem Kanadából, egy felsőoktatási intézményben kaptam volna állást, nem lett volna gond megtartani a kanadai akcentusomat, de mivel egy olyan nyelviskolában kezdtem dolgozni, ahol az angolt kezdő szinten, illetve középszintig kellett tanítani, zavaró lett volna a tanulóknak, ha megtartom a kanadai kiejtésemet... Amikor egy olyan környezetben van az ember, mint a felsőoktatás, ez nem számít; vagy legalábbis úgy gondoljuk, hogy a diákoknak az angol minél több változatával kell megismerkedniük, hogy minél jobban megérthessék azokat, viszont nem akkor, amikor épp csak elkezdik a nyelvet tanulni

(Q33) C: Tulajdonképpen a tanulók a célközönség, illetve ők azok, akikkel a legtöbbet beszélek... Amióta elkezdtem dolgozni, angolt tanítok, és azt hiszem, az is számít, hogy angolt kezdtem tanítani, nem pedig irodalmat, ez is érzékennyé tesz a diákok angoltudásával

kapcsolatban, és mivel a legtöbb időt diákok között töltöm, fontosabbak minden más angolul beszélőnél, akivel találkozom

(Q34) G: Miután visszatértem Magyarországra, törekednem kellett rá, hogy újra az r-betűt nem ejtő változatot (non-rhotic) használjam, legalábbis próbáltam, mivel az angolnak egy ilyen változatát tanítom, és mivel az összes hallott szövegértéssel feladat ilyen, minden brit angol... Ez most az a közösség, amelyben élek; nincs egy másik közösség, ahová csatlakozhatnék. Amíg volt itt az egyetemen egy amerikai közösség amerikai tanárokkal, addig általában velük jártam egy társaságba és felvettem az amerikai akcentust, de mostanában nagyon ritkán beszélek angolul a tantermen kívül

(Q35) G: Az anglicizmusok közül, amelyeket tanítanom kellett, nagyon sokat nem ismertem, így meg kellett keresnem őket a szótárban. Ha egy amerikai könyvről lett volna szó, nem kellett volna feltétlenül megnéznem a szavakat; néha jót mulattam rajta, hogy a britek hogy mondanak valamit, mivel az amerikaiak egy kicsit másként használják ugyanazt a szót

(Q36) F: Azt hiszem, ez egyfajta kulturális tolmács, aki el tudja magyarázni az egyik közösségnek, amit nem értenek a másik közösséggel kapcsolatban

(Q37) A: Ha a motivációm egyfajta integratív motiváció lett volna, a kiejtésem sokkal közelebb lenne a brithez, az amerikaihoz vagy az ausztrálhoz. Ha az ember be akar illeszkedni, amennyire csak lehetséges, úgy szeretne beszélni, mint az anyanyelviek... Az egyik eleme ennek a kiejtés, azonban én sohasem szerettem volna integrálódni a brit kultúrába, sosem akartam, hogy angolnak nézzenek; nem, én magyar vagyok

(Q38) C: Nem hiszem, hogy tudatosan mutatnom kell, hogy magyar vagyok, mert átjön az akcentusomon... Nem próbálom elrejteni, de nem is próbálom mutatni

(Q39) B: Amikor beszélek, senki nem ismeri fel, hogy magyar vagyok, mert nincs magyar akcentusom... a magyar identitásom szerintem teljesen különbözik... az angol akcentussal szinte van egy másik énem, az egy másik személy

(Q40) B: Az angol környezetem volt először az angol akcentussal és az angoltudásommal, a magyar identitásom később kezdett formálódni, 15-16-17-18 éves koromban, egy teljesen másik időszakban, úgyhogy azt hiszem, az én esetemben a kettő valamennyire különálló

(Q41) F: Próbálom elfeledtetni az emberekkel, hogy magyar vagyok

(Q42) E: Nem azért tartom meg a (magyar) akcentusomat, hogy elkülönítsem magam az angol anyanyelvűektől. Ez nem egy tudatos döntés, ha úgy tetszik, hanem ezt tudom elérni, ilyen messzire sikerült jutnom

(Q43) E: Szeretnék továbbá kapcsolatot találni a másik személlyel, mivel úgy gondolom két kultúrába is beletartozom... Tudom, hogy kívülállónak számítok ott [egy angol anyanyelvi környezetben], de valamilyen szinten nem, mert éltem ott, rengeteget tudok róluk és nagyra becsülöm őket

(Q44) E: Nem félek, hogy elveszítem a magyar identitásomat, mert van egy másik is

(Q45) B: Nem, szerintem nincs különbség, mindkét esetben próbálok helyesen beszélni, a nyelvet helyesen használni

(Q46) E: Tudja, amikor tantermi környezetben vagyok, a tanulókkal közös kultúra egy másik kultúra, mivel a közös kultúránk a magyar kultúra. De amikor egy angol anyanyelvűvel beszélek, akkor is tehetek kulturális utalásokat az ő kultúrájára, hogy megmutassam, hogy annak is a része vagyok

(Q47) E: Amikor egy angol anyanyelvűvel beszélek, próbálok a lehető legjobban együttműködni, használhatok utalásokat, beszélhetek dolgokról, beszélhetek olyan módon, hogy azt jelezzem, tisztában vagyok bizonyos értékekkel és konvenciókkal, amelyek az ő kultúrájában léteznek, de nem a magyarban, így igen, ilyen esetben tennék különbséget

(Q48) E: Ez nem egy nyelvi probléma, ez nem egy akcentussal kapcsolatos probléma, ez egy identitásbeli kérdés, az hogy miként definiáljuk a saját identitásunkat, és talán számomra fontos, hogy jelezzem, abba a [z idegen] kulturális körbe is beletartozom, miközben amikor magyarokkal vagyok, nem szeretném szeparálni magam tőlük

(Q49) C: Persze, amikor diákokkal beszélek, és ha az angoljuk nincs magas szinten, más szavakat, egyszerűbb nyelvtani szerkezeteket használok, mint mikor anyanyelviek között vagyok, tudom, hogy az angolom megváltozik, tudat alatt elkezdem utánozni az akcentusukat és a stílusom is megváltozik, ezért úgy gondolom, az angolom más velük ilyen tekintetben... Tehát a szint, amin beszélünk, megváltozik attól függően, hogy kivel kommunikálunk

(Q50) D: Igen, teszek különbséget. Amikor nem anyanyelviekkel beszélek, próbálok alkalmazkodni a szükségleteikhez, viszonylag folyékonyan beszélek, de próbálok jobban hangsúlyozni a szavakat

(Q51) E: Azt látom, hogy amikor anyanyelvekkel beszélek, könnyebb magasabb szinten beszélni, mint akkor, amikor olyan emberek vesznek körül, akiknek az angolja nem olyan jó, így valamilyen szinten alkalmazkodom az ő szintjükhöz

(Q52) G: Persze, csinállok dolgokat tudatosan, de például, amikor egy olyan diákkal beszélek, aki az angolt alacsony szinten beszéli, próbálok igazodni hozzá a nyelvhasználatommal, máshogy ejtem ki a szavakat, ezt mindenki csinálja, így szerintem az emberek más-más identitást vesznek fel haladó, illetve kezdő szintű tanulók esetében

(Q53) F: Úgy érzem, hogy van bennem egy készítés, hogy például, amikor amerikaiakkal beszélek, úgy szeretnék hangozni, mint ők. Az egyetlen különbség az, hogy britekkel vagy amerikaiakkal beszélek, próbálok más-más akcentust használni velük. Azt hiszem, tudatosan elkülönítem. Tehát amerikaiakkal az amerikai akcentust, míg mindenki mással a brit akcentust használom, azt hiszem, ez az én stratégiám

(Q54) D: Vannak Kanadában rokonaim, így sokat vagyok velük, és nem tudom, amikor éppen csinálom, de azt mondják, hogy másként beszélek az ottani emberekkel

(Q55) D: Ez automatikus, ha az ember angoltanár, igazodik, próbálja a lehető legjobban megkönnyíteni a kommunikációt

(Q56) F: Vannak az amerikai angolban bizonyos népies elemek, amelyeket az emberek a beszélt nyelvben használnak, például az „ain't” vagy a dupla tagadás, és azt hiszem, ezekkel el lehet érni egyfajta közvetlen légkört, és ez az egyik oka, hogy miért használom a normától eltérő nyelvi elemeket a saját beszédemben

(Q57) D: Arra jöttem rá, hogy ha valaki irritál, és el akarom távolítani magam, akkor felveszek egy nagyon erős [angol nyelvterületen található] tájszólást, csak hogy mutassam, én más vagyok. Ezt észrevettem, ez az irritáció, az eltávolodás egy jele nálam