English Applied Linguistics PhD Program

Doctoral School in Linguistics

University of Szeged

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Pluricentricity in foreign language teaching:

The case of English and German in the Hungarian education system

PhD dissertation

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2023

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Linguistic pluricentricity has been a widely researched area in sociolinguistics since the beginning of the 1990's, when Clyne (1992) laid the theoretical foundations of the study of languages with multiple centers, i.e. countries in which they have some kind of an official status. Conceiving of a language as a pluricentric one will inevitably have an important impact on the way it is taught as a foreign language, which has also been discussed rather extensively by linguists and language educators (cf. for instance Muhr, 1996a or Jenkins, 2006). However, relatively little attention has been paid to the comparison of pluricentric languages in education, even though there are considerable differences between, say, the pluricentricity of English, German, Spanish, French, or Portuguese – just to mention a few of the most well-known examples – and these differences have important consequences in language teaching. This is the void that the present dissertation sets out to fill, investigating the role of English and German pluricentricity in the Hungarian education system.

This dissertation presents the findings of a complex research project which investigates the role of the pluricentricity of English and German in the Hungarian education system. More specifically, the legal–institutional framework (i.e. curricula and examination requirements) as well as textbooks are analysed with respect to the presence of pluricentricity in them, which is followed by an empirical study targeted at teachers' and learners' classroom interactions and beliefs, on the basis of a questionnaire survey with 484 learners and teachers of English and German as well as 37 interviews.

Throughout the entire project, the following research question functions as the basis of the investigations: *What role does the linguistic diversity of English and German play in language teaching in the Hungarian education system?* To answer this question, the following three hypotheses are put to the test:

(1) Pluricentricity plays a marginal role in the legal–institutional framework of language teaching in the Hungarian education system.

(2) The marginal presence of pluricentricity in the legal–institutional framework results in teachers devoting relatively little attention to this aspect of language teaching in practice. Consequently, as learners are more open to differing standards than their teachers, this creates a discrepancy between learners' and teachers' beliefs.

(3) A general predominance of dominant over non-dominant varieties can be observed.

Hypothesis 1 is concerned with the legal–institutional framework, representing the macro-level of the investigation, which is targeted at systemic features that characterize the

education system in its entirety. In contrast, Hypothesis 2 focuses on learners' and teachers' beliefs, pertaining to the micro-level of the study, complementing the aforementioned macro-level with more practical findings that concern the actual classroom interactions and experiences of teachers and learners alike. Finally, Hypothesis 3 is an overarching one, manifesting itself throughout each and every segment of the project, thus, it is dealt with in a recurring manner throughout the dissertation, with the ultimate conclusions being drawn at the end.

Furthermore, an important methodological consideration must be mentioned here, namely, that, in order to achieve method triangulation, the present dissertation combines a quantitative perspective (comprising of the analysis of the legal–institutional framework and the questionnaire-based segment) with a qualitative one (which is basically the interview-based component of the project).

The dissertation finds that Hypotheses 1 and 3 are verified completely, indicating an unquestionable need to incorporate more pluricentric presence in the legal–institutional framework, as well as the predominance of dominant over non-dominant varieties throughout the entire project. However, the verification of the Hypothesis 2 is only partial, as the quantitative, questionnaire-based survey proves that learners do outperform teachers in terms of their openness to pluricentricity, but the first part of the hypothesis, which is about teachers in general not attributing enough attention to pluricentricity, is falsified by the qualitative, interview-based component, in which enough counterexamples are found to refute the absolute truth value of that statement.

The findings of the present dissertation – namely, that pluricentricity still plays, in Hungary, a marginal role in English and German language education alike, especially at a systemic level, as far as the legal–institutional background, i.e. the curricula and the centralized examination requirements, as well as the widely used textbooks and other teaching tools are concerned, and somewhat less obviously so in the case of teachers' and learners' classroom interactions and beliefs – convey a relevant message to the entirety of the education system in Hungary, with all its levels and constituent parts, including primary, secondary and tertiary education, teacher training, curriculum and textbook development, as well as the day-to-day classroom practices of teachers and learners alike.

Dissertation declaration

I declare that all the work presented in my dissertation is the result of my own original research under the supervision of Associate Professor Dr. Anna Fenyvesi. I would like to state that no part of this dissertation has previously been submitted for an award of any other degree or any other qualification in my name at this university or any other institution. All the materials previously published or written by other people are clearly attributed and quoted in my dissertation. Apart from these due references, the dissertation is entirely my own work. Some parts of this text have appeared in my recent, related publications, which were done concurrently with my dissertation (i.e., Huber, 2021, 2022a, 2022b, 2022c, 2022d, 2022e, 2022f). I agree that the final version of my thesis can become available via the university's research repository, the university, and search engines.

Máté Imre Huber

14 February 2023

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1. Introduction

The study of linguistic pluricentricity can be dated back as far as the late 1970's, when Kloss (1978) first introduced the term, which was then refined, and rocketed to wide international acclaim, by Clyne (1992), who defined it as the presence of a language in multiple counties with a certain degree of official status. Very importantly, in Clyne's (1992) model, these countries function as the norm-setting centres of the language in question, and are home to its national standard varieties. English and German are two very good cases in point, with both of them being typical examples of a pluricentric language, even though they differ significantly from each other in terms of the nature of their pluricentricity. While English is spread all over the world as a result of its colonial past, the German-speaking world is largely restricted to a well-defined, geographically contiguous area in Central Europe (cf. Clyne, 1992, Muhr, 2005, and Schneider, 2011, among others). Obviously, linguistic pluricentricity has an important effect on language education too, and it has been widely accepted by theoreticians and language educators alike that the multiplicity of national standards has to be reflected in foreign language teaching (cf. for instance Muhr, 1996a or Jenkins, 2006).

It is against the above background that the present dissertation attempts to explore the role of linguistic pluricentricity in language teaching, with particular reference to the teaching of English and German as foreign languages in Hungary. Situated at the interface between sociolinguistics and language pedagogy, this project places the existing research findings in a novel, interdisciplinary, comparative theoretical framework, which can be applied to all levels and sub-systems of the education system, from curricula through textbooks to concrete classroom work. Throughout this entire dissertation, considerable emphasis is placed upon practical application opportunities, making it a relevant piece for all agents in the Hungarian education system, from practising teachers through teacher trainers, all the way to textbook authors and publishers.

As I myself teach the two foreign languages in question in public and higher education in Hungary, my findings on the role of their pluricentricity in language teaching reflect an internal perspective. The practical relevance of the topic is illustrated by the following experience I had as a beginner teacher. I took my students, who had been learning German for at least three years (and I had only been teaching them for a few months) on a field trip to Austria, where they had to carry out a simple project task, addressing people in the street. Unfortunately, many of them came back to me in despair, having had years of language

learning experience, and reported that they had surprisingly serious difficulties in understanding the language spoken to them, because, as they said, the local Austrian speakers were using a very different variety of German from the one they had been learning at school.

It was this experience that led me to pursue the topic from a scholarly angle, as it became clear to me at this very initial stage in my career as a language teacher how important the presence (or absence) of a pluricentricity-oriented perspective can be for the success of language learning. And this is as true for English as it is for German. The case of German is illustrated rather accurately by the above anecdote, with Germany German being obviously far more dominant in language teaching (not only in Hungary) than any other standard variety, despite the geographical vicinity of Austria to Hungary, for instance. In the case of English, the US dominance of popular culture (media, popular music, film, video games, etc.) is a challenge to the predominantly British orientation of the teaching tools used in language education (again, not only in Hungary). For a large part of today's language learners, American English content is an integral part of everyday life, and this, in contrast to the British dominance in institutional language teaching, can sometimes lead to serious cognitive dissonance if a teacher does not deal with the situation with sufficient openness and expertise in the classroom.

It should be added that language teachers do not have an easy time accomplishing this task, since the Hungarian legal–institutional framework (curricula, the pedagogical programme of the school they teach in, examination requirements, etc.), the teaching tools used (textbooks available on the official textbook list of the Educational Authority (Oktatási Hivatal) of the Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs,[1] as well as the widely accessible teaching aids), and often teacher training too, fail to provide them with the conditions necessary to easily create a kind of atmosphere that is open to linguistic pluricentricity in the language learning process. The theoretical framework outlined below aims to make this possible by involving the education system in its entirety, with all of its subsystems and constituent parts.

As for the structure of this dissertation, the present introduction (Chapter 1) is followed by a section devoted to the review of the literature relevant to the role of linguistic pluricentricity in language education in general, and to the case of English and German as foreign languages in particular, outlining the novel theoretical framework mentioned above (Chapter 2, in part encompassing relevant sections of Huber, 2022a). Then, against this

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[1] At the time of the writing of this dissertation, in the autumn of 2022, the Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs is responsible for the management of the education system of the country.

theoretical background, the research questions and hypotheses are presented (Chapter 3), practically building a backbone for the rest of the dissertation, since the subsequent chapters will all be centred around these.

The methodology and the findings are presented in four large sections (Chapters 4 to 7), in accordance with the principle of method triangulation that the present dissertation is based upon in terms of its methodology. As Carter et al. (2014) and Denzin (1978) maintain, method triangulation is the application of more than one method to investigate (that is, to collect data about) a certain phenomenon. Carter et al. go on to add that method triangulation "may include interviews, observation, and field notes" (2014:545), among other things.

More specifically, in the case of the present project, method triangulation involves the combination of a quantitative and a qualitative approach to the topic outlined above, resulting in what is commonly referred to as mixed methods research (cf. Dörnyei, 2007, Johnson et al., 2007, or Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). The quantitative segment, in turn, consists of three parts: first, the legal–institutional background is analysed with respect to the presence of pluricentricity in school curricula as well as centralized examination requirements (Chapter 4, partly incorporating Huber, 2022f), second, widely used textbooks are also scrutinized from the same pluricentric perspective (Chapter 5, based in good part on Huber, 2021, 2022d and 2022e), and third, the results of a questionnaire-based study are presented too, with a sample of 484 learners and teachers of English and German from Hungary (Chapter 6, drawing on Huber, 2022b and 2022c as preliminary published versions of the findings). Then, on the qualitative side, within the framework of the interview-based segment of the project (Chapter 7), 37 interviews were conducted, the qualitative analysis of which is meant to complement the quantitative findings in the name of method triangulation, as described above.

In order to comprehensively present and explain the methodology of each of the aforementioned four large sections (Chapters 4 to 7), they all start with the description of the methodological background of the given component, presented separately for each of Chapters 4 to 7, rather than all together in an extensive Methodology chapter in the first half of the dissertation, so as to avoid confusion. Thus, in other words, no large section on methodology precedes Chapters 4 to 7, but a subsection of each is devoted to it, leading in the discussion of the findings in each chapter. Then, each of Chapters 4 to 7 is concluded with a short section summing up the most important findings in that chapter. Finally, the entire dissertation is brought to an end with the Conclusion (Chapter 7), placing all the preceding chapters in a coherent whole, and consolidating the most important outcomes of the project.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The theory of linguistic pluricentricity in general

The notion of linguistic pluricentricity was introduced by Kloss (1978), who was one of the first theoreticians to clearly refer to states and nations as the points of departure in the description of linguistic standards, thus making the distinction between monocentric languages (i.e. ones that are present in only one country with a standard variety) and pluricentric ones (i.e. ones that have multiple standards in multiple countries) inevitable. One of the most important principles of Kloss's (1978) concept of pluricentricity was that all standard varieties are equal to one another in status, which is, of course, doubtlessly acceptable from a purely theoretical perspective, yet, in actual practice, there is often a sizeable status difference between them. One of the first linguists to highlight this discrepancy was Clyne (1992), who refined Kloss's (1978) framework, and considered as pluricentric those languages that have some degree of an official status along with their own standardised national variety in several countries. These countries are considered by the Clynean pluricentric model as norm-setting centres in which different standard varieties develop due to different historical and sociocultural conditions, and these varieties can, in turn, be characterized by a varying degree of relative dominance or non-dominance, mostly based on the amount of political power and international significance that the particular country has.

The novelty of the pluricentric approach (at the end of the 20th century) was precisely this: the possibility of the heterogeneity of the standard, i.e. that the same language can exist in several different standard varieties in different countries. At the time, this opened up a whole new dimension for the sociolinguistic analysis of language variation. As Lanstyák (1996) puts it: since these national varieties are widely used in what he calls elevated domains of language use in a given society (national media organs, public administration, official language use, religion, education, politics, etc.), there is no question that they can all be considered standard varieties. To this Muhr (1996a, 1997) adds the codification of different norms in the most typical pluricentric languages (involving, for instance, the existence of separate dictionaries, descriptive grammar textbooks, mother tongue and foreign language teaching materials in the different varieties).

In fact, Muhr (2012) compiled an entire set of seven criteria based on Clyne (1992), providing a clear-cut basis for the decision as to whether a language is pluricentric or not. The first element of this list of criteria is **(1) occurrence**, i.e. that the language must be present in at least two countries (functioning as its centres), and, what is more, in sufficiently different standard varieties, which brings us to the second criterion, **(2) linguistic distance**. Linguistic

distance here means that the differences between the national varieties are identifiable for ordinary speakers, thus making these varieties suitable for expressing (national) identity, and a sense of belonging.

The third criterion is **(3) status**, which means that the language must have some kind of official status in the countries in question. This can be either the status of a state language or a regional official status (an example of the latter is the status of Hungarian in Vojvodina, Serbia). It is important, therefore, that in this sense the status must exceed that of a minority language in order to speak of a normative centre in a given country. The fourth criterion is **(4) the social acceptance of pluricentricity**, i.e. that the community of speakers recognises and accepts the existence of national varieties, while the fifth is its **(5) relevance in identity**, i.e. that speakers express their ethnicity and national identity through the national variety they use.

The sixth criterion is the aforementioned **(6) codification**, either complete or partial (i.e. in progress), which, as has been mentioned before, refers to the existence of independent dictionaries, descriptive grammars, as well as language teaching aids in the given national variety. In connection with this, a very important distinction has to be made between endonormative vs. exonormative codification (Stewart, 1968:534), where the term *exonormative* refers to the fact that the norm that serves as the basis of the codification comes from outside of the national variety in question (with its source obviously being another national variety that is more dominant than the one in question), while in the case of endonormativity, the basis of the codification is the native norm of the national variety in question. Understandably, in the name of equality among national varieties (at least in theory), the pluricentric model favors endonormative codification, as the import of the dominant exo-norm into a non-dominant variety only strengthens the asymmetric power relations, and puts the non-dominant variety in an even more disadvantaged position.

Finally, the seventh criterion is **(7) presence in education**, which involves the dissemination of the national variety in schools. Very importantly, this does not merely refer to the fact that the given national variety is used by students and teachers in the education system, but also to the idea that its use should be encouraged in it. Furthermore, it is also important that the notion of pluricentricity itself be reflected on in the education system, both in the curricula that constitute the legal–institutional background of the entire education system, and in the actual classes where the teachers can shape their learners' mindset concerning this issue.

Muhr (2012) adds that we can only speak of full pluricentricity if all seven criteria are met, but even if only one criterion is fulfilled, the language can be called (partially) pluricentric. Thus, Muhr (2012) introduces a very important theoretical innovation in the pluricentric approach: the question of the pluricentricity of a language can now be understood not as a binary opposition, but rather as a continuum, with monocentricity at one end of the spectrum and full pluricentricity at the other.

Furthermore, in order to make the model reflect the linguistic and sociolinguistic reality as accurately as possible, Muhr (1996a, 1997, 2015) refined the pluricentric approach by elaborating the distinction between dominant and non-dominant national varieties (first mentioned by Clyne, 1992), thus incorporating into the pluricentric model the status differences between national varieties that are otherwise treated in this model as essentially equal. According to the framework developed by Muhr (1996a, 1997, 2015), while dominant varieties (e.g. Germany German) are spoken in primary centres with a higher socio-political status, non-dominant varieties (e.g. German in Austria or Switzerland) are spoken in secondary centres with a lower socio-political status. A very important theoretical consideration is, however, that linguistic dominance is not a static, given and unchangeable entity, but something dynamic that can change over time, as it is brought about by social action that has a symbolic value by way of discursivity (cf. Muhr, 2015:14). To cite Muhr's (2015:14) multi-level definition:

> "Linguistic dominance can be defined as a social act whereby a certain language or variety and its characteristics are systematically given preference over other languages or varieties of the same language, resulting in a social habit accompanied by the respective language attitudes of purporting superiority towards other languages or varieties of the same language. The social-symbolic value of "other" languages or of "other" varieties of the same language is downgraded and their status lowered. This act of deliberate choice may be backed by educational, political or even legal measures."

A detailed comparison of dominant and non-dominant varieties is shown in Table 1. This table summarises the findings of Clyne (1992) and Muhr (2003, 2005 and 2012).

Table 1.   Comparison of dominant and non-dominant varieties of pluricentric languages based on Clyne (1992) and Muhr (2003, 2005 and 2012)

	Primary centres: dominant varieties	**Secondary centres: non-dominant varieties**
impact on other varieties	influence other varieties	are influenced by the dominant varieties
social, political, cultural prestige	higher	lower
codification	full-fledged	partial or none
speech community	larger	smaller
global media presence	powerful	sporadic at best
export of standard	through international organizations (such as the British Council or the Goethe Institute)	none (or only to a minimal extent)

As can be seen in Table 1, one of the most important differences between dominant varieties and non-dominant ones is the fact that, while dominant varieties tend to have considerable influence on other varieties, non-dominant varieties are at the other end of the spectrum, i.e. they are the ones that get influenced by others. This influence can be realized in many different ways, e.g. in the form of global media presence (as is also suggested in the table), a relative superiority in terms of political, economic, and cultural power relations, which will inevitably also manifest themselves in the (perceived) prestige of the individual varieties, etc.

Connected to prestige, Clyne (1995:31) establishes the notion of "linguistic cringe" with respect to non-dominant varieties is general, and Austrian German in particular, referring to what Schmidlin (2011:226) calls the "linguistic inferiority complex" of the speakers of non-dominant varieties, meaning that these speakers think of their own – from a purely objective and theoretical linguistic perspective completely equal – standard as inferior to the dominant one. Muhr (2012:39) terms this as "linguistic schizophrenia," referring to the contradiction that in non-dominant varieties "the proper national norm is heavily practiced but officially depreciated – the official norm is rarely practiced but officially highly appreciated."

Furthermore, as is also suggested by Table 1, more often than not this aforementioned superiority of the dominant variety coincides with a larger speech community as well as full-fledged codification, together with the export of the linguistic standard itself through international organizations, with the British Council and the Goethe Institute being two very good cases in point. While these features (i.e. full-fledged codification and the export of the standard) are mostly missing for non-dominant varieties, it has to be mentioned that there are some exceptions, such as Austrian German, with the Österreich Institut representing the country itself as well as its national variety and culture in a total of eight countries in Austria's vicinity (a far cry from the international presence of the Goethe Institut in 98 countries around the globe, but it would still be a mistake to ignore it), and also with the publication of the Österreichische Wörterbuch in 1951 (cf. Muhr, 2016) signalling the first big milestone of Austrian German codification. Basically what the example of Austrian German goes to show is the fact that the degree of dominance a variety has is much rather a scalar variable than a binary one, with some non-dominant varieties (such as Austrian German) still having more dominance (thus, more resources and a more favourable social, political, as well as economic situation) than others.

Another important observation connected to the role of international organizations is indeed the case of British English traditionally being exported on a global scale with somewhat greater intensity than American English (not to mention other Englishes), in which the British Council plays a very active role, in an attempt to compensate against the loss of British political and economic dominance by strengthening their presence in the international arena of cultural diplomacy, a big part of which is language education and the export of linguistic norms (cf. Kontra, 1984, 1997, 2001, forthcoming, Phillipson, 1992, etc.).

As Muhr (2015) suggests, linguistic dominance is brought about on several functional levels. To be more precise, he identifies five of these, including the following:

(1) **"Political and economical power,"** serving as the "[n]on-linguistic preconditions for dominance" (Muhr, 2015:15).

(2) **The role of modern media** (e.g. TV as well as radio stations and online content, websites, etc.) **and international organisations** targeted (among other things) at language teaching abroad (as described above with respect to the British Council or the Goethe Institute).

(3) **The "[t]ransnational level of centralisation,"** i.e. the promotion of international dissemination through (often generously financed) international language organizations like the aforementioned British Council or Goethe Institute, but also the Organisation

Internationale de la Francophonie or the Asociación de Academías de la Lengua Española, the functions of which go beyond the sheer teaching of the language in question, but they also serve as the centralizing agents that have the – often unconcealed – aim to secure the unity of the countries that serve as the (primary and secondary) centres of the given pluricentric language, obviously by seeking to strengthen the dominance of the primary centre, i.e. the dominant (mother) variety (Muhr, 2015:27-29).

(4) "**Norm-setting institutions** promoting exonormative principles" include influential "publishing houses at the level of the academies of sciences or specialised institutions which usually have the support of the government," often responsible for the publication of "authoritative dictionaries as well as textbooks for schools" and other "reference books that determine the general norm of the language" that have an overarching international scope, uniting all the countries that have standard varieties of the language in question (Muhr, 2015:29-30).

(5) "**[S]econd level centralisation**" practically refers to the export of the exo-norms described above into the secondary centres and their non-dominant varieties, thus codifying these varieties in accordance with the exo-norms of the dominant variety as well (Muhr, 2015:36-37).

Having clarified these issues of linguistic dominance, it can be maintained that the pluricentric approach is undeniably very useful in describing aspects of language variation that would otherwise be very difficult to capture. However, the present literature review would not be complete without mentioning a fundamental problem, namely, one that relates to the concept of the standard itself, which is not really surrounded by far-reaching consensus, to say the least, in the linguistic and sociolinguistic literature.

While Weinreich (1954) and Haugen (1966) in their constructivist paradigm define the concept of the standard as a variety of language consciously and centrally controlled by society, Crowley (2003), Gal (2006), Pléh and Bodor (2001), Tolcsvai Nagy (2017) and many others argue that a standard is no more than a theoretical construct that carries the notion of an idealized language. Lippi-Green (2012), as a representative of a deconstructivist position, goes so far as to posit the existence of the standard as a myth, which is ideologically based and aimed at preserving existing social power relations and inequalities of prestige. There is no objective difference between language varieties that would allow us to say that one is better, superior or in any sense more standard than the other, and so, in Lippi-Green's (2012) view, the whole standard/non-standard distinction is inappropriate for use in scholarly discourse. This is the interpretation of the standard that Lanstyák (2015: 29) refers to as "the

standard as a theoretical construct" or "standard in our heads", as opposed to the aforementioned, classical approach, as represented for instance by Weinreich (1954) or Haugen (1966), who perceive the standard as "a sociolect in a special situation." What is more, another widespread, albeit completely unscientific interpretation of the standard is what Lanstyák calls the idealizing perspective of "the standard as an idol" or "standard up high" (Lanstyák, 2015: 29), which serves far too often as the basis of all kinds of linguistic discrimination and linguicism, in the name of language cultivation (cf. Szabómihály, 2005).

To refine the above formulation of Lippi-Green (2012), it is worth adding – following Haugen (1959), among others – that although there is no objective difference between varieties when looking at the linguistic system in itself, i.e. staying at the level of langue in Saussure's (1916) framework, the notion of the standard has nevertheless a strong practical validity for the concrete (social) use of language, i.e. for Saussure's (1916) parole, but also at the level of langage – for example, in the field of status planning or language management – cf. Jernudd and Neustupny (1987), and Nekvapil (2000).

In light of all this, a more nuanced, balanced and useful (reconstructivist, if you like) picture for sociolinguistic professional discourse is painted by Ammon (2004), who argues (partly drawing on the basic tenets of the Prague Linguistic Circle – cf. Čermák, 2014) that the key to the definition of the standard is to be found in the construction of norms, thus resolving the above problem as follows: obviously, non-standard varieties have their own norms, their own set of rules; the difference, according to Ammon (2004), is that while the norms of the standard varieties are codified, institutionalized, prescriptive, and present in education, the non-standard norms are not codified and do not have any official status. Thus, Lippi-Green (2012) is right in that it does not make sense to distinguish between standard and nonstandard varieties on the basis of linguistic differences alone, but such a distinction is essential from a sociolinguistic perspective, when considering linguistic and social reality together in a complex set of relations. At this point, it is important to note that the notion of a standard is often understood as a kind of homogeneous language variety for the whole nation or speech community, but this is a flawed approach, based on purely ideological grounds. The standard in the scholarly sense of the word is always present in varieties, be it regional or social stratification, not to mention national varieties of pluricentric languages (cf. Ammon, 2004). Similarly, Lanstyák (2015: 31) also argues that the standard is itself never present in its pure form, although it is obviously characterized by a stricter delineation than other varieties.

Shifting the focus from the description and understanding of the standard to the more dynamic concept of standardization, Milroy (2001) talks about standard language ideology

and culture, suggesting that the determinate nature of standard language(s) is an ideological product rather than a result of the internal structure of the language(s) in question. He defines standardization as "the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects" (Milroy, 2001: 530), and characterizes standard language culture as one that promotes "invariance and uniformity" as opposed to the ever-changing dynamicity and variability of unstandardized language use (Milroy, 2001: 531), thereby emphasizing the procedural nature of standardization, as opposed to the stability of the standard that its underlying standard language ideology attempts to establish. Concerning the workings of this standardization process, Milroy (2001: 534) refers to what Haugen (1966: 931) has termed "the elaboration of function" through top-down, systemic intervention and planning, elevating the chosen forms of language (at times entire varieties) to the superior level of the standard, as opposed to all other forms and varieties, which are in turn seen as non-standard, i.e. considerably lower in prestige.

The distinction between standard and non-standard forms and varieties of language indeed involves an inherent value judgement, where, as part of the standard language culture, the standard is seen as canonical, correct, legitimate, and common-sense, at the expense of all other varieties, which are in turn devalued (Milroy, 2001: 535-547). This also means that the rules of the standard do not require justification, as they are commonly accepted as part of the culture in question, thus, those who do not (or cannot) obey these rules are not treated as participants of that culture. This exclusive logic is at the heart of standard language ideology, targeted at the maintenance of the standard, which goes hand in hand with the maintenance of the existing sociocultural power relations.

To further elaborate on Milroy's (2001) standardization framework, Agha's (2003, 2007) concept of enregisterment needs to be mentioned too, which approaches the emergence of prestige varieties from a metapragmatic perspective. As Agha (2003: 231) puts it, enregisterment refers to a set of "processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms." He showcases the logic of this process through the example of Standard British English, shedding light on the stages and mechanisms of its standardization. In essence, Agha's (2003, 2007) framework of enregisterment focuses on the mechanisms through which both the standard itself and people's perceptions of it are transmitted in society, progressing through what he terms as "speech chain networks" in which language users take on alternating interactional roles of senders and receivers, and convey messages about themselves and the way they use language (Agha, 2003: 247-248). Of course, the demographic profile and socioeconomic background of the participants influence the way their variety of language is perceived by their receivers,

who then enact the role of senders to further transmit these perceptions across the speech chain network in question.

What is more, if a given group of speech chain network participants is influential enough, they can become "exemplary speakers" (Agha, 2003: 265), meaning that their way of using the language will become an example to follow, thus, it is not only the perceptions of the way they speak that get transmitted across the network, but also the forms of language that they opt for when they speak (Agha, 2003: 265). On a societal level, in Agha's words, it is not only "habits of speech perception," (2003: 249) but also "habits of utterance" (2003: 260) that are gradually transformed this way, by creating "metapragmatic stereotypes of speech, i.e. culture-internal models […] associated with speech variants" (2007: 148). It is through these societal transformations that enregisterment is achieved, by certain forms or varieties of language starting to function as cultural models to follow, which is exactly how Agha (2007: 145) defines registers: "cultural models of action that link diverse behavioral signs to enactable effects, including images of persona, interpersonal relationship, and type of conduct."

Needless to say, there is more to the process of enregisterment than merely the grassroots logic described above. As highlighted by Agha (2003: 250-264), top-down influences like prescriptivist and literary works, handbooks, media outlets, educational institutions and the like complement the natural workings of the aforementioned speech chain networks, mostly by reinforcing the social disparities that are already present in them to some extent, through what Agha (2003: 264) calls "asymmetries of competence."

To apply the above theoretical considerations to a foreign language teaching context, the concepts of "Language Making" (Krämer et al., 2022: 3) and "foreign Language Making" (Vogl and De Wilde, 2022: 107) are of great relevance. Krämer et al. (2022: 3) define Language Making as the "conscious or unconscious human processes in which imagined linguistic units are constructed and perceived as a language, as dialect or a variety." They add that Language Making processes are "based on language ideologies and attitudes, and they bring about functional and structural norms" (Krämer et al, 2022: 1). These norms may in turn function as the basis of standardization processes, even though the concept of Language Making is much broader than that, and does not limit itself to the context of the emergence of standard varieties, as it is only if the emerging norms are uniformly and officially accepted and codified that Language Making processes actually lead to standardization. In contrast, Language Making processes frequently stay within the realm of an individual's cognitive and interactional functions, merely influencing his or her own beliefs concerning languages,

varieties, and the boundaries between them, which tend to be perceived as clear-cut and categorical, even though in actual fact they may be quite fuzzy, and even subject to change over time (Krämer et al., 2022). It is this latter, more restricted interpretation of Language Making that is of particular relevance in foreign language education, as Vogl and De Wilde (2022) suggest, positioning foreign language teachers and textbook developers as important agents in this process, whose decisions and beliefs concerning the norms and models that they incorporate in the process of teaching and learning have far-reaching consequences.

Against the above background, at first glance, the relationship between the concept of pluricentricity and that of Language Making seem to be contradictory, since at the very heart of the pluricentricity concept lies the variability and heterogeneity of the standard, which seems to be at odds with the clear-cut boundaries and "the idea of a clearly delimited entity with defined norms" that is conceived of as the effect of Language Making (Krämer et al., 2021: 8). However, if we take the reasoning of the Language Making framework to the next level, we find that the individual national varieties of pluricentric languages will, in turn, also be conceptualized as these clear-cut entities that are very clearly delineated from other varieties within that same language. The differences between these delineations at the level of national varieties as opposed to the ones at the level of individual languages are simply a matter of hierarchies and dominance, since, as Krämer et al. (2022: 10) highlight, "[p]rocesses of Language Making are intimately linked to power relations." It goes without saying at this point that those social groups that are in a power position will have the right to decide which forms or varieties of the language can be accepted as part of the norm, but at the same time, this hierarchical structure also makes it possible for "subaltern" Language Making processes to unfold, in which the relatively disempowered, i.e. "non-dominant" groups design their own "in-group styles or varieties which they conceive of as a separate linguistic entity" (Krämer et al., 2022: 10). In fact, this is fairly easy to reconcile with Muhr's (2016) extended, general definition of pluricentricity, which also emphasizes the emergence of native norms set by local (or "subaltern," to use the terminology of Krämer et al., 2022: 10) communities, even though arguably with somewhat less focus on the dynamiciy of the standardization processes at work:

> "A pluricentric language is a language that is used in at least two nations where it
> has an official status as state language, co-state language, or regional language with
> its own (codified) norms that usually contribute to the national/personal identity,
> making the nation a norm-setting centre by the deliberate use of the norms native to
> this specific nation." (Muhr, 2016: 20)

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2.2. The pluricentricity of English and German

There is more than one way for a language to be pluricentric, so it is also worth looking at the typology of pluricentric languages. In this respect, there are many possible groupings, but in the following I will only discuss those that are relevant for English and/or German, as summed up in Table 2.

The first and most important difference, which – as we shall see – also affects the teaching of the two languages, is that while in the case of German there is one dominant variety, in the case of English there are two. It is perhaps not a big surprise that the single dominant German standard is Germany German, while the Austrian and Swiss standard varieties are regarded as non-dominant standards under the pluricentric approach. (Due to the lack of codification and low population size, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, South Tyrol (Italy), and East Belgium can be mentioned as half-centres, also with non-dominant varieties – cf. Ammon, (1995), to which Ammon et al., 2016 add three further quarter-centres, namely, Romania, Namibia, and the Mexican Mennonite communities.)

In contrast to the German situation of monodominance described above, for English, the American and British standard varieties are both dominant standards, while other national varieties (e.g. the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, or Indian, etc.) are non-dominant. According to Muhr's (2012) nomenclature, German is characterised by monodominance and English by codominance – the same is referred to by Kenesei (2006) as an asymmetric (German) vs. symmetric (English) distinction from a different perspective. In my opinion, the former is a more fortunate choice of words, since the word "symmetrical" may suggest the false notion that all varieties of English are equal, which, as we shall see, is not at all the case.

Table 2.   A comparison of English and German pluricentricity

	English	**German**
number of dominant varieties	two (codominance/symmetry)	one (monodominance/asymmetry)
geographical location	scattered	contiguous
the origins of pluricentricity	colonialism	historically inherent
number of speakers	one billion	96 million
difficulty	vast expansion	cross-border varieties
alternative models	English as a lingua franca, World Englishes, English as an international language, English as a global language	pluriareality

Another important distinction, according to Clyne (1992), is whether national varieties of a pluricentric language are geographically contiguous or dispersed over large areas. On this basis, German falls into the former category and English into the latter, which may be important for the acceptance of pluricentricity from the part of the speech communities in question. As Dollinger (2019a) points out, the enormous geographical distance between the standard varieties of English makes it impossible for the common mind not to acknowledge the existence of different standards, whereas this is far from being the case for German, which is spoken in a fully contiguous geographical area.

Pluricentric languages can also be grouped according to the origin of pluricentricity, where there is also a significant difference between the two languages in question. While the pluricentricity of English can be traced back to colonialism (cf. Clyne, 1992, and Schneider, 2011), the German-speaking world has practically always been divided into different states (centres), so that German can be described, in Knipf-Komlósi's (2001:14) words, with a "genetically inherent" kind of pluricentricity. In connection with the postcolonial heritage of English as a pluricentric language, Muhr (2016:18) makes an insightful remark about the importance of what he calls the "linguistic emancipation" of the national varieties of English that became independent as the British Empire fell apart gradually, for the most part in the first half of the 20th century. As many of these freshly decolonized nations kept English as the official language of their state administration (or at least a co-official one), the elaboration of the concept of pluricentricity within the scholarly discourse of sociolinguistics saw an

unparalleled boom in the English-speaking world, with the overwhelming majority of the sources that address this concept now being published in and about English (Muhr, 2016:18).

A further – very striking – difference between the pluricentricity of the two languages under discussion is the number of speakers. While German-speaking countries and regions are relatively easy to define, with a total population of around 96 million (cf. Ammon and Charlston, 2019), English is in a much more complex situation, which can be challenging to interpret. According to Crystal (2008), it is very difficult to give concrete figures, but a good approximation is that there are around one billion first or second (but not foreign!) language speakers of English on Earth. This vast difference alone is very telling, so it perhaps does not need to be explained in detail that the pluricentricity of German is much easier to describe using the model outlined above than that of English.

Furthermore, an interesting consideration elaborated by Muhr (2016:20) based on Clyne (1992:1) is the possibile distinction between "external" or "first-level pluricentricity" vs. "internal" or "second-level pluricentricity." While external or first-level pluricentricity refers to the original, Clynean notion explained above, with a pluricentric language existing in different national varieties in different countries, which in turn function as the norm-setting centres of those national varieties, internal or second-level pluricentricity means that it is possible to have substantial variation even within a single national variety, for example, in the form of excessive regional variation that is oftentimes connected to provinces, federal states or other similar, locally relevant political units, such as the German and Austrian *Bundesländer* (federated states) or the Swiss cantons. This is definitely also the case with English, where the individual constituent parts of the United Kingdom (i.e. England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland) all have their own distinct varieties within the unified national variety of British English, not to mention the example of American English, where the General American standard is often quite different from the actual language use that is characteristic of certain states of the US (an almost stereotypical example of which would be Texas).

At this point, to establish a link between this section and the previous one (2.1), which provided a general overview of linguistic pluricentricity, I will apply Muhr's (2012) aforementioned seven criteria to the two languages in question. Arguably, by going through the criteria one by one and examining their realization in the case of English and German, a deeper and more systematic understanding of English and German pluricentricity can be arrived at, but at the same time, the meaning of the individual criteria themselves can also be demonstrated more efficiently. (Note that even if some of the statements below have already

been mentioned above in a fragmented and scattered fashion, this time they are gathered together in a coherent system, which justifies their reiteration in what follows.)

With respect to the first criterion, which is **(1) occurrence**, as mentioned before, in the case of the German language, Germany counts as the sole primary centre with a dominant variety, while Austria and Switzerland function as secondary centres with a non-dominant variety in each of them, and then there are also Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, South Tyrol and East Belgium, which can be referred to as semi-centres, due to the lack (or incomplete nature) of codification that characterizes them, along with their small population sizes – cf. Ammon (1995). In contrast, as has also been argued before, for English, both the American and the British national varieties are dominant ones, with the endless plethora of other national varieties (e.g. Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, Indian, etc.) being non-dominant.

Another important consideration is that all these national varieties differ from each other at all levels of the linguistic system, from phonetics and phonology through morphology, syntax, and semantics, all the way to pragmatics. An example from each level will be provided in section 2.4.2. Logically, this goes hand in hand with the criterion of **(2) linguistic distance**, meaning that, precisely because of the aforementioned differences that abound at all levels of the language, both native speakers and non-native learners will readily recognize the differences between, say, American vs. British English, or Austrian vs. Germany German speech, just to mention two arbitrary examples.

As for the criterion of **(3) status**, Donkana (2019) provides the following staggering figure in connection with English: it is official or co-official in no less than 54 sovereign states and 27 non-sovereign entities. On the other hand, as Kamusella (2008) reports, German is official in Germany, Austria and Liechtenstein, while it is co-official in Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, South Tyrol, two Polish Voivodeships, and nine Brazilian municipalities (commonly referred to there as Pomeranian). To sum up, it is quite clear that both languages most certainly count as pluricentric based on this criterion too.

To discuss criteria (4) and (5) (i.e. **the social acceptance of pluricentricity** and **its relevance in identity**, respectively) together, it can be claimed that one of the key elements of Austrian identity is Austrian German language use itself (cf. de Cillia, 2012, 2015). Muhr (2008) goes as far as arguing that Austrian German language use has become a symbol of Austrian identity, and the same is true of the other national varieties of the German language too, with Christen (1998), for instance, arguing that the use of one's own Swiss German variety can be an important tool for expressing local identity. Thus, precisely because the national varieties play such an important role in the speakers' identity construction, the

pluricentric status of the languages in question will arguably also automatically be accepted by the speech communities. This is no different with English either, and it is in this context that the aforementioned second-level (i.e. internal) pluricentricity becomes especially important (cf. Muhr, 2016), since these regional, subnational levels of one's identity (e.g. which American state one is from) often play a key role in identity construction in general, and they are by definition always intertwined with exhibiting the linguistic characteristics of that region (cf. Clark, 2013).

Concerning the criterion of **(6) codification**, Muhr (2016) highlights that after the English language became officially pluricentric with the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, British–American differences got formally documented and acknowledged at the beginning of the 19th century, with the publication of the first edition of Webster's dictionary marking a groundbreaking milestone in the codification process of American English as early on as 1828 (cf. Micklethwait, 2005). In contrast, for other, as Muhr (2013:15) argues, "less powerful (non-dominant) national varieties like Australian English (AUE), Canadian English (CNE), South African English (SAE) and New Zealand English (NZE) […] codification and thus standardization began in the 1950s and sincerely only in the 1980s after computerization took hold." Even though these varieties have their own full-fledged codified standards now, with separate dictionaries, descriptive grammars, etc., the relatively recent codification in their case means that their social acceptance is a lot less obvious than in the case of American English, especially in the non-English speaking world, which is a lot less aware of these (relatively newly codified) standard Englishes than the traditional (and now absolutely obsolete) British–American binary – cf. Moore, 2008 on Australian, Orkin, 2015 on Canadian, Ray and Zahn, 1999 on New Zealand, and Spencer, 2011 on South-African English, among others.

Similarly to English, German has been officially recognised as pluricentric for quite a long time too; to be more precise, since the "eviction of the Austro–Hungarian Empire from the Deutsche Bund in 1866" (Muhr, 2016: 19), which was followed by the publication of the *Österreichische Wörterbuch* in 1951, thus, as Muhr (2016:17) postulates, "building away […] Austrian German from German German in [an] attempt to demonstrate political independence after the end of the Second World War." However, scholars were initially reluctant to accept this development both on the British and on the German side, primarily because this also suggested the end of an absolute British and German hegemony in terms of economic, political, and cultural (power) relations alike. With time, most of this reluctance faded away in the case of American English, but not so much in the case of Austrian and Swiss German,

where a surprisingly large number of German scholars oppose the idea of German pluricentricity to this day (more on this in section 2.3).

Finally, as has been mentioned before, **(7)** the **presence** and dissemination of the given national variety **in education** does not only mean that the variety is to be used in the schools by students and teachers alike, but also that its use should be encouraged in the education system. In this regard, de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019) emphasize the importance of the documents that constitute the legal–institutional framework of the education system of a country, i.e. curricula and textbooks. The way these documents treat linguistic variation in general, and pluricentricity in particular, is likely to have a significant impact on how these topics are dealt with in the in actual practice of the classroom. (In accordance with that, the present dissertation also devotes an entire chapter to these documents in the Hungarian education system – see Chapter 4.) Furthermore, de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019) also observe actual classroom practices to see how the theoretical principles laid down in the aforementioned documents are realized in practice, shedding light on learners' and teachers' beliefs on the topic (which is exactly what happens in Chapters 5 and 6 of the present dissertation too).

Concerning the presence of Austrian German in Austrian schools, de Cillia and Ransmayr's (2019:218) findings indicate that pluricentricity is highly underrepresented in the legal–institutional framework, but in practice, the classroom processes are characterized by a reflective and differential norm consciousness that shows a communicative, practical, situational, and context-dependent interpretation of the linguistic standard(s), with both teachers and students believing intuitively in the pluricentricity of the German language, even though this is not sufficiently thematised in the education system that they are part of.

In this regard, all (especially non-dominant) national varieties of both English and German can be characterized by a similar duality of a lacking theoretical background in the legal–institutional framework, but a reflective, practical and realistic intuitive norm-consciousness of the teachers and the students – cf. among others Hudley and Mallinson (2015) about American schools and Thomke (1978) about Swiss ones.

In light of the above, it is obvious that both English and German can be considered to be fully pluricentric, since they meet all the criteria in Muhr (2012) without any doubt whatsoever. Somewhat connected to that is Muhr's (2015:22-24) list of ten different types of pluricentricity, in which he identifies the following categories:

(1) "nationless pluricentricity" ("varieties with no territory of their own, and no official recognition")

(2) "formal pluricentricity" (occurrence but no codification or planning)

(3) "lacking appropriate formal status" ("waiting for recognition")

(4) "pluricentricity […] denied" ("high degree of centralization")

(5) "pluricentricity […] acknowledged" (codification)

(6) "pluricentricity deliberately practiced by model speakers" ("nativization")

(7) "taught in schools" ("linguistic differences […] made aware of")

(8) "*dachsprache*" ("roof language") – cf. Krefeld (2021)

(9) "nativized pluricentricity" (divergence from the mother variety, often influenced by indigenous languages)

(10) "migrant pluricentricity" (pluricentric language turning into a heritage language)

In this list, multiple class membership is possible, which means that the categories are not mutually exclusive, so a language can belong to multiple categories at the same time. As suggested by the numbers in bold above, English and German fall into categories 5, 6, 7, and 9. The fact that the first four categories cannot be applied to either of the two languages simply goes to show that English and German pluricentricity can be regarded as fully fledged, i.e. not lacking in territorial autonomy, codification, planning or recognition, which strengthens the above observation about full pluricentricity characterizing these two languages.

Categories 5 and 7 need no further comment at this point, as the subjects of codification as well as the dissemination of non-dominant varieties in education have been discussed in considerable detail above, pertaining to the sixth and seventh criteria in Muhr's (2012) framework. Category 6, however, i.e. the one about nativization, calls for further explanation, at which point Schneider's (2011:33-35) "Dynamic Model of the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes" becomes useful. (Note that Category 6 is only applicable to English but not to German, since in the case of the latter, the emergence of pluricentricity cannot be traced back to colonial roots.)

The first stage of this model is the **(1) "Foundation**," which is where English is introduced to a certain territory through colonial expansion, and language contact starts to unfold, at an initial stage primarily through the incipient borrowing of toponyms. The second stage, then, is **(2) "Exonormative stabilization**," which is characterized by a stable colonial status, with the expansion of elite bilingualism within the indigenous population, and English

gradually occupying a more and more exclusive position as the language of administration (still with the original norms of the mother variety), but this stage already coincides with the beginning of pidginization through heavy lexical borrowing, which may turn into creolization if children start to acquire the mixed language as their mother tongue. In stage 3, which Schneider (2011:35) calls **(3) "Nativization,"** ties to the mother variety start to weaken, and "interethnic contacts" become more and more widespread. This stage often culminates in political independence, however, cultural (and linguistic) association mostly remains in place. Full-fledged creolization is achieved as "bilingual speakers forge a new variety of English, shaped strongly by phonological and structural transfer – though conservative speakers resent such innovative usage" (Schneider, 2011:35). This is followed by stage **(4),** "**Endonormative stabilization,"** with a growing acceptance of and positive attitude to the local norm spreading through larger and larger parts of the society. This is the stage of "nation-building," accompanied by an ever-increasing literary activity in the newly formed national variety (Schneider, 2011:35). Finally, **(5) "Differentiation** may follow in the end" (Schneider, 2011:35), characterized by an increasingly stable sociopolitical climate, and the birth of dialects and intragroup varieties, which Muhr (2016:20) would refer to as the emergence of "second-level" or "internal pluricentricity" (as mentioned above).

Connected to Schneider's (2011) above model is another historical take on the emergence of English pluricentricity by Gupta (1997), approaching variety types on historical grounds. In her framework, Gupta (1997:53-57) differentiates between the following variety types in the English-speaking world (in a slightly modified order to better fit the logic of the present discussion):

(1) "Monolingual ancestral English:" Apart from the two dominant varieties (i.e. British and American English), belonging here are typical postcolonial non-dominant varieties with speech communities that were originally founded by settlers (e.g. Australia or New Zealand). These territories are characterized by "a large proportion of people of British Isles ancestry" and the norms of the English language transmitted intergenerationally ever since the 16th century (Gupta, 1997:53). This coincides more or less with Schneider's (2011) nativization stage, with Muhr's (2015) concept of second-level or internal pluricentricity mostly being completely applicable to these territories.

(2) "Multilingual ancestral English:" The only difference between the above category and this one is that these territories have traditionally been characterized by a heavily multilingual environment (e.g. Canada or South Africa) as the descendants of the settlers from the British Isles do not form a majority that would be overwhelming enough "to absorb the

majority of other groups in the contry" (Gupta, 1997:56). In South Africa, English is only used natively by a relatively small proportion of the population, mostly restricted to the elite groups within society, surrounded by a plethora of other languages (both indigenous and of colonial descent), while in Canada, it is the Francophone community that is geographically largely concentrated in Quebec that the English-speaking majority of the country has never been able to absorb.

(3) **"Monolingual contact variety**:" These territories have seen the contact-induced emergence of pidgins and creoles, with the use of the contact varieties often not exclusive to low-prestige layers of society (e.g. Jamaica), and (different varieties of) the English language being transmitted intergenerationally for several centuries now. Most of the population groups, as Gupta (1997:53) declares, "are descendants of those who learnt English informally when forcibly migrated (they often have British Isles ancestry too)."

(4) **"Multilingual contact variety:"** As the countries that belong to this category were heavily multilingual even before the colonial introduction of English (e.g. Ghana, Nigeria, Singapore, Papua New Guinea, etc.), English quickly became a lingua franca in them, and it kept this role even after the colonial era ended. The expansion of English language use across these societies varies considerably, with Singapore exhibiting the widest spread of English, as the entire country is practically run in English there. This is by far not the case for instance in Ghana or Papua New Guinea, where English is, as Gupta (1997:55) puts it, "not necessarily universally known, and the majority of English speakers are not native speakers of English." The varieties of English in these territories exhibit strong effects of language contact, and almost every English speaker is also a competent user of at least one more language that is in use in their area.

(5) **"Multilingual scholastic English:"** In these countries (e.g. India and Pakistan), people's proficiency in English depends mostly on the level, quality, and type of education they have taken part in, which puts the use of English in these countries on what Gupta (1997:54) calls "a proficiency continuum," where some (highly educated) people have a very strong command of the language, whereas others (usually the less educated people) barely speak it, and where English language skills are, thus, seen as an important indicator of social class. Also, in these countries too, as has been argued with respect to the previous category, English continues to function as an important lingua franca even in postolonial times, due to the highly diverse multilingual situation that is typical of these regions. While the role of education in the acquisition of English is paramount, obviously not all groups of society rely

exclusively on their classroom experience, with a varying extent of community support also contributing largely to the transmission of the language.

To conclude the present section on the pluricentricity of English and German, as has hopefully become evident from the passages above, the situation of English is somewhat more complex than that of German, in part because of its extremely large number of speakers as well as its global spread and colonial past, which distinguish it from any other pluricentric language. However, certain questions do present themselves in the description of German as a pluricentric language as well, thus, the following section will be devoted to the problems that emerge in pluricentric theory (both in the case of English and German), as well as the possible solutions that may resolve these issues.

2.3. Problems and solutions

In the case of German, only those linguistic phenomena pose some challenges to the model which cross over political borders, on the basis of which the pluriareal approach, which developed from German-language dialectology in the 1990s, criticises the pluricentric model for attributing too much importance to state borders, whereas linguistic diversity does not stop at such arbitrary dividing lines, nor are national varieties homogenous and free from standard variation in and of themselves (cf. Pohl, 1997, or Scheuringer, 1996). This criticism may seem particularly valid in the case of the German-speaking language area, which is geographically contiguous and includes neighbouring countries, and the southeastern (Bavarian) region of Germany does indeed share many similarities with Austria, to give just one example. Proponents of the pluriareal approach, therefore, propose to use (transnational) regions or areas rather than nation states as a basis for examining the diversity of German standards (cf. e.g. Elspaß et al., 2017; Glauninger, 2013; Herrgen, 2015; Niehaus, 2015).

Berend (2005), for example, defines four colloquial standards for the German language area, with the notion of colloquial standard referring to a level between the codified standard and colloquial everyday speech. These colloquial standards include, according to Berend (2005), the Northern German, the Central German, the Southwestern, and the Southeastern colloquial standards. It is important to notice that Berend (2005) deliberately avoids referring to these areas by naming the countries that they encompass, which is exactly what Muhr (2015:37) dismisses as "[d]owngrading the status of NDVs [= non-dominant varieties] and their lexis from national to regional significance."

In another important publication that sets the key directions for the pluriareal framework, Dürscheid et al. (2015:211) criticise the notion of pluricentricity along the lines of

three principal arguments, based on a large scale, empirical study with a highly modern corpus linguistic orientation:

(1) From a language political perspective, they argue that the collapse of the German Democratic Republic has demonstrated that nation states are anything but stable and can be dissolved into thin air practically overnight.

(2) From a variational linguistic perspective, they argue, as has been suggested before, that the linguistic forms which are treated as national variants in the pluricentric model frequently "cross the political-national borders."

(3) Finally, from a perceptional linguistic perspective, they argue that laypeople's language attitudes call into question the concept of national varieties, which has been created arbitrarily by linguists (Dürscheid et al., 2015:211).

De Cillia and Ransmayr (2019:36-37) react to these arguments by highlighting that Dürscheid et al. (2015) seem to ignore a number of cases in their empirical corpus linguistic study that would go against their model, and justify the pro-pluricentricity side of the debate. Furthermore, they still keep referring to nation states as an important point of departure in their analysis, which is somewhat incongruent with their general pluriareal mindset.

Yet another relevant source that has to be mentioned in connection with the pluriareal perspective is Niehaus (2017), who sums up the advantages of the pluriareal model as follows. According to him, the pluriareal theoretical framework devotes more attention to relative variants than the pluricentric one, which he dismisses as only taking the majority variants into consideration, and failing to deal with fluctuating preferences as well as internal variation within nation states (Niehaus, 2017:85). Furthermore, he also highlights what he calls "the methodological openness" of the pluriareal approach in terms of setting the boundaries of the areas, which will inevitably be a lot less arbitrary than in the pluricentric model, which takes the extralinguistic, political borders as a given, unchangeable set of boundaries (Niehaus, 2017:85). He goes on to add that this enables pluriarealist linguists to design their corpora more flexibly, and generally allows their model a larger degree of adaptability, as well as a readiness to apply their model in actual empirical research (Niehaus, 2017:85).

Again, it is de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019:37) who defend the pluricentric model by arguing that it *is* in fact capable of incorporating cross-border linguistic variants into its framework through the application of the concepts of "specific" vs. "unspecific" variants, where the former refers to variants that are only characteristic of one single country, while the latter covers variants that spread across political borders. Furthermore, another argument in

the defense of the pluricentric model that has to be mentioned here is the fact that Muhr and Peinhopf (2015) have actually published a dictionary of differences in legal terminology between Austria and Germany, based on their own empirical, corpus linguistic research, which quite clearly refutes Niehaus's (2017) argument that the pluricentric model does not readily lend itself to application in empirical research projects.

Furthermore, as one more relevant contribution on the pluriareal side, Herrgen's (2015:156-157) argument has to be mentioned too, who talks about the era of "transnational norms of oralization" and "supranational evaluation patterns" as "a new phase of standard norms" in the 21st century, dooming the concept of pluricentricity outdated, even though he describes it as a sufficient model for the description of the linguistic reality in the mid-20th century. Herrgen (2015) formulates these arguments on the basis of the findings of his preceptual linguistic investigation, which – to summarize them in a somewhat simplified manner – go to show that Germany German standard speakers are perceived as much more standard than Austrian or Swiss German speakers, according to participants from Germany, Austria and Switzerland alike. De Cillia and Ransmayr (2019: 37), on the other hand, refute these arguments too, making the very legitimate observation that "these empirical data can, of course, also be interpreted without a problem within the framework of the pluricentric model," as indeed the central categories in Herrgen's (2015) study are nation states, and the asymmetry between the prestige of the three national varieties can be accounted for by the simple differentiation of dominant (Germany German) vs. non-dominant (Austrian and Swiss German) standards.

Another important point to make with reference to the pluriareal model and its proponents is that their criticism towards the pluricentric framework is often formulated rather vehemently (e.g. Scheuringer, 1996, or Seifter and Seifter, 2015), to which Eichinger (2005:2) refers as a "little terminological war," exemplified quite aptly by the short summary of the two sides of the debate above. Concerning vehement formulations of criticism, a good case in point, as highlighted by de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019:37), is the title of Niehaus's (2017) article: "Die Begrenztheit plurizentrischer Grenzen […]," which can be translated into English as something like "The limited nature of pluricentric boundaries […]." This title, especially in the German original, as de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019:37) argue, presents another scholarly position in a somewhat derogatory light, which is completely at odds with the universally accepted norms of academic discourse.

On the other side of the trenches, to pick up Eichinger's (2005) aforementioned metaphor, Dollinger (2019a, 2019b) discusses, in a very detailed and comprehensive

rejoinder, why it is not legitimate to reject the role of state borders altogether, thus defending the pluricentric approach. He also dismisses the pluriareal model as being conceptually sloppy and not elaborate enough – a criticism that de Cillia and Ranmayr (2019) agree with.

Without going into too much detail, perhaps the best way to summarise the essence of Dollinger's (2019a, 2019b) position is that cross-border phenomena are more indicative of overlaps between national varieties or transitional regions (buffer zones). Such transitional regions are, for example, Bavaria between Germany and Austria, or Vorarlberg between Austria and Switzerland. This conclusion undoubtedly further refines the pluricentric model by making it somewhat less rigid and more open to fuzzy boundaries, thus reflecting the sociolinguistic reality even more accurately. To sum up, it can be said that, through a kind of dialectical evolution, the pluriareal approach has also contributed considerably to the development and the chiselling out of the pluricentric approach.

As mentioned above, the issue is much more complex in the case of English, where the use of Kachru's (1965, 1992) theoretical framework of World Englishes – or, as Crystal (2003) calls it, English as a Global Language *(EGL)* – is much more prevalent in the international literature than the Clyne-based model outlined above. Muhr's (2016:18-19) thorough and exhaustive description below provides sufficient context for these two models, both from a historical and from a theoretical perspective:

> "It was in the late 1970s and in the first half of the 1980s […] that publications began to deal with pluricentricity[,] which in English linguistics was subsumed under the term "world English". The conceptualization of world Englishes goes back to the early 1960s (Kachru, 1965) and mid 70s (Smith 1976). It was first discussed in two conferences in 1978 and made popular in the publication of the proceedings by Smith (1981) and Kachru (1982). A further impetus came from the publication of the Macquarie [D]ictionary in Australia in 1981; the publications of Kachru (1983, 1985) about Asian and Indian English; and Clyne (1984) about German as a PCL [=pluricentric language] [, which] firmly established the concept of pluricentricity among sociolinguists. Kachru (1988), McArthur (1987) and Görlach (1990) published models of world English in the shape of circles. Today it is mainly Kachru's model that prevails."

While it is true that Kachru's (1965, 1992) concentric World Englishes model truly dominates scholarly discourse on the different standard varieties of Eglish across the globe, it has to be mentioned at least in passing that it has also been criticized more recently for not taking into account the more and more rapid spread of English internationally, in the globalized world of the 21st century. Among others, Graddol (2006), Clyne and Sharifian

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(2008), as well as Seidlhofer (2009) argue for a less rigid system and a more dynamic model, approaching the dividing lines between the three circles as permeable boundaries that make it possible for the model to follow the social, political as well as linguistic changes that take place in the English-speaking world over time. Perhaps the most extreme of these is Graddol's (2006) position, who even considers the option of discarding the entire concentric model, and replacing it with a completely independent conceptualization of English as an international language. Most scholars, however, including Clyne and Sharifian (2008), Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008), Seidlhofer (2009), Muhr (2015), but also Huber (2022a), agree that we are actually better off preserving the already very well established, highly elaborated and extremely well-known Kachruvian concentric framework as the foundation of a more up-to-date, dynamic, and flexible model, which could be constructed upon these foundations in order to better fit a 21st century environment. As Kachru (1996:242) himself put it, this mindset involves "questioning the earlier paradigms, asking new probing questions, and looking for fresh theoretical and methodological answers" without completely discarding the results of previous research done by earlier representatives of the field.

In that spirit of organic development, devoted to preserving the established paradigm but altering it in accordance with the challenges of the brave new world of the globalized 21st century, I will attempt, in what follows, to briefly show how Clyne's (1992) and Kachru's (1965, 1992) two models can be combined in a mutually beneficial way, thereby renewing the traditional sociolinguistic description of varieties of English as an international language, while at the same time preserving and building on previous research outcomes.

Kachru's (1965, 1992) model – see Figure 1 – places the national varieties of English in three concentric circles: (1) the *Inner Circle* includes the traditional bases of English, i.e. countries where English arrived before the imperial colonial period and where English is still the mother tongue of the majority of the population (*ENL: English as a Native Language*). These include the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. These are the traditional *norm-providing* regions in Kachru's (1965, 1992) model.

(2) The *Outer Circle* includes countries (e.g. India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Singapore, etc.) where the presence of English is a product of the imperial colonial period. In these countries, English is typically the language of key state administration processes and often the main language of (higher) education. Here, *English* is used *as a second language* (*ESL*), which means that the vast majority of the inhabitants do not speak English as a mother tongue, nor have they learnt it as a foreign language in an institutional setting, but usually through natural

language acquisition as an ambient language or as an ethnically neutral lingua franca. Kachru's (1965, 1992) model posits these countries as *norm-developing* areas, where traditional, inner-circle norms are being transformed and new norms are being developed – that is, where new national standard varieties are being created.

(3) The *Expanding Circle* includes – to exaggerate somewhat – the rest of the world, i.e. those countries or regions where English was not traditionally spoken, but where it has become internationalised in recent decades, especially in business and often in (higher) education. Within Europe, the Scandinavian countries are perhaps the most prominent examples of this category, but China, Japan, Russia and a large part of Latin America can also be included. These are *norm-dependent* areas where *English as a Foreign Language (EFL)* is present.

As for the mutually beneficial combination of Clyne's (1992) and Kachru's (1965, 1992) models – see Figure 2 – I believe that both models would benefit greatly from adding the categories of concentric circles to the dominant vs. nondominant distinction. This would allow us to divide Kachru's (1965, 1992) inner circle into two parts: **(1) dominant inner circle** (UK, USA) and **(2) non-dominant inner circle** (Canada, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa), while the other two categories would remain unchanged as **(3) outer circle** (e.g. India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Singapore, etc.) and **(4) expanding circle** (e.g. China, Japan, Scandinavia, etc.).

The fundamental difference is that while the pluricentric paradigm only considers native language standards, the concentric model also covers non-native varieties. The inclusive combination of the two models can raise the study of language variation to a new level, since, on the one hand, it allows us to extract from Kachru's (1965, 1992) inner circle those national varieties whose international prestige (and thus norm-forming potential) far exceeds even those of the other inner circle varieties (these are, obviously, American and British English). On the other hand, it also provides an opportunity to break down Clyne's (1992) rather heterogeneous set of non-dominant varieties into three widely divergent subsets (i.e. non-dominant inner circle, outer circle, and expanding circle). To take a random example, there are very significant differences between Canadian and Nigerian English in sociolinguistic terms, even though in the original system of Clyne's (1992) they both belong to the same (non-dominant) category. Conversely, as has been remarked before, American and British English enjoy by far greater international prestige, and thus undoubtedly dominate the international arena of English norm-setting, yet in Kachru's (1965, 1992) system they belong to the same category as, say, Canadian or New Zealand English (the inner circle),

which in turn goes to show why the introduction of the dominant vs. non-dominant dichotomy substantially enriches the concentric model as well.

Figure 1.   Kachru's (1965, 1992) original concentric World Englishes model

EXPANDING CIRCLE: EFL
(Europe, Latin-America, China, Japan, Russia, etc.)

OUTER CIRCLE:
ESL
(India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Singapore, etc.)

INNER CIRCLE:
ENL
(UK, USA, Canada, Ireland, Australia, New-Zealand, Republic of South Africa)
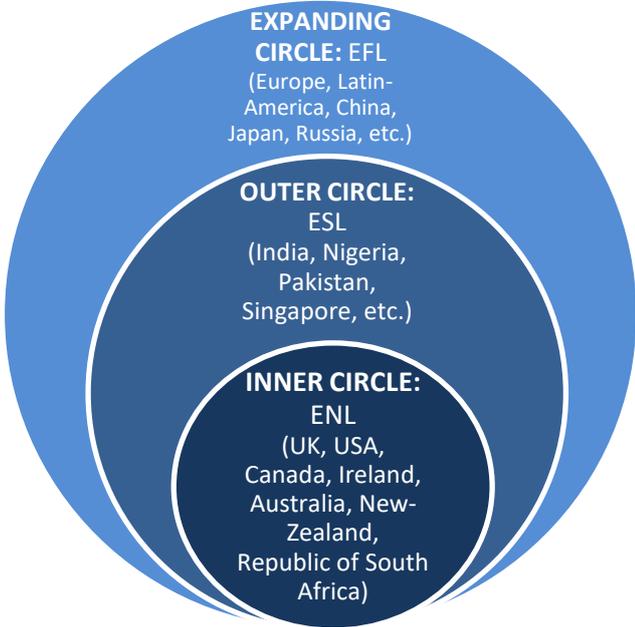
Figure 2.   The new categorisation, created by combining the models of Kachru (1965, 1992) and Clyne (1992)

EXPANDING CIRCLE: EFL
(unchanged)

OUTER CIRCLE: ESL
(unchanged)

NON-DOMINANT INNER CIRCLE:
ENL
(Canada, Ireland, Australia, New-Zealand, Republic of South Africa)

DOMINANT INNER CIRCLE: ENL
(UK, USA)
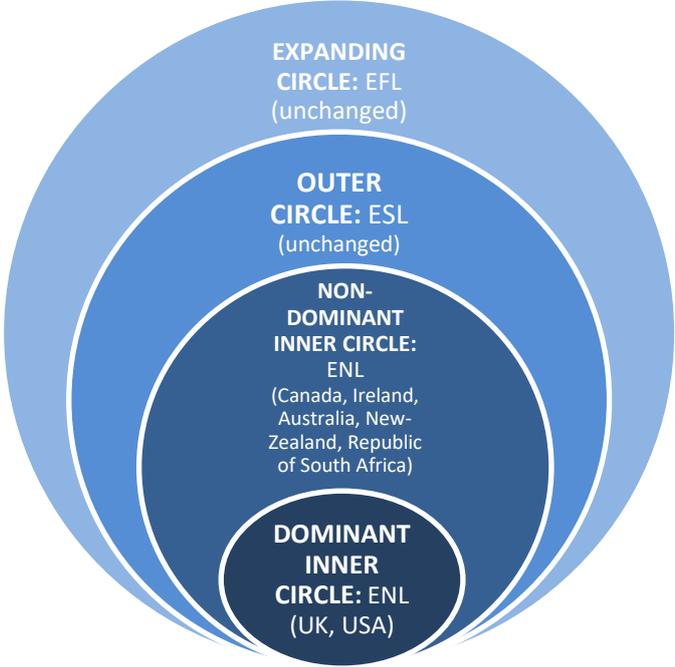
Last but not least, aligning the two models in this way also promotes conceptual accuracy, establishing a clear relationship between the two approaches. Indeed, until now, pluricentricity has often been conflated with the models of English as an international language, English as a lingua franca, English as a global language, and World Englishes (cf.

among others Marlina, 2018, or Rauer and Tizzano, 2019), and most sources have not really focused on English as a pluricentric language, but rather as a lingua franca, i.e. as a means of intercultural communication in an international context. In other words, the multiplicity of native norms has received much less attention than the divide between native and non-native Englishes (cf. Su, 2016 as one of the few advocates of the pluricentricity-oriented paradigm in this area, as opposed to, among others, Alptekin, 2002; Kramsch, 1993; Matsuda, 2003; Medgyes, 1992 or Sherman, 2010 as representatives of the solely ELF-based approach. In Kachru's (1992) terms, the discrimination against the varieties in the Expanding Circle is widely problematized, while the under-representation of the Outer (i.e. Non-Dominant) Inner Circle as opposed to the Dominant Inner Circle is almost never addressed. This observation further emphasizes the need to harmonize Clyne's (1992) and Kachru's (1965, 1992) models based on Huber (2022a), in an attempt to put an end to this conceptual anomaly.

This reconciliatory position is taken a step further by Seidlhofer (2009), who proposes to put an end to what she calls "an entrenched way of thinking about what 'a language' can be, [and] a resistance to the conceptual adjustments required by the rapid changes the globalizing world has been undergoing," much in keeping with the logic behind merging together Clyne's (1992) and Kachru's (1965, 1992) models, as has been described above. Seidlhofer (2009) argues for placing the World Englishes model, with its primary focus traditionally being on the Inner and the Expanding Circles, i.e. ENL and ESL varieties, on common grounds with the *English as a lingua franca* (ELF) approach, even though she admits that these two categories represent very different realities. This move, as suggested by Seidlhofer (2009), is in fact very similar to the one suggested by the present dissertation, as the reconciliation of Clyne's (1992) and Kachru's (1965, 1992) models also extends the scope of the pluricentric model to the non-native speakers of English (i.e. Kachru's Expanding Circle), thereby elevating ELF onto common grounds with ENL and ESL. In accordance with Seidlhofer's (2009) position, Jenkins (2007) and Mauranen (2012, 2018) go as far as stating that it is impossible to categorically divide speakers (of the English language, at least) into native vs. non-native ones, and refer to such a categorical distinction as a seriously questionable one.

Seidlhofer (2009:239) goes on to add that even certain parts of Schneider's (2007, 2011) Dynamic Model (see above) are applicable to the ELF universe, with questions of "ownership of the language, of norm-dependence vs. norm development, as well as of acceptance and assertion of identity, […] arising with reference to ELF now as they have been for other Englishes for quite some time". Even though the present dissertation does not focus

strictly speaking on ELF contexts, but on formal foreign language education, it is still important to validate this segment of the reality that learners face. In that spirit, it cannot go unmentioned that as part of more recent developments in research on World Englishes and ELF alike, there has been a shift in focus from the traditional approach of describing individual varieties towards the perspective of language contact when it comes to conceptualizing variation in the English-speaking world. Mauranen (2018: 10), for instance, argues that ELF should not at all be conceived of as a variety, since it is not settled or unified, nor does it have a solid speech community to be described categorically. Instead, she suggests the term "similect," which refers to contact varieties like the ones between English and various other languages that ELF users are native speakers of, often bearing what Mauranen (2018: 10) calls "jocular nicknames like Swinglish, Czenglish, Manglish or Dunglish." The term *similect* implies that certain similarities unify the speakers of these contact varieties, since they share similar backgrounds in their native languages, like Swiss, Czech, Mandarine, and Dutch in the above examples. Thus, at the end of the day, ELF is to be conceived of as "contact between these hybrid, contact-based lects – that is, ELF is a higher-order, or second-order language contact" (Mauranen, 2018: 10).

One of the reasons why this conceptual innovation is useful is its intention to help students navigate variation in general, be it in the ENL, ESL or ELF realm, rather than forcing them to approximate a native standard norm. This means that it is no longer the creation of a – better or worse – mental model of the native standard rules in the students that is seen as the goal of language education, but rather the fine-tuning of the learners – and their mental models – to their experience of language, in which, of course, standard varieties will play a paramount role, though by far not an exclusive one. In other words, what is of interest here is the cognitive creation of language both within the learners as individuals, and at the level of the communities of ELF users, both in a local and a global sense, very much in keeping with Krämer et al. (2021)'s Language Making model, as described earlier.

As Seidlhofer (2009:243) concludes, the fact that ENL and ESL represent different realities from the ELF universe does not have to mean that "the different perspectives cannot be drawn on fruitfully and combine forces where appropriate." To use Seidlhofer's (2009:243) words to sum up the inclusive, reconciliatory logic that has been described above:

> "Though different in some respects, both are engaged in the same shared endeavour
> to understand and confront the sociolinguistic challenges of a rapidly changing
> world. This is why ELF merits acceptance as forming part of the wider WE research

community, to which, I would suggest, it can bring fresh impulses and ideas in the continuing exploration of our common ground."

2.4. Implications for language teaching

2.4.1. Why should pluricentricity be present in language education?

If we accept that our fundamental aim in language teaching is to reflect linguistic reality, then the pluricentricity of a language, the diversity of its standard varieties, whether dominant or non-dominant, must be an inevitable part of this process in the case of pluricentric languages (cf. e.g. Jenkins, 2006; Jianli, 2015; Krumm, 2006; Muhr, 1996a). While the literature on the pluricentricity of German makes very concrete suggestions for language teaching, this is not really the case with English, due to the aforementioned conceptual imprecision and the confusion between the different models and nomenclatures. In what follows, I will attempt to extend the widely accepted requirements for German to English, bearing in mind the differences between the two languages in terms of their pluricentricity, as outlined above.

One of the great advantages of using the pluricentric model is that multiple norms carry multiple cultural contexts, which, when incorporated into language teaching, can facilitate intercultural communication (Marlina, 2014, 2018; Rauer and Tizzano, 2019). This also offers a great opportunity to present pluricentric content embedded in the target language culture (Bettermann, 2010; Christen and Knipf-Komlósi, 2002; Hägi, 2006), but it is also important that this kind of culturally embedded presentation should not be limited to the presentation of stereotypes about different nations (Kramsch, 1993; Marlina, 2018). While this is certainly not the primary task of language teaching, pluricentric standards should be an important part of the language learning process, including its goals and tasks. Ammon and Hägi (2005:34) aptly reflect on this: "Broad similarities should not be neglected in favour of national and regional varieties, and the German language taught should have the widest possible communicative scope" – a statement that applies as much to the teaching of English as a pluricentric language as to the teaching of German.

It is important to underline that the pluricentric model focuses on standard varieties, and their primacy in language teaching is justified by their official status and their presence in the elevated domains of language use – in contrast, for instance, to non-standard regional varieties, dialects, foreign accented and even lingua franca varieties, although the presence of the latter in language education is, of course, also necessary and important. (This is one of the reasons why the conceptual precision mentioned earlier is doubtlessly necessary: in this case

concerning the distinction between the pluricentric and the lingua franca approach.) As Muhr (1996a) puts it, language teaching must also recognise that, in addition to the standard varieties, many other varieties may be available in a given communicative situation, which may even be more appropriate to the situation than the standard one. McKay (2010), as well as Glaboniat et al. (2002: 23) call for a "tolerant treatment of norms" rather than a fixation on standards, which can counteract language discrimination (cf. Glauninger, 2001).

Concerning the presence of these varieties in language teaching, the literature shows that the focus should be on receptive skills (i.e. listening and reading comprehension) (Muhr 1996b, Glauninger 2001), since the primary aim of modern language teaching is rarely to achieve some kind of artificially constructed (productive) language use with a native-like effect, but rather to enable language learners to make themselves understood in a wide variety of communicative situations, with a wide variety of communicative partners. This is what Muhr calls "the meaningful coexistence of norms" (1996b:42), while Knipf-Komlósi (2001, 18) terms it as a "healthy, diverse interpretation of norms", which is perfectly in line with Marlina's (2014, 2018) observation about English, namely, that in today's globalised world it is not really possible to predict what varieties a given language learner will encounter in his or her lifetime, the more so considering the increasingly important role of global media in forming connections between varieties.

2.4.2. How should pluricentricity be presented in language teaching?

In light of the above, we can therefore accept that there is a need to incorporate a variety of pluricentric norms into language teaching. The question is how this should be done. A fair starting point for answering this question is the realization that, on the basis of the theoretical background outlined above, a balanced British–American codominance in language teaching can be expected in the case of English, which, as the level of language proficiency progresses, can be gradually complemented by a lesser presence of other (non-dominant) varieties. In the case of German, a reasonable degree of Germany German dominance is justified, with a lesser presence of Austrian and Swiss German standards, reflecting sociolinguistic realities. The specifics of this are explained in more detail below.

It is important to note that, since differences between varieties manifest themselves at all levels of language (be they phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic or even pragmatic regularities), it is important to incorporate them into language teaching at all these levels (Muhr, 1993, 1996a; Glaboniat et al., 2002). To provide just a few examples from the various levels of language: phonetic/phonological differences in the

pronunciation of the postvocalic *r* in standard American English, its omission in standard British English, and the voiced pronunciation of the initial *s* in standard Germany German, as opposed to its voiceless realization in the Austrian and Swiss standard varieties. As a grammatical (i.e. morphological or syntactic) example, the different past participle forms of the verb *get* can be mentioned in the case of English (American: *gotten*; British: *got*), while in German, for example, different standards use different past tense auxiliaries with the verbs *stehen* "stand," *sitzen* "sit," *liegen* "lie" (Germany German: *haben* "have;" Austrian German: *sein* "be"). For those who want to go into more detail, there is also an extensive literature on the grammatical differences between the standard varieties of English (cf. e.g. Algeo, 2006; Rohdenburg and Schlüter, 2009), although these are principally rather "dry" theoretical sources, and not over practical or language teaching oriented. Furthermore, there are clear differences between the different standard varieties in the field of pragmatics as well, for example, in the use of greetings, titles, address behavior, and even in generally more direct vs. indirect language use.

I have deliberately left lexis to the end of the discussion, because – as lexical differences are probably the most noticeable, and at the same time, relatively easy to address didactically – this is often the only area where some degree of pluricentric representation can be observed (cf. Muhr, 1996a), although the aforementioned other areas would be at least as important. A randomly selected example of vocabulary differences includes the pair *cell phone* (American) vs. *mobile phone* (British) in English, and the triad *Brötchen* (German) vs. *Semmel* (Austrian) vs. *Weckli/Brötli* (Swiss) "bun" in German. In their publication *Profile Deutsch,* Glaboniat et al. (2002) provide a specific levelled list of lexical differences to be included in teaching German as a foreign language, but there is no shortage of didactically designed vocabulary collections of this kind, as well as online and offline practice materials for both languages, although in the case of English, these usually only refer to the two dominant varieties (British and American English) (e.g. *English Profile*, which is the English version of the above-mentioned *Profile Deutsch*: http://englishprofile.org/wordlists/evp; but see also Kövecses, 2000; Lindell, 2014; Scott, 2000).

As for the level of language proficiency of the learners, Muhr (1996a) states the principle of a neutral beginner level, meaning that it is not worthwhile to overburden completely beginner language learners with pluricentric content. Instead, whenever possible, it is advisable to start with super-regional elements that can be used in as much of the language area as possible (Glaboniat et al., 2002) and only later (i.e. from intermediate level onwards), gradually, as the level of proficiency increases, to focus on the differences in the

standard varieties. This principle is also supported by Christen and Knipf-Komlósi (2002), Glauninger (2001) and Neuland (2011), and at this point I would like to mention again the vocabulary list of Glaboniat et al. (2002), which is broken down by proficiency level and can be of great help when compiling pluricentricity-oriented teaching materials. Glauninger (2001) adds to this that the primacy of Germany German as the dominant variety over the non-dominant varieties is acceptable at beginner levels, although he suggests that it is worthwhile to include the latter – to a limited extent – in the lexicon from the beginning, especially in Hungary, where the Austrian variants may often, due to the shared historical past, still sound more familiar than their dominant Germany German equivalents, so that their inclusion in the language learning process at an initial stage may make things easier for the language learner.

Here again, there is an important difference between English and German, because in the case of English it is not so clear which variety to choose for the neutral beginner level mentioned above, as there are two dominant standards. Compared to German, the recommendations in the literature are much less specific in the case of English, so I will try to clarify them myself on the basis of the German example. In my view, there are two possible ways forward.

One option is that, on the basis of the principle of geographical vicinity (Muhr, 1996a), and in line with the British dominance of the (European) textbook and teaching aid market, a British dominance may initially seem justified, which may then be accompanied by the systematic incorporation of American and, to a lesser extent, non-dominant standard varieties from the intermediate level onwards. However, this may be countered by the fact that language learners are often exposed to American English content in popular culture from a very early age, which means that the discrepancy described as the point of departure for this study cannot be remedied. Moreover, Ammon and Hägi (2005) counterbalance the notion of geographical vicinity with that of economic and political power, which also favours the American standard in the case of English, not to mention the possible consequences of the UK's departure from the European Union, which are still very difficult to foresee at this stage. All this makes this option at best a possible, but far from ideal, choice.

Alternatively, however, we could also decide to implement the US–British codominance from the outset, since we are dealing with two dominant standards, neither of which should be given primacy. Although at first sight this seems to go against Muhr's (1996a) principle of a neutral beginner level, it can be argued that, since there are only two variants, this codominance can be implemented by appropriate didactic means without

overburdening the novice language learner. All things considered, this seems to be the preferable option.

As a last language pedagogical remark, I consider it important to mention that, in relation to the levels of language proficiency, it is worth introducing the equivalent variants of the different standard varieties simultaneously, thus achieving a more democratic and balanced acquisition, always clearly indicating which variety a given variant is part of (Glaboniat et al., 2002; Muhr, 1996c).

2.4.3. The legal–institutional framework

Next, I would like to briefly touch upon the role of the legal–institutional framework, including curricula and the various language examinations, which have a strong influence on the everyday work of teachers, determining to a certain extent what happens in the actual foreign language classrooms. Consequently, the role of pluricentricity in these documents will also determine how the different standard varieties are approached by teachers and learners in practice, and whether or not this topic is given any specific attention at all (cf. de Cillia and Ransmayr, 2019).

Let us focus on curricula first. Curricula play a key role in the planning of institutionalized educational processes. Broadly speaking, Kerr (1968:16) defines them as "all the learning which is planned and guided by the school, whether it is carried on in groups or individually, inside or outside the school." As pointed out by Smith (1996, 2000: 1), curriculum theory (and practice) can be approached from four perspectives: the curriculum can be treated (1) as a syllabus, (2) as a product, (3) as a process, or (4) as praxis. The first approach treats the curriculum as nothing else than a list of topics to cover in a certain amount of time, with some comments on further possible areas to investigate, but little methodological guidance as to how these areas should be dealt with in class. As Curzon (1985) highlights, this understanding of the curriculum is similar to the concept of a mere table of contents in a textbook. The Hungarian National Core Curriculum (Nemzeti alaptanterv) certainly goes beyond the scope of this definition, as it places a lot more emphasis on methodological considerations than on a mere list of topics to cover.

The second approach sees the curriculum as a product. According to Smith (1996, 2000: 1) this resonates with what he terms as "[t]he dominant modes of describing and managing education […] as a technical exercise." In this framework "[o]bjectives are set, a plan drawn up, then applied, and the outcomes (products) measured." This approach is closely

linked to Tyler's (1949) fundamental propositions in his *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*.

Here the main goal of planning is to set clearly defined behavioural objectives that clarify what sort of outcome to aim at, and how to organize the content of education as well as the methods applied to reach this outcome (cf. Smith 1996, 2000). In actual practice, this means a programme of activities, which, if performed properly by the teachers and the learners, guarantees the fulfilment of the educational objectives set at the beginning (Grundy 1987: 11). The Hungarian National Core Curriculum belongs to this category.

Even though this model is very logical and easy to instrumentalize, these sets of objectives are inevitably formulated prior to the learning process and outside of the actual classroom, which deprives the learners of any chance to have a say in designing their own learning experience (Smith 1996, 2000).

To remedy that, the third and the fourth approaches, which look at the curriculum as a process and as praxis, respectively, place considerable emphasis on the involvement of learners in curriculum design. In accordance with that, in these approaches, no rigid curricula are designed beforehand, based solely on the intended outcomes. Instead, it is the constant cooperation of the learners and the teacher(s) that dynamically shapes the curriculum, both in terms of content and methodology. O'Neill (2010) as well as Hussey and Smith (2003: 367) formulate this as avoiding prescriptive learning outcomes that lack flexibility. Obviously, this is by far not characteristic of the Hungarian National Core Curriculum, which is a central document that prescriptively controls all the institutionalized learning and teaching that takes place in the Hungarian education system, and its basis is precisely the formulation of aims and objectives prior to the actual learning process, i.e. the type of objectives that this procedural, practice-oriented perspective on curricula suggest staying away from.

The Hungarian National Core Curriculum, as Réti (2015:12) postulates, is a complex document whose aim is to plan the processes of learning and teaching in their entirety, attempting to take into consideration every aspect, from general educational objectives through concrete topics and content, all the way to the methods of evaluation. Furthermore, in the Hungarian education system, the macro-level core curriculum is complemented with several meso-level, local curricula, which makes the system a bipolar one in Réti's (2015:13) nomenclature. In general, the core curriculum concentrates on universal principles that concern every single participant in the given educational system, while on the other hand, local curricula adapt these general principles to the context of a particular institution with its traditions, values, individual characteristics, etc. (Perjés, 2011).

Thus, the core curriculum constitutes the basis of all local curricula in a given educational system, which justifies why it is crucial to include the Hungarian National Core Curriculum in the scope of the present investigation, as it defines the basic principles according to which all processes of education are planned in every Hungarian school.

To make the Hungarian system even more complex, an intermediary level of curricula has also been introduced between the core curriculum and local curricula: the level of framework curricula, the aim of which is to assist individual schools with the adaptation of the general principles of the core curriculum into more practical terms, such as clear-cut units of content distributed over two-year cycles, as well as concrete subjects and lesson numbers, taking into consideration the level and the type of the school (Perjés and Vass, 2009).

In actual practice, schools usually only modify framework curricula to a relatively marginal extent when they adapt them to their local needs, putting together their local curricula. According to Gönczöl and Morvay (2012: 40), the overwhelming majority of schools keep more than 80% of the selected framework curriculum intact, and they only fine-tune it based on certain sociocultural characteristics and professional expectations that are unique to the particular school. Thus, for the present project, it is more sensible to concentrate on the core curriculum and the framework curricula only, without taking local curricula into consideration, since the analysis of the former two enables us to draw comprehensive conclusions that hold true for the entire education system rather than just a single school. This will be attempted in section 4.1, where both the National Core Curriculum and the Framework Curricula will be analysed in detail with respect to the presence of pluricentricity in them.

Now, shifting the focus away from curricula and towards examinations (including both the matura and the state-accredited language examinations), it is important to realize that, as Christen and Knipf-Komlósi (2002) suggest, in a Hungarian context, the monocentric orientation of these examinations also greatly reinforces discrimination against non-dominant varieties, for example, by the fact that in several language examinations the equivalent of the expected answer from a non-dominant variety in a given task is often classified as an error. More narrowly, the washback effect of the foreign language matura examinations in Hungary was demonstrated and described in detail by Vígh (2012), based on Einhorn's (2007) assumption, showing that the communicative orientation of the exam has a well-detectable effect on the preparation activities of language teachers, making their practices somewhat more communicative as well. This leads to the logical conclusion that the inclusion of pluricentricity in the requirements for the matura examinations may also be able to increase the openness of the whole system towards differing national standards. The fact that in recent

years the matura examinations have regularly included a variety of standards, especially in the area of receptive skills, is therefore a positive development, as will be described in more detail (and with some important caveats) in section 4.2.2.

2.4.4. Textbooks

As Auerbach (1995), Neuner (1994 and 2007), Sadker and Sadker (2001) as well as Vogl and De Wilde (2022), among others, point out, the textbooks applied are an extremely important part of language teaching, and what they contain has an impact on the language learning and teaching process as a whole. According to Sadker and Sadker (2001: 134), the use of textbooks accounts, on average, for 80-95% of classroom work, and textbooks are also the basis for many of the fundamental pedagogical decisions in the teaching process. This further reinforces the above claim as to their relevance in the present study, while at the same time it also justifies my attempt to interpret some of the statements I have already formulated above on the role of pluricentricity in language teaching in general to the role of textbooks in particular.

In light of the theoretical considerations outlined above, an ideal textbook should contain audio materials and reading comprehension texts from a wide range of standard varieties. This is what Muhr (1996a: 144) calls "interregional representation [...] with listening and reading texts showing regional characteristics." Furthermore, Muhr (1996a: 141) argues that it is also necessary that pluricentricity be presented at all linguistic levels. Pluricentricity is "more than just a few kitchen vocabulary items" (Muhr 1996a: 141), and it manifests itself at all levels of the linguistic system, from phonetics and phonology to grammar and pragmatics (cf. also Muhr, 1993; Council of Europe, 2002; Glaboniat et al., 2002; Lehtonen, 2010).

As has been made clear several times already, pluricentric content should be introduced gradually, step by step, making it an integral part of the language learning process in general, and this is no different in the case of language textbooks in particular, in accordance with Muhr's (1996a: 143-144) principle of a "neutral beginner level." According to Glauninger (2001: 108), learners first need a well-established "normative knowledge of a certain variety of the German standard" before they can become familiar with "the variation scale of the German standard".

Furthermore, Hägi (2006: 180-182) argues rather convincingly for the consistent marking of linguistic elements used exclusively in Germany German, which she finds is very rarely done, since forms specific to Germany German are often left unmarked, which can of

course be very misleading for learners. (The same can be said for the treatment of British English in textbooks, by the way.) Muhr's suggestion of a neutral beginner level (1996a: 143) does not, therefore, imply that only Germany German or only British or American English elements are taught at the beginning of the learning process, because their communicative scope is also limited. Rather, the principle of "the meaningful coexistence of norms" (Muhr, 1996c: 42) applies here as well, meaning that certain pluricentric elements may be relevant for beginners too, such as different greetings, different names for basic foods, etc. What is important is to indicate their communicative scope and the corresponding national variety, as well as the equivalents of such elements in other national varieties (Glaboniat et al, 2002; Muhr, 1996c).

Although the textbook analyses of English are predominantly based on the models of English as a lingua franca, World Englishes, English as an international language and English as a global language, as mentioned above, these various theoretical perspectives can indeed be grouped together under the same umbrella (cf. Seidlhofer, 2009, among others), so their conclusions are absolutely relevant for the present discussion, and they are also completely in line with the German results listed above.

For instance, Buckledee (2010), Tomlinson and Masuhara (2013), Takahashi, as well as Tajeddin and Pakzadian (2020) all report that, minor differences aside, non-dominant varieties are generally negligible in the most diverse textbooks they have studied. As I noted earlier, and as all the above sources point out, in today's globalised world, where the possibility of a language learner encountering virtually any variety in the future has to be accounted for, it is clearly a flawed concept to marginalise the diversity of norms in language textbooks. Therefore, taking into account everything that has been said so far, at this point I want to join the ranks of the linguists and textbook analysts such as those cited above and call out to make a proposal to textbook developers to ensure a democratic and balanced representation of the different standards in their publications, covering all language levels.

Réti (2015) argues that in certain countries, where the education system is organized in a centralized way, such as Turkey or France, the application of school textbooks can have an important influence on the content and methodology of education as a whole. The present-day Hungarian education system certainly falls into this category too, which adds to the relevance of textbook analyses in general, as well as of the present section of this dissertation in particular.

Textbook analysis as a scientific genre has a relatively short history: according to Heindrichs et al. (1980) as well as Krumm (1994), it has become gradually more and more

widespread since the early 1970s, and it is now very frequently used for a variety of purposes. Heindrichs et al. (1980: 149) basically distinguish three levels within the field of scholarly investigations connected to textbooks: textbook criticism, textbook analysis, and textbook research. While textbook criticism mainly approaches textbooks from a learning theory perspective, textbook analysis collects and processes data from textbooks according to a set of criteria, and textbook research is about experimentally testing textbooks and drawing empirical conclusions (cf. Lehtonen, 2010). Of these categories, the present study clearly belongs to the level of textbook analysis, where it is the theoretical framework of pluricentricity that yields the set of criteria to be applied.

Neuner (1994) further refines the system of Heindrichs et al. (1980) by distinguishing three levels within the category of textbook analysis itself. On the one hand, analyses can focus on general, interdisciplinary aspects, such as general pedagogical goals and their realization, the role of the educational policy environment, etc. More commonly, however, textbook analysis, while still general, is discipline-related, aiming at the investigation of certain content-related questions in a given subject. Finally, the third level is that of specialized, subject-specific questions, which is where the present study belongs, focusing on subject-specific theoretical and didactical issues, in this case at the crossroads of language teaching and variational sociolinguistics.

As can be seen, textbook analyses can be conducted from a variety of approaches and with a variety of focuses, even within the field of foreign language teaching. In the following, I will attempt to briefly review the evolution and main results of pluricentricity-oriented textbook analyses in the field of English and German as foreign languages, thus preparing the ground for the presentation of the results of the textbook analysis component of the present project in section 4.3 below.

As I have already pointed out, there is much more extensive literature on the role of pluricentricity in language teaching in the case of German than in the case of English. English textbook analyses have focused on the over-representation of native speakers as compared to non-native ones, approaching English as a lingua franca (e.g. Cook, 1999; Motschenbacher, 2019; Sherman, 2010; Vettorel, 2018), while the topic of variation within the category of native norms has been much less heavily discussed, pushing the pluricentric model to the background.

Among the few authors who have analysed English textbooks in a plurientricity-oriented framework are Hanashiro (2016), Matsuda (2002), Tajeddin and Pakzadian (2020) Tomlinson and Masuhara (2013) and Yamanaka (2006), who unanimously conclude that the

studied textbooks focus solely on Inner Circle Englishes, almost without an exception, no matter whether they have been designed for the Japanese or the international TEFL textbook market. In a Taiwanese context, Su (2016) has also confirmed the above findings, highlighting the fact that these textbooks serve to legitimize the hegemony of British and American English in the field of TEFL textbooks. Based on the categorization developed above, it can be argued that these textbooks focus exclusively on the Dominant Inner Circle Varieties. Narrowing that focus even further, Syrbe and Rose (2018) observed, in the context of the TEFL textbook market in Germany, not only the predominance of the Dominant Inner Circle, but even within that, the predominance of British English in three popular language textbook series.

Sporadically, however, some positive examples of openness to pluricentricity can also be found, such as a whole chapter on Hong Kong in one of the Japanese textbooks studied by Matsuda (2002), and a page on Kenya in another, although these highlight mostly cultural rather than linguistic elements, but in both cases there are speakers from the given Outer Circle area, so there is some pluricentric presence in listening comprehension and pronunciation too.

On the German side, too, many analyses criticise the textbooks for not paying enough attention to pluricentricity, as highlighted by Ammon and Hägi (2005), Jarząbek (2013), Maijala (2009) and Muhr (1996b), among others. An interesting case study is Lehtonen's (2010) analysis of textbooks in Finland, which shows that English textbooks contain much more pluricentric elements than German ones at all levels of the language, which parallels my earlier observation that the pluricentricity of English is much more accepted and known among the general public than that of German (cf. Dollinger, 2019a, 2019b). German coursebooks are thus criticised by Lehtonen (2010) in contrast to English ones, and he points to their marginal representation of pluricentricity (and of linguistic diversity in general), although he finds a significantly higher proportion of elements from non-dominant varieties in vocabulary than in pronunciation, even in German coursebooks.

Ammon and Hägi (2005) write about the German coursebooks *Dimensionen*, *Business Interaktiv*, *Passwort Deutsch*, *Delfin* and the exam-preparation volume of *Themen neu,* although not in detail, but highlighting some important features. They note, first of all, that there is very little focus on pluricentricity in these textbooks. As for the differences between the various textbook families, they point out, among other things, that in *Passwort Deutsch* the different national varieties are only dealt with from the second volume onwards, whereas in *Delfin* they are present from the very beginning, although even there only very

superficially, mainly in the vocabulary lists. It is added that the audio materials in *Delfin* follow the Germany German pronunciation standard exclusively, whereas in *Passwort Deutsch* Austrian and Swiss German are also used. The characteristics of Swiss pronunciation are, however, often exaggerated, which Ammon and Hägi (2005: 36) criticise in both *Passwort Deutsch* and *Themen neu.*

As a positive example, Ammon and Hägi (2005) mention the *Business Interaktiv* advanced textbook for German as a foreign language, published in the UK for business German language teaching, and the general coursebook *Dimensionen*, whose so-called D-A-CH-Boxes, which are basically short, highlighted, extra intercultural sections, regularly emphasise the pluricentricity of the German language, even if only tangentially (cf. Wollmann, 2019). Similarly positive experiences are reported by Muhr (1996b) and Boss (2005) with the textbook *Memo*, in which the so-called *Regio-Box* sections serve to introduce pluricentricity, embedded in cultural information and intercultural communication, which is exactly what Christen and Knipf-Komlósi (2002), de Cillia and Ransmayr (2019), Jarząbek (2013), and Huber (2021) also promote.

Another positive example is the *Stufen international* coursebook, which was found by Boss (2005) to have a strong pluricentric orientation, with the consistent use of the acronym DACH, which stands for German-speaking countries. Another positive aspect of this book that Boss (2005) highlights is that it makes a visible effort to provide examples of pluricentricity from all levels of language, from vocabulary to grammar and semantics to pragmatics. At the same time, Boss (2005) also points out a number of minor inaccuracies and shortcomings of *Stufen international*, and offers the reader an exceptional example of an even more evenly distributed and methodologically more effective presentation of pluricentricity, namely the coursebook *Moment mal!* – which was co-authored by a German-Austrian-Swiss trio.

Muhr (1993) uses the example of the very popular 1990s textbook *Themen neu,* published by Hueber, to show how the principles of pluricentric language teaching can be put into practice. Since he considers this textbook to be unsuitable for the effective teaching of the non-dominant national varieties of German – a view shared by Boss (2005) in a study 12 years later – Muhr (1993) formulates a number of suggestions for a pluricentric revision. Among other things, he suggests that 40 of the approximately 1,400 glossary entries in the initial volume should include the non-dominant equivalents. Of these 40 cases, about 7 are grammatical differences between individual words, some of which take a different preposition in Austrian German (e.g. *vergessen auf* + *Accusative* "forget on something" instead of

vergessen + Accusative "forget something") or form the perfect tense differently (as with *ist gelegen* instead of *hat gelegen*, i.e. using the auxiliary *sein* "be" instead of *haben* "have" with the verb *legen* "lie," but also in the case of *hat dürfen* instead of *hat gedurft,* where the infinitive form of the modal verb *dürfen* "be allowed to" is used instead of the past participle).

Muhr's (1993) study is of outstanding importance not only because it is one of the earliest published textbook analyses with a pluricentric approach, but also because the proportions quoted above suggest that it would be an improvement if the share of non-dominant items in the vocabulary lists of contemporary textbooks were approximately 40 : 1400 (i.e. approximately 3%, although of course this ratio may depend on many other factors, but it is suitable as an indication for orientation), and if the grammatical differences mentioned above were also discussed (cf. Muhr 1993: 119-122).

2.4.5. Proposals for more pluricentricity-oriented language teaching

At this point, based on the solid theoretical background outlined above, I will try to summarise the concrete proposals which would help to implement more pluricentricity-oriented language teaching in Hungarian public education.

(1) A balanced multi-regional representation of the **receptive skills** is required through the heterogeneity of reading and listening materials.

(2) The language taught should aim to have the widest **possible communicative reach** in a globalised world.

(3) **Standard varieties** should be given priority, but not exclusivity, in language teaching.

(4) The presentation of pluricentric content should be **embedded in cultural content** – without reducing this content to (national) stereotypes.

(5) **In English teaching,** American–British codominance is justified from the beginning, with non-dominant varieties gradually being added from the intermediate level.

(6) After the initial Germany German dominance at beginner levels in the **teaching of German** as a foreign language, it is recommended that non-dominant varieties be gradually incorporated from the intermediate level onwards.

(7) Pluricentricity must be present **at all levels of language** and cannot be limited to vocabulary alone.

(8) In the **vocabulary** domain (e.g. using the levelled lists of *Profile Deutsch* and *English Profile*), it is recommended that a non-dominant rate of at least 3-5% at

the intermediate level be achieved, which can have a positive impact on both listening and reading through texts containing such vocabulary items.

(9) **Equivalents** should be introduced in parallel with each other, in each case with a clear indication of the variety they belong to.

(10) Pluricentricity should be included in the **curricula**, **textbooks**, as well as in the (matura) **examination requirements**, thus creating the legal–institutional background for pluricentric language teaching.

If the above proposals are implemented, we can expect teachers to become more open to pluricentricity, but the role of teacher training, where the inclusion of pluricentric content is also essential, cannot be overlooked either. The present findings therefore convey an important message to many agents playing a part in several segments of the education system, from curriculum and textbook developers through teacher training, all the way to language teachers themselves. In the light of the above, it is clear that pluricentricity should be given more importance in language teaching, since a tolerant approach to norms, in addition to accurately reflecting linguistic and sociolinguistic realities, can also promote intercultural communication and combat linguistic discrimination. Not to mention the fact that in an integrating Europe, in a world of globalisation, language learners can easily encounter any language variety, even without leaving their home town.

3. Research question and hypotheses

The following section is devoted to the presentation of the research question and the hypotheses related to it, since it is going to be the ultimate aim of all the subsequent parts of the dissertation to answer that question and put those hypotheses to the test. To start with, the fundamental research question of the present study is the following: *What role does the linguistic diversity of English and German play in language teaching in the Hungarian education system?* This question is worth investigating in order to gain an insight into a segment of foreign language teaching in the contemporary Hungarian education system that can have a major impact on language learners' and teachers' classrooms interactions as well as their beliefs about the languages they are learning, as well as on the way these languages are presented in curricula an textbooks, and, through this, on the everyday practices in and outside of the foreign language classroom as well as the overall success of the language learning process.

In order to adequately answer the above question, the presence of pluricentricity in the education system needs to be investigated at two levels. First, on a macro level, the role of pluricentricity needs to be investigated in the legal–institutional framework of the Hungarian education system. This includes national and school level curricula, centralized exam requirements, as well as widely used textbooks that are available on the official school textbook list of the Educational Authority (Oktatási Hivatal) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As these factors have a profound effect on what is really happening in the actual classrooms, it can be expected that the way they relate to pluricentricity will determine teachers' and learners' beliefs and classroom interactions as well.

This brings us to the second, micro level, which is about teachers' and learners' classroom interactions, as well as their beliefs concerning the pluricentricity of English and German and its role in language teaching that are reflected by the emerging interaction patterns. To gain a comprehensive insight into the role of pluricentricity in the education system as a whole, it is not enough to only investigate the general, official characteristics of the system itself, but, moving to a more practical side, the individual participants in the education system (i.e. learners and teachers) need to be taken into consideration as well. After analyzing the system on a macro level, narrowing down the scope of the project onto this kind of individual, micro level can shed light on the practical realization of what is theoretically codified in the official documents of the legal–institutional framework.

Answering the above research question inevitably involves testing one's own hypotheses that are related to it. Based on my own experience as a language teacher and

learner (i.e. from the internal perspective mentioned earlier), but also on the basis of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, the present dissertation sets out to investigate the following three hypotheses:

(1) Pluricentricity plays a marginal role in the legal–institutional framework of language teaching in the Hungarian education system.

As has been highlighted in section 2.4, it is generally argued rather frequently by linguists and language educators that more pluricentric presence would be necessary in the education system in general (see subsections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2), particularly in the textbooks and other teaching materials (see subsection 2.4.4). It is these observations from the relevant literature on the topic, coupled with my practical experience as a teacher, that I base Hypothesis 1 upon.

(2) The marginal presence of pluricentricity in the legal–institutional framework results in teachers devoting relatively little attention to this aspect of language teaching in practice. Consequently, as learners are more open to differing standards than their teachers, this creates a discrepancy between learners' and teachers' beliefs.

As far as the basis of Hypothesis 2 is concerned, the general discrepancy between learners' exposure to American popular culture as opposed to the prevalence of British English in foreign language teaching has been discussed as part of the Introduction (Chapter 1). Furthermore, as has also been claimed before, a comparably serious discrepancy can be observed in the case of German. Here, as Austria is a neighboring country of Hungary, the two countries are closely linked by a lot of shared history and cultural heritage, and this interconnectedness manifests itself at the level of people's everyday life experience too, especially in the western part of the country, which is close to the Austrian border. However, Germany German is still in an almost hegemonic position in German language teaching in Hungary, with other national standards, like Austrian or Swiss German, playing a marginal role only.

(3) A general prevalence of dominant over non-dominant varieties can be observed.

As discussed in Chapter 2.1, according to Clyne (1992) and Muhr (2003, 2005, 2012) an important mechanism through which linguistic dominance is enacted in pluricentric languages is the export of the dominant norms through foreign language education, while the non-dominant norms are not disseminated like that at all, or only to a much more limited extent. Again, it is on the basis of this theoretical consideration, supported by my own practical experience as a teacher, that Hypothesis 3 has been formulated.

As has been mentioned before, the following sections of the dissertation will each be directed at a specific aspect of the above research question, testing the above hypotheses one by one. First, Chapters 4 and 5 are going to address Hypothesis 1 about the legal–institutional framework. Then, Chapters 6 and 7 will be focusing on learners' and teachers' classroom interactions and beliefs, pertaining to Hypothesis 2. More specifically, while Chapter 6 approaches these interactions and beliefs from a quantitative angle, discussing the outcomes of statistical analyses based on questionnaire findings, Chapter 7 takes a qualitative perspective, presenting and interpreting the outcome of the interview-based segment of the project. Finally, Hypothesis 3 is an overarching one, since in order to find out about a general tendency like the prevalence of dominant varieties over non-dominant ones, all segments of the system need to be taken into consideration, which means that conclusions about the Hypothesis 3 will only be drawn at the very end of the dissertation.

4. Analysis of the legal–institutional framework

As has been mentioned in subsection 2.4.4, the legal–institutional framework of foreign language education in Hungary is of paramount importance in the present project, since the documents that build up this framework (i.e. national and framework curricula, as well as various exam requirements) can be assumed to have an important influence on the actual classroom practices of teachers and learners alike, and through that, the entire teaching-learning process.

4.1. Curricula

Against the theoretical background about curricula that has been briefly outlined in subsection 2.4.4, the following two subsections (4.1.1 and 4.1.2) will focus on the two most important levels of the legal–institutional framework of the Hungarian educational system (at least as far as curricula are concerned): the National Core Curriculum (4.1.1) and the framework curricula (4.1.2), and analyze them with respect to the way they present language variation in general, and linguistic pluricentricity in particular.

4.1.1. The National Core Curriculum and pluricentricity

The current, 2020 version of the National Core Curriculum, which is in force today and is the official basis on which all institutionalized education has to be based in the Hungarian public school system, makes no mention of pluricentricity whatsoever. This fact has not only symbolic significance, but it also makes it more difficult (or at the very least, less self-evident) for textbook and examination developers, local curriculum planners and language teachers in this country to develop a more pluricentricity-oriented approach to language teaching.

Nevertheless, the National Core Curriculum does make a few general remarks which, even if only ever so subtly and indirectly, point towards the acceptance and dissemination of the plurality of standard norms in foreign language education. These indirect references to pluricentricity include the use of the plural when referring to target language countries (*National Core Curriculum* 2020: 319) as well as target language cultures (*National Core Curriculum* 2020: 315, 326, etc.), even though the same concepts come up sporadically in singular form as well (e.g. *célnyelvi kultúra* "target language culture" on p. 319, or *célnyelvi norma* As has been suggested in the Introduction (Chapter 1), there is a "the target language norm" on p. 323). To mention one more positive aspect, a general openness to linguistic varieties and dialects is generally advocated too, which could in principle form an appropriate

basis for a pluricentricity-oriented language education, but this is by far not realized in actual practice, as demonstrated in the following section on the framework curricula.

4.1.2. Framework curricula and pluricentricity

As framework curricula basically translate the general principles outlined by the core curriculum into more concrete and specific terms, this section presents all the examples of pluricentricity related statements that can be found in these documents to illustrate the way the aforementioned principles of the core curriculum are – or at times are not – put into practice.

As mentioned before, the framework curricula in the Hungarian system represent two-year cycles. Furthermore, it is also important to mention that they are broken down to individual school subjects or subject groups, of which, understandably, our focus here is only on foreign languages. As English and German are the most widely taught foreign languages in the Hungarian education system, the core curricula also revolve around these two languages, which makes them absolutely appropriate for the purposes of the present discussion. For each two-year cycle, after a general introduction that is intended for both of the languages in question and highlights general principles, a detailed and language specific part ensues, first on English and then on German, outlining topics to cover, language structures to teach, along with a description of the order in which these topics and structures should be covered, in how many classes, using what exact didactic methods, etc.

Since foreign language education is compulsory in Hungary from year 4 (of elementary education), that is the earliest point where language teaching is addressed in these documents. Accordingly, what follows is a pluricentricity-oriented analysis of the framework curricula for year 4, followed by years 5-6, then 7-8, and at the secondary level 9-10 and 11-12. To make the analysis easier to follow, I will break this system down into two halves: years 4-8 (elementary level) and years 9-12 (secondary level), and discuss everything in these curricula that is related to pluricentricity in these two sections.

First and foremost, it is important to state that the core curriculum and the framework curricula are in absolute concord in this regard, meaning that everything that has been noted with reference to the core curriculum holds true for the framework curricula as well. For example, target language cultures and countries are mostly referred to in plural, even though this is not entirely consistent, as such references occasionally appear in singular as well, at times even on the very same page where they have been used in their plural form earlier on.

Starting the analysis with the elementary section (years 4-8), it is mentioned in the framework curricula that the distance between classroom situations and real life has to be decreased. Sadly, this principle is not elaborated on in much detail, and again, just like in the case of the principles outlined in the National Core Curriculum, it is only indirectly linked to an openness towards pluricentricity, but it could undisputedly function as an appropriate basis for a pluricentricity-oriented language classroom if this principle were described in more detail, with appropriate reference to the different national varieties that these languages have.

However, this potential is realized neither in the English nor in the German parts of the framework curricula. As regards English, in general, a high degree of British predominance is to be observed in them, and the only non-British (national) variety that they ever mention is American English, which means that non-dominant varieties are totally excluded. To provide some concrete examples, at a point where the presentation of cross-curricular materials is discussed, the framework curriculum for years 5-6 recommends creating a board game on (among other things) "towns in England, lakes in Hungary, [and] cities in America" (*Framework curriculum in modern foreign languages for grades 5-8*, 2020: 14). On the one hand, this is without doubt a positive example, since multiple target language areas are mentioned, and they are contrasted with the geography of the learners' home country in an interdisciplinary fashion.

On the other hand, there are at least two fundamental problems with this suggestion. First, it is only the two dominant varieties that are referred to, with secondary centres like Canada or Australia going absolutely unmentioned, to say nothing of the Outer Circle. Second, the reference to England is highly problematic too, because it seems to be used interchangeably with the UK, and not only in this case, but throughout the entire document. This is an extremely imprecise formulation, and a recurring one, which is arguably shocking in such an official document that has a tremendously far-reaching impact on the entirety of the Hungarian education system, not to mention how discriminatory it is towards other parts of the United Kingdom like Scotland, Wales, or Northern Ireland. Even though some might argue that these reservations are of secondary importance and merely a form of splitting hairs instead of concentrating on the truly important aspects of language teaching, I am convinced that, in a document that aims to shape the general mindset of all the participants in the language teaching process, such predicaments should not go unnoticed. Furthermore, as has been mentioned earlier in the present dissertation, the relevance of an openness towards pluricentricity in language teaching is a lot greater than it is generally thought to be,

especially taking into consideration the fact that it is literally impossible to predict which target language area our learners will be in contact with.

On a more positive note, when discussing intercultural topics to address at English classes, the generic and inclusive term *angolszász ünnepek* "Anglo holidays" (*angolszász* literally "Anglo-Saxon", referring to English-speaking countries) is used, rather than favouring any one English speaking country over the others (*Framework curriculum in modern foreign languages for grades 5-8*, 2020:30). Furthermore, the framework curricula for years 5-6 and 7-8 recommend getting to know the United Kingdom in its entirety in English class, with all its constituent parts and regions, even though when going into further detail, the aspects of life in the UK that are mentioned are all referred to as *English*, e.g. English schools, typical English houses, English weather, the English diet, etc. (*Framework curriculum in modern foreign languages for grades 5-8*, 2020:16). If the average English teacher or elementary school principal in Hungary reads these documents, it is rather easy for them to rush to the conclusion that it is not necessary to take into consideration other parts of the UK and their varieties of English, which can be, as has been claimed above, rather disadvantageous for the success of the language learning process. This further strengthens the above claim about the problematic nature of this fuzzy usage.

Going beyond the United Kingdom and its varieties, as has been remarked before, the only non-British variety of English that is mentioned in this document is American English, and it is given a considerably less focus than British English. In the framework curricula for years 4-8, American English is mentioned only three times: the first instance is the board game mentioned above about "towns in England, lakes in Hungary, [and] cities in America" (*Framework curriculum in modern foreign languages for grades 5-8*, 2020:14), while the second one is connected to developing reading skills through texts related to target language cultures, this time revolving around US trivia, as in *jellemző adatok, alapvető tudnivalók* "characteristic data, basic information" (*Framework curriculum in modern foreign languages for grades 5-8,* 2020:16). Third, US trivia are also mentioned in the framework curriculum for years 7-8 as an appropriate topic for a quiz to be organized in class (*Framework curriculum in modern foreign languages for grades 5-8*, 2020:30).

Very few differences can be observed between the ways English and German pluricentricity are (not) dealt with in the framework curricula for years 4-8. The German-speaking world is generally reduced to Germany, with one single non-Germany German reference being made over the course of all the curricula for years 4-8, to provide just one clear-cut indicator of the hegemony of Germany German in these documents. This non-

Germany German reference is basically the same board game idea that has been described above in the case of English. This time around, the game is about collecting famous sights from Vienna, Berlin, Budapest, and the learners' place of residence (*Framework curriculum in modern foreign languages for grades 5-8*, 2020:38). Everywhere else in the elementary level framework curricula, every other reference that is made to German-speaking areas is about Germany, as illustrated by the following examples.

For instance, when it comes to the inclusion of cross-curricular content in German classes, an overlap with geography is realized the same way as has been described above in the case of English, i.e. by making lists of rivers, mountains, and lakes from Hungary, as well as cities from Germany, leaving the rest of the German-speaking world unmentioned. Similarly, as regards the comparison of school systems in different countries as a topic to be addressed in German classes, only the Hungarian and the German systems are mentioned, again, ignoring Austria, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein.

Generally speaking, the secondary level includes very few differences as compared to the elementary one, at least as far as pluricentricity is concerned. While an openness towards dialects and linguistic variation is mentioned several times at a general level *(Framework curriculum in the first foreign language for grades 9-12*, 2020:19, 34, 35), in the case of English, the only national variety that is referred to in this document is British English. What this means is that the secondary level underperforms the elementary one in this regard, as not even American English seems to be worthy of being mentioned in it even in passing. To be more precise, as regards British English, the UK is mentioned once (p. 14), while it is wrongly reduced to England a number of times, such as when comparing family holidays of English and Hungarian families (p. 12), high schools in Hungary and England (p. 14), traditions and folk costumes in Hungary and England (p. 19), the history of England (p. 36) etc.

In the case of German, however, a number of positive features can be mentioned. Even though in two cases, the German speaking world is still reduced to Germany – with respect to family holidays of German and Hungarian families (p. 51) and the school system in Hungary and Germany (p. 53) – in general, a much more pluricentricity oriented reference to German speaking countries dominates this document. The phrase DACHL-countries (standing for Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein) is used multiple times (pp. 50, 53, 55, 59, 75, 76), and the countries Germany, Austria, and Switzerland are spelt out on several other occasions too (e.g. when talking about culinary specialties on p. 59 or the history of these countries on p. 75).

To sum up, the topic of pluricentricity is extremely marginalized in the Hungarian framework curricula, generally regardless of the level and the age of the students, with the single counterexample being the case of German at secondary level, where the degree of openness to pluricentricity by far exceeds that of the elementary level. This can be seen as a positive example, demonstrating that it is indeed possible to focus more on pluricentricity in such documents, once sufficient importance is given to this topic by the authors.

4.1.3. Concluding remarks on curricula

To sum up, it would be highly beneficial if the National Core Curriculum and the framework curricula could devote at least some attention to linguistic pluricentricity, which is unfortunately not the case at all, even though some degree of general openness towards linguistic variation is noticeable in these documents. As curricula can generally be assumed to play an important (and not only symbolic) role in shaping the actual classroom practices and other practicalities of the education system, their pluricentricity oriented revision would be indispensable for the general incorporation of pluricentricity in language education in its entirety.

However, as a little caveat, let the following quote by Kelly (2009) shed light on another aspect of the relationship between the curricula and the actual practices that manifest themselves in the learning–teaching process, which has not really been mentioned here so far. This is the concept of the hidden curriculum, which Kelly (2009:10) defines as all the things that the learners acquire "because of the way in which the work of the school is planned and organized but which are not in themselves overtly included in the planning or even in the consciousness of those responsible for the school arrangements." In other words, the hidden curriculum is a set of ideologically motivated, mostly unconscious expectations and practices that are present in the learning–teaching process in a seemingly self-explanatory way. Its aim is mostly to maintain the sociopolitical power relations of the present, or in some cases to bring them down, i.e. to work against what is believed to be unjust about them, as Cornbleth (1990) argues, for instance, that it can sometimes (mostly in very centralized and tightly regulated education systems) even have a liberating effect.

As a result, while it is indeed extremely important that pluricentricity be reflected on in the curricula in a word-by-word sense, it might be even more important than that to make it part of the hidden curriculum. This is possibly even more difficult to realize, with the most important components of the education sytem that can have a real influence in this context being educational policy as well as teacher education, which goes to show that one cannot

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overestimate the importance of approaching the education system in its complexity, taking into consideration all its constituent parts, even the ones that seem to have only very indirect connections to the subject of our investigations at first glance.

4.2. Exam requirements: A washback effect?

Still pertaining to the legal–institutional framework of the education system in Hungary, the next area to consider is that of exam requirements, including the centralized matura examination as well as the state accredited language exams. The latter are not obligatory for students to take, but they can earn extra points with them in their university application, and in general, considerable value is attached to them on the labour market. These exams constitute an important part of the present analysis as they can be expected to have a washback effect on the teaching process in its entirety, as has been mentioned before. Since it is generally considered to be one of the most important tasks that schools and schoolteachers have to prepare their students for these exams, it is a fairly logical conclusion that the requirements and task types of the exams have an important impact on what is taught and how (cf. McKinley and Thompson 2018, Pearson 1988, Réti 2015). Furthermore, as all the accredited language examinations in contemporary Europe must be in line with the recommendations of the Common European Framework of Reference, it is also worthy of mentioning that this fundamental document of language education in modern-day Europe makes explicit refences to the pluricentricity of both English and German and the equality of their standard varieties.

In light of the above, what follows here is an assessment of the official exam requirements and recent sample materials of several kinds of language exams that are taken by a lot of people in the Hungarian education system. First, the Hungarian Matura Examination is discussed, both at the intermediate and advanced level. Then, five different kinds of state accredited language exams are analyzed with respect to their approach to pluricentricity. The selected exams are frequently taken by students in the Huungarian education system, since passing such an exam means – among other things – extra points for their university applications. To be more precise, three kinds of exams will be discussed that are available both in English and in German (BME, ECL, and Origó), and two language-specific ones (one for English: LanguageCert, and one for German: Goethe Zertifikat). The analyses will, of course, focus on the presence of pluricentricity and multiple standards in these documents, on the basis of which the different kinds of exams will be compared, and general consequences will be drawn.

4.2.1. The Hungarian Matura Examination

The Hungarian Matura (*érettségi vizsga*) is a centralized, uniformized exam that is compulsory in all secondary schools throughout the country to certify the successful completion of secondary education (with the notable exception of vocational schools), and at the same time, also serves as the entrance to tertiary education. It exists in an intermediate and an advanced level version, the former corresponding to B1, and the latter to B2 according to the Common European Framework of Reference in the case of foreign languages. Taking it in at least one foreign language is compulsory for every examinee, so the materials that are analyzed here are of great importance for the entirety of the Hungarian education system, especially taking into consideration its well-documented washback effect (cf. Einhorn 2007 and Vígh 2012). The materials that are included in the present analysis are all publicly available online, and include the following:

(1) the latest official exam requirements for modern foreign languages, which are based on the 2020 national core curriculum (analyzed above), and contain the detailed description of the structure of the exam, its levels, skills, topics, task types, the relevant grammar and vocabulary that is required of the examinees, the principles and criteria of evaluation, etc.

(2) four recent exam papers each in English and in German, both at intermediate and at advanced levels (from Fall and Spring 2020 and 2021, i.e. sixteen exam papers in total)

The latest exam requirements make no mention whatsoever of pluricentricity or multiple linguistic standards, and seem to take an overarching international standard as their point of departure, referring to "language use that is generally accepted in the given language area" multiple times (*Matura Exam requirements in modern foreign languages* 2021: 18, 28), prioritizing intelligibility and communicative success rather than strictly following any native norms. On the one hand, this can be evaluated highly positively, since it reflects a communicative approach to language teaching rather than a rigid, old-school obsession with linguistic standards. On the other hand, however, making absolutely no mention of multiple norms can result in the false impression that such norms do not exist, hence, they do not need to be taken into consideration when it comes to assessing students' performance or preparing them for the exam in question. Of course, as this document contains general requirements that refer to all the foreign languages that are taught in the Hungarian education system, some might argue that pluricentricity need not be mentioned in it, since not all of these languages are pluricentric in the first place. However, the fact that it goes completely unmentioned is still unacceptable in the case of English and German, which are picked by far by the most

students as the foreign language to take their Matura Exam in (but also Spanish or French, to name just two more examples).

As regards the sixteen recent exam papers (from 2020 and 2021) that have been analyzed, I am going to present the outcomes of the analysis with respect to English first, and then compare them to German. It can generally be remarked that the British English norm prevails, but there *is* some degree of pluricentric presence to be noted. Generally speaking, spelling-wise, British English is almost exclusively the norm, with only occasional instances of American English spelling in some of the texts, but never in the instructions, which always follow British spelling rules. It has to be remarked, though, that based on the official guidelines for correction and grading, all variants are accepted in students' answers, even though pluricentricity is not mentioned in that document either, but it does advocate a general principle of tolerance towards variation.

The content of the texts, recordings, and tasks comes from various different settings, many of which reflect an international context (e.g. Sweden, Ethiopia, Iceland, etc.), in which the role of English as a lingua franca can be assumed, while some of these materials are from secondary centres of the English-speaking world, which are home to non-dominant varieties, such as Australia, Canada, India, Nigeria, Scotland, Wales, etc., but the majority are from primary centres with dominant varieties like the USA and the UK, with the former undisputedly playing a much less dominant role than the latter.

As an exception, and a positive one at that, the listening comprehension recordings have to be mentioned, which – both in their content and in the accent of the speakers they feature – exhibit a more balanced distribution of the American and the British dominant norms. Of the 24 recordings analyzed (three in each test paper), 11 featured a British speaker, 10 an American one, and 3 both, with the content showing a similarly even distribution. Thus, it can be argued that a balanced co-dominance between the two dominant varieties of English is realized in the case of the listening comprehension recordings, even though British English is presented slightly more dominantly than American English, with all the instructions always being read out loud in a British accent, even if the subsequent task itself features an American speaker.

Sadly, this is by far not the case with German, where Germany German plays an exclusive role in the listening comprehension recordings, without a single Austrian or Swiss speaker featuring in the 24 recordings analyzed, including when the content is from one of those secondary centres. Sometimes some degree of a non-native, Hungarian interference can be detected in the accent of the speakers. The Germany German norm also prevails in a more

general sense, regarding spelling and content across subtests, skills, and task types, even though a little pluricentric presence can be detected in this case as well, although it is much less relevant than in the case of English. The spelling is always exclusively the Germany German one, and at times even a few exclusively Germany German forms are used, which are not present in Austria or Switzerland, but they are certainly understood in those countries as well (e.g. *Abitur* "matura exam," *Kasse* "checkout," *Jura* "law," and the exclusive use of the diminutive suffix *–chen,* etc.).

As for the content, the texts, tasks, and recordings are primarily taken from Germany German sources and contexts, sometimes with no indication or clue as to where they are from, and there are quite a lot of international topics that are not directly related to any German-speaking country specifically. As secondary centres, Austria and Switzerland feature very rarely, the latter not even once at the intermediate level. It has to be added, though, that this Germany centeredness is more acceptable than the British orientation in the case of English, since German is a monodominant pluricentric language, as opposed to the codominance of English, which would require a balanced presentation of at least the two dominant standards (i.e. British and American English).

To conclude the overview of the recent Matura Exam papers, there is some pluricentric presence in them, on the basis of which some positive washback effect can be assumed, especially with regard to listening comprehension in the case of English, where the two co-dominant varieties seem to occupy a more or less balanced position. Based on Einhorn (2007) and Vígh (2012) it can be expected that this ever so slight openness to pluricentricity may have an impact on the way teachers approach multiple standards and incorporate them in their teaching. The question as to whether that is really the case cannot be answered merely on the basis of the present analysis. The questionnaire- and interview-based segments of the present dissertation will address this issue in more detail (in chapters 6 and 7, respectively), investigating teachers' classroom interactions and beliefs on the topic.

4.2.2. State accredited language examinations

When analyzing the aforementioned five types of language exams (BME, ECL, Goethe Zertifikat, LanguageCert, and Origó), I have used the official exam regulations, the exam specifications, the topic list, and the freely available online sample papers (B1, B2 and C1 levels). For each exam, I included all the sample papers available online in the analysis. For the BME exam, I analyzed two English and German sample papers each per level from the general monolingual exam type, while for the ECL exam, one English and German sample

paper each was available per level, just like for the Origo exam. As for the language specific exams, in the case of LanguageCert (English) I had the opportunity to analyze two sample papers at the B1 level, and three each at B2 and C1, while in the case of Goethe Zertifikat (German), one sample paper was available at the B1 and B2 levels, and two at C1 (in the adult exam type). Thus, in total, 36 language examination papers are analyzed below.

Generally speaking, neither the exam regulations nor the exam specifications make any mention of pluricentricity. This observation is particularly problematic if one considers that these documents also contain the rules for the marking and assessment of the examinations, since it is not centrally regulated which linguistic standard(s) the assessment should be based upon, and how the assessors should deal with the different manifestations of linguistic diversity. The only exception to this is the Origó exam, documentation for which repeatedly uses the phrase "in a target language country" for both languages, thus indicating the plurality of target language countries and cultures and, indirectly, of standard varieties.

It is also generally true for all types of exams that they are characterised by a British English and Germany German hegemony. All the instructions in all the components of all the exams follow British English or Germany German spelling norms. Furthermore, in the case of voice recordings, both the instructions and the tasks themselves adhere to these two dominant norms in terms of pronunciation. This might, of course, be defended on the grounds of uniformity and coherence, but it can definitely be seen as extremely negative in the context of the pluricentric theoretical framework described above.

The majority of the topics and content elements in the official topic lists and in the sample tasks are neutral, i.e. not directly linked to any target language country or standard variety. However, there are often some specifically British content elements in the English material (e.g. stories set in the UK, the pound as currency, names of British cities, tourist attractions, etc.). The situation is similar for German, where neutral content elements also predominate, but Germany-specific themes, stories, etc. are also often found. We get to see a balanced representation of national varieties at times, meaning that Austrian and Swiss German are present with almost as much weight as Germany German, but this is true only for one level of one examination type (Goethe Zertifikat B1). Elsewhere, Austrian and Swiss topics and content are rarely used, while it should also be noted that the BME materials include South Tyrol as a location on one occasion. The detailed distribution of topics and content elements by examination type is shown in Table 3.

Table 3.   Topics and content elements

	BME	ECL	Origó	Language Cert	Goethe Zertifikat
English	topic list: *English-speaking countries* ←→ UK-specific items: *England, English friend, London, Bath, pounds,* etc. ←→ rarely American *(San Francisco)*	British and neutral	mainly neutral (one British, one Canadian and one American themed reading)	mainly neutral (a British national park, a British castle, etc. ←→ Australian dot art)	███████
German	often Germany-specific, rarely Swiss/Austrian (Vienna, skiing in Austria with German friends) one occurrence of South Tyrol	German and international or neutral topics	mostly neutral (an Austria related writing task)	███████	B1: balanced ←→ B2, C1: Germany German dominance or neutral topics

In the following, I will focus on the four basic communicative skills (listening, reading, writing and speaking), which broadly cover the structure and the sections of the exams too. It is generally observable that pluricentricity plays a much less important role in the productive skills than in the receptive ones, and the literature suggests that this is reasonable. However, the distribution between the levels of language proficiency is problematic, as it is rather uneven and not at all in line with the principle of the neutral beginner level, which has been mentioned earlier. This is not only the case for productive skills but is also a general feature of the exam papers analyzed.

In English, all exam types feature only neutral topics and tasks in both writing and speaking, and this is predominantly the case for German as well, with one or two exceptions.

The BME exam is an interesting example in this respect, as one of the B2 German speaking sample tasks mentions *German-speaking countries (deutschsprachige Länder),* while at the same level another task instructs the candidate *"You are German..."* and one of the C1 sample tasks is about a *German* colleague, whereas Austrian and Swiss topics or characters are not mentioned at all. In contrast, the predominantly neutral topics and tasks in the writing section include an equal proportion of tasks with relevance to Austria and Germany, which is a positive sign.

Similarly, mostly neutral topics predominate in the other exam types too, but ECL and Goethe Zertifikat both have a Germany-relevant writing task (e.g. a letter to a German friend), while Origó features an Austrian topic. A detailed presentation of the productive skills by exam type is given in Table 4.

Table 4.   Productive skills

	Skill	**BME**	**ECL**	**Origó**	**Language Cert**	**Goethe Certificate**
English	**Writing**	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	■
	Speaking	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	■
German	**Writing**	predominantly neutral topics←→ B1: one Austrian and one German	B1, B2: letter to a German friend	an Austrian topic	■	predominantly neutral topics←→ C1: one from Germany
	Speaking	mostly neutral (B2: *German-speaking countries*)←→ C1: *German colleague*, B2: *you are German...*	neutral	neutral	■	neutral

As far as receptive skills are concerned, neutral or international topics predominate, although British English and Germany German elements are often found, complemented once in a while by American and Canadian ones. Again, Goethe Zertifikat can be highlighted as a positive example, with a balanced proportion of Swiss, Austrian and Germany German texts

and topics in reading comprehension, and even some Austrian and Swiss German vocabulary items here and there. Unfortunately, in the other German examinations, there is no non-dominant presence at all in reading comprehension. It is important to note that the language levels represented are very limited: they are mainly vocabulary items or cultural topics related to the target language countries, which is complemented by pronunciation in the case of listening comprehension. Differences at other language levels (e.g. grammar, pragmatics, etc.) do not come up at all.

The most complex case seems to be that of listening comprehension, where the relationship between content and pronunciation sometimes leads to interesting situations. The predominance of British English and Germany German pronunciation is also prevalent here, and there are even cases where a North American topic (or even character) is presented with a British accent, or an Austrian character with a Germany accent, etc. This is obviously very damaging, since it can confuse candidates, and give them the false impression that there are no pronunciation differences between national varieties, not to mention the possible washback effect that teachers, having seen these sample materials, will not attach much importance to this aspect of pluricentricity. Positive examples include the English ECL exam, where there is a roughly equal proportion of American and British speakers (often even within the same recording), and even a New Zealand accent is present. Furthermore, at the ECL exam in English, a regular correspondence between the text and the speaker's pronunciation can be observed, i.e. British subjects and characters are portrayed with a British accent, Americans with an American accent, etc. It is curious that the same is not true for the German version of the same exam (just like the other German exams). A detailed overview of the receptive skills by exam type is given in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5.   Receptive skills in English

Skill	BME	ECL	Origin	LanguageCert
Reading	mainly neutral, often British, rarely American themes	British and international or neutral topics	a British, a Canadian and an American text	British elements: *lift, primary schooling*
Listening	predominantly British pronunciation, with neutral or British themes B1: British accent, at times with some Hungarian interference C1: one Scottish speaker ←→ North American topics with British accent, and American for a few seconds	instructions always with British pronunciation, predominantly neutral or British themes accents: American (3), British (4), New Zealand (1) (regular correspondence between text and speaker)	only British accents, even in American subjects (Hawaiian students are portrayed with British accents)	British pronunciation only (←→ *dollars*)

Table 6.   Receptive skills in German

Skill	BME	ECL	Origin	Goethe Certificate
Reading	mainly neutral, often Germany German topics	mainly neutral, often Germany-related topics	neutral	a mixture of Swiss, Austrian and Germany German texts and topics, with some Austrian and Swiss vocabulary (AuG *Bankomatkarte* "debit card", SwG *Velo* "bicycle" – the latter with explanations)
Listening	predominantly Germany German pronunciation, with	only Germany German pronunciation	exclusively German	predominantly No. sounds (1 out of 3 exercises: 1

	neutral or Germany German topics B1: Hungarian accent in some places + one speaker with Austrian accent B2: one speaker with Austrian accent C1: one Swiss topic with an Austrian speaker, elsewhere German topic vs. Austrian accent	(Austrian speakers included)←→ *"German-speaking radio"* predominantly neutral or German topics	y German pronunciation	out of 5 recordings in Swiss 1x Austrian actor also with a Germany German accent)

4.2.3. Concluding remarks on exams

To conclude, this section of the dissertation is based on an analysis of 36 English and German language examination papers and 16 matura examination papers, i.e. a total of 52 exams, as well as the related examination documentation (specifications and regulations), focusing on the presence of linguistic pluricentricity in these documents. The main conclusion to be drawn is that British English and Germany German dominate the analyzed exam materials, which supports Hypothesis 3. Furthermore, it can also be concluded that a much greater degree of pluricentricity than is currently the case would be needed in these exams, mainly because of their presumed washback effect (McKinley and Thompson 2018, Pearson 1988). Some pluricentric presence *can* be observed though, but it is rather limited, so it seems clear that linguistic pluricentricity is not at all an important consideration in the preparation of the materials for the exams analyzed, which, in turn, supports Hypothesis 1, which is about the marginal role of pluricentricity in the legal–institutional framework of language teaching in the Hungarian education system, of which language exams constitute an important part.

While the literature on the subject suggests that the multiplicity of standards should be represented at all levels of language (Muhr, 1993 and 1996a; Glaboniat et al., 2002), the examinations at hand focus on differences in vocabulary and pronunciation only. Furthermore, it is important to mention the neutrality of the beginner level, which is an important principle in pluricentric theory, suggesting that it is best to focus more and more on pluricentricity from the intermediate level onwards (Christen and Knipf-Komlósi 2002, Glaboniat et al. 2002, Glauninger 2001, Muhr 1996a, Neuland 2011). In contrast, the

distribution of pluricentric content across the different levels of language proficiency in the analyzed materials is rather haphazard and uneven. It should also be noted that the slight pluricentric presence in the sample papers is not reflected at all in the official examination specifications and regulations, which make absolutely no mention of the pluricentricity of the languages concerned. Change is certainly needed in this area.

On the positive side, however, in line with the literature, it is mostly in the receptive skills (i.e. listening and reading) that these examination materials feature pluricentricity (cf. Muhr 1996b). Also, Goethe Zertifikat C1 in German and the ECL exam in English are generally speaking positive examples to follow. These examinations exhibit a relatively balanced pluricentric representation, which shows that this can be achieved if the developers of the examination materials are open to the diversity of linguistic standards. It may be worthwhile to build on existing good examples when designing new test papers or other exam materials in order to achieve a more comprehensive pluricentric representation across levels and types of exams. In addition, the importance of dialogue between English and German as examination languages should be stressed, as I have already mentioned in the case of the matura exams, where there is a significantly greater openness to pluricentricity in English than in German.

The conclusions of this analysis convey an important message for language exam developers and task designers, which is precisely what makes the present findings significant: in order to bridge the gap between language exams and real-life language use, it is essential to take more account of the pluricentricity of English and German. In the light of the above critique, formulated on the basis of a scholarly overview of the exam materials at hand, this analysis offers concrete, scientifically founded proposals for bringing language testing and real language use closer together, thus pointing out how the language learning process can be made more successful.

5. Pluricentricity in textbooks

In this chapter, I compare two English and two German textbook series in terms of the application of the pluricentric model and the presentation of non-dominant standard varieties in them. All four textbook series examined here are significantly more recent than most of those discussed in the studies cited above, and all of them are widely used in Hungarian public education, being on (or having just recently been removed from) the official textbook list of the Hungarian public education system.

In the case of German, I discuss the *Studio d* series by Cornelsen, which covers the entire CEFR scale from A1 to C1. Volume A1 was published in 2005, C1 in 2015, and the intermediate levels were published between these two dates. For the other German series, the situation is somewhat more complicated, as the Hueber series of textbooks currently most widely used in the Hungarian public education system are available at the A1, A2 and B1 levels, and several possible sequels are offered, not all of which are available on the textbook list mentioned above. In the present study, in addition to the *Deutsch.com* series (which was removed from the list in 2020 but was widely used while it was available), I analyze the *Ideen* series, which was added to the list as its successor. Both have volumes at the A1, A2 and B1 levels, which were published between 2008 and 2011 for *Deutsch.com* and in 2015 for *Ideen.* At B2 and C1 level, I examine the *Sicher!* series by the same publisher, published between 2014 and 2016.

In English, I analyze the very widely used series *Pioneer* and *English File*, the third edition of the latter, by MM Publications and Oxford University Press, respectively. While *Pioneer* was published between 2015 and 2017, *English File* was published between 2012 and 2015. For both textbook families, there are separate American and British versions, the latter of which is the one I analyze, as it is on the Educational Authority's textbook list and consequently used in Hungarian public education institutions. It should be noted that the separate American and British editions are not at all advantageous from the point of view of pluricentric language teaching – rather, a version with a wider communicative scope, a common, general version open to linguistic diversity would be preferable, since in today's globalised world we do not know which variety will be the most beneficial for learners to become familiar with – probably all of them (cf. Christen and Knipf-Komlósi, 2002; Hensel, 2000; Huber, 2022a).

All four textbook series are well suited for use with adolescents, however, with the possible exception of *Deutsch.com* and *Ideen*, they are also functional in teaching adults and for use in or outside the target language countries. The German textbooks were published in

Germany (*Studio d* in Berlin, and the Hueber books in Ismaning near Munich) while the English textbooks were published in the UK (*Pioneer* in London, *English File* in Oxford).

I will examine the presentation of pluricentricity and non-dominant standards in three areas: (1) vocabulary, as well as (2) reading and (3) listening comprehension, as the role of these three areas is very important in light of the literature reviewed above.

5.1. Vocabulary

In terms of vocabulary, I base my findings mainly on the vocabulary lists that are available for each of the textbook series analyzed, at the end of each textbook and/or workbook, as online downloadable files, and/or at the end of each chapter. Quite simply, I have counted how many entries these lists contain and how many of these items are not from the German or British dominant standard variety.

In relation to the vocabulary lists, I believe it is important to make the following two methodological remarks: (1) *Deutsch.com* is a positive example in that in this series the non-dominant origin of the item is usually indicated in the textbook in some way (mostly by little flag pictograms), whereas in the other series students often do not receive any information at all when they encounter an item from such a variety, so that, by implication, the equivalents from other varieties are not always presented either.

(2) It is also true, however, that the principle of the "supraregional reference word" by Glaboniat et al. (2002: 25-27) seems to be more or less implemented in the textbooks under study. This principle states that when a non-dominant element appears, its counterpart from the dominant variety, if there is one (i.e. if it is not a country-specific phenomenon), should be immediately indicated. The fact that this principle is more or less implemented in all the textbook series studied can be judged positively on the basis of the literature, but, at the same time, it also underlines the hegemony of dominant varieties at the expense of non-dominant ones.

However, since the non-dominant vocabulary items that are present in the textbooks are not necessarily always included in the vocabulary lists mentioned above, I have examined each chapter (i.e. "lesson", as they are called in the textbooks) separately and added to the entries already counted in the vocabulary lists the non-dominant vocabulary items from the different exercises which in some cases were missing from the list but appeared in the textbook itself. The results of my calculations are shown in Table 7 for German and Table 8 for English.

Table 7.   The number of vocabulary items from non-dominant standard varieties [in relation to the total number of vocabulary items in the textbook] (as published in Huber, 2022d: 194)

GERMAN	Level A1	Level A2	Level B1	Level B2	Level C1	Total
Deutsch.com	8 [2,057]	22 [2,498]	0 [2,195]			30 [6,750]
Ideen	14 [1,467]	4 [1,553]	3 [2,630]			21 [5,650]
Sicher				23 [1,063]	2 [1,154]	25 [2,217]
Studio d	4 [1,882]	6 [2,086]	0 [1,584]	2 [4,589]	0	12 [10,141]

Table 8.   The number of vocabulary items from non-British standard varieties [in relation to the total number of vocabulary items in the textbook] (as published in Huber, 2022d: 194)

ENGLISH	Elementary (A1 – A2)	Pre-Interm. (A2 –B1)	Interm. (B1 – B2)	B1 +	Upp.-Interm. (B2)	Adv. (C1/+)	Total
Pioneer	107 [1,741]	143 [1,522]	123 [1,740]	0 [2,303]	130 [2,103]	2 [3,097]	505 [12,506]
Eng. File	9 [1,042]	8 [971]	12 [1,280]		3 [1,637]	24 [886]	56 [5,815]

In general, the hegemony of Germany German and British English in the textbook series examined can be clearly traced in Tables 7 and 8, respectively, even though it is important not to draw the false conclusion based on the data presented in the tables that all of the remaining vocabulary items belong to the dominant (or British) standard, since the majority of them can, of course, be considered neutral. This is particularly problematic in the case of English, where this does not simply indicate a neglect of the non-dominant standard varieties but also of the dominant American English in favour of British English. At first glance, it would appear that *Pioneer* stands out globally as a positive exception, but it is often

just a case of having a separate list at the end of the textbook, by far not all the elements of which are included in the lessons themselves, without texts, exercises, etc. being built upon them. This in itself is not enough, although it is certainly a positive feature and would be a good starting point for a revision in a more open-minded, pluricentricity-oriented spirit, especially because these lists contain not only words and phrases but also differences in spelling and grammar. (It should be noted, however, that at B1+ and C1/C1+ level, *Pioneer* is not a positive example at all, while the last volume of *English File* has a rather strong pluricentric ratio.)

In the case of German books (cf. Table 1), it is apparent at first glance that the books by Hueber (*Deutsch.com, Ideen,* and *Sicher!*) seem to be more open to pluricentricity than *Studio-d,* by Cornelsen. One possible explanation for this difference is that *Studio-d* was published earlier than the Hueber, so there may be a positive chronological shift behind this difference, but there is also another possible explanation, namely, that Munich-based Hueber is much closer to Austria and Switzerland than Berlin-based Cornelsen, and its mere geographical vicinity may have been an influencing factor.

As for further observations on German books, *Deutsch.com* contains a slightly higher proportion of pluricentric content than *Ideen*, which shows a negative tendency over time. However, this difference is not really significant – possibly with the single exception of the A2 level. The proportion suggested by Muhr (1993: 119-122) for *Themen neu* (around 3%) is not reached by any of the German volumes, with *Sicher!* B2 coming closest. It is also worth mentioning that there is a striking lack of pluricentric elements at the higher levels, which contradicts the "neutral beginner level" principle proposed by Muhr (1996a: 143), which would prescribe a gradual, organic development in this respect.

The imbalance between the levels is common to both languages and can possibly be explained with reference to the topics of the textbooks, which seem, not very surprisingly, to coincide with the vocabulary items that appear in them. (For a more detailed description of the thematic distribution, see section 3.2.2, since the vocabulary topics presented are of course closely related to the topics of the reading and listening comprehension materials).

In line with Hägi's (2006) general criticism, the textbooks examined in this study do not provide separate markings for items that are used exclusively in Germany, either in the vocabulary lists or in the tasks themselves. The vocabulary items mentioned by Hägi (2006: 180), such as *Aufzug*, *Arztpraxis*, *Pfund,* also appear in these textbook series, but also other forms that are exclusively Germany German, such as *Einkaufstüte* "shopping bag" or *Schweinebraten* "roast pork". These should also be marked separately as Germanisms and

their Austrian and Swiss equivalents should be listed, in order to reflect the linguistic reality as fully as possible (cf. Hägi, 2006: 180-182).

Perhaps even more problematic is the fact that, among other things, several Austrian and Swiss characters in the audio materials of volumes 1 and 3 of *Ideen* speak with standard Germany German accents. This gives students the false impression of a uniform German pronunciation standard, which is not at all in keeping with reality. This problem is not only present at the level of pronunciation but also in lexis: in *Ideen 1* (specifically in the second cultural module), a young Austrian girl uses the Germany German form *Schweinebraten* when she talks about the fact that she does not like roast pork, when the Austrian form would actually be *Schweinsbraten.*

The topics of non-dominant vocabulary items are the most varied on *Deutsch.com.* If we take A2 as an example, in *Deutsch.com 2,* for example, topics such as food and gastronomy, traditions, places of interest, transport and health appear, whereas in *Ideen 2* only the topic of food and gastronomy is represented. In addition, the comparison of the educational systems in the target language countries is a popular topic for the discussion of pluricentric content in both German and English. In this respect, the *Deutsch.com* series corresponds somewhat better than the others to Muhr's (1996a: 141) requirements, according to whom pluricentricity should be about more than "knowing some kitchen vocabulary".

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the complex presentation of vocabulary is clearly a feature of the textbooks studied. This means that semantics, spelling and pronunciation all appear as essential elements of the presentation of vocabulary, and the non-dominant vocabulary items that are part of the calculations above (see Tables 7 and 8) also come from all of these areas, although semantic differences clearly outnumber those of spelling, and pronunciation differences are addressed extremely rarely. In general, pronunciation is explicitly presented only in the English textbooks (using IPA symbols), and without exception according to the British standard, which is probably an advantage in terms of coherence but is clearly a serious shortcoming in terms of pluricentricity.

5.2. Reading and listening

As already mentioned, Muhr (1996b) stresses the importance of receptive skills in the role of pluriecentricity in language teaching. Accordingly, listening comprehension and reading comprehension tasks play an essential role in textbooks in this respect. If they contain a considerable number of language elements from non-dominant (to be more precise, non-British English and non-Germany German) standards, learners are provided with the input

they need to acquire these non-dominant elements as desired. However, if this is not the case, then it can be said that the textbook is not suitable for teaching non-British English and non-Germany German varieties.

Tables 9 and 10 make it clear at first glance that the British English and Germany German hegemony is also present in reading comprehension, as is the case with vocabulary. An important point to note with regard to the research methodology is that some of the texts counted and taken into account in the textbooks are not reading comprehension texts in the classical sense but are part of writing tasks, for example, serving as model texts for the subsequent writing task. In any case, all of them (also) develop reading comprehension, which is why they are included here.

Table 9.   The number of reading comprehension tasks containing elements from non-dominant German standard varieties [in relation to the total number of reading tasks in the given textbook] (as published in Huber, 2022d: 197)

GERMAN	Level A1	Level A2	Level B1	Level B2	Level C1	Total
Deutsch.com	0 [71]	6 [75]	0 [56]			6 [202]
Ideen	2 [45]	1 [61]	2 [74]			5 [180]
Sicher				6 [175]	2 [43]	8 [218]
Studio d	1 [74]	2 [95]	0 [71]	2 [231]	0 [53]	5 [524]

Table 10.   The number of reading comprehension tasks containing elements from non-British English standard varieties [in relation to the total number of reading tasks in the given textbook] (as published in Huber, 2022d: 197)

ENGLISH	Elementary (A1 – A2)	Pre-Interm. (A2 – B1)	Interm. (B1 – B2)	B1 +	Upp.-Interm. (B2)	Adv. (C1/+)	Total
Pioneer	0 [47]	1 [53]	0 [41]	0 [55]	0 [32]	1 [30]	2 [258]
Eng. File	1 [34]	0 [41]	1 [42]		0 [30]	0 [46]	2 [193]

As the numbers and proportions in Tables 9 and 10 are very low, it can be argued that the reading comprehension tasks in the textbook series under study would need to contain

many more non-dominant language elements in order to be able to teach these non-dominant varieties. Moreover, in the case of English one can add the aggravating circumstance that it is not only its non-dominant varieties that are discriminated against, but British English is also in a hegemonic position vis-à-vis the equally dominant American English standard. This is all the more important in the light of the fact that there are particularly few reading comprehension tasks in English textbooks in which any linguistic elements of a standard other than the British one are present (even fewer than the number of non-dominant readings in German textbooks).

It is also a problem that the restricted pluricentric presence that is given is almost exclusively limited to vocabulary, even though there is scope for grammatical or pragmatic phenomena in the texts read. Thus, in turn, the low rates in Tables 9 and 10 also indicate a low embeddedness of non-dominant vocabulary items in the texts, which is clearly negative from a language teaching methodological point of view.

Table 11.   The number of listening comprehension tasks containing elements of non-dominant German standard varieties [in relation to the total number of listening tasks in the given textbook] (as published in Huber, 2022d: 198)

GERMAN	Level A1	Level A2	Level B1	Level B2	Level C1	Total
Deutsch.com	0 [112]	4 [58]	0 [36]			4 [206]
Ideen	3 [130]	2 [108]	4 [104]			9 [342]
Sicher				4 [64]	0 [43]	4 [107]
Studio d	0 [152]	2 [72]	1 [53]	3 [84]	1 [49]	7 [410]

Table 12.   The number of listening comprehension tasks containing elements of non-British English standard varieties [in relation to the total number of listening tasks in the given textbook] (as published in Huber, 2022d: 198)

ENGLISH	Elementary (A1 – A2)	Pre-Interm. (A2 – B1)	Interm. (B1 – B2)	B1 +	Upp.-Interm. (B2)	Adv. (C1/+)	Total
Pioneer	1	3	0	7	6	23	40

	[177]	[148]	[85]	[43]	[32]	[72]	[557]
Eng. File	52 [322]	38 [272]	37 [250]		22 [143]	23 [193]	172 [1,180]

As Tables 11 and 12 indicate, there is a slightly higher degree of pluricentric presence in terms of listening comprehension than in reading comprehension in the textbooks surveyed. Here, the situation is significantly better for English than for German, and in fact it can be said that the listening tasks of the English coursebook series under study clearly exhibit a much stronger pluricentricity-orientation than any other aspect analyzed in the present study. Above all, this is quite simply due to the fact that, in addition to British speakers, there are also American speakers featuring in these recordings, so that this is mainly a matter of pronunciation, although specific American vocabulary elements appear in rare instances too.

Here too, the distribution between levels is rather unbalanced, and Muhr's (1993) principle of the neutral beginner level is not implemented, except in *Pioneer*, where, after a slight pluricentric presence in levels A1 through B1, levels B1+, B2 and C1/C1+ show a gradually increasing degree of pluricentricity orientation. Obviously, at levels where there is no pluricentric presence at all, this is mostly justified by the topics covered in the volume, which are less suited to presenting the specificities of the different language varieties, especially as far as lexis is concerned. If, on the other hand, the topics do not lend themselves to a discussion of lexical differences at a given level, it would be possible, for example, to present pragmatic or grammatical differences at that level, but this is not the case in the textbooks examined.

On the positive side, however, it is worth noting that the pluricentric linguistic elements are mostly embedded in cultural topics, which is completely justified by the aforementioned observation of Christen and Knipf-Komlósi (2002: 16) that pluricentric language elements can be the basis for interesting discussions about the target language cultures. While this is certainly very positive and fully in line with suggestions in the literature, it is still not sufficient if pluricentricity is only present on the culture pages of a given textbook, as in the case of *Ideen.*

As far as the individual non-dominant elements appearing in the reading and listening comprehension texts of the textbook series studied are concerned, it can generally be said that in the vast majority of cases they are lexical elements or pronunciation features. As an overview of topics that are represented in these reading and listening tasks, I provide a somewhat arbitrary selection of individual items that are contained in some of the German

coursebooks. This is an arbitrary selection in the sense that it is by far not the complete list of non-dominant elements that occur, but I believe it provides a somewhat representative sample of what kind of elements are discussed here. Again, this is only from the German coursebooks, but the English ones exhibit a rather similar distribution.

Most lexical items are from the culinary field (such as SwG *Semmel* "bun" in *Deutsch.com 2,* Lesson 27, SwG *Rüblitorte* "carrot cake" in *Studio d A2*, Unit 12, or AuG *Schlagobers* "whipped cream" in *Ideen 1,* Landeskunde Modul 2, etc.), but also from other word fields, mostly in connection with greetings (such as AuG *Servus* "hi" in *Deutsch.com 2,* Lesson 32, or SwG *Grüezi* "greetings" and SwG *Auf Wiederluege* "goodbye" in *Studio d A1*, Station 1), sights (such as the Viennese *Steffl* in *Deutsch.com 2,* Lesson 32), transport (e.g. SwG *das Perron* "platform" or SwG *das Billet* "ticket" in *Deutsch.com 2,* Lesson 33), the school system (e.g. AuG *BHS* "trade school" or SwG *Primarschule* "primary school" in *Ideen 2*, Landeskunde Modul 5), etc. Here too, the variety is much greater in the case of *Deutsch.com* than in *Ideen*.

The second most important aspect here, after lexis, seems to be pronunciation, as, for example, in the listening texts of Lesson 27A in *Deutsch.com 2*, where, however, Austrian pronunciation is presented in a largely exaggerated fashion – quite in line with earlier observations in the relevant literature (cf. Ammon and Hägi 2005: 36). It is also interesting to mention the reading text *Drey scheenschte Dääg* "three most beautiful days" in *Deutsch.com 2*, Lesson 36, where the Swiss pronunciation is reproduced in written form. It is similar in *Ideen 2* (Landeskunde Modul 4), in the case of an Austrian song lyric.

This is already a small sign of the realisation of what Muhr – as already mentioned – formulates as follows: there is more to "[p]luricentric German [...] than merely knowing a little kitchen vocabulary" (1996a: 141). Yet, many other word fields within the lexis could still be included, as well as many other phonetic and phonological characteristics of the individual varieties, but also other subsystems of language (such as grammar and pragmatics – cf. Muhr 1993: 119-121).

5.3. Concluding remarks on textbooks

In conclusion, I want to emphasize once again that the use of the pluricentric model in language teaching would be beneficial in many respects, but it still plays only a marginal role in the textbook series under study, which is in line with previous findings in the literature (cf., among others, Ammon and Hägi, 2005: 33-37; Christen and Knipf-Komlósi, 2002: 17-19; Muhr, 1993: 119-122 or 1996b: 244, etc.), generally proving Hypothesis 1 right. Thus, the

"meaningful coexistence" of norms suggested by Muhr (1996c: 42) is still absent in the textbooks analyzed over a quarter century after his observations – although there are some positive signs at certain levels – and a very strong Germany German and British English dominance can be observed, which, in turn, supports Hypothesis 3.

In this context, I believe it is important to note that, since in the case of German the Germany German variety is the only (mono)dominant standard, its hegemony over the others means in practice that the dominant variety has an advantage over the non-dominant varieties, which, although problematic, is somewhat less unsettling than the situation with English. Since British English is only one of the two (co-)dominant English standards, it can be said that the hegemony of British English in the textbooks under study discriminates not only against the non-dominant standard varieties, but also against the dominant American English standard. Obviously, this is due to a number of reasons, from geographical proximity to the predominance of British English on the textbook and teaching aids market, but, as has been pointed out repeatedly, it is not in the best interests of the learners.

Furthermore, another fundamental problem is that the presentation of pluricentricity in the textbooks analyzed is practically limited to the field of lexis, which in the case of English is supplemented by pronunciation, but other language subsystems, such as grammar or pragmatics are not mentioned in this context. In short, there is still a lot of room for improvement, so that the present work can be seen essentially as a critique of these textbooks.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that there is undoubtedly a positive (albeit small) development in the case of the Hueber publishing house, if the results of this study are compared with the observations of Muhr (1993: 119-122), for example, who argues that one of the most popular textbooks of the same publishing house in the 1990s, *Themen neu*, was not at all able to teach non-dominant national varieties of German effectively, since it contained virtually no elements of these varieties. This improvement is certainly hopeful, and the *Deutsch.com* textbook series (with the addition of *Sicher!*) is a positive example, but its successor (*Ideen*) can unfortunately only be seen as a step backwards in this respect, as it contains far fewer non-dominant elements from far less varied topics than *Deutsch.com.*

Speaking of essentially positive, albeit somewhat ambivalent examples, I should also mention the *Pioneer* series in English, which contains a considerable amount of pluricentric content, but much of it is found in the American–British vocabulary list (also containing spelling differences and grammar points) at the end of the textbook and is not well integrated into the body of the textbooks. Similarly, the embedding of pluricentric vocabulary in the texts is lacking in all the textbook series examined, with a particularly low presence of

pluricentric vocabulary in the reading comprehension tasks. In the case of listening comprehension, pluricentric presence is relatively high, but it is mainly limited to pronunciation and some vocabulary.

The implication is that in the future, new textbooks should be developed with a more pluricentricity oriented mindset, building on the positive (but not yet sufficient) results already observed with *Deutsch.com, Sicher!* and *Pioneer*. Rather than ignoring these achievements (as in the case of *Ideen*), publishers should continue to develop their textbooks based on these positive examples. To achieve this pluricentric development, I offer the following suggestions to textbook developers, largely based upon the borader suggestions that have been formulated with respect to a pluricentricity oriented language education in general (cf. section 2.4.5):

(1) Through more linguistic diversity in reading and listening texts, a balanced, multi-regional representation should be achieved in the receptive skills (cf. Muhr 1996a).

(2) The communicative range of German as a foreign language (both within and outside the DACH(L) countries) should be maximised by addressing the variety of standard varieties as regularly as possible (cf. Knipf-Komlósi 2001, and Glaboniat et al. 2002).

(3) The presentation of pluricentric content should take place in parallel with that of the target language cultures, but without reducing this content exclusively to cultural topics.

(4) In general, pluricentricity should be addressed in as many ways as possible. Pluricentricity is "more than just knowing a bit of kitchen vocabulary" (Muhr 1996a: 141)

(5) Beyond a neutral beginner level, the non-dominant varieties should gradually gain more and more ground (cf. Muhr 1996a).

(6) Pluricentricity should manifest itself in all subsystems of language, not only in the field of lexis (cf. Muhr 1993, 1996a, Glaboniat et al. 2002).

(7) In a pluricentricity-oriented textbook, at least 3-5% of all vocabulary elements should be of non-dominant origin (cf. suggestions in Muhr 1993 and Glaboniat et al. 2002), especially from the intermediate level onwards. Since these elements are partly presented in listening and reading texts, this can have a positive washback effect on pluricentric training of receptive skills.

(8) The equivalent parallel forms of the different national varieties should really be introduced in parallel with each other, and the associated variety should always be clearly indicated.

The aim of the above proposals is to allow for the fullest possible reflection of linguistic reality, which should, without doubt, be one of the most important features of language teaching (cf. e.g. Hägi 2006: 180-182).

6. Teachers' and learners' classroom interactions and beliefs regarding pluricentricity: a quantitative perspective

This dissertation moves on from the macro to the micro level of this investigation at this point, shifting the focus from the strictly speaking systemic characteristics of language education in Hungary to the classroom interactions of learners and teachers, as well as their beliefs regarding pluricentricity that manifest themselves in these interactions. Of course, these two levels cannot be handled totally independently from one another, so connections to the previous chapters will frequently be highlighted, since it is the same set of research questions that guide both segments of the investigation. More specifically, however, the present chapter and the next (Chapters 6 and 7) will be focusing on Hypothesis 2, which concerns precisely those beliefs and interactions of learners and teachers that have just been referred to above, while the previous chapters (Chapters 4 and 5) targeted Hypothesis 1, focusing on the legal–institutional framework of the education system.

In Chapter 6, first, these aforementioned beliefs and interactions will be discussed from a quantitative perspective, involving a questionnaire-based research methodology with statistical analysis, while in Chapter 7, then, in the name of method triangulation, I will shift to a qualitative approach, which will be based on interviews and qualitative content analysis using coding frames. This kind of mixed-methods orientation in the form of the aforementioned quantitative-qualitative (i.e. questionnaire-based vs. interview-based) duality has been influenced by de Cillia and Ransmayr's (2019) framework, who structured their project in a similar way.

6.1. The methodology of the quantitative segment of the project

The present section discusses the results of a 19-item online questionnaire targeting the classroom interactions and beliefs of learners and teachers of English and/or German, and through them their openness to the pluricentricity of the language in question, using a national sample of 484 students and teachers of English and/or German, including 134 teachers of English, 112 learners of English, 104 teachers of German, and 134 learners of German. The data was collected using a combination of convenience sampling and the snowball technique, i.e. using online and offline language teacher groups, communities, mailing lists, and my own professional contacts.

There were four versions of the questionnaire, which contained essentially exactly the same questions – with a few minor wording differences for some questions, given that there were separate questionnaires for English teachers, English language learners, German teachers and German language learners. It is also important to note that the questionnaire for

English teachers was in English, while the one for German teachers was in German – keeping in mind possible participants whose mother tongue is not Hungarian and who may not speak it at the level required to participate in the study. The learners' questionnaires were, however, in Hungarian for both languages, as there were also complete beginners among the respondents, who would obviously have had difficulty in answering in the target language, and as the number of non-Hungarian speaking students in the Hungarian school system is extremely low, the application of a monolingual Hungarian questionnaire is completely justifiable.

Basically, Borg and Al-Busaidi's (2012) measurement tool was used as a model for the questionnaire used in this part of the investigation. However, as Borg and Al-Busaidi's (2012) original questionnaire did not measure beliefs about linguistic pluricentricity but about learner autonomy, it had to be modified considerably due to the different thematic focus, even though the structure and the type of questions were based on it. A pilot phase took place in winter of 2018/2019, with 17 respondents completing the questionnaire. Based on the lessons learned from this pilot stage, further minor structural changes were made to the instrument (for example, one of two overly similar questions were removed, and the wording was simplified and clarified in some places). The actual data collection then took place in the spring of 2020, with the final, updated questionnaire.

The final, full questionnaire consisted of 48 items, divided into four sections. For the full questionnaires, see the following links.

For English teachers: https://forms.gle/PmSeivXsEAwYMJG38

For German teachers: https://forms.gle/n1zww5BVSCdm41PA9

For learners of English: https://forms.gle/Nq9GFL4E7KnqM2hX8

For learners of German: https://forms.gle/Cpd9kH74A8wh6Fsv6

The first section contained 23 statements on different aspects of the role of pluricentricity in language teaching, on which respondents expressed their opinion on a four-point Likert scale, choosing from the following options: "Strongly agree" / "Agree" / "Disagree" / "Strongly disagree." Due to the four-tiered nature of the scale, respondents were not given the option of expressing a completely neutral position, which was advantageous in this case because it allowed them to identify whether they were more positive or negative about the aspect of multilingualism in language teaching, while also allowing them to distinguish between a fully convinced and a more uncertain position. As an example, Figure 3 shows a part of the beginning of the first section of the questionnaire for teachers of English.

Figure 3. Example of the first section of the questionnaire

4. Learners should be able to comprehend (when listening to or reading) as many national varieties as possible.

- ○ strongly disagree

- ○ disagree

- ○ agree

- ○ strongly agree

In the second section, respondents were asked to rate the desirability and feasibility of a particular statement – related to pluricentricity – in language teaching, again using a four-point Likert scale. This section consisted of 13 such statements. However, I have excluded this section entirely from the present analysis due to the large number of incomplete responses.

The third section narrowed the scope of the survey down to the respondents' own experiences as language teachers/learners. The first of the 6 items was a multiple-choice item, in which respondents simply selected the standard varieties of the language that they felt was present in their own language teaching/learning experience (see Figure 4). The online questionnaire was designed in such a way that it allowed for multiple responses here, whereas in the Likert-type questions, of course, only one response could be marked. Also, the participants were able to give varieties that were not originally included in the list (as suggested by the option *Egyéb*… "Other" in Figure 4, which appears in Hungarian because it was automatically generated by the IT interface of the questionnaire, and modifying it at this point was not an option).

Figure 4. The first multiple-choice item of the third section of the questionnaire

Section 3: Your Learners and Your Teaching

This section contains three multiple choice and three open-ended questions about your own teaching. These are an important part of the questionnaire and give you the opportunity to comment more specifically on your work.

1a. Which national varieties are present in your own teaching? (Feel free to tick multiple boxes.)

- [ ] US English
- [ ] Canadian English
- [ ] British English
- [ ] Indian English
- [ ] Australian English
- [ ] Asian Englishes
- [ ] African Englishes
- [ ] Caribbean Englishes
- [ ] Egyéb…

This was followed by two Likert-scale items, which were identical in function to the items in the first section and were analyzed together. Each item in this section was accompanied by an open-ended question allowing respondents to elaborate on their opinion of the question or to provide specific details to illustrate their previous response, as suggested by the phrase *hosszú szöveges válasz* "long answer in flowing text" in Figure 5, which, again, appears in Hungarian due to the settings of the IT interface of the questionnaire.

Figure 5.   Example of the third section of the questionnaire

2a. To what extent do you agree with the following statement? (Choose ONE answer):   In general, the students I teach have some knowledge about the different national varieties of English.

○ Strongly disagree

○ Disagree

○ Agree

○ Strongly agree

2b. What makes you think so?

Hosszú szöveges válasz

Finally, the fourth section included demographic questions on background variables such as the respondent's experience as a language teacher/learner, type and level of their school, type of municipality, county, and other foreign languages taught/learned.

In addition to the exclusion of the second section from the analysis of the present study, a relatively more complex rearrangement was necessary in order to prepare the statistical calculations. As already mentioned, the 23 items of the first section were analyzed together with two items of the third section, which operate on the same principle, but six of the statements of the resulting 25-item unit were excluded in order to increase the reliability value, leaving 19 final items in this unit, and Crombach's α was 0.735, which suggests acceptable internal consistency.

A factor analysis led to the identification of five distinct factors. The KMO test was performed with the aim of finding out how suitable the data is for actor analysis in the first place, the result of which (i.e. the KMO index) turned out to be 0.782 (appropriate), suggesting that the variables are indeed suitable for factor analysis (cf. Gie Yong and Pearce, 2013), while the level of significance was considered good ($p < 0.001$), and Bartlett's test of sphericity yielded the following result: $\chi2 = 1950.607$. The total explained variance for the five factors together is 53.396%, which is considered acceptable in social sciences (cf. for instance, Izquierdo et al., 2014).

Each factor is associated with statements that refer to the same aspect of the role of pluricentricity in language teaching. Below is a breakdown of what each factor was centred

around, and which items it included (using the original numbering of the questionnaire). As the wording of the specific items is at times somewhat lengthy, and there are minor differences between the four versions of the questionnaire due to the different languages and target groups, each item is accompanied by a key phrase summarising the essence of the statement, rather than the full statement in its entirety. (In addition, the correlation value associated with each item is shown in a separate column next to each item.)

Factor 1: Expectations (explained variance: 21.615%) – This factor focuses on what respondents think characterises a pluricentricity oriented language teaching. Specific details of the items are given in Table 13.

Table 13.   Items related to factor 1 (Expectations)

Item number	Factor loading	Mean	Std. Deviation	Key phrase (the essence of the statement)
3	0.800	2.57	0.98	pluricentricity in productive skills
4	0.698	3.28	0.71	pluricentricity in receptive skills
6	0.682	3.28	0.71	pluricentric oral input
7	0.772	3.07	0.77	pluricentric written input
10	0.473	2.88	0.86	students' choice
14	0.510	3.46	0.62	the importance of the teacher

Factor 2: Presence (explained variance: 10.518%) – Items in this factor relate to the extent to which pluricentricity is present in different segments of language teaching. Specific details of the items included are given in Table 14.

Table 14. Items related to factor 2 (Presence)

Item number	Factor loading	Mean	Std. Deviation	Key phrase (the essence of the statement)
1	0.520	2.79	0.81	pluricentricity at all ages
2	0.541	2.63	0.84	pluricentricity in all subsystems of language proficiency
2a	0.650	2.68	0.74	learners know about pluricentricity
3a	0.655	2.53	0.72	learners' opportunities

Factor 3: Interest and awareness (explained variance: 8.937%) – These statements focus on the relationship between language learners' interest in the target language as well as cultural and linguistic awareness on the one hand, and their openness to pluricentricity on the other. Specific details of the related items are given in Table 15.

Table 15. Items related to factor 3 (Interest and awareness)

Item number	Factor loading	Mean	Std. Deviation	Key phrase (the essence of the statement)
5	0.418	3.07	0.76	pluricentricity in all subsystems of the language
15	0.416	3.32	0.74	pluricentricity with adults only
21	0.713	3.63	0.56	raising awareness
22	0.521	3.33	0.78	being aware
23	0.592	3.47	0.66	the role of cultural interest

Factor 4: Mixing (explained variance: 6.756%) – This factor relates to respondents' attitudes towards the mixing of varieties in language learning. Specific details of the items are given in Table 16.

Table 16.   Items related to factor 4 (Mixing)

Item number	Factor loading	Mean	Std. Deviance	Key phrase (the essence of the statement)
11	0.776	2.84	0.77	sticking to one variety
13	0.746	2.50	0.87	teachers' choice

Factor 5: Language proficiency level (explained variance: 5.570%) – This factor examines the role of the language proficiency level of the learner in the incorporation of pluricentricity into the language teaching process. Specific details of the related items are given in Table 17.

Table 17.   Items related to factor 5 (Language proficiency level)

Item number	Factor loading	Mean	Std. Deviation	Key phrase (the essence of the statement)
8	0.762	1.68	0.80	harder for beginners
9	0.768	2.11	0.81	proficiency level

6.2. Discussion of the questionnaire findings

I conducted correlation analyses and t-tests, grouping the responses to the above five factors according to different background variables. This yielded a number of results with varying degrees of significance. These are summarised in five subsections below.

6.2.1. The presence of varieties in the language learning process

This section is about the answers to the first multiple-choice question in the third section of the questionnaire – see Figure 4 above for a reminder. By looking at the simple percentages shown in Tables 18 and 19, we can draw important conclusions about the

different levels of representation of the different varieties, which may prove useful for testing Hypothesis 3 (formulated in Chapter 3 of the present dissertation), i.e. the one about the predominance of dominant varieties over non-dominant ones. (As respondents were allowed to indicate more than one variant, the percentages shown in the tables do not necessarily add up to 100. Varieties where all values were less than 5% are not included in the tables.)

Table 18.   Presence of national varieties of English in the language learning process

	American	**British**	**Australian**	**Canadian**	**Irish**
Total (%)	78	95	16	10	2.7
Teachers (%)	85	98	21	11	5
Students (%)	71	92	11	9	0

Table 19.   Presence of national varieties of German in the language learning process

	Germany German	**Austrian German**	**Swiss German**
Total (%)	92	53	16
Teachers (%)	90	64	24
Students (%)	93	45	11

Tables 18 and 19 show that the dominant varieties (American English, British English and Germany German) are in a hegemonic situation in both languages, which supports the aforementioned hypothesis (Hypothesis 3). Within the range of these dominant varieties, we can also see that, in line with the principle of geographical vicinity (cf. Muhr 1996a), British English is more predominant than American English, although this difference is significantly smaller than the difference between the dominant and non-dominant varieties.

At first glance, it would seem that respondents are more open to pluricentricity in the case of English than in the case of German, as the table on English is not "dominated" by one dominant variety but by two, and thus there seems to be a greater diversity of English national varieties than German ones in the language learning process. In reality, however, the situation

is much more complicated, since this difference can be explained better by the different nature of the pluricentricity of the two languages than by the greater openness of English respondents. As has been mentioned before, while German as a pluricentric language can be characterized by a situation of monodominance (with Germany German being the single dominant variety in the German language area), in the case of English we have a situation of codominance, with both the American and the British standard variety counting as a dominant one, thus, the sheer inclusion of both dominant varieties in the language learning process means pluricentric presence in the English classroom, whereas in the case of German it would entail the inclusion of at least one non-dominant variety. This is a crucial difference.

As far as the presence of non-dominant varieties is concerned, the situation is considerably more evenly balanced in German than in English. While the most frequent non-dominant English variety, Australian English, is present in 16% of the cases, Austrian German, which occupies the same position in German, is present in 53%, which is a rather significant difference. This can logically be explained by the fact that in many respects the national variety of neighbouring Austria is more relevant for Hungary than that of distant Australia – for one thing, simply because of geographical proximity, not to mention the shared historical past and cultural heritage (cf. Glauninger 2001).

Thus, it can be maintained that both languages have significant positive aspects compared to the other in this respect, but the differences are more due to the different status of the languages than to the different degree of openness of the respondents. However, the predominance of the dominant varieties over the non-dominant ones seems to be absolutely clear, so that Hypothesis 3 is certainly supported by these data.

6.2.2. Teachers and learners

The results of a two-tailed t-test comparing teachers' and students' responses are presented in Table 20. These data allow us to test out Hypothesis 2 (presented in Chapter 3), i.e. that learners are more open to pluricentricity than teachers.

An important basic assumption when interpreting the data in Table 20 (and all data from this point onwards) is that higher averages indicate a higher degree of openness, which is a result of quantifying the Likert scale responses. In very simple terms, the higher the number in the table, the greater the openness of the group's responses to pluricentricity for that factor.

Table 20.   Results of a two-tailed t-test comparing teachers' and students' responses

	Teachers (average)	Learners (average)	t	p
Factor 1 (Expectations)	2.74	3.4288	-18.276	p<0.001
Factor 2 (Presence)	2.71	2.60	2.372	p<0.05
Factor 3 (Interest and awareness)	3.20	3.52	-9.649	p<0.001
Factor 4 (Mixing)	2.73	2.60	2.115	p<0.05
Factor 5 (Language proficiency level)	1.96	1.83	2.156	p<0.05
Total	2.77	3.02	-9.303	p<0.001

Although all the results in Table 20 are significant, the rows highlighted in grey are especially noteworthy, as they exhibit the largest differences in terms of mean values. To be precise, these are the first and third factors, and the results of these two factors seem to have the greatest influence on the overall value. Several important conclusions can be drawn from that.

Firstly, although not for all factors, Hypothesis 2 (namely, that learners are more open to pluricentricity than teachers) seems to be confirmed overall. Although the opposite is true for the second, fourth and fifth factors, the differences are considerably smaller in these three factors than in the first and third factors, which confirm the hypothesis, and the overall results also indicate a higher degree of openness among students.

In terms of thematic distribution, students' openness is much higher than that of the teachers in relation to pluricentric expectations (Factor 1) and the role of students' interest and

awareness (Factor 3), while the opposite is true for pluricentric presence (Factor 2), attitudes to the mixing of variables (Factor 4) and the role of language proficiency (Factor 5). It is important to note that the factors supporting the above hypothesis together account for 30.552% of the explained variance, while the factors showing the opposite result account for only 22.844%, which also tips the scales in favour of the former.

When the English and German subsamples are examined separately, the results are almost identical, so it can be said that there is no difference between the two languages in this respect.

6.2.3. English and German teachers

There are, however, some cases where the results of the English and German subsamples differ to a significant extent, but only for teachers, so only their data are included in Table 21, and, within that, only those factors for which the two-tailed t-test yielded a significant result.

Table 21. Results of a two-tailed t-test comparing the responses of English and German teachers

	English teachers (average)	**German teachers (average)**	**t**	**p**
Factor 1 (Expectations)	2.81	2.65	2.771	p<0.05
Factor 2 (Presence)	2.87	2.52	4.906	p<0.001
Total	2.83	2.69	3.066	p<0.05

All the significant data in the table above suggest that English teachers are more open to pluricentricity than their German teaching colleagues. Although there are significant results for only two of the five factors, this is enough to make the overall result significant. As for the theme of these factors (pluricentric expectations and presence), these are precisely the two most general factors, while the other three deal with more specific issues. This also confirms the general relevance of the above claim.

The difference between the situation of the two languages is likely to arise, again, from the monodominant vs. codominant distinction, since (as mentioned before) in English the presentation of two dominant varieties already implies the incorporation of pluricentricity into the learning process, while in German this is only possible by incorporating at least one non-dominant variety. In addition, global media exposure may also explain the greater openness of English teachers (especially to American English), while the effect of the geographical proximity of Austria, mentioned earlier for German, seems to be less pronounced here.

6.2.4. Women and men

Although it is not the main focus of this research, it is worth considering the gender distribution in a quantitative study of this kind. As there is a significant difference for only one of the five factors, it is not worth drawing any firm conclusions, but it may be relevant to mention that for the first factor, men (145 respondents) were significantly more open to pluricentricity than women (366 respondents, see Table 22).

Table 22. Results of a two-tailed t-test comparing men's and women's responses

	Men (average)	Women (average)	t	p
Factor 1 (Expectations)	3.23	3.04	3.662	p<0.001

6.2.5. Levels of education, age groups taught

The results discussed in the next section compare teachers' responses according to the levels of education at which they teach: junior section (grades 1-4), senior section (grades 5-8), secondary (grades 9-12), higher or adult education. Since the correlation analysis did not yield significant results, I chose the procedure of selecting one age group and comparing their data with the rest of the total teacher subsample using a two-tailed t-test. Of these two-tailed t-tests, significant results were found for junior section, secondary education, as well as higher and adult education. A summary of these is shown in Tables 23, 24 and 25, again limiting the presentation to the significant results.

Table 23.   Comparison of the results of junior section teachers with the rest of the teacher
subsample

	Junior section teachers (average)	Non-junior section teachers (average)	t	p
Factor 2 (Presence)	2.58	2.75	2.017	p<0.05
Factor 4 (Mixing)	2.59	2.78	2.173	p<0.05

Table 24.   Comparison of secondary school teachers' scores with the rest of the teacher
subsample

	Secondary school teachers (average)	Non-secondary school teachers (average)	t	p
Factor 3 (Interest and awareness)	3.22	3.08	-2.226	p<0.05

Table 25.   Comparison of the results for teachers in higher or adult education with the rest
of the teacher subsample

	Teachers in higher or adult education (average)	Teachers not in higher or adult education (average)	t	p
Factor 1 (Expectations)	2.81	2.65	-2.732	p<0.05
Factor 2 (Presence)	2.78	2.61	-2.335	p<0.05

Factor 3 (Interest and awareness)	3.24	3.14	-2.034	p<0.05
Total	2.81	2.71	-2.371	p<0.05

The data from the three tables above (Tables 23–25) show, in particular, that while there is significantly less openness to pluricentricity among teachers in junior section than among those who do not teach at this level, the opposite is true for secondary, higher and adult education: teachers at these levels are significantly more open to pluricentricity than their colleagues who do not teach at these levels.

Taking into consideration all the levels discussed above, the following trend emerges:

(a) There is significantly less openness to pluricentricity among teachers in junior section compared to other levels, in the case of two factors: the presence of pluricentricity and openness to mixing varieties. (Only 64 respondents have experience at this level, while 183 do not.) This resonates with several claims from various researchers, who, on the one hand, argue for a progressively greater and greater representation of pluricentric content as the level of proficiency increases, and, on the other hand, they also commonly add that the mixing of different varieties would place an excessive burden on beginners, and thus, it should be avoided (cf. Muhr 1996a; Christen and Knipf-Komlósi 2002; Neuland 2011).

(b) The senior section shows no significant results at all. (A total of 120 respondents have experience at this level, while 127 do not.)

(c) At the secondary level, the reverse is true, with teachers at this level being more open to pluricentricity than those who do not teach here, but this difference is significant for only one factor: interest and awareness. (In total, 201 respondents belonged to this level, while 46 said they had no teaching experience in secondary education.)

(d) Higher or adult education shows a completely opposite picture to junior section, with significant results for three factors (expectations, presence and interest/awareness) and in total. (Respondents with experience at this level were in the majority, with a 140:107 split).

Overall, this gradual trend is in line with Muhr's (1996a) principle of beginner level neutrality, which was discussed earlier, and this means that it can be seen as a positive phenomenon in the light of the relevant sociolinguistic literature. On the other hand, it is also worth noting that the higher and adult education levels show a significantly higher degree of openness to pluricentricity than the other levels. In addition to the above-mentioned gradual

trend, this can also be explained, among other things, by the gradual increase in the linguistic as well as cultural awareness of students in parallel with the increase in their age (cf. Factor 3), not to mention that those colleagues who teach in higher education are likely to have a closer relationship with teacher training institutions, which are often professionally aware of and even disseminate the theory of pluricentricity.

6.3. Concluding remarks on the quantitative findings

In summary, the statistical analyses seem to confirm both Hypotheses 2 and 3 (as presented in Chapter 3), since (i) the proportion of responses showing openness to pluricentricity is significantly higher for learners than for teachers (Hypothesis 2), and (ii) the hegemony of dominant variables is clear for both subsamples (Hypothesis 3).

It is important to note that the higher degree of openness in learners is not confirmed for all factors, but overall it significantly outweighs that of teachers. Among the latter, English teachers show a greater openness to pluricentricity than German teachers, but this may be explained, at least in part, by the different nature of pluricentricity that characterizes the two languages.

Also worth mentioning is the role of levels of education. Here, openness to pluricentricity gradually increases, in line with the recommendations in the literature for a gradually increasing pluricentric orientation following a neutral beginner level.

As for the consequences of the above, in my experience, this discrepancy between teachers and learners very often causes conflicts that can greatly undermine the success of the language learning process. This is supported by the findings of the interview component (see below), as well as by a number of literature sources cited above. This seems to be particularly true in the case of German, where there is a particular need to remedy the situation, which would mainly entail creating opportunities for teachers in all sections of the education system to reflect the diversity of national varieties in language teaching. This is inconceivable without greater attention being paid to this issue in curricula, textbooks, teaching materials, teacher training and in-service training. And this is yet another insight that goes to show the complexity of the present project, as well as the interconnectedness of its constituents.

7. Teachers' and learners' classroom interactions and beliefs regarding pluricentricity: a qualitative perspective

In order to arrive at a more complete understanding of teachers' and learners' classroom interactions and beliefs on the subject of pluricentricity in the English and German foreign language classroom, I decided to complement the quantitative, questionnaire-based part of the investigation on which the present dissertation is based with a qualitative, interview-based component. This way, through methodological triangulation, the quantitative findings can be completed with important additional insights, thus refining our understanding of the subject considerably. It is important to stress that my aim with the inclusion of the qualitative component has not been to merely find a way to strengthen the claims made in the quantitative section, but rather to extend the scope of this research by introducing a new perspective, thus opening grounds for analysis and interpretation that would otherwise not be possible to include in this investigation.

7.1. The methodology of the qualitative segment of the project

For the qualitative section of this dissertation, I conducted 37 interviews with 21 teachers and 16 students, and one preliminary pilot interview with a teacher. Just like in the case of the questionnaire-based section, the data was collected using a combination of convenience sampling and the snowball technique, i.e. using online and offline language teacher groups, communities, mailing lists and my own professional contacts to find possible participants that were willing to carry out these conversations with me. On average, the interviews lasted about 30 minutes, but the exact length depended greatly on the individual interviewees' attitude and talkativity, with most of the teachers taking a somewhat longer time to interview than the learners.

As for the combinations of languages that are represented in the sample, 9 English teachers, 9 German teachers, and 3 teachers of both languages were interviewed, while there were 6 students who studied English only, 2 who studied German only, and 8 who studied both. Regarding school types, the distribution is similarly varied, with primary schools, secondary schools, and higher education all being represented in the sample. For a detailed description of the distribution of school types, see Table 26. Note that in the case of teachers the numbers add up to more than the total number of teachers interviewed, which is because there were several cases of teachers teaching in a combination of different school types.

Table 26.   The distribution of school types in the interviews

	junior section of primary school (grades 1-4)	senior section of primary school (grades 5-8)	secondary grammar school (*gimná-zium*)	secondary vocational school (*szakgim-názium*)	secondary technical school (*technikum*)	university
teachers (N=21)	5	11	12	4	1	2
students (N=16)	0	4	6	3	0	3

I designed the interviews in a way that their structure was as similar to that of the questionnaire described above as possible. I always started the interviews by briefly introducing myself and explaining the topic, which was followed by the actual interview questions in six thematic sections: (1) students' age groups and proficiency levels, (2) the activities used, (3) the characteristics of pluricentric teaching, (4) the role of the teacher, (5) of the learner, and (6) of the materials used in teaching English as a pluricentric language. Obviously, as I was interviewing both teachers and learners, I had to use a teachers' version and a learners' version of the same interview guide, which basically only meant slight modifications in the wording of the questions (see below).

The language of the interviews was always decided by the interviewees, but as all of them were native speakers of Hungarian, all of them chose their first language, with occasional switches to English or German initiated by them during the interviews, and mostly justified by the context or the topic at hand. After a pilot interview in the summer of 2018, the rest of the interviews were conducted between the summer of 2020 and the spring of 2022, with the overwhelming majority taking place in 2021. Based on the pilot interview, I modified the wording and ordering of some of the questions, but the general structure remained the same. The interviews were mostly carried out online, using Zoom video calls, with only the pilot interview and four more of them being conducted face-to-face. All the interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants, and then transcribed manually.

I decided to keep the structure of the interviews as close as possible to that of the questionnaire in order to obtain comparable results, and the pre-designed questions I included were kept rather general, in order not to limit or bias the participants' thoughts. Then, as the interviews proceeded, I came up with more particular, to-the-point questions to elicit answers from the participants that were truly connected to the topic, and comparable with the other

interviews as well as the questionnaire-based findings. In other words, I conducted semi-structured interviews, in which some of the questions had been prepared in advance, while others were generated in situ. (It is important to note, however, that I did not read aloud the pre-prepared questions word-by-word either, but instead I reformulated them using my own words, often modifying them to some extent in order to link them to my preceding conversation with the participants, because I wanted to make participants feel as comfortable as possible in the interview situation, trying to make it resemble a casual conversation about their profession or about their language learning.)

What follows is a complete final list of the pre-prepared questions, as modified after the pilot interview, broken down to the six sections mentioned above. As I could not know for sure which language the interviewees were going to choose to conduct the interviews in, I prepared the questions in English, but as I mentioned, I never read them out loud, but always tailored them to the given conversation, which involved translating them into Hungarian on the spot, which did not turn out to be problematic at all.

Section 1. Age groups and proficiency levels
Tell me a bit about yourself as a [teacher / learner] of [English / German].
What type of school do you [teach in / attend]?
[What age groups do you teach? / How old are you?]
What level are [they/you] at?
Do you think that the age of students and their proficiency play a role in how the different varieties can be incorporated in the teaching process (if at all)?

Section 2. The activities used
What in-class (and out-of-class) activities do you do that involve the use of different varieties of [English / German]?
Which skills (i.e. reading, listening, speaking, writing) can these different varieties be integrated into?
Do you think students should pick one variety, and then stick to it at all times?

Section 3. The benefits of pluricentric teaching
What do you think it brings for students to know about the different varieties of [English / German]?

Section 4. The role of the teacher

What is the role of the teacher in familiarizing students with the different varieties of [English / German]?

How do[es] you[r teacher] correct written products of learners that include elements from different varieties of [English / German]?

Section 5. The role of the learner

How do students react when you[r teacher] provide[s] them with content from different varieties?

Do you encounter any difficulties in [providing your students with / acquiring knowledge about] the different varieties of [English / German]?

Section 6. The materials used in pluriecntric language teaching

What materials do[es] you[r teacher] use to present different varieties to you[r learners]?

Do you experience any difficulties concerning these materials?

As an example of how these questions were put into context and adapted to the ongoing conversation, as well as complemented with further on-the-spot questions, see Appendix 1 for a complete transcript of an interview with an English teacher, and Appendix 2 for its English translation.

Once the interviews were transrcribed, read, and re-read in order to maximize the degree of my familiarity with them, I analyzed them using MAXQDA, which is a relatively widely used qualitative data analysis software. I applied Schreier's (2013) framework of qualitative content analysis using coding frames, for which she sets out a number of basic requirements that secure the reliability of the analysis. First, according to Schreier (2013) the coding frame one establishes for their qualitative analysis has to be characterized by unidimensionality, meaning that each code has to refer to one aspect of the subject matter only. (Simply put, codes are basically patterns of meaning that are derived from the content that is being analyzed in relation to the research question, and can be used to label certain relevant parts of that content – cf. Braun and Clarke, 2006 or Kiger and Varpio, 2020.) I outlined the codes of the coding frame in a primarily deductive, concept-driven manner, meaning that I created most of the codes a priori, before the actual analysis, based on the outcomes of the quantitative component of this dissertation, as well as my knowledge of the conversations in the interviews themselves. However, as the coding procedure progressed, I added several further codes and subcodes to the already existing coding frame, based on the tendencies in the interview transcripts that I had failed to recall beforehand, thus

complementing the deductive, concept-driven framework with an inductive, data-driven stage (cf. Schreier, 2013).

Schreier's (2013) second requirement, then, is mutual exclusiveness, meaning that each code should contain segments of the data that no other code does. In other words, to turn it around, it means that no single segment of the data should be tagged with multiple codes. In order to avoid overlaps like that, in the case of the codes that seemed relatively broad as compared to the others, I added subcodes to differentiate between specific components of the given thematic focus (cf. code list below).

Finally, Schreier (2013) also claims that the coding frame should be exhaustive, meaning that it covers all aspects of as much of the data as possible. I believe that by establishing a rather complex coding frame with 12 codes and 21 subcodes, containing 1167 coded segments in total (i.e. taking into consideration all the codes and subcodes as well as all the interview transripts), this requirement has been fulfilled. On average, this means 31.5 coded segments per interview, but this, of course, varied quite a lot depending on the length and depth of the interviews.

Table 27 is a complete list of codes and subcodes, generated by MAXQDA, containing the names of the codes as well as the number of coded segments that they have been attached to.

Table 27.   Complete list of codes and subcodes: The coding frame

Name of code	Frequency
Code System Total	**1167**
the washback effect of exams	**31**
the washback effect of exams\negative	17
the washback effect of exams\positive	14
drawbacks and difficulties	**59**
location	**21**
role of school	**20**
importance	**87**
importance\negative	76
importance\positive	17
materials	**158**
materials\difficulties	43
materials\out of class	31
materials\in class	84

role of learner	**128**
role of learner\learner characteristics	43
role of learner\difficulties	4
role of learner\reactions	81
role of teacher	**123**
role of teacher\correcting	52
role of teacher\functions	71
benefits	**74**
benefits\practical	52
benefits\philosophical	22
mixing varieties	**85**
mixing varieties\negative	37
mixing varieties\positive	48
activities used	**273**
activities used\skills	199
activities used\out of class	26
activities used\in class	48
age groups and proficiency levels	**102**
age groups and proficiency levels\proficiency levels	83
age groups and proficiency levels\age groups	19

According to Schreier (2013), the coding frame itself can already be regarded as a result, as it tells us many things about the data analyzed. As can be seen, the code system primarily follows the structure of the interviews outlined above, with a few additional categories, which all result from the inductive, data-driven stage of the coding procedure described above.

In the Discussion section that follows, I am going to describe each code, explain what exactly characterizes the segments it has been attached to, and illustrate it with example quotes from the interviews themselves. Furthermore, I will also attempt to examine trends, co-ocurrences, and possible relationships between the codes, as suggested by Schreier (2013). It has to be noted at this point that MAXQDA's Interactive Quote Matrix, which is basically a lengthy chart containing all the coded segments in the form of quotes from the interviews, organized in a way that it follows the structure of the coding frame, has been a very useful tool in terms of presenting this large mass of data in a logical fashion. As the matrix itself ended up 217 pages long when exported into Microsoft Word, it has been condensed using

key words for each quote, and further clustering similar quotes within codes and subcodes to better understand the tendencies and key themes that emerged.

7.2. Discussion of the qualitative findings

First, I want to remark here that this section is going to include a large number of quotes from the interviews, in an attempt to highlight the most central themes emerging in them. As even the aforementioned condensed version of the Interactive Quote Matrix would be too lengthy to analyze word by word here, it is only the most essential key words from the matrix that are illustrated with quotes and discussed in detail, signaling important tendencies that meaningful conclusions can be drawn from. The quotes will be provided in block format, containing the English translation of the Hungarian original only, with the original Hungarian interview quotes included in Appendix 3. Before each quote, I indicate the preceding question that was asked in the interview, even though the quotes themselves are not always so closely connected to that particular question, as at times the interviewees' train of thoughts rambled to a slightly different subject soon after the question had been asked, not to mention that they frequently gave rather lengthy answers, as a result of which the quoted passages and the preceding questions are sometimes relatively far apart. However, I believe it is still beneficial to include the questions, as they help contextualize the quotes to a greater extent, and they also serve to include the reader more directly in the process of the analysis. Finally, each quote is followed by a code name that represents the given interviewee to secure anonymity. These code names are made up of three elements: first, they indicate whether the given participant is a teacher or a learner, then comes an indication of the language(s) they teach or study, and finally, the code is concluded with a number, referring to the order in which the interviews were conducted.

As another important introductory remark, I want to clarify that the number of coded segments in a given code does not necessarily coincide with the number of times the individual themes are mentioned in them, since in some of the coded segments multiple aspects of the same code might be addressed. Thus, it is perfectly possible that adding together the number of mentions in a certain code will yield a larger number than the sum of coded segments in that code, which is not a result of sloppy methodology, but it is simply due to the fact that several coded segments highlight multiple aspects of a given code.

7.2.1. The washback effect of exams

The first code to discuss, following the automatically generated order in MAXQDA's Interactive Code Matrix, is the washback effect of exams, which appeared in 31 coded

segments, 14 of which focussed on their positive washback effect (i.e. the one that strengthens pluricentric presence in the teaching process), while 17 were about the negative one (i.e. going against pluricentric presence in the teaching process).

As far as the positive side is concerned, 4 teachers and 2 students highlighted that pluricentric knowledge comes in handy when taking exams of different kinds, as illustrated by Quote 1.

Quote 1:

Question: Does this depend on their age and language level?

Answer: […] So now we can see that in the last few matura exams, there have been Australian and American English, obviously British too, so there's no dominant role for British. All sorts of varieties are thrown into the listening comprehension tasks, so it is our duty to teach it this way. (teacher_English and German_1)

Similarly, 3 teachers and a student also referred to the fact that the different standard varieties are all accepted at these exams, thus, teachers have to accept them in class too (cf. Quotes 2 and 3).

Quote 2:

Question: On this subject of different varieties of English and German, are there any difficulties that the students have to face? You mentioned that when you were preparing for an exam, the sudden change between recordings could be a difficulty. Is there anything else that you could report, like wow, that's difficult?

Answer: Well errrr on the exam, so to speak errrr no ... I don't think they grade it so much as ... British or American. (learner_English and German_12)

Quote 3:

Question: Suppose you receive an essay from a student who presents elements from different varieties in this essay. Be it vocabulary, or grammar, or whatever. What do you do with them? Do you correct it, leave it, add something? What strategy do you use?

Answer: […] So here … here I think that, since the intermediate level ... is not that high, these different language exams, I feel, do not really address this yet. Even if they do at the advanced level, I think that this does not really mean a serious … serious penalty. (teacher_English and German_2)

Finally, one of the students recalled learning about and getting accustomed to the pluricentricity of English while preparing for exams (Quote 4).

Quote 4:

Question: What tasks or activities can you think of in an English or German classroom that can bring out this diversity between the different varieties? So what can students do in class when this comes up?

Interviewee: And I ... hmm … I don't notice it so much anymore, but at the beginning when I started, when I started doing B2, I was very surpised, like oh my God, what is this, and then ... well, yeah.
Interviewer: Did this cause you any problems?
Interviewee: Yes, at the beginning. But after that you can get used to it very easily. (learner_English and German_12)

On the negative side, however, 5 teachers and 5 students remarked that mixing varieties is inappropriate at exams, while 3 teachers and 2 students added that pluricentricity does not play an important role in an exam context, with one teacher shedding light on the hegemony of British and American English in this regard (Quote 5).

Quote 5:

Question: What do you think about whether it is worth insisting that students always choose and favour a particular variety?

Answer: I usually tell people who are preparing for a language exam that ... that it's usually, but I don't know how true that is, and I've read it in some advice Q&A for language exam takers, that it's good to be consistent, or in an international language exam you can lose points if you do it in a very giraffe-elephant kind of way. So the spelling should be consistent, and so things like that. (teacher_English_12)

Finally, there is one more quote (Quote 6 below), in which a teacher complains that the different varieties of English occur in exams, and she considers this a negative thing, as she finds it demotivating for students, and only regards it acceptable from an advanced (C1) level onwards.

Quote 6:

Question: Do you think the proficiency level affects how we can incorporate or even just demonstrate the different varieties?

Answer: […] but I definitely don't like it when, say, in a listening test in a language exam, you get a very strong, say, Scottish accent. I think it's ... it's a loss of motivation, it's a risky thing to do at the beginning. A ... a ... a C1 learner should listen to and understand it, but below the C1 level I would certainly not put a language learner in that situation. (teacher_English_7)

However, as this is the only time such an opinion surfaces throughout the entire corpus of 37 interviews, it can be claimed that this does not reflect the general attitude of teachers (let alone learners) towards pluricentric presence at exams. One possible explanation as to why this particular teacher seems to be against it lies in the cognitive dissonance caused by the fact that she does not seem to devote much attention to pluricentricity in her own teaching, while it does seem to be present in exams. As she apparently considers it part of her job to prepare students for these exams, she senses a contradiction there, and as a lot of people do in situations like this, she attributes the problem to external aspects rather than looking at factors that are within her control to find the root of the problem. In personality psychology, this is called the "Hedonic Bias," also known as the "self-serving attribution bias" or "ego defensiveness" (Weiner and Graham, 1990: 467), and is known to be a frequently occurring mechanism of the human mind.

All in all, the coded segments concerning the washback effect of exams point out that the participants experience this effect as a real phenomenon, which supports the claims made earlier in the section on the role of exams in pluricentric language teaching. While the quotes about the negative side slightly outnumber the positive ones, I want to point out that this only underlines the need for more pluricentric presence in these exams, since almost all of the negative quotes focus on the lack of pluricentric content in exam materials, or the lack of acceptance towards them in the marking schemes.

Finally, as the last quote demonstrates (which is actually the only one of the 31 coded segments in this category that reflects a truly negative attitude towards pluricentric presence in exams), the inclusion of pluricentric content in examination materials may result in a cognitive dissonance at least on the part of teachers, which may lead to the fact that those teachers who do not consider pluricentricity an important part of the teaching process will dismiss these exams as unfair and demotivating towards their students because they include varieties that have not played a significant role in the learning process of their students. In other words, following an ego defensive logic, these teachers may find fault with pluricentricity-oriented exams rather than embracing their pluricentricity-oriented washback effect, and making pluricentricity a part of their own teaching. While this is certainly not true of all of these teachers (as suggested by the small proportion of this opinion in the present sample as well), it is still a phenomenon to keep in mind, bringing us to the conclusion that while introducing more pluricentric content at exams is essential, it is by no means the only necessary step to take. If we are to achieve more pluricentricity orientation in the education system as a whole, we must concentrate on all its subsystems, ranging from teacher education

through textbooks and teaching aids all the way to school curricula. This is yet another indication that this is a highly complex topic that needs to be addressed from a variety of perspectives, taking a wide range of aspects into consideration, which justifies the complex structure and methodology of the present dissertation as well.

7.2.2. Drawbacks and difficulties

Many of the difficulties mentioned by the teachers (11 times, to be precise) had to do with the limitations of the education system and the infrastructure, such as the small number of classes per week, the overly large burden put on them by the strict syllabus, the lack of time and energy for things like this, even the lack of appropriate technical equipment, etc. (cf. Quote 7).

> **Quote 7:**
>
> Question: And are there any difficulties concerning these materials?
>
> Answer: It's a lot more work, which … which in terms of time … well … let's be honest about it, with such a workload and such hours, very often ends up in the "I'll do that later" category. (teacher_German_21)

On the one hand, these are, again, external factors that the teachers seem to be attributing the problem to, further strengthening the aforementioned theory about "ego defensiveness" (Weiner and Graham, 1990: 467), but on the other hand, it also points at the importance of introducing pluricentricity into language education at a systemic level. Making it part of the school curricula, syllabuses and textbooks would definitely improve the situation in this regard, as has been suggested in several of the previous chapters.

While none of the learners referred to any of the external factors described above, another theme mentioned by a lot of teachers (13 times) was their own lack of knowledge and skill regarding pluricentricity, and that thought did occur to one of the students as well (cf. Quotes 8 and 9).

> **Quote 8:**
>
> Question: What prevents this from coming up on an everyday basis?
>
> Answer: Well, I think a lot of the time it's because the teacher is not so well versed in it themselves. So I personally don't really know them. I've heard and ... and I've been in these areas, but ... but I'm not personally attached to either the Swabian or the Austrian varieties. And then it's obviously ... if you're not familiar with the area, you can ... you can push them away from yourself. (teacher_German_19)

Somewhat similarly to the previous theme, this can also be interpreted from two basic angles. First, this is obviously a shift from extrernal to internal factors, and the fact that about the same number of coded segments mention the two suggests that they both play an important role and have to be taken into consideration when it comes to working out a possible solution. Second, as suggested by one of the above quotes, university education and teacher training play an important role in this as well. This brings us to an important conclusion: in order to achieve a greater openness to pluricentricity in the education system, this topic needs to be thematised in teacher training too, possibly with specialised courses focusing on the pluricentricity of the given languages and bringing down myths related to it.

One such myth would be, as can be seen in one of the above quotes as well, that in order to incorporate pluricentricity in one's teaching, one has to be a competent user of all the standard varieties of the given language. This is, of course, not the case at all, especially considering Muhr (1996b) and Glauninger's (2001) principle about the primacy of the receptive skills in pluricentric language teaching. Simply put, there is no need for the teacher to be able to speak like, for instance, an Australian or an Austrian; it is enough if they play to their learners recordings of native speakers of these non-dominant varieties.

Shifting our focus now from teachers to learners, the latter seemed to approach this entire question from a largely different perspective, concentrating on the fact that the presence of multiple varieties in class can confuse them and overcomplicate the learning process (mentioned 9 times – cf. Quote 10 below). As they said, these varieties can be difficult or impossible to understand (5 mentions), and can lead to negative experiences, thus demotivating them (1 mention). Similar themes were also addressed by some of the teachers, 4 of whom talked about understanding problems, and 2 about confusing the learners.

doesn't understand a text or a particular variety at first. And then, for example, it happened in our case that this made learning more difficult, because it was easy to give up ... to try again, and then listen to more texts, read more like this. (learner_English_3)

I believe the most important conclusion to draw from these findings is that one has to think carefully before introducing any pluricentric content at any stage of the learning process. Muhr's (1996a) principle of the neutral beginner level can give the teacher some guidance as to what to include when in order to avoid confusion, unnecessary complication, or any negative experiences in general. Also, finding a way to embed pluricentric knowledge in the communicative skills as well as cultural content is key (more on that below, in section 6.2.11 on skills and activities).

7.2.3. Location

This is one of the codes that were not created beforehand but during the coding process, as it turned out that the part of the country the respondents were from had a considerable influence on the kind of answers they gave to some of the questions in the interview. To be more precise, it was those participants that lived close to the Austrian border that seemed to reflect on this geographical vicinity of theirs to the neighbouring country, which seemed to be an important theme that was commented on by 12 teachers and 5 students, all of whom were from western Hungary, and highlighted the versatility of personal connections and experiences that brought Austria and its standard variety closer to people western Hungary at a personal level, as shown by Quote 11 below.

Quote 11:

Question: What about productive skills, speaking and writing? Does it have a legitimacy there too?

Answer: I know that we are in a different situation from those living in other parts of the country, in the east, in the eastern part, because we have more contact with Austria. Obviously, many people work there. Parents work there, and then maybe the children go there too, and in addition to that, because of the many events and other things, it's necessary. [...] And I've also heard from one of my students that ... as there is a border crossing point in Pinkamindszent, they go to the neighbouring Austrian village to talk to people. (teacher_German_16)

At times geographical vicinity was complemented with a shared historical past as another factor that puts Austrian German in an important position in Hungary, due to a

cultural heritage that is shared by these two countries to some extent, which also manifests itself in certain parts of the vocabulary, as suggested by Quote 12 below.

Quote 12:

Question: Some people say that it is advisable to decide at the outset which variety you want to teach or learn, and then stick to that in all circumstances. Let's not get it mixed up here: a little Austrian, a little Swiss, a little Germany German! What do you think about that?

Answer: There are a lot of words associated with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that sound an awful lot like Hungarian. And it's even easier to learn, and wow, wow, I know so many words already! (teacher_German_21)

In connection with the role of Austrian German in western Hungary, two learners suggested concentrating more on the Austrian standard in the state schools as well as private language schools of the region. Quotes 13 and 14 below shed light on the fact that this is not the case, which goes against the principle of taking the learners' needs into consideration when deciding which varieties to include in the teaching process, not to mention geographical vicinity (cf. Muhr 1996a).

Quote 13:

Question: And what materials can the language teacher use for this?

Answer: […] I think that … here in this part … the language schools here in Szombathely, for example, could make use of this [...] because, for example, [...] one of my friends, he ... he learned German here at [X] language school in Szombathely. And they, too, were actually taught this Hochdeutsch. But I think, for example, that we are right on the border here [...] so I could easily imagine that ... that Austrian German could be taught more, let's say. And ... and really, that they would focus specifically on that, so to speak. So yes! (learner_German_16)

Quote 14:

Question: And Austria is also our neighbor, right?

Interviewee: [...] well, that's our neighbour in the first place. I think it's worth going into that. And by the way, it could also be ... that they learn a bit more from this in the Transdanubian region - in the Tiszántúl region they might not actually travel across half of the country to work in Austria. But in ... the border settlements, we know that many people go to work in Austria. We can help them in this way, by teaching them a little Austrian dialect, or I don't know, whoever is planning to do so should attend a course, or I don't know.

Interviewer. Does that happen? Is this being put into practice?

Interviewee: Well, I don't think so, no.

Interviewer: Yeah, I see. But it would be a good thing, in your opinion.

Interviewee: Well, I think there would probably be some people that it would help. Or even such ... I don't know ... there ... there ... in the border settlements, not only extracurricular courses, but also for older people who really know that, well, now I'm going to work in Austria, and then they would enrol in a short language course, or I don't know. Then maybe it will be easier for them to manage. (learner_English_German_8)

As for the role of location in the case of learning English, obviously Hungary's regions differ little from one another, as the distance between Hungary as a whole and any English-speaking country is rather great. In this context, however, two participants (a teacher and a student) reflected on the dominance of British English in Europe, which they mostly justified with practical reasons, with a view to job opportunities in the UK, etc. (Quote 15).

Quote 15:

Question: You mentioned that with German, it's relatively self-evident that Germany German comes first. In the case of English, you said that there was more of a British dominance at school. Do you think that's right, is it self-evident, or is it a different situation? How do you see that?

Answer: Oh, well, if I look at it, if I follow the same logic as I did with German, then there are certainly more Hungarians going to England than to America. Because America is a bit further away. (learner_English_German_8)

This excerpt goes to show that the participants' constructs of pluricentricity and linguistic standards are in some way connected to the ideological notion of language as a commodity, i.e. as a tool which learners have to learn to use in order to make some kind of a profit with it in future, when they end up working in a native language environment. In that sense, the distinction between the different native varieties seems to be relevant, and this particular learner seems to position themselves in relation to these varieties as a Hungarian, to whom *England* is closer than *America*, thus, it makes sense for them to prioritize British English over American when it comes to learning English in this part of the world.

7.2.4. The role of the school

Just like the previous one, this code was also created during the coding process, as the characteristics of their school turned out to play an important role for many respondents, especially among learners, who often mentioned that the special focus of their class was

foreign languages, with some of them even attending bilingual programs, where certain subjects (like history, maths, geography, etc.) are taught in English. These aspects can obviously have an influence on how the pluricentricity of the given language can be integrated into their classes, as has been highlighted by 4 learners and 3 teachers, not to mention the presence of native speaker teachers (called *lektor* in Hungary), whose role was emphasized by 8 learners and a teacher as well (see Quotes 16-17 below).

Quote 16:

Question: What materials can a teacher use to bring this into the lesson?

Inteviewee: We had, for example, a regular lesson that ... that was a conversation class with a *lektor*.

Interviewer: You had an American *lektor*, right?

Inteviewee: Yes, yes, we had an American one. Well we had a Canadian one too, and then they would take it in turns to ... meet with us. (learner_English_3)

Quote 17:

Question: If you think back to your German studies which you did in, say, a school setting, how much of this Austrian variant did they contain?

Inteviewee: I was ... I was lucky because of the bilingual German class, because we had *lektors'* lessons, and there we actually learned ... we learned these pairs of ... how is this and how is that. But I can honestly say that when I went abroad, I fell into the deep end, and that's when I really learned. But really, I'm telling you, I was already prepared within the framework of language learning at home, yes.

Interviewer: Okay. Your *lektor* was Austrian, by the way?

Inteviewee: We had a German *lektor* first and then an Austrian one, yes. (learner_German_16)

The above quotes clearly demonstrate the fact that it is beneficial for schools to have programs specializing in foreign language learning, not to mention bilingual education, in the case of which students' exposure to the target language is truly high, and they tend to have special classes focusing on the culture and civilization of the target countries, where topics like linguistic pluricentricity can be thematised too. However, this is obviously not feasible everywhere, nor is it ideal for students whose primary interests lie elsewhere. Thus, the goal should be to extend this kind of exemplary degree of pluricentric presence to regular, non-language oriented classes too, thus increasing their openness to pluricentricity. In order to achieve this aim, it would probably be advisable to increase the number of foreign language classes per week in these general classes, which would also be in line with many of the

teachers' complaints cited above, in section 6.2.2. Moreover, it seems that a stronger focus on culture and civilization has a positive effect on the extent to which pluricentricity can be included in the langage learning process, which strengthens Christen and Knipf-Komlósi (2006), as well as de Cillia (2009) and Jarząbek's (2013) claim that thematising pluricentricity together with culture is a rather fortunate methodological decision.

All in all, it would be a very valuable direction for future research to find out about further ways in which English and German teaching in regular, non-language specialized classes could be favourably influenced by the positive example of specialized and bilingual language education with a view to achieving an increased openness towards pluricentricity. For this, several local curricula and syllabuses would have to be analyzed, interviews should be conducted with learners and teachers alike, and classroom observations would also be necessary. This can be seen as a potential future avenue for the continuation of the present research.

Finally, there is one more quote (Quote 18) that is especially worthy of mention, as it sheds light on the developmental potential of schools with respect to students' pluricentric knowledge.

Quote 18:

Question: Do you think that your level of English plays a role in the extent to which different varieties can be learned, or made part of the learning process?

Interviewee: Well, I would say that we have completely succeeded in my class in this way, so that we have mastered this, for example, that we can recognise different accents and so on. Because we had classes where we concentrated on this, on which one is which, and for me, for example, it helped a lot that we did a lot of listening. So that I can understand pretty much all of them even if I don't know exactly where they come from.

Interviewer: Well, yes, at the end of the day, the point is to understand.

Interviewee: Yes yes yes yes yes! So I definitely feel that I've ... I've improved in that way. So, through the school. (learner_English_3)

Admittedly, Quote 18 is from a devoted student attending a bilingual program, consequently, it does not represent the attitude of the average Hungarian student, but it still speaks loud and clear about the fact that it is indeed possible for schools to develop students' pluricentric knowledge, especially as far as the receptive skills are concerned (cf. Muhr 1996b and Glauninger, 2001).

At the same time, this speaker refers to the phenomenon of pluricentric variation using the term *accents*, which is a somewhat limiting simplification, as it focuses exclusively on pronunciation, and ignores the other levels of language that also exhibit variation, however, it is a phrase that is commonly used by participants (especially learners) to refer to the different varieties, which goes to show that their conceptualizations of linguistic diversity do not necessarily coincide with the scholarly categories dictated by the pluricentric model.

7.2.5. The (un)importance of pluricentricity

Again, this is yet another code that was not created beforehand but during the coding process, subsequently broken down into two subcodes, negative and positive. I attached the negative code to segments of the interviews where the interviewee expresses the view that pluricentricity does not play an important role in learning and teaching English or German, while the positive code was attached to segments where respondents express a positive opinion on the importance of pluricentricity.

To start with the positive side, as exemplified by Quote 19 below, 4 teachers mentioned that they feel it is their responsibility to prepare students to cope with the diversity of standards, while 3 others added that it simply plays a great role in language education in their opinion. Some also gave reasons why they think it is important, including the fact that it is part of reality (2 teachers), but also that diversity should be embraced in education (1 teacher and 1 student), or simply because it is interesting or makes learning and teaching complete (1 teacher each).

> **Quote 19:**
>
> Question: Some people say that it is advisable to decide at the outset which variety you want to teach or learn, and then stick to that in all circumstances. Let's not get it mixed up here: a little Austrian, a little Swiss, a little Germany German! What do you think about that?
>
> Answer: I think that we have a duty to teach these things, to make children aware that ... that these things exist, that ... they should not be surprised that when they go there, they encounter a slightly different language. [...] On the one hand, because these things exist, and ... and there is no getting around them like I'm sticking my

head in the sand here, and then if ... if I don't know about it, it doesn't exist. So that ... that ... that should be known to those who, as tourists or I don't know, travel the world, encounter this phenomenon, and ... and then they should not be surprised there, or ... or in general. And I think it's a basic thing that if I learn a foreign language, I know a little bit about it. (teacher_German_21)

Furthermore, one of the students (see Quote 20 below) also highlighted that it can be an obstacle to their language learning if these topics are not thematized at school, which further underlines the importance of the school in this regard, as has been discussed in detail earlier on.

Quote 20:

Question: What can make it difficult to get to know as many different varieties as possible?

Answer: Well, in a school setting, if the teacher is not open to it, because even if it's the student's goal, if he or she doesn't hear or see such content in class, then ... then it's obviously a bit more difficult to do it all on your own, besides the fact that in school, besides the lessons ... so you have to prepare, right. So, if someone does not have so much free time, then I think one very good method is to learn it in class. And if there is no mention of such things, then it can make it difficult, so it can be an obstacle. (learner_English_3)

However, it is important to clarify that the segments that were tagged with the negative code clearly outnumbered the positive ones (there were 76 of the former vs. 17 of the latter), which suggests that the participants do not see pluricentricity as a very influential aspect of language learning (cf. Quotes 21-23 below).

Quote 21:

Question: Do you think that the proficiency level of the learners influences how and to what extent you can represent the different varieties in the language classroom?

Answer: I think you have to have very interested students, or an interested group or specialization, to go into these things in depth here. (teacher_German_14)

Quote 22:

Question: Is there anything that makes it difficult for you to introduce, say, the different varieties to the students?

Answer: It's not a priority for me. (teacher_English_3)

Quote 23:

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Question: What makes it difficult for you to learn about these differences?

Interviewer: You said that this didn't happen much in your classes at school, for example.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Why do you think that is?

Interviewee: Well, because it's not that important. (learner_English_German_6)

Some even take it a step further, claiming that it is not even necessary to include pluricentricity in language learning (cf. Quote 24).

Quote 24:

Question: Okay, and in order to achieve this goal, to understand as many different kinds of English as possible, or German, let's say, what kind of activities can be done to help you do this, in class or outside of class?

Answer: […] Actually, I think that if you learn either of the varieties, if you learn, say, British English grammar, then American English ... speakers will understand it, so [...] I think it's enough to learn one, you don't necessarily have to learn the other. (learner_English_German_4)

Consequently, it is no surprise that for several participants it is not present in their teaching or learning at all, as exemplified by Quotes 25-28 below.

Quote 25:

Question: How do you see the teacher's role in this?

Answer: As a matter of fact we don't encounter these things so often in primary school lessons. (learner_English_14)

Quote 26:

Question: In German lessons at school, which German varieties do you encounter?

Interviewee: German German, Germany German.

Interviewer: Aha! Exclusively? Or, or do others come up sometimes?

Interviewee: Well, we don't deal with other kinds of German.

Interviewer: Aha! And outside of, say, school lessons, have you come across any other varieties, like, say, Austrian or Swiss German?

Interviewee: Not really. (learner_German_15)

Quote 27:

Question: Do you see any difference English and German, say, in terms of what we've been talking about?

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Answer: We really didn't go into this. (learner_English_German_6)

Quote 28:

Question: If we take the four communicative skills – reading, listening, speaking and writing – which of these do you think can incorporate this variation the most?

The reality is that in the past year and a half I haven't done any of this at all. (teacher_English_German_9)

Others do not go as far as claiming that it is not present whatsoever, but only regard it as a potential basis of some extra activities that are interesting and fun (see Quotes 29-32). According to them, it is then up to the learners and their level of interest in this subject if they dig deeper on their own, but this topic is generally not important enough to be thematized in class in too much detail, even if it might be interesting for the learners.

Quote 29:

Question: It would probably take away the very motivation, wouldn't it? If we made it compulsory...

Answer: So it's absolutely really just that kind of extra thing that which, if we deal with it, then they can dig deeper by themselves. (teacher_German_17)

Quote 30:

Question: What role, if any, do the different varieties play in your daily work?

Answer: Of course, as an interesting kind of peculiarity, if you're teaching a word, you ... you mention that they say it differently in Germany. Or with chestnuts, if we go to Austria before Christmas, what they bake, *Kastanie* or *Marone* in Vienna. So it happens on that level, but it's ... it's ... it's negligible. (teacher_German_13)

Quote 31:

Question: When you were learning German and English and somehow this issue of pluricentricity came up in class, how did you react to that? Did you find it interesting, or did you find it too complicated or even boring? In other words, what was your opinion about it?

I obviously didn't think it was that important, because there were a lot of other things. But it is interesting for sure. So it's ... it's a fact that it's interesting. (learner_English_German_6)

Quote 32:

Question: You said that students are interested in it, so when something like this comes up, do you and your peers usually take an interest in it? Or how do you usually react to it?

Answer: So it may be easier to digest, but it is less important. (learner_English_German_4)

Some claim that for them, pluricentricity plays no important role in language teaching because learners will learn about it themselves when they go abroad and experience variation on their own skin, so to speak. Consequently, they do not regard it as an important part of the teacher's job to familiarize them with it (cf. Quotes 33-34).

Quote 33:

Question: Is there anything that makes it difficult for you to introduce, say, the different varieties to the students?

Answer: I don't see it as a central issue, because I think that ... that ... that sooner or later, if the children and I find ourselves in this situation, then they will adapt and that's it, and sooner or later they will understand the other one. (teacher_English_3)

Quote 34:

Question: So what is the practical use of knowing how the Austrians say it, how the Swiss say it, how the Germans say it?

Answer: I still don't think it's very important, because, like I said, if I go to Austria, for example, to work or something, and spend more time there, I will understand it after a while if I didn't at the beginning. (learner_English_German_6)

Similarly, it is also mentioned on several accounts throughout the interviews that, while the topic of pluricentricity may come up in class, it is never really presented systematically, but rather it is only mentioned in passing time and time again (see Quotes 35-37).

Quote 35:

Question: Does this play a central role in your lessons, or does it just come up sometimes?

Answer: It just comes up sometimes. (learner_English_10)

Quote 36:

Question: What activities or tasks can you use in your lessons to show the different varieties?

Answer: Now these, whether it's pronunciation or grammar or vocabulary, they're more isolated. So this ... this ... this I think this is not presented so systematically, I feel, in my teaching. (teacher_English_3)

Quote 37:

Question: Does it give language learners any advantage to know about this diversity? What is your opinion?

Answer: I just don't start with that, but... but I'm going along, and if it comes up, I'll point it out. (teacher_German_13)

Regarding the justifications that are given as to why pluricentricity does not play a very crucial role for them, several respondents (4 teachers and 3 students, to be precise) claim that there are many other things that are more important, especially considering all the requirements of the syllabus, of different kinds of exams, and so on, which already put enough burden on teachers and students alike, not to mention the limited amount of time they have at their disposal. Others (4 teachers and 6 learners) mention that it is enough to be familiar with one standard only, as exemplified by the last quote (Quote 43) in the following selection of passages (Quotes 38-43) that illustrate the above points.

Quote 38:

Question: So that's more of a set of out-of-class activities. Is there anything that can be incorporated into the classes?

Answer: I don't think it's so important in class. I think the aim in a classroom should be to prepare students for the Matura exam or the language exam. (learner_English_German_5)

Quote 39:

Question: Many people say, "How can I teach Austrian German or, I don't know, Scottish English, when I can't speak or communicate using that variety myself?" Do you think that's a valid point?

Answer: […] So, if the question is whether we should go on, let's say, with exam practice tasks instead ... and ... practice for the matura exam or maybe ... some extra vocabulary about something ... So, that ... that's the other thing that should be weighed. And that's certainly ... that's a very important point I think. (teacher_German_18)

Quote 40:

Question: Are there any difficulties you experience that might be preventing or making it more difficult for you to show or incorporate the diversity of varieties in the language learning process?

Answer: I just don't make an effort to ... to make sure that it comes up, because I have so many things that I think are important, that I want to fit into this, into these four years that I've got before I let these kids out of my hands that it's ... it's not one of my priorities. (teacher_German_13)

Quote 41:

Question: So are there any other difficulties you encounter or other obstacles that cause difficulties?

Answer: […] So if, for example, there was a group of students who were either graduating or we were really struggling to get the minimum, and there was an exercise in the book that ... that ... that ... that was based on, say, language variation, I might say I'll skip it. And then we'll practice the present simple or I don't know. (teacher_English_German_9)

Quote 42:

Question: And what's the teacher's role in all this?

Answer: I don't think that's the teacher's primary job or the most important thing that we do. [...] It's important, it's important ... so it's important in terms of completeness. And the students can also get this kind of knowledge from other sources, plenty, plenty of them! (teacher_English_12)

Quote 43:

Question: Some people say that it is advisable to decide at the outset which variety you want to teach or learn, and then stick to that in all circumstances. Let's not get it mixed up here: a little Austrian, a little Swiss, a little Germany German! What do you think about that?

Answer: Primarily, of course, we are obviously not trying to teach many varieties at once, but rather one in more depth, but still taking advantage of the opportunities that arise in terms of addressing the differences. (teacher_German_21)

This last quote is particularly interesting because it sheds light on an essential caveat connected to the question of importance. As can be seen, this passage contains references to both important and unimportant aspects of the role of pluricentricity in language teaching. The participant describes it as important but then nuances the description with a few remarks that suggest the opposite. As this kind of duality is present in many other interviews too, I

believe it is important not to approach the question of importance as a black-and-white binary opposition, since the participants seem to recognize the complexity of this question themselves, highlighting aspects on both sides. For example, one of the German teachers that gets quoted quite a lot in the present section, by code (teacher_German_ABH) mentions positive aspects concerning the importance of pluricentricity 4 times throughout her interview, while negative ones 6 times. Similarly, the English teacher with code (teacher_English_AH) has 3 negative and 2 positive coded segments in her interview.

Consequently, this has to be recognized in the present discussion as well, so it should be pointed out that even though there are a lot more coded segments tagged with the negative subcode than the positive one here, it does not mean that the majority of the participants consider pluricentricity as entirely unimportant. Rather, they seem to believe that there are many other goals of language teachers that play a much more essential role in comparison, and that view is supported even by the most pro-pluricentricity sources, e.g. Ammon and Hägi (2005) or Huber (2022b). Let me also reiterate part of a statement I have made in section 2.4.1, which fits in here rather aptly: While this is certainly not the primary task of language teaching, pluricentric standards should be an important part of the language learning process. As with so many things in social sciences (but also in life in general), reducing this complex issue to a mere binary opposition would be detrimental to the accuracy of our understanding of it.

Another comment that is frequently made in this context is that pluricentricity is important only to some extent, which further strengthens the above remark about this whole question being best conceived of in terms of a continuum from important to unimportant rather than a binary opposition of the two extremes. This has been mentioned by 4 learners and 3 teachers, as exemplified by Quotes 44-47 below, bringing the present subsection to an appropriate conclusion.

Quote 44:

Question: Do you think there is a difference in what I can show a beginner compared to an advanced learner?

Answer: I'm not sure it's the right way to go if I overburden them with that, I think. (teacher_German_21)

Quote 45:

Question: I'd like to throw the ball back to you, do you have any comments, questions or remarks? Anything else you can think of related to this?

[…] And you don't need to know all the expressions in all the accents, but just two or three of them, and they'll understand what you're saying. (learner_English _2)

Quote 46:

Question: If, for example, your language teacher points out some variation in a language class, or shows you something like that, how do the language learners react?

Answer: […] So it can be included to some extent, but not too much! (learner_English_German_8)

Quote 47:

Question: When you say that you're probably learning a mix in the case of English, and you can't really tell if it's American English or British English, or this kind of English or that kind of English, do you think that's good or bad?

Answer: […] And I think it's good as a kind of curiosity, but … but I think what we do in English is still at a level that doesn't really confuse the language learner. (learner_English_German_8)

As a concluding remark to end this subsection with, in a sense connected to the one that concludes subsection 7.2.4, I want to highlight the participants' use of deictic expressions (such as *this*, *that*, *these things*, *such things*, etc.) in their answers when it comes to referring to the individual (standard) varieties or linguistic pluricentricity in general. While this tendency is generally characteristic of spoken language use, it can also be interpreted in this case as a tactic to avoid referring to variation in general and individual varieties in particular, as the participants seem to have rather blurry notions of these. This is further exemplified by the phrase "slightly different language" in Quote 19, which the speaker uses to refer to varying standards. These fuzzy categories and circumscriptions used by the participants suggest that they in fact do not seem to be as standard-centered as pluricentric theoreticians. Instead, what seems to play a more central role in their Language Making processes is the concept of diversity.

7.2.6. Materials

The interview segments tagged with this code discuss the influence of teaching materials (textbooks, teaching aids, etc.) on the degree to which pluricentricity is incorporated in language teaching. Unlike the previous two, this code was created a priori, and was broken down to three subcodes: (1) difficulties involving the materials used, (2) materials used outside class, and (3) materials used in class.

As for the difficulties, they were mentioned by a lot more teachers than learners, with 33 coded segments from interviews with teachers, and only 13 from learners' interviews (see Quotes 48 and 49 as examples). It is important to mention that the difficulties discussed here are only the ones that have to do with the materials used, while any other kinds of difficulties have been given a separate code (drawbacks and difficulties, as discussed in section 6.2.2). The kind of difficulties that were mentioned the most here concerned the limited presence of pluricentricity in the materials used (11 coded segments from teachers, and 3 from learners), with most of them focusing on textbooks, highlighting the overwhelming British English or Germany German dominance in them (7 coded segments from teachers).

Quote 48:

Question: What role do you think the proficiency level of the language learners plays in the extent to which you can show them linguistic diversity?

Answer: In fact, this is often textbook-dependent. So there are textbooks that emphasise demonstrating these varieties in certain lessons. But just the other day I looked through some textbooks and I've actually come to the conclu– I've come to the conclusion that there's not really a great emphasis on this in the various books. Obviously, it's a narrow range that I've looked at. (teacher _German_16)

Quote 49:

Question: So do you also require your students, if they decide that they are going for Germany German or Austrian German or whatever, to stick to that, or can mixing be an option?

Answer: I could connect it to the books, since they teach mostly Germany German, they won't know what Austrian or clearly Swiss German are like anyway, unless they're interested and dig into it. If I don't show them the varieties, they'll only know that one anyway. And maybe ... well, yes … so it's again because of the books that it's more of a priority. (teacher_German_17)

Other difficulties that have been mentioned quite a lot by teachers (7 coded segments) included the fact that the incorporation of pluricentricity in language teaching requires a lot of extra effort on the part of the teacher (cf. Quote 50), which, of course, goes hand in hand with the lack of pluricentric presence in the textbooks and other materials, as discussed above.

Quote 50:

Question: And in all of this - by this I mean, obviously, the inclusion of different varieties in language teaching - what is the role of the teacher? What can the teacher do to make this happen?

Answer: It's a very cumbersome thing in my opinion. So, to spend I don't know how many hours a day looking for Austrian, Swiss, Bavarian, I don't know what kind of videos, internet materials, so that would be a lot of time! (teacher_German_18)

Two of the teachers made somewhat more specific comments than the general ones mentioned above, with one of them highlighting that even if there is some degree of pluricentric focus in textbooks, they never actually thematise regularities in terms of pronunciation differences, which seems to be the case especially with German, and less so with English, where there *are* occasional references to pronunciation patterns across national varieties in most textbooks (Quote 51).

Quote 51:

Question: How can the teacher play any role in preparing students for pronunciation differences? What ideas do you have for that?

Answer: Yes, I think that's the ... that's the most problematic area, pronunciation, because I haven't seen any book that refers to that. So, in terms of pronunciation, Germany German, Southern German, Austrian, Swiss, etc. So pronunciation is ... it's really ... it's an absolutely neglected field. (teacher _German_16)

The other specific comment (Quote 52) referred to the fact that the pluricentricity oriented content featured in these materials was often not very authentic, which is truly counterproductive in terms of reflecting on the sociolinguistic reality in class, which should basically be one of the most important goals of pluricentric language teaching, in the name of bridging the gap between real-life and classroom language use (cf. Muhr, 1996a). This has a very important implication for future textbook authors and teaching aid developers, namely, that the incorporation of pluricentricity in these materials has to be performed with the help of authentic sources.

Quote 52:

Question: What else could be different besides the vocabulary?

Answer: It's mostly listening comprehension, [...] and let's face it, what we have in books is not always very authentic either. (teacher_German_17)

On a more positive note, two teachers mentioned that it used to be more difficult to acquire authentic materials that can be used to demonstrate the pluricentricity of English or German in the past than it is today, in the day and age of the internet, where such materials can be found in a matter of a few minutes online, even though, as has been mentioned before, this still requires the teacher to do a lot of extra research, which can still be a difficulty (Quote 53). This further uderlines the need for more pluricentric content in the coursebooks and teaching aids used in schools.

> **Quote 53:**
>
> Question: Are there any difficulties you can report that make it difficult for the teacher to present this kind of diversity to the language learners?
>
> Answer: So now, for my birthday, one of my former students from 30 years ago sent me "Imagine". Back then, I copied the lyrics from a cassette with carbon copies for them, you see. Nowadays, these kids click once, and they've got everything, even Australian English, and so on. (teacher_English_6)

As for the learners, their perception of the difficulties concerning the materials had a somewhat different focus (cf. Quote 54). While only 3 of them referred to the limited pluricentric presence in them, 6 of them highlighted that the pluricentric content in these materials was oftentimes difficult to understand. This allows us to draw yet another important conclusion here, namely, that the intelligibility of pluricentric content has to play a crucial role in these materials. It seems to be advisable to start with texts and recordings that are fairly easy to understand at the beginning, and then gradually, in accordance with Muhr's (1996a) principle of the neutral beginner level, moving on to content that is more challenging in terms of understanding. This consideration may sound fairly self-evident, but it still seems necessary to highlight.

> **Quote 54:**
>
> Question: If you're a complete beginner, say, as a language learner, is there any point in dealing with this kind of thing at all, or should it only come up at a more advanced level, do you think?
>
> Answer: Now, if I take German, and the listening exercises that we do in class, it's much more difficult for me to understand Austrian German, for example, because they speak differently, and so on. (learner_English_German_5)

Another important comment that one of the learners made was that they could not always recognize which variety was being used in the textbooks or other materials that they were working with in class (Quote 55).

Quote 55:

Question: What kind of exercises or activities do you think you could do in your German lessons to get to know the different varieties?

… because as an outsider I don't recognize these. (learner_German_15)

This, coupled with another comment that sheds light on the fact that the source variety of pluricentric elements is often left unmarked in textbooks (Quote 56), supports Hägi's (2006) requirement concerning the consistent marking of non-dominant elements as an important principle of pluricentricity-oriented textbook design.

Quote 56:

Question: Is it important to be presented like that, or would you rather just have one of them and be done with it?

Interviewee: I think that in our textbook [...] in many places it said I/H.
Interviewer: Aha. *Ist* or *hat*.
Interviewee: Either *ist* or *hat*. I don't know whether it's because Germans sometimes use this and sometimes use that.
Interviewer: That's also possible.
Interviewee: Or they put it there because of the Austrians.
Interviewer: But then they could have written that it was because of the Austrians.
Interviewee: Yes! So I don't know if it was because of that. (learner_English_German_4)

Before going into detail about the pluricentricity-oriented materials used in and out of class, an important preliminary observation to make is that learners turned out to be more resourceful in mentioning out-of-class materials, while teachers came up with a lot more opportunities for the use of pluricentric materials in class. This suggest, on the one hand, that for learners, learning about pluricentricity, just like language learning in general, happens in many different domains, one of which, of course, is the school, but it is far from being the only source. On the other hand, it seems that teachers are more creative in terms of in-class opportunities for the use of pluricentric materials, which is hardly surprising, as it is them who design those classes in the first place, with the students being at the receiving end of the

process, rarely wondering about what types of tasks and materials best fulfil a certain didactic function.

With that said, it can generally be seen that both teachers and learners have suggested a wide variety of materials and sources through which pluricentricity can be incorporated in the language learning process (see Quotes 57-60). As for out-of-class opportunities, mostly videos, movies, and series have been mentioned (5 times by teachers and 21 times by learners), but also reading books, stories, and poems (by 6 learners), as well as going on trips to the target language area (1 teacher and 2 learners), listening to songs (3 learners) and news programmes (2 learners), following social media and dating sites (3 learners), using the internet in general (2 learners), taking part in competitions (1 teacher), etc.

> **Quote 57:**
>
> Question: What activities can you use in class, or even out of class, through which you can demonstrate the different varieties?
>
> Answer: I'll often give them something to look up on YouTube, for example, and then ... then I'll go specifically for one or the other variety. (teacher_English _10)

> **Quote 58:**
>
> Question: Do you experience any difficulties in using these mentioned materials?
>
> Answer: Yeah, yeah, so there are a lot of ... there are a lot of videos and audio materials that are on the internet and they're ... they're almost 99%, you could say, in American English now. This ... this will undoubtedly have an impact on … on language learners. (teacher_English_German_2)

> **Quote 59:**
>
> Question: What activities do you think are there in class, or even outside of class, that can help you acquire or become familiar with these different varieties?
>
> Answer: Well, just based on how I have learned, and how Generation Z is learning languages, I think it's by watching TV shows, watching movies, reading books in English, or in foreign languages... *The Great Gatsby*, for instance, I read that in English too. (learner_English_German_5)

> **Quote 60:**
>
> Question: Right, and outside of school, when you encounter English in any form, what varieties of it tend to appear?
>
> Answer: Actually, when I watch series, I watch some Australian series, and well ... and American mostly. (learner_English_2)

As for in-class opportunities, 29 teachers and 10 learners mentioned the textbooks they use, although mostly with a critical tone, highlighting, as mentioned above, the limited presence of pluricentricity in them, with 2 learners and 2 teachers specifying that the situation was somewhat better in the case of English than in the case of German in this regard (Quote 61).

> **Quote 61:**
>
> Question: Do you think the age and proficiency level of your students plays a role in the extent to which you can incorporate different varieties in your work with them?
>
> Answer: Well, I think that's very well implemented in English books. So there's the book in English, if the teacher doesn't feel confident about this, there's always material in the book, or you can get it easily. I think this is not so much the case with German. (teacher_English_German_1)

Two teachers also referred to supplementary materials provided by the publishers to go with certain textbooks, while one of them remarked that she had to paste together materials from different coursebooks if she wanted to make her teaching really pluricentricity oriented (Quotes 62-63).

> **Quote 62:**
>
> Question: Do you think that showing this diversity to the students has something to do with their prior knowledge and proficiency level? Or can it be incorporated for a beginner in the same way as for an advanced student?
>
> Answer: So, for example, *Kontakt* offers this … oh I don't know, maybe Kontakt 2, anyway, it doesn't matter if you don't know it, there is a supplementary material concentrating on just this, like, gee, the names of some foods, fruits, vegetables, I don't know, in the Austrian standard variety they sound like this. (teacher_German_21)

> **Quote 63:**
>
> Question: Do you feel any difference in what aspects of the differences between varieties you show to, say, a more advanced group in senior section, and a junior-section group?
>
> Answer: Well, it's ... in the books now, for example, we teach the MM Publications series, and for example, not in this one, but in *Full Blast*, for example, it happens here and there that it's specifically aligned, for example, with American and British English. So we had this with my eighth graders, right. And then I copied it for them, because we were learning from *Project*, and then I copied this from, I don't know,

from *Full Blast* or I don't know which one we found it in, and then they compared it. (teacher_English_6)

Then, similarly to out-of-class opportunities, videos, movies, series and different kinds of programmes like podcasts, talkshows and the like have been mentioned quite frequently as well, precisely 18 times by teachers, and 7 times by learners. The internet in general was also mentioned 5 times by teachers and by one of the students too, as were songs (3 teachers and 1 student), worksheets (4 teachers), maps (3 teachers), interactive digital materials (2 teachers), contrastive vocabulary lists (2 teachers and 2 learners), etc. Interestingly, some participants found it important to highlight the role of the teacher themselves in connection with in-class materials, referring to the teacher's own extra resources (2 learners), their explanations (1 learner), as well as their experience in the target language area (2 teachers). Quotes 64-66 provide a few examples of the many different opportunities that the participants mentioned.

Quote 64:

Question: And when you say "listening," does that mean there's already some variation in the recordings for the book, or does your teacher bring in extra ones from other varieties...

Answer: It's more like the teacher brings in extra materials. (learner_English_14)

Quote 65:

Question: Do you need supplementary materials for that?

Answer: The teacher shows and tells us these things. [...] She explains how American and British can be. (learner_English_11)

Quote 66:

Question: And then other than vocabulary and grammar, are there other areas that are important and can be different? Say, between Austrian German and Germany German or the Swiss variety?

Answer: I often take photographs, for example. I always look everywhere with a teacher's eyes, and then I take a photo, and then ... then I show it to the children. Like *Erdapfel* and *Kartoffel* and I don't know what. Every time I see something. [...] What comes first is personal experience. So I tell it from my own experience. (teacher_German_16)

Finally, the opportunity to invite native speakers to the classes was also mentioned by a learner and a teacher too, which is indeed a great way to decrease the distance between the classroom and real-life language use, even though it is not always feasible (cf. Quote 67).

Quote 67:

Question: What materials can be used to present the different varieties in German class?

Answer: What comes to my mind is that there might be someone you know or someone you could invite to the class. At the previous school I worked at, for example, they invited an Austrian writer, a children's book author, and he spoke German, and ... and most of the children understood what he said, and then ... that's another one of those closer links. Obviously, you can't do that everywhere, but that ... that's a new point of contact. (teacher_German_19)

To sum up, a wide range of sources and types of materials have been mentioned by the participants, which shows that it is possible to incorporate pluricentricity in language teaching in a variety of ways, even though the feasibility of some of these opportunities has been questioned by several respondents, mostly blaming the monocentric approach of the textbooks for the lack of pluricentric focus in the foreign language classroom, which seems to be often balanced out by out-of-class domains of language learning, but that cannot be the sole resource to rely upon, as the different domains of language learning need to by in sync with one another in order to maximise the effectiveness of the learning process. Thus, when it comes to introducing more pluricentricity orientation into language learning, our focus has to be on the classroom, trying to open it up to the real life, as has been suggested before.

7.2.7. The role of the learner

This code was created in advance, and it was then broken down into three subcodes throughout the coding process: learner characteristics, difficulties related to learners, and learners' reactions to pluricentricity. The first one, learner characteristics refers to interview segments where the participants explain how pluricentricity is (or should be) dealt with differently in accordance with the differences that exist between the individual learners. Here, aspects like the learners' possible experience in the target language area (mentioned by 7 teachers and 4 learners), their varying levels of interest (mentioned by 6 teachers and 2 learners) and aptitude (2 teachers and 3 learners), their preferred varieties (3 teachers and 2 learners), and plans involving the given foreign language (2 teachers and 1 learner) are commented on (see Quotes 68-73). The participants' emphasizing these factors is completely

in line with what the literature says about tailoring teaching to the students' needs, an inherent part of which has to be the inclusion of pluricentric content in the teaching process (cf. Muhr, 1996b, Knipf-Komlósi, 2001, as well as Marlina, 2014 and 2018).

Quote 68:

Question: And what's the teacher's role in this?

Answer: […] I also had a student who said that she didn't like it, this American English". I said, well ... you don't have to! So ... she even got a British boyfriend... (teacher_English_10)

Quote 69:

Question: And is there a difference, say, by language level, in how much and what you can show in each group?

Answer: […] And well, maybe the children's interests, what they are interested in. Or maybe sometimes even whether they have been in the language region with the help of family or school. Well, in Austria, for example, then that ... I think that can make a bit of a difference. (teacher_German_14)

Quote 70:

Question: Do you think there is a difference in what I can show a beginner compared to an advanced learner?

Answer: If there is a group where the majority of people want to study in Austria and ... and there is this kind of interest or I see that there is a receptiveness to it... (teacher_German_21)

Quote 71:

Question: And is this just listening comprehension, or is it also reflected to some extent in reading comprehension?

Answer: Especially for those who want to take some kind of, for instance, international language exam. (teacher_German_18)

Quote 72:

Question: Now shifting the focus from you to your language learners, how do they react when confronted with different varieties, in or out of class?

Answer: It's generally harder for the less gifted, this makes it more difficult for them. They're struggling to ... to ... to stay alive, and standard English is ... it's ... it's more than enough for them[...] and for the better students, the more talented ones

that are at higher proficiency levels ... it's the salt of English or the salt of life. (teacher_English_5)

Quote 73:

Question: If, for example, your teacher points out some kind of variety in a language class, or shows you something like that, how do the learners react?

Answer: Well, it certainly depends to some extent on how open-minded you are. It also depends on how interested you are in the language. So, if someone is not very interested in a particular language, they won't be interested in the other variety. They just want to get through that language class and the language itself. (learner_English_German_8)

Furthermore, as a broad generational characteristic, interest in movies, series, videos and the like is also frequently mentioned (4 times by teachers and twice by learners) as a potential opportunity for the integration of pluricentricity into the language learning process, as exemplified by Quote 74.

Quote 74:

Question: Do you think that language proficiency levels and even age differences have any influence on whether or how you can incorporate different varieties into your language teaching?

Answer: We're talking about teenagers, so 14 to 18, and there's no question that they watch American movies and TV shows. So that's what ... what sounds most natural to them, yes. Most of the learners who have an identifiable ... let's say ... accent, it's ... it's more like ... it's American. So that's why maybe the age range; the fact that they're teenagers and obviously they're feeding from ... mass media, it's ... that's how this is influenced by that. (teacher_English_12)

As for the difficulties, again, it is important to point out that in this section, only those difficulties are included that have to do with the learners, while several other kinds of difficulties have been dealt with in previous sections. Handling these different kinds of difficulties separately from one another is primarily due to structural reasons, as they are connected to different codes and subcodes that are discussed in different sections here, but it is also in line with Schreier's (2013) principles of mutual exclusiveness and exhaustiveness as far as the structure of the coding frame is concerned. Obviously, these learner-related difficulties were mentioned by teachers, and not very frequently, but for the sake of completeness, I feel it essential to discuss them too, even if only briefly.

There were two teachers who talked about the low proficiency level of the students making it difficult to incorporate pluricentricity in the learning process, while another two referred to the learners' lack of interest, which seemed to have the same effect in their experience (cf. Quotes 75-76).

Quote 75:

Question: What do you think about the role of language proficiency level in relation to the extent to which different varieties can be introduced to our learners? In other words, does it matter what level they are at?

Answer: When the language level is lower, you're happy if you can teach them ... Hochdeutsch! (teacher_German_15)

Quote 76:

Question: Are there any difficulties that make the teacher's job more difficult when it comes to demonstrating this kind of linguistic diversity? Is there anything that makes it difficult?

Answer: Well, I think that ... that it is also a difficulty that the children are not necessarily as interested and open as you and I, let's say. So ... yes, and I think there's a limit in the children's minds as well. "Do I need it or don't I?" "Do I need it for the language exam?" And that's the point of departure, I feel, more and more among young people, ... whether something is profitable or not. (teacher_German_21)

This latter quote sheds light on a very important connection between the learner-related difficulties discussed here, and the washback effect of language examinations mentioned several times earlier on. It seems that, following this participant's logic, an increased pluricentric focus in language exams would result in a shift towards a more positive attitude to pluricentricity on the part of the learners, which would, in turn, make it less difficult for teachers to incorporate pluricentricity in the learning–teaching process.

Finally, the last aspect pertaining to the role of the learners is that of their reactions to pluricentric content, which is the third subcode to discuss here. On the whole, there were 78 coded segments describing a positive reaction, 28 describing a negative one, and 9 which expressed that the reaction depended on other factors.

The reaction mentioned by far the most frequently was interest (referred to 19 times by teachers and 14 times by learners), followed by curiosity and enjoyment (mentioned by 6 teachers each), which goes to show that the majority of the participants approach the inclusion

of pluricentric content in language education as a positive experience for the learners. On the other hand, negative responses have been mentioned by some participants too, including frustration due to the lack of understanding, as well as the lack of interest, referred to 4 times each by teachers and 2 times each by learners. Other reactions that were highlighted included surprise (3 teachers), motivation, (2 teachers and 2 learners), difficulty (2 teachers), amusement (2 teachers), and so on. For a few examples, consider Quotes 77-83 below.

Quote 77:

Question: And what is the reaction of the students when such a question comes up in German class? Are they happy about it, are they interested or do they get scared? So what do you usually get as a reaction?

Answer: Beyond the element of surprise, I feel a kind of joy that … the joy of discovery or the power of … curiosity, so that it is received positively, I don'treally feel that it would be a burden. (teacher_German_21)

Quote 78:

Question: And if we talk about the main skills, i.e. reading comprehension, listening comprehension, speaking and writing, in which of these skills can you reflect the differences between the varieties, even if it is not the most important thing?

Answer: With German, I find that, because there are so many different dialects, it's a bit frustrating for the language learner to ... realize how differently they speak in Hamburg than in Munich or ... or Vienna... and … (teacher_English_German_2)

Quote 79:

Question: How do your classmates or your peers in English and German class react when these kinds of differences come up in language classes? Are you happy about it, or do you find it scary, or couldn't care less? What is the general reaction to this?

Answer: Well, in a German class you might find it scary, but in an English class I don't think so. (learner_English_German_13)

Quote 80:

Question: You're saying that you tend to react rather negatively to such recordings, aha! And why do you think that is? So is it scary, or is it just not understandable, or is it annoying to have yet another complication in this stupid German language? Or how can you sum up your reaction in such a situation?

Interviewee: I think, I think it might be that in German we get scared because, for example, based on English we get used to, for example, the British spelling of *colour* [...] and for the Americans ... it's just *color*, the letter *u* is dropped, and then

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it's more these new things that scare the students, that they're encountering something they don't know.

Interviewer: And is the same fear present in English, if you encounter a difference like that, or ... or are you more confident there?

Interviewee: A lot more confident there, yes. I wouldn't be happy, I would say, if I got some Irish accent and so on in a language exam, but I think I could cope with it. (learner_English_German_5)

Quote 81:

Question: What is the teacher's role in all this?

Answer: […] A lot of students […] simply couldn't care less, but there are one or two more sophisticated ones, who … would be interested. (teacher_German_13)

Quote 82:

Question: If, for example, your language teacher points out or demonstrates some kind of variation in a language class, how do the learners react to that?

Answer: Well, some will say, "Wow, that's interesting!", and "I wouldn't have thought that", and "That's great!", and obviously there's the other side who says, "Leave me alone! I can't learn so much anyway, I'll forget it by the time I get home, I'm not interested." (learner_English_German_8)

Quote 83:

Question: How much does the language level of a learner influence whether or how you can show them the different varieties?

Interviewee: It's so interesting and all that. [...] On the other hand, some of these varieties are funny for the students. So I think … it's motivating, it's a kind of motivation. [...] Of course there are some students who are quite negative about German. They are very unimpressed. But ... but those who ... who are enthusiastic and ... and want to learn something, they do care, I think, definitely! [...] Well, and then those who are not so motivated, because you have to learn it...

Interviewer: They grumble … aha … a little bit.

Interviewee: Yes.

(teacher_German_18)

As is particularly apparent in the last three quotes (Quotes 81-83), it is also important to add that learners' reactions should not be seen as a homogenous entity either, since they depend on a wide range of factors, from the characteristics of the individual learners through the way pluricentricity is presented to them, all the way to the differences between the languages that are being taught, with the pluricentricity of English being somewhat easier to

digest according to several participants than that of German, due to the larger degree of its presence in their everyday lives, as suggested by the Quotes 78-80..

7.2.8. The role of the teacher

This code was also established beforehand, as were its two subcodes, the first one of which concentrated on how teachers deal with pluricentric presence in their learners' work. Simply put, I was interested to find out whether they accept different norms in students' oral and written performance or maybe take it as a mistake. The second subcode, then, was a much more general one, encompassing everything that was in some way related to the functions, tasks, and characteristics of the teacher.

With regard to correcting, most of the answers pointed towards a varying degree of openness from the part of the teachers, with 12 teachers explaining that they corrected but did not penalize students' pluricentric output, while 8 teachers and 5 learners highlighted that the use of different pluricentric norms was accepted, rather than corrected, in students' writing and speaking performance (cf. Quotes 84-88).

Quote 84:

Question: If you receive, say, an essay from one of your students, and they present different varieties in it, say, in the form of vocabulary, spelling, etc., how do you correct these essays?

Answer: I don't take it as a mistake, so I'll correct it, but I don't take it specifically as a mistake. (teacher_English_3)

Quote 85:

Question: What if in an essay they alternate between, say, British-American, say, spelling, or even phrases, or even bring in other national varieties? Then what do you do with that? How do you correct that text, that essay?

Answer: Well, um, a typical word is *color*, so they will spell it one way or the other. I usually correct it to British, but obviously not in a way that it counts as a mistake. I rather point out that it is correct both ways, but in principle we are learning British English, and that's how it's spelled there. (teacher_English_4)

Quote 86:

Question: Do you think it's important that when a language learner chooses a variety, they should stick to it in all circumstances, or are you permissive, say, towards mixing?

Answer: I don't underline it in an assignment if the learner sticks to standard American English, and then the word *colour* comes up with a *u*, then I say okay. I actually accept it as correct. I try not to be too stiff about it. (teacher_English_7)

Quote 87:

Question: If you receive an essay from a student in which he or she has written elements from different varieties, so there's an Austrian element, there's a Germany German structure, and there's something Swiss too, how do you react to that?

Answer: I'm very flexible and I think that I ... so I wouldn't underline anything, I ... I would accept everything. (teacher_German_16)

Quote 88:

Question: Have you ever heard that there are different variants of both English and German? Is this something that comes up in your classes?

Answer: Actually, my teacher would accept […] both: American English and British English. (learner_English_German_12)

Two teachers added that they often suggest alternatives, while one of them justified their accepting attitude by mentioning that in communicative language teaching, the focus should be on understanding rather than some kind of purist adherence to norms (see Quotes 89-90).

Quote 89:

Question: Let's say a language learner gives you a written product, a composition, a letter, whatever, which contains elements of different varieties. Let's say a mixture of Austrian German and Germany German. How do you react to that?

Answer: I think I'd mention that okay, that's the way it is there, but in Germany, let's say, this is the word or this is the expression that's used. (teacher_German_14)

Quote 90:

Question: If you come across a submitted paper or essay that contains elements from different varieties, what do you do?

Answer: Well, the emphasis here is on the teacher's understanding, on whether the text is understood in the way the student would have intended it to be understood by the recipient, [...] because we use language to make ourselves understood. So I think that the emphasis is definitely on ... understanding ... understanding the texts and making yourself understood. (teacher_English_German_1)

Additionally, 13 teachers and 2 learners also mentioned that such instances were discussed or commented on in some way, thus yielding an important opportunity for the incorporation of pluricentricity in classroom work. One of the teachers even remarked that they can easily turn this into some kind of an in-class activity or discussion, while another one stressed the importance of bringing these issues to the attention of the whole class (cf. Quotes 91-93).

Quote 91:

Question: If you get a written product, a composition, say, and it mixes British and American, let's just say these two, but it could also be any other variety, what do you do with that? You just said you accept it. Do you not even mark it, or do you comment on it?

Answer: I won't mark it, but I'll ask them afterwards, "Did you write it like that by accident?" [...] for example, and then we'll discuss that maybe they didn't mean it like that, but it's also ... it's good, it's correct. (teacher_English_10)

Quote 92:

Question: Let's say you get a piece of writing from a language learner in which they bring in elements from here and there, so there are American elements, British elements, Australian elements, etc. – let's imagine that – what do you do?

Answer: Well then let's say it would be an interesting challenge I think, to either group the words, to see which is which, or ... or, if you spell the words with an *s* or a *z*. [...] So, yes. Well, then you can ... starting from that ... starting from that maybe discuss where they have met those expressions. So that they can link them to something. (teacher_English_German_9)

Quote 93:

Question: If, for example, you receive an essay from a student, and he or she mainly uses, say, Germany German, but also incorporates elements of Austrian or Swiss German here and there, how do you react? Or even orally, in an oral exam, or just in a conversation...

Answer: In any case, I would acknowledge it ... and I draw the attention of the group, mostly with the permission of the person, that [...] well, there are elements like that, and how cool... (teacher_German_21)

Moreover, 6 teachers went as far as saying that they even praised their students if they recognized the use of different pluricentric norms in their writing or speech, and this kind of positive evaluation was reported by 3 learners too (cf. Quotes 94-95).

Quote 94:

Question: If a student gives you a product – say, a written one – in which they have used multiple varieties, how do you correct it? Or do you correct it at all?

Answer: "It's so cool that you're so creative and did this!" I wouldn't correct it, God forbid! (teacher_German_15)

Quote 95:

Question: What do you think, if you were to write an essay and it had elements of British, American, Australian, etc., so multiple varieties, how would your teacher react to that?

Interviewee: Well, I'm sure my teacher would be very, very happy about that, because she's always tried to make sure that we're as diverse as possible in, you know, in speaking and knowing English. And yes, knowing her, I'm sure she'd be amazed at the expressions that are in it.
Interviewer: Okay, and then would she praise you?
Interviewee: Yes! I'm sure she would.
(learner_English_3)

Still on the accepting side, 3 teachers referred to the washback effect of exams, which in their understanding meant that pluricentric forms had to be accepted because of the exam requirements that tend to be generally tolerant in this regard, while 2 of them also added that coherence had to be promoted (cf. Quote 96).

Quote 96:

Question: If, for example, a language learner gives you a product, say an essay, which has a mixture of British and American elements, I mean spelling, vocabulary, even grammar, what do you do with it? How do you correct that essay?

Interviewee: In the matura exam it was requested that if [...] for example […] if the student writes *favourite* without a *u*, then it had to be accepted. It was just a condition at the time that you ... you had to, so you had to logically keep it all the way through, so you had to put it in the same way in *colour...*
Interviewer: To remain consistent.
Interviewee: Yes, so that ... that's how much I remember, this is what we were asked to do. (teacher_English_6)

This was backed up by another 4 teachers too, who explained that they only corrected the use of different pluricentric norms if it involved mixing those norms within a single (written or spoken) performance (cf. Quote 97).

Quote 97:

Question: Suppose you receive an essay from a student, and in this essay they write, or try to write in, say, predominantly Germany German, but for some reason they include elements of, say, Austrian or Swiss. What do you do?

Interviewee: If they use it all mixed up, then obviously I'm not subtracting any scores for that, but then I have to indicate ...er... which one it is, and why this one. So ... or then justify it, and next time don't use it that way in my opinion. Not all mixed up.

Interviewer: Okay. What does "all mixed up" mean? Can you explain that briefly?

Interviewee: So that ... that ... I don't know ... so that we don't start with just ... just Swiss and then Austrian at the end. Or the greeting is like this and the salutation is like that, then it's

Interviewer: So that they are consistent to some extent.

Interviewee: … that's confusing, but ... but I'm not going to tell them off for it anyway. I praise them for looking it up, if perhaps...

Interviewer: If that's even conscious on their part, right? So it's possible that they don't even know what the've used...

Interviewee: Yes. I'm saying that then it has to be made clear that this one is this, and that one is that! So it should be included in the correction. (teacher_German_18)

On the negative side, however, 4 teachers and 6 learners talked about taking pluricentric language use as a definitive mistake, with a teacher and a student adding that these mistakes only get penalized if the forms in question have been covered in class before. Two students even recalled getting reprimanded by their teachers for this, but they added that this was more typical at a younger age, and that their teachers seem to be more lenient in this regard as they have become more proficient (Quotes 98-100).

Quote 98:

Question: If we take a concrete example, suppose you get a piece of written work, let's say a composition from a student, and that student uses several varieties within that one piece of work. Then what do you do?

Answer: So, if I receive a set of tasks, let's say there's a gapfill text in it, and there's a spelling mistake, then I correct it, so if it doesn't fit in with British English, I correct it, yes. (teacher_English_11)

Quote 99:

Question: If you think back to your own German or English teachers, let's take the imaginary situation now, where you hand in an essay, say, and you write it in

Germany German or British English, and you throw in an Austrian or, say, an American phrase or two. Now, how does your good old German or English teacher react to that?

Answer: […] But I think it also depends on what the teacher has covered. If they have specifically pointed out that you should use this word, because ... I don't know why, then ... they should not accept it, but if ... if we haven't even learnt this word, but the student writes it in their composition for some reason, then they can accept it, and I think my teacher did it well. So for me it's not ... so I've never had a problem with that. (learner_English_German_8)

Quote 100:

Question: And this can cause difficulties? Or how do you feel about the fact that British English predominates at school, but American English might be closer to you? You said you don't really understand why that is. Could you talk a bit more about how you see this duality?

Answer: […] The teachers told us not to use the American one but the British one. […] Yeah, when ... when I was in seventh grade … and we were in seventh grade. Probably because we're older now, we're allowed a bit more. (learner_English_German_5)

Another learner refined the positive vs. negative dichotomy by adding that in their experience, pluricentric presence was usually not considered a mistake, or it was even encouraged, in the case of speaking, while it was corrected and commented on in the case of writing, which they interpreted as part of the washback effect of language exams, even though it points in the opposite direction of the kind of washback effect mentioned by several teachers (see above).

Another noteworthy remark concerning the topic of correction that was made by 4 teachers is that they do not necessarily recognize the different varieties, which may result in them overlooking relevant instances in this regard (Quote 101).

Quote 101:

Question: And if you get, say, a piece of writing from your students, an essay in which they alternate, mix and match - I shouldn't have said it like that - but mix different varieties, what do you do with that? Do you leave it, underline it, correct it, comment on it? What do you do with it?

Answer: Well, the truth is that I could be fooled. So I don't think for a single moment that I can recognise and identify all the different varieties very accurately. (teacher_English_12)

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Consequently, 2 teachers added that they always look up phrases or structures that they are unsure about before marking them as mistakes, which sometimes brings them to the conclusion that they are in fact dealing with pluricentric forms rather than ungrammaticalities (Quote 102).

> **Quote 102:**
>
> Question: If, for example, a language learner gives you a product, say an essay, which has a mixture of British and American elements, I mean spelling, vocabulary, even grammar, what do you do with it? How do you correct that essay?
>
> Answer: […] And if I didn't happen to understand it, because they used a word like that, then I looked it up to see where it might occur. (teacher_English_6)

In some way connected to this observation is a comment made by one of the learners, namely that teachers cannot be expected to be familiar with every variety, thus, it is possible that they regard something as a mistake without meaning to discriminate against any variety (Quote 103).

> **Quote 103:**
>
> Question: If you think back to your own German or English teachers, let's take the imaginary situation now, where you hand in an essay, say, and you write it in Germany German or British English, and you throw in an Austrian or, say, an American phrase or two. Now, how does your good old German or English teacher react to that?
>
> Answer: […] But I think it also depends on how familiar the teacher is with these varieties. So, if they don't know something, they might underline it out of ignorance, because why should they know all the varieties? So I think that's an unreasonable expectation. (learner_English_German_8)

This is, of course, a legitimate argument, and, coupled with the above claim about teachers' inability to recognize the different varieties, indicates the need for incorporating pluricentricity in teacher training, as has been mentioned before. However, it should also be clarified that the focus in pluricentricity oriented language teaching should still be on perception, rather than production, which makes this entire issue concerning the correction of students' pluricentric output somewhat less central.

Finally, a closing comment about this subcode has to be included here about the observation made by a learner, namely, that in her experience, the question of whether students' pluricentric output is evaluated positively or negatively by their teachers is a

relevant one only in the case of English, as the problem never occurs in German, where students are not really exposed to the different varieties that much (Quote 104).

> **Quote 104:**
>
> Question: If you think back to your own German or English teachers, let's take the imaginary situation now, where you hand in an essay, say, and you write it in Germany German or British English, and you throw in an Austrian or, say, an American phrase or two. Now, how does your good old German or English teacher react to that?
>
> Answer: In fact, in English, I'm almost certain that this has occurred. However, I don't think it's happened much in German. That's probably in part because even in an ethnic German heritage class you have to seek out the student who watches films in German. They prefer English ... and the same with series. And ... and they haven't been to those countries very much. (learner_English_German_8)

This is yet another instance where this kind of duality between English and German surfaces, as has been discussed earlier on, with several participants repeatedly referring to students' lack of exposure to German in general outside of school, not to mention its non-dominant varieties, which is in contrast with the situation of English, where today's learners seem to be surrounded by the language in their everyday lives.

The second subcode, then, concerns the functions and characterisics of teachers. Here, the most commonly painted picture depicted the teacher as a source and model (mentioned 9 times by teachers and 7 times by learners), whose primary task in this regard is to raise the awareness of pluricentricity (as mentioned 8 times by teachers and 6 times by learners), but also to bring authentic materials into the classroom (6 teachers and 4 learners). Furthermore, the importance of personal experience in the target language area was also highlighted quite frequently (6 times by teachers and by one of the learners too). For a few examples of coded segments from this subcode, to illustrate the above points, see Quotes 105-108.

> **Quote 105:**
>
> Question: Do you think the level of language learners influences the extent to which different varieties can be incorporated into language teaching?
>
> Answer: […] And I personally speak, you know, American English, so that's what the kids hear from me in English class. [...] The role of the teacher is enormous, because the dialect that I speak, they - like it or not - they're going to learn it to some extent. Right? Because ... because if a child has language classes every ... every day, almost every day, in fact, every day, then if they hear my voice and that dialect, and

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if they also have to do most of their homework, now that we're talking about English, I usually give them American English audio materials, then ... then ... then ... then they will learn that first and foremost, and they will take it for granted, they will ... their ears will be attuned to it. (teacher_English_German_2)

Quote 106:

Question: And how do you see the role of the teacher in this? I mean, in getting the students to learn about as many different varieties as possible, or even just to make a choice. So, in this whole question, if you had to formulate the role of the teacher, how would you do that?

Answer: So I think that the teacher has a greater … great role to play in it, actually, to … to familiarise the children with this. Because in this way they can show that there is not only one kind of English, not only one kind of British English, not only one kind of American English, but much more. And it's a way of showing how much more diverse it really is than it seems at first sight. (learner_English_1)

Quote 107:

Question: And what is the teacher's role or the teacher's task in this?

Answer: Well, I think it's good ... definitely, if you can make students aware that... that there are such things. Even if it's just with a video, a game, whatever, so that ... they know that it's ... it's not a dialect, it's a variety. Because I, for example, I didn't really know what the difference was, or even that they existed like that or I don't know. (learner_English_German_8)

Quote 108:

Question: And how much do the different language levels play a role in this? Do you think it is possible to deal with this kind of thing with beginners?

Answer: […] Of course, they know that I also go to Germany and Austria a lot, and we discuss these things a lot. (teacher_German_16)

An interesting duality can be observed between teachers' and learners' perceptions of the role of the teacher in this regard, with 5 teachers and only 1 learner referring to the teacher as a prompter who develops learner autonomy, while 3 learners (and none of the teacheers) saw the teacher primarily as an explainer, whose job is mainly to describe the pluricentric nature of the given language to the learners (cf. Quotes 109 and 110).

Quote 109:

Question: What do you think is the role of the teacher in presenting multiple language varieties? Or what is the teacher's job?

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Answer: I think it's a kind of orienting, right? So, to ... to give such a ... sort of a little support to ... to help the child go on. How they can orientate themselves in terms of what they can find in which direction, so if they go this way or that way, there ... what awaits them there. So that ... to have a ... to have a ... to have a foundation that ... that they can build on, wherever they go. So I'm thinking of a ... little support like that. (teacher_German_21)

Quote 110:

Question: And what is the role of the teacher in all this?)

Answer: If the student is interested, the teacher can explain to them how it works. (learner_English_German_4)

In truth, of course, both observations are correct, as suggested by the 3 learners and 1 teacher who remark that the role of the teacher really depends on his or her personality, methodological background, preferences, etc. (Quote 111). Yet, it is interesting to see that teachers seem to be more aware of the importance of learner autonomy than the learners themselves, which might be explained by the fact that the entire learning–teaching process is more of a conscious procedure for them than for the learners, who are more or less guided through it by their teachers.

Quote 111:

Question: What is the role of the teacher in all this?

Answer: Again, this […] depends very much on the teacher. I've had quite a few language teachers. And everyone teaches differently, obviously. So now, what's their role? Well, obviously they introduce you to it, they bring the material, and they're the one who gives the lesson, who directs it. So that's their role. So how they do that depends on what they are like. Because I think that forcing certain methods on people in this way makes no sense either. (learner_English_German_6)

Another duality to mention here concerns the knowledge of the teacher. While 2 teachers and 2 learners suggest that in order to incorporate pluricentricity in language learning, the teacher has to be knowledgeable about it, and prepare for this task, which, again, according to 2 teachers, is their responsibility, another 2 teachers complain that they lack this appropriate knowledge (cf. Quotes 112-113). This, again, underlines the importance of teacher training and in-service training in terms of providing both prospective and practicing tachers with the necessary knowledge about pluricentricity, but also in terms of working

against the misconceptions that some of them seem to hold about having to be a competent user of all the varieties if one wishes to include them in his or her teaching.

> **Quote 112:**
>
> Question: And what is the role of the teacher in all this?
>
> Answer: I think a teacher needs to be aware of ... what differences there are in which varieties, and what is used in which one. (learner_English_German_4)

> **Quote 113:**
>
> Question: So then what is the role of the teacher?
>
> Answer: I definitely feel that my knowledge of the subject is quite limited. So, there are a few words, like what is a carrot in Austrian and Germany German and I don't know what, but apart from that it's very little. (teacher_English_German_9)

In connection with some of the concrete tasks that a pluricentricity-oriented language teaching imposes on teachers, 2 teachers and a learner mentioned systematizing the materials that can be found and put to use in class, deciding on what is appropriate at what level, for what age groups, etc (cf. Quote 114).

> **Quote 114:**
>
> Question: What is the teacher's role in incorporating the different varieties into language teaching?
>
> Answer: Well, the role of the teacher is definitely to ... to systematise, and to dose these things at different levels. Because that is what I see as our main task, to give an experience of success at every level, and not an experience of failure, and obviously here, as ... I'll talk about it later, different varieties can be used at different levels. (teacher_English_German_1)

In some sense, this means having to tailor pluricentric teaching to the learners' needs, which was also mentioned by 2 teachers and 2 learners too, further supporting – as has been mentioned before – Muhr (1996b), Knipf-Komlósi (2001), as well as Marlina (2014, 2018)'s observations in this regard.

7.2.9. The benefits of pluricentric teaching

This is, again, a code that has been designed a priori, i.e. before the coding procedure itself, but the distinction between its two subcodes (practical vs. philosophical) was made as part of the coding process, as it turned out to be a relevant distinction, separating two very different sets of coded segments. The practical benefits seem to clearly outnumber the

philosophical ones, with 52 coded segments tagged with the former, and 22 with the latter subcode.

Within the practical subcode, the benefit that has been highlighted the most frequently by the participants (16 times by teachers, and 9 times by learners) was that being familiar with the pluricentricity of the given language definitely comes in handy when visiting the target language area, as suggested by Quote 115.

> **Quote 115:**
>
> Question: To learn about the different varieties, what's good about it, or why is it important?
>
> Answer: Well, I think on the one hand because you can expand your own knowledge to a great extent with this, and you won't get lost in Austria or Germany if you go there, because you can definitely say something about things. (learner_German_16)

Similarly, working or studying in one of the target language countries was also named rather frequently (3 times by teachers and 8 times by learners), for instance in Quote 118.

> **Quote 116:**
>
> Question: Why is it good for students to know that there are different varieties of German?
>
> Answer: It is not only that I can find a job in Germany with this language, but also in neighbouring countries (learner_English_German_9)

As it seems, one does not have to leave their home country to exploit the benefits of pluricentric language teaching, though, as a better understanding of movies, series, books, TV shows, song lyrics, and the like was referred to multiple times as well (3 times by teachers and once by a learner). Even though Quote 117 contains a mixup of British vs. American English, it is a valuable example of how helpful some participants feel it is to be familiar with the different standard varieties when it comes to understanding the aforementioned sources.

> **Quote 117:**
>
> Question: You said it's good to get an insight into the different varieties. But exactly what are the benefits?
>
> Answer: If you watch any film or series, it helps with comprehension if you know the different varieties. And even when reading a text, for example, if there are two variants of the word "elevator": in American English it's *lift* and in British English

it's *elevator*, and if in a book it's written as *elevator*, we understand that it's a lift. (learner_English_German_13)

Staying within the classroom, another frequently highlighted benefit was that the inclusion of pluricentricity in the language learning process makes the classes more interesting, as mentioned 6 times by teachers, but it has also been highlighted by one of the teachers that through this kind of content, they can activate those learners as well who otherwise lag behind, which means that there is no need for differentiation, and it has a positive influence on the learners' confidence when speaking, while oftentimes the teacher also learns something new, not to mention that they can remain credible in the eyes of the learners by not sticking to one single variety. Quotes 118-121aim to demonstrate the great amount of variation in the kinds of practical benefits mentioned by the participants.

Quote 118:

Question: What do learners gain from knowing about this linguistic diversity?

Answer: It's really nice if you can make things more ... colourful this way. (teacher_German_19)

Quote 119:

Question: And how do your students react when you point out diversity?

Answer: […] But what's really good about it is that ... it's also activating for those who ... who would otherwise be left behind. (teacher_English_7)

Quote 120:

Question: If, for example, you receive an essay from a student, and your student mixes elements of different varieties in it, how do you react?

Answer: Perhaps I learn something new too. (teacher_German_17)

Quote 121:

Question: And the fact that your students after a while know that there are different national varieties of English, do you think that's an advantage for them at any level, anywhere? If it is an advantage, why is it an advantage, if not, why not?

Answer: I think it's an advantage in terms of pronunciation. On the one hand, because … encouraging some people to speak in class, I think that's the biggest task, and very often it's the case that somebody mispronounces a word, for example, and they get ridiculed … and so getting ridiculed can be eliminated very quickly by saying that … this is how we pronounce it, but there are so many different kinds of

English that it's possible that somebody might say it in this way, but it's just not the most beautiful way or it doesn't sound so good. And then here … I've used this a few times, like … like "why are you laughing at this now? Maybe someone pronounces it like this. Even in Hungarian, some people say certain things this way, others that way." So it's very good for this. [...] Because if I were to tell them that this word can only be pronounced this way, and the following day, in a series, it will be pronounced five times in a row in a different way, then they won't believe anything I say any more. (teacher_English_4)

Moving on to the philosophical subcode, themes like widening the learners' horizon (mentioned twice by teachers and once by a learner), opening up the world for them (3 teachers), adding to their world view (1 teacher) have been mentioned, in the spirit of multicultural education (as highlighted by 2 teachers and 1 learner) – cf. Quotes 122-124.

Quote 122:

Question: Do you think these varieties should have a role in the language learning of a beginner, or would it only make it more difficult for beginners?

Answer: I think it's a good thing when you don't just learn the literary, textbook variety of German, but you broaden your horizon a bit more, and then you tend to lean towards other things as well, not just the textbook German that everyone learns. (learner_English_German_7)

Quote 123:

Question: What do learners gain from knowing about this linguistic diversity?

Answer: So it opens up the world for them, so that they don't have a compartmentalised way of thinking. So it definitely helps to build their worldview. (teacher_German_19)

Quote 124:

Question: What do you think is the point of incorporating this kind of diversity in language teaching, the diversity of varieties?

Answer: Well, basically multicultural education, I think. It has this sociological background. (teacher_English_11)

The above quotes seem to strengthen the observation that, in the participants' way of thinking, the role of linguistic diversity in the foreign language classroom is not limited to the standard-centered pluricentric framework. What these answers suggest is that the speakers are very much aware that linguistic diversity goes hand in hand with cultural diversity, and that its inclusion in the process of language learning can have an impact on the learners' worldview and knowledge about the world in general. Again, what we see here is the notion of diversity occupying the most central position in the participants' set of ideas on the topic rather than the dichotomy between the standard vs. the non-standard.

7.2.10. Mixing varieties

Mixing varieties refers to the practice of blending together certain elements from different varieties of the given language in one's speech and/or writing, as opposed to sticking to one of them at all times. This is a natural phenomenon that occurs with learners of pluricentric languages as it would be rather difficult to avoid, and it very rarely hinders understanding (cf. Clyne and Sharifian, 2008), yet, it is commonly seen as problematic by language educators who embrace more of a purist kind of attitude (cf. Muhr, 2018). This code was also created beforehand, as well as its two subcodes, i.e. the negative and the positive one. Obviously, the negative subcode has been assigned to interview segments (37 of them, to be precise) where the participants express a negative attitude towards the mixing of varieties, while the positive one contains segments (48 of them) where positive attitudes are expressed. As can be seen based on the number of coded segments on each side, this is a rather polarizing issue, and several participants found it difficult to decide which side to take, as a result of which sometimes the same participant expressed both positive and negative attitudes.

To take a look at concrete examples from the interviews, consider Quotes 125-126, in which teachers formulate their negative opinion on the mixing of varieties:

Quote 125:

Question: Introduce yourself as a language teacher in a few sentences.

Answer: […] I think that, since I teach in a primary school, I think that the teaching of varieties would be more appropriate at a higher level, at university or above an intermediate level. So in a primary school, I don't think so. That's my opinion. And then I don't know if I'm right, but I don't think you can expect either teachers or children to ... here it's German ... literary German ... that we teach. (teacher_German_13)

Quote 126:

Question: What do you think about the attitude that many people have, that it is important to choose a variety, and then stick to it under all circumstances?

Answer: Well, I think it is important on some level to stick to one, and I think that is the language used and spoken in Germany, obviously Hochdeutsch, not ... not in the different provinces. [...] No, it's Hochdeutsch! You have to stick to that. (teacher_German_14)

As far as supporting arguments are concerned, the most frequently formulated ones include a need for coherence (mentioned by 11 teachers and 2 learners) – cf. Quote 127.

Quote 127:

Question: If we take a concrete example, suppose you get a piece of written work, let's say a composition from a student, and that student uses several varieties within that one piece of work. Then what do you do?

Answer: Well, it should be ... it should be consistent all along. So then you have to choose, then you have to weed out ... if there are discrepancies within an official letter, it won't work. So ... I urge them to choose, or to choose one or the other. (teacher_English_11)

Furthermore, the washback effect of language exam requirements is also referred to 3 times by teachers, for instance in Quote 128. (This time, the washback effect is, from a pluricentric standpoint, a negative one, undermining pluricentric presence in language education.)

Quote 128:

Question: Okay, so you don't have this kind of insistence on a single variety?

Interviewee: Actually, maybe with this girl, who's preparing for C1 ... C1 and she's very good, and she watches a lot of Netflix, so she's really into American English, and I always tell her that … that she shouldn't use this or that phrase in the language exam, so she shouldn't … shouldn't use it. I told her that … she had better opt for British English and … and I told her that she will find British English in textbooks, but it doesn't really bother me, and I don't think she'll have a problem with it in the oral exam. Maybe in writing, that...
Interviewer: In writing, what do you see? What do you think she might have a problem with?
Interviewee: Well, it's more that she should use it systematically, so that she can use one or the other, but purely. (teacher_English_German_9)

From the students' perspective, there have been two comments about mixing varieties being confusing, and focusing on one variety being easier (see Quote 129).

Quote 129:

Question: Some people say that it's advisable to decide which variety of the language you want to learn, whether it's Swiss German or Germany German or Austrian German or, I don't know, Canadian English, British English, etc. and then pick that one and stick to it in all circumstances. What do you think about that?

Answer: […] Because then you would really only have to focus on one thing, and you wouldn't be bothered by how the other variety uses the words or in what way. (learner_English_German_7)

Finally, a rather insightful coded segment is the one in which a learner suggests that it is enough to concentrate on Germany German in school, and then you can learn the variety of your area if you end up living somewhere later on in life (Quote 130).

Quote 130:

Question: What do you think about whether it is worthwhile for a language learner to choose which variety to learn? Let's say it's Austrian German or Germany German or Swiss German, and then stick to that variety in all circumstances and not mix them?

Interviewee: I think you learn basic German, and then life will decide which language area you're going to work in, or which language, which language area you're going to use, so to speak, and then you'll learn it accordingly. So you have to adapt.

Interviewer: So you're saying … you have said that you have to learn the basic German language, does that mean that this variability … it's not important for it to be a part of our German language learning process, or … or … or how do you understand that, that you should learn basic German?

Interviewee: Learn school German. So ... so Germany German. (learner_English_German_9)

To provide a smooth transition from negative attitudes to positive ones, let us now consider a few coded segments that are already on the positive side, but still acknowledge some of the aspects pointed out in the previously described negative opinions. This moderately positive attitude, so to speak, is reflected in the suggestion that one should pick a primary variety but not exclude the others either (suggested by 3 teachers and one of the

learners), but also in the comment that mixing is to be tolerated only in speech (suggested by a teacher) – cf. Quotes 131-132.

Quote 131:

Question: Ah, so you think it's better to choose one and learn that, and not to mix so much, am I right?

Interviewee: I'd rather say that there should be one main one, and I think it's Germany German, because I think it's easier to learn at first, and ... it's more self-evident, or I don't know, maybe it's more self-evident for us, but the pronunciation also practically always reflects the spelling. Of course, there are some things that you have to learn, but I think that ... it's easier to learn first, from that perspective. And then again, because … because Germany is bigger than Austria.
Interviewer: Yes, yes, yes. It's more dominant.
Interviewee: I think that Germany German should definitely be the primary one, and Austrian German should be introduced as an interesting subject, because I don't think there is enough time to develop it properly. (learner_English_German_8)

Quote 132:

Question: Only in writing, or in speech as well? Are you saying that they should choose one, whichever one they want, but then stick to it?

Answer: I would not … not discriminate in speech. (teacher_English_8)

Then, on the positive side, 6 teachers and 4 students simply stated that the mixing of varieties was acceptable, with the gist of their justifications ranging from the fact that it is natural, through the beauty and importance of diversity, all the way to the observation that it is communication and intelligibility that should matter primarily (see Quotes 133-135).

Quote 133:

Question: What do you think about whether it is worth insisting that students always choose and favour a particular variety?

Answer: You should develop your own English, it's going to be your own English ... so your accent, your pronunciation is going to be your own English. So it's a natural thing. (teacher_English_12)

Quote 134:

Question: What do you think about the principle that a language learner should choose a particular variety and stick to it in all circumstances? So if they learn

Germany German, they should stick to that, if they learn Austrian German, then that, if they learn Swiss German, then that, and so on. What do you think about this?

Answer: Well, I think that … that diversity is important. (teacher_German_16)

Quote 135:

Question: Do you think age and language level influence how you can incorporate the different language varieties into your language teaching?

Answer: […] I do not require them to stick to one or the other. It doesn't even bother me if they mix them, so it doesn't matter if they say *roundabout* or *traffic circle*. The main thing is that I should be able to understand them. (teacher_English_11)

Furthermore, 3 learners remarked that they were inevitably already learning a mix even at school, with 2 of them adding that their teachers did not criticize them for it. Similarly, 2 teachers also regarded their own variety as a mix in itself. (See Quotes 136-137.)

Quote 136:

Question: You mentioned that with German, it's relatively self-evident that Germany German comes first. In the case of English, you said that there was more of a British dominance at school. Do you think that's right, is it self-evident, or is it a different situation? How do you see that?

Answer: […] And with the English we learn at school, films are also easy to understand. Anyway, I don't know, I think we learn a mix like that, or I have no idea. I never really knew that. (learner_English_German_8)

Quote 137:

Question: What do you think about whether the language level of your students, and even their age, plays any role in how you can show them the different varieties?

Answer: […] Unfortunately, I speak a kind of English that – I think – what we've been taught is not good, so I mix them. Anyway. There are words that I'm sure I pronounce in an American way, but basically our book, it's British English, it follows that very strictly. (teacher_English_4)

As has already been pointed out earlier, one can never foresee which particular variety the learners are going to need in the future (cf. Muhr, 1996b; Knipf-Komlósi, 2001; or Marlina, 2014, 2018). Hence, according to the train of thoughts of one of the teachers, mixing varieties serves the interest of the learners more than adhering to a single one of them in a puristic kind of way (Quote 138).

Quote 138:

Question: What do you think about the principle that a language learner should choose a particular variety and stick to it in all circumstances? So if they learn Germany German, they should stick to that, if they learn Austrian German, then that, if they learn Swiss German, then that, and so on. What do you think about this?

Answer: […] Because well, if you get to know one, then the rest is ... it's left out, and ... and if you happen to need exactly that in your life, then ... it's left out of your life. I think that an overall picture is very, very important. (teacher_German_16)

Finally, one of the learners went as far as calling into question the existence of pure varieties in the first place (Quote 139), which is surprisingly in line with what the literature claims, especially regarding English as an international language (cf. Clyne and Sharifian, 2008; Graddol, 2006; or Seidlhofer, 2009).

Quote 139:

Question: How important do you think it is to choose which variety you learn, and then stick to it?

Answer: Actually, you can let that go and then you learn English in a way that you can speak it properly, but I don't really know if there is such a thing as pure... (learner_English_14)

Once again, the above quotes demonstrate the fact that the speakers' set of notions and constructs surrounding the topic of linguistic diversity in the foreign language classroom seem to go beyond the standard-centered framework of pluricentricity. In their answers, they touch upon questions that are a lot more complex than a mere standard vs. non-standard distinction, which is probably a matter of laypeople's concepts tending to be generally less clear-cut, but at the same time also more inclusive than strictly codified theoretical models, but it does not necessarily mean that they mutually exclude each other.

7.2.11. Activities

This section is devoted to the kinds of activities that can be used in order to include pluricentricity in language teaching. Two of the three subcodes that make up this code (activities used in and out of class) were created beforehand, as was the code itself, of course, while the third subcode, the one about skills and systems, was added while the coding procedure was already ongoing, as it turned out to be a topic addressed so frequently by the participants that it would have been wrong to incorporate it into any of the other two subcodes. Actually, this subcode ended up as the largest of all subcodes (and codes) in the

entire coding frame, encompassing 199 coded segments. (As for the other two subcodes of the code in question, the one about in-class activities was attached to 48 coded segments, and the one about out-of-class ones to 26, which makes them average in size.)

To start with the largest subcode, let us examine the one about skills and systems first. Here, the terms *skill* and *system* are to be understood as the four basic skills of communicative language teaching: reading, writing, listening, and speaking, and the various levels of the system of language that complement and intertwine them, such as grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, spelling, politeness rules, target language culture, etc. (cf. Scrivener, 2011).

Regarding the four skills, the overwhelming majority of the participants seemed to agree with what the literature has to say about the primacy of the receptive skills in terms of the integration of pluricentricity into language teaching (Muhr, 1996b; Glauninger, 2001), with listening skills mentioned 59 times, reading 25 times, and the two together by two more participants. (The proportions are roughly the same across teachers and learners here, which is why I am not breaking down the numbers into those two categories.) See Quotes 140-142 for a few examples.

Quote 140:

Question: What activities can you use in class, or even out of class, through which you can demonstrate the different varieties?

Answer: Actually, when they read. […] Well, the listening tasks, definitely there. (teacher_English_10)

Quote 141:

Question: You mentioned reading and listening comprehension, right. If we take the four skills, then there's writing and speaking, too. Does this linguistic diversity play any role in those? Or is it limited to reading and listening?

Answer: So the first two, listening and reading comprehension, focus on understanding what I'm being told. [...] And I think that if a child goes to Austria, it doesn't matter whether it's for a holiday or to study or to work, their primary task will be to understand […] what is said to them, or to be able to understand the world there through reading. So I think that at the level of language variation, they need these two things first and foremost. (teacher_German_21)

Quote 142:

Question: Do you think that your level of English plays a role in the extent to which different varieties can be learned, or made part of the learning process?

Answer: […] I, for example, found it very helpful that we did a lot of listening. So that I can understand pretty much all of them, even if I don't know exactly where they are from. (learner_English_3)

In contrast, the compatibility of speaking skills with pluricentricity was mentioned by only 16 participants, and that of writing only by 7, while 10 participants claimed the opposite about writing, and 5 about writing and speaking together (i.e. that they are not appropriate for the incorporation of pluricentricity). An additional two participants remarked that the productive skills (i.e. speaking and writing) are only compatible with pluricentricity at a later stage, i.e. after the receptive ones. Quotes 143-147 contain a few examples of this plethora of observations.

Quote 143:

Question: Then there is speaking and writing. What do you think about those? Do they play any role in this?

Answer: Well, I think it's definitely a good thing for speaking. (learner_German_16)

Quote 144:

Question: So far you have mentioned listening, that it can play a role in teaching varieties. If we look at the other three, reading, speaking and writing, what do you think of them from this point of view?

Answer: Well, if you take playful tasks, then speaking or writing can also come up. (learner_German_8)

Quote 145:

Question: So of these, speaking, listening, reading, writing, which one do you think is involved in all of this, that there are different varieties of language?

Answer: I wouldn't say writing or speaking because there it's us who do the writing and the speaking. [...] So we use whichever we want. [...] And we don't have a predefined ... um ... text in front of us, like in reading. (learner_English_German_4)

Quote 146:

Question: What exercises or activities could you mention that could be used to introduce these varieties to students, either in class or out of class?

Answer: I was rather trying to enable them to understand, so that in the case of a listening task they know what it is about. They do not necessarily have to be able to use it. (teacher_German_13)

Quote 147:

Question: If we take the four basic skills of communicative language teaching, that is ... reading comprehension, listening comprehension, speaking and writing skills, you mentioned that you can definitely incorporate this into listening comprehension. Is there a possibility in the others, or do you think it's good in the first place, to highlight the differences, the diversity of varieties, in the other skills? What do you think about that?

Answer: What they produce is ... it's really ... so I think they have so much work to do to put it together ... or especially with writing, to even pay attention to the varieties, well, it only happens at a very, very high level. (teacher_English_12)

Here again, as several times before, one participant (a learner) made a comment about pluricentricity playing a greater role in the case of English than in German, with respect to the four skills as well (Quote 148).

Quote 148:

Question: Have you ever had a teacher in your German studies ...um... bring up Austrian or Swiss ...um... content, say, for fun, or even ...um... in a more serious way?

Interviewee: Well, um, not really.
Interviewer: Uh-huh. And in the case of English? British English, American English and other Englishes, did that question come up?
Interviewee: Yes, it was much [...] more frequent. For example, if there was a word that Americans use, but British people don't, my teacher would specifically point out that you use it in America, but it won't be understood everywhere. (learner_English_German_7)

As has been mentioned before, in communicative language teaching, the four basic skills are intertwined with what Scrivener (2011) calls language systems, such as vocabulary, grammar, spelling, pronunciation, etc. It is precisely this interconnectedness of the two areas that allows us to proceed gradually from the one to the other, continuing now with those coded segments which focus on both. To be more precise, two learners mentioned that it is through reading that pluricentric vocabulary can be introduced, two teachers referred to the same connection between writing, spelling and vocabulary, and one teacher also highlighted that spelling differences readily lend themselves to being thematised in reading materials. (See Quotes 149-150.)

Quote 149:

Question: If we take the four basic skills of communicative language teaching, that is ... reading comprehension, listening comprehension, speaking and writing skills, you mentioned that you can definitely incorporate this into listening comprehension. Is there a possibility in the others, or do you think it's good in the first place, to highlight the differences, the diversity of varieties, in the other skills? What do you think about that?

Answer: Let's say, in a reading text, pointing out spelling differences between British English and American English, or ... or in vocabulary usage, that's probably one of those more tangible things. (teacher_English_12)

Quote 150:

Question: What tasks or activities can you use in your language teaching to show these different varieties?

Answer: […] to formulate a letter in such a way that ... you take the vocabulary that is used more by the British or more by the Americans. (teacher_English_8)

Having established this crucial link between skills and systems, let us narrow down our focus now to systems only. Here, the role of vocabulary seems to be the most dominant, with 49 mentions, and one additional comment about the presence of pluricentricity being the most salient of all in this area (see Quotes 151-153).

Quote 151:

Question: And for which skills or areas do you think these varieties can be incorporated?

Answer: Well, the vocabulary, of course! (teacher_English_German_1)

Quote 152:

Question: In what areas of the language is there variation that in your experience can be important for the language learner to learn?

Answer: Vocabulary is what I tend to emphasize. (teacher_German_21)

Quote 153:

Question: Do you feel any difference in what aspects of the differences between varieties you show to, say, a more advanced group in senior section, and a junior-section group?

Answer: What I find is that the biggest ... for them ... the most striking ... it's the vocabulary. (teacher_English _6)

Vocabulary is then followed by pronunciation (36 mentions), and the two are mentioned together by an additional two participants (cf. Quotes 154-155). Furthermore, one of the respondents even refers to the interconnectedness of vocabulary and pronunciation, making it clear that the one cannot really be handled without the other, and vice versa (Quote 156).

Quote 154:

Question: Do you think age and language level influence how you can incorporate the different varieties into your language teaching?

Answer: […] So, there are some pronunciation differences, stress differences, so for example *advertisement*, and so on. (teacher_English_11)

Quote 155:

Question: And when you say that you deal with it in a class or in the name of exam preparation, what kind of activities does that mean? How can you incorporate these varieties?

Answer: American English words, British English words. Then there is usually a separate explanation of the phonetic-phonological differences. There are some descriptions of the pronunciation differences. (teacher_English_German_2)

Quote 156:

Question: And when you say that there are more differences, what differences are they? So here so far we've talked about vocabulary, pronunciation – is there anything else?

Answer: It's vocabulary first and foremost and so ... yes ... pronunciation is a consequence of that. (teacher_German_19)

Next up is spelling, with 19 mentions, followed by grammar, with 12, even though in the case of the latter it has to be added that another 6 participants claim that it is not really possible to incorporate pluricentricity into grammar instruction, which probably has to do with the aforementioned fact that vocabulary and other differences are indeed far more salient than grammatical ones. (See Quotes 157-158 on the role of spelling and grammar.)

Quote 157:

Question: What activities can you use in class, or even out of class, through which you can demonstrate the different varieties?

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Answer: […] We also dealt with spelling and grammatical structures. (teacher_English_10)

Quote 158:

Question: So we were talking about vocabulary, I think, and also pronunciation. Apart from that, is there anything else that is relevant to the differences between these language variants?

Answer: I don't think there are, I don't think there are grammar differences, or ... or I don't know about them. (teacher_German_14)

Finally, the only area where there seems to be a relevant difference between teachers' and learners' opinions within this subcode is that of pragmatics and culture, with 17 teachers but only 3 learners referring to these fields, which, again, seems to indicate a larger degree of awareness on the part of teachers than on that of learners (see Quotes 159-160). At the same time, this also happens to coincide with what, for instance, Bettermann (2010) and Hägi (2006) suggest in terms of embedding linguistic pluricentricity in cultural topics.

Quote 159:

Question: You mentioned pronunciation. Is there any other aspect of variation that you think we can incorporate?

Answer: So there are these cultural scenarios, to put it like that. So that it's ... so what's ... what's culturally different in America ... than ... than in England. So for example, this ... this "How do you do? How do you do?" Americans don't use it. (teacher_English_8)

Quote 160:

Question: Does their language level and age group influence which of these you include? Or is it completely independent of that?

Answer: In Year 12, for example, we deal separately with British culture and American culture, so it's a topic. So ... here ... the difference ... is absolutely visible on a cultural level. (teacher_English_3)

Moving on to the subcodes about in-class and out-of-class activities, it can generally be mentioned that a vast variety of task types have been mentioned by the participants, with teachers being, again, somewhat more conscious of this, and coming up with more ideas than learners. A few examples of suggested in-class activity types include guessing games, presentations, card games, roleplays, projects, quizzes, movie- and video-based activities,

worksheets presenting vocabulary differences, and so on. The point is, as highlighted by Quote 161 below, to move beyond the dry textbook material.

> **Quote 161:**
>
> Question: And let's say if the teacher wants to display these varieties, what kind of activities can be done in class or even out of class with the students to achieve this goal?
>
> Answer: To match equivalents, so … the learners guess which word it could be, or something like that. Or even, as I said before, trying to get the gist from listening materials in the … same way. So ... or with these little funny stories, I don't know, where ... where it's either the punchline, or I don't know, it is only funny in the particular variety, then it's more memorable for them, or more powerful. I can imagine some puzzles too. So that I definitely think it's not in the form of a glossary or whatever and then they cover it, learn one side and say the other side. So I would ... I would assign it in group work, or even as a project, where one group could look up this, another group could find out about that, a third one about a third thing, and so on. I could imagine it like this ... like this. Or even as a presentation, so if someone is very interested, they can individually present such a ... such a thing, such a story, and then they can put it together. So that I ... I think that on the one hand I would try to engage the children, either individually or in a group, so that they ... they are looking for something, and then I add what ... what I consider important. Or if ... if not, I would try to make the material a little bit more accessible to them by a playful approach. With cards, or something like that, all that kind of ... I can imagine all kinds of ways that are ... that are less textbook-like. (teacher_German_21)

Concerning out-of-class activities, movies, videos, series, news programs and the like were mentioned the most frequently (4 times by teachers and 7 times by learners), followed by online research-based projects, which were suggested by 5 teachers and a learner too. Further suggestions included taking part in competitions (2 teachers) as well as practising speaking with native speakers or classmates who have lived in the target language area (a teacher an a learner). (Consider Quotes 162-165 for a few examples.)

> **Quote 162:**
>
> Question: What are some of the tasks or activities that you can use in English lessons, or even outside the classroom, to introduce students to the diversity of varieties?

Answer: I encourage them ... and I don't even really need to do that, to listen to or to watch a film, a video, some music, whatever, outside of class as well. We talk about that sometimes. (teacher_English_12)

Quote 163:

Question: How do students react when this topic comes up?

Answer: […] So I gave them this optional homework for the next day, and they brought me cities and ... and interesting things, pictures, to see what they had found, and … what else there is … to see in that lovely country! (teacher_German_20)

Quote 164:

Question: What kind of activities or tasks can be used in class or even out of class to expose children to different varieties?

I mean, last year we took part in a competition in Wales, and then the name of this particular town came up, or whatever it was. So there are things like that. (teacher_English_6)

Quote 165:

Question: And from what sources can you learn about these different varieties?

Answer: Well, listening to locals talk. (learner_English_14)

The overwhelming heterogeneity of the quotes in this subsection demonstrates the wide range of roles that pluricentricity (or, in a broader sense, linguistic diversity) can play in the language learning process, both in and outside of the classroom. The fact that this code ended up as the largest one in the entire analysis is proof that the participants think of pluricentricity as a factor that can influence language learning in a variety of ways, the scope of which is illustrated by the plethora of suggestions quoted in this subsection.

7.2.12. Age groups and proficiency levels

This code is made up of two highly interrelated subcodes, designed entirely in advance, before the coding procedure started. One of the two subcodes concerns, of course, age groups (19 coded segments), while the other concentrates on the role of proficiency levels in pluricentric language teaching (83 coded segments).

Starting with age groups, the opinions that are expressed in the 19 coded segments that belong to this subcode can basically be categorized into two groups on the basis of whether they embrace the inclusion of pluricentricity in language teaching with all age groups (7 mentions) or only advocate it above a certain age (10 mentions) – cf. Quotes 166-169.

Quote 166:

Question: And you think this can be done from beginner level?

Answer: I think you can do it from a very early age…, because I think that's when you're most receptive, as a child. (learner_English_German_9)

Quote 167:

Question: Do you think age and language level influence how you can incorporate the different varieties into your language teaching?

Answer: […] So it doesn't depend on the age, whether I mention it or not. (teacher_English_11)

Quote 168:

Question: And is there a difference between, say, when it does come up - you said you sometimes highlight it - what aspects of diversity you bring up?

Answer: […] But specifically, as such a core topic, no, I don't do it in primary school. In secondary school I would be much braver about it. (teacher_English_7)

Quote 169:

Question: Do you bring these vocabulary worksheets or comparative materials only for the older students, or can they be used for the younger ones as well?

Answer: No, not with the little ones! (teacher_English_6)

Furthermore, there are 4 additional coded segments that do not belong to any of the two categories, since they do not take a clear-cut stance in terms of the two sides mentioned above. Instead, they either factually refer to differences in maturity, knowledge about the world or other characteristics across age groups, or highlight the importance of proceeding gradually (as in Quotes 170-171).

Quote 170:

Question: How much does the age of the learners and their language level influence how you can incorporate these varieties in your language teaching?

Answer: I think there is a difference, because there is a certain difference in maturity. And I think that with language, so yes, there must be a quantitative difference in their knowledge about the world, I think. (teacher_English_8)

Quote 171:

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Question: What do you think about whether the language level of your students, and even their age, plays any role in how you can show them the different varieties?

Answer: […] So in fourth grade it's just that, and then in fifth grade it might be that there's a word that I say differently. It's always words like dancing, like vase, you know, it's /dɑːns/, /dæns/, yeah. And then I say ... I say /dæns/, and we listen to the tape recorder and it says /dɑːns/, and then they look at me like, what's wrong? And then I always say, yes, this is British and that is American. So they say, "Wow, is there any other kind?" Yes, there are other kinds. And we stop there, and then in seventh or eighth grade, I might show them a video with Australian and all kinds of Englishes in it. (teacher_English_4)

In connection with the above numbers, it should be highlighted once again (as has been explained in the introductory section of this chapter) that the number of mentions in a certain code does not have to coincide with the total of coded segments in that code, since in a single coded segment multiple themes may be mentioned.

To conclude the present discussion about the role of age groups, I want to maintain that the overall message of these coded segments, whichever side of the above dichotomy they are on, is in line with the suggestion in the literature about gradually including more and more pluricentric content after a neutral (but not necessarily pluricentricity-free) beginner level (cf. Muhr, 1996a).

Looking at proficiency levels, we get a somewhat different picture. There seems to be much more agreement among the participants concerning the importance of proficiency levels in pluricentric language education than concerning the influence of age. This already becomes apparent as soon as we compare the number of coded segments belonging to each of the two subcodes (19 vs. 83). Moreover, here, embracing the inclusion of pluricentricity in language teaching with all proficiency levels has been mentioned much fewer times (26 mentions) than the opposite stance, i.e. only advocating it above a certain age (64 mentions) – cf. Quote 172. What this means is that the majority of the participants seem to consider proficiency levels to be an important factor in pluricentric language education, while with age it is not so evidently the case.

Quote 172:

Question: There are many people who say that when you start learning English, you should choose one variety and then stick to it forever. What do you think?

Answer: Well, I think that if you're a completely beginner student, it's definitely a good idea to start with one. And you are obviously trying to master it first of all. But

if you are a more advanced learner, I think it is definitely useful to learn or hear several varieties. (learner_English_3)

The justifying arguments seem to be in accordance with the literature too. For instance, one of the teachers mention that it is not wise to overburden beginners with pluricentric content, but others also highlight the fact that certain pluricentic elements (such as greetings or basic vocabulary items) can appear at a beginner level too, as mentioned by 4 teachers and 2 learners. Then, gradually, more and more attention can be paid to this kind of variation, as suggested by 3 teachers, totally in line with Muhr (1996a, 1996c)'s guidelines regarding the principle of the neutral beginner level (see Quotes 173-174).

Quote 173:

Question: Do you think there is a difference in what I can show a beginner compared to an advanced learner?

Answer: I think that for a ... for a beginner I would basically only show the very enthusiastic and only the very ... so the more skilful ones, who are interested, ... so to those, and rather in the form of an optional task, or in such ... such an extracurricular course. I don't know, so I would try to give them, how shall I say, a little taste of all this ... that does not overload the ... the thing, so that it might not go in the right direction, if I overburden them with this, I think. So I'd rather just do it in the form of a little tasting or so, and I'd do it with the more interested people only. Or, as I said, of course, things like knowing how to say goodbye and hello. (teacher_German_21)

Quote 174:

Question: Does this depend on their age and language level?

Answer: This should be gradually trickled down and built up for them. (teacher_English_German_1)

In general, it is also important to highlight that, just like in the literature, this kind of gradual increase in pluricentric presence from level to level does not seem to be understood as the complete absence of pluricentricity at a beginner level, but, as has been mentioned before, certain basic pluricentric elements have a place there too (cf. Muhr, 1996a, 1996c).

Finally, a recurring motif has to be mentioned here too, namely the usual comment concerning the difference between English and German (Quote 175).

Quote 175:

Question: Do you think that if you were more advanced, this would be a more relevant question? More like that? I really just want your opinion here! Would these kinds of differences come out better?

Interviewee: Of course, if after a while I learn to speak German ... like ... uh better ... or ... I'm going to study further, then ... then of course, then these things will come up, just not so much yet.

Interviewer: And if you think back to the way you learnt English, as you were progressing, [...] was it like that? Were you becoming more and more aware of this, or was maybe even your teacher drawing your attention to things like that gradually more and more? Or was this kind of content present from the very beginning?

Interviewee: Um, I think maybe from the beginning. (learner_English_German_12)

Here, one of the learners claims that with English, pluricentricity has become so much a part of our everyday understanding of the language that it can be built into the process of language learning from the beginning, while with German, they feel that it is only possible from a more advanced level onwards.

7.3. Concluding remarks on the qualitative findings

Chapter 6 has been an exhaustive account of the 12 themes that constitute the backbone of the interviews, attempting to present the findings in a meaningful and coherent way. The primary conclusion that these findings point towards is without doubt the fact that the representation of pluricentricity in foreign language education is a highly complex issue, thus, any decision about what to include in it, and in what way, has to be very carefully thought through.

Connected to this complexity, it can be stated that an important part of Hypothesis 2 (see Chapter 3) seems to be – at least in part – falsified by the interview findings, as the statement that teachers generally devote little attention to pluricentricity does not seem to hold true for many of the participants. The reality seems to be a lot more complex than that, with a number of counterexamples (i.e. examples of teachers who are indeed extremely mindful of pluricentricity) refining our understanding of the situation. In other words, similarly to de Cillia and Ransmayr's (2019) findings in Austria, many teachers (and learners too) seem to be intuitively sensitive to pluricentricity, even if they do not concentrate on it consciously. This is a highly valuable insight that adds a lot to the interpretation of the questionnaire-based findings (see Chapter 5), the outcomes of which have verified the second part of the same hypothesis, namely that learners are more open to pluricentricity than teachers. These two – seemingly very different – findings complement each other in a mutually beneficial way in

this mixed methods project, demonstrating that triangulation is indeed a useful methodological tool, since this way, by combining the quantitative approach with the qualitative one, we can recognize connections that would otherwise be overlooked (cf. Yauch and Steudel, 2003). Thus, Hypothesis 2 stands only partially confirmed, with the quantitative findings justifying the part about learners being generally more open to pluricentricity than teachers, but the qualitative findings calling into question the dogmatic tone of the first part, which argues that teachers tend to devote little attention to pluricentricity. The many examples of pluricentricity-oriented teachers prove that such a generalization will be inevitably wrong in a number of cases, thus concealing a relevant part of the reality.

Furthermore, also pertaining to the aforementioned complexity of the topic at hand, another important lesson to learn here concerns the detrimental nature of a way of thinking that is based too heavily on binary oppositions. Be it the washback effect of exams, the importance (or unimportance) of pluricentricity in language teaching, or the role of age groups and proficiency levels in foreign language teaching, it has become apparent over and over again that reducing the complexity of the topic to a mere binary opposition also reduces the depth of our understanding to a considerable degree. Instead of such an overly simplified framework, the kind of description to strive for should be as exhaustive as possible, attempting at a multidirectional approach that takes multiple perspectives into consideration.

In that spirit, I want to now take the aforementioned 12 themes one by one, and briefly reformulate only the most essential insights pertaining to each. First of all, with respect to the washback effect of exams, it is important to see that, while the negative comments clearly outnumbered the positive ones in the interviews, even the negative ones often highlighted a need for greater pluricentric presence, since many of these negative observations referred to the fact that this topic did not really play an important role at exams at all.

The second theme, then, was connected to the drawbacks and difficulties of pluricentric language teaching, where (just like in the case of the aforementioned washback effect) the ego-defensiveness of the teachers seemed to play an important role, meaning that they could sense that the lack of attention paid to pluricentricity in the language teaching process was problematic, but they attributed the problem to external factors. This, of course, does not mean that they were entirely wrong to do so, as it has also become apparent from the present findings that the inclusion of pluricentricity in language teaching has to take place in a systemic manner, i.e. rather than conceiving of this task as solely the responsibility of the teachers, the entirety of the education system has to be taken into consideration, including its

legal–institutional background, but also the role of teacher education, as has been highlighted a number of times by the participants.

In the case of the third and fourth themes, which were the role of the location and the type of school, again, the complexity of the entire topic has become all the more apparent, since the huge differences that exist between the individual schools in the Hungarian education system will understandably also have an important impact on how pluricentricity is dealt with in them. As far as location is concerned, it is important to mention that Austrian German seems to play a much greater role in the west of the country than elsewhere, shedding light on the fact that the Hungarian education system is in itself not homogeneous, not to mention the positive example of bilingual education and programs with a special focus on language learning, which seem to do much better at the incorporation of pluricentricity – mostly through a high degree of exposure to the target language as it is used in the outside world. An important challenge for the future would be to try and transfer this effectivity to regular schools with regular programs as well. To reach this aim, of course, local curricula and syllabuses will have to be consulted, and both learners and teachers will have to be interviewed, which is most certainly a relevant direction for the future continuation of this research.

Continuing with the fifth theme, which was the importance (or unimportance) of pluricentricity in language learning, the most important insight has been that according to the majority of the respondents, this is not one of the most essential components of the language learning process. While this seems to express an anti-pluricentricity attitude at first glance, at closer inspection it actually becomes evident that the mindset of the participants is more or less in line with the suggestions of the pluricentricity-oriented literature, meaning that, of course, there are numerous other goals in language education that are more important than the question of pluricentricity, however, it still has to constitute an integral part of the process.

Regarding the question of the materials used in pluricentricity oriented language teaching (theme 6), it has to be mentioned that both teachers and learners turned out to be rather resourceful in terms of mentioning a wide variety of possible options, with teachers mentioning more in-class materials, while learners seemed to focus more on out-of-class opportunities. This is a rather interesting result, which suggests that the incorporation of pluricentricity in language learning seems to go hand in hand with learner autonomy. As pluricentricity is an integral part of the linguistic reality, i.e. the way these languages exist "out there", those learners who surround themselves more with that particular language in their daily lives will inevitably also come across the theme of pluricentricity more frequently.

Furthermore, some of the participants also talked about various difficulties surrounding the use of these sources, such as the fact that it can take a lot of time and energy to find them, but also that they are not always authentic enough, which is important feedback to the authors and developers of these resources.

The seventh and the eighth themes have been concerned with the role of the learner and the teacher, respectively, where the participants mentioned a wide variety of factors, such as individual and generational differences, teachers having to tailor their teaching to the students' needs, etc. Here, a number of references were also made to the washback effect of exams, explaining, among other things, learners' lack of interest in pluricentricity, but also some of the teachers' grading strategies. As far as grading is concerned, a lot of teachers reported that they comment on learners' pluricentric language use in class, thus providing a valuable opportunity for thematising pluricentricity in the first place. This, again, shows how complex this entire topic is, with its subthemes being closely interrelated with each other on several levels.

Theme 9 revolved around the perceived benefits of pluricentric teaching, both practical and philosophical, with the former being mentioned a lot more frequently than the latter, especially by teachers. The most frequently mentioned benefits had to do with visiting, working, or studying abroad, but also consuming original media content in various (non-dominant) varieties of the target language.

 The tenth theme, then, addressed the issue of mixing different varieties, where the two sides that seemed to stand in opposition to one another were, on the one hand, the purist ones, who emphasized the need for coherence, whereas on the other hand, several other participants regarded mixing as a natural phenomenon that should be accepted as long as it does not hinder communication. This latter, communication-centered, pro-diversity attitude seemed to be somewhat more widespread, but again, it has to be mentioned that the two sides do not really constitute a strict dichotomy, but rather a continuum with fuzzy boundaries, where at times the same participant identifies with certain aspects of both sides.

Regarding the second to last theme, i.e. the activities used in pluricentricity-oriented language teaching, the heterogeneity of the ideas that the participants came up with resembled the one described above in the case of the materials applied, with both in-class and out-of-class activities mentioned in great numbers. Interestingly, again, the teachers seemed to care more about in-class opportunities, while the learners turned out to be more creative when it came to out-of-class ones, which, as has been mentioned above, points towards the importance of learner autonomy in this regard. As a subcode of the code about activities, the

role of communicative skills and linguistic systems has also been addressed, where one of the most important findings has been that the overwhelming majority of the participants agrees that it is primarily in the receptive skills that pluricentricity plays an important role, which is completely in line with the suggestions of the literature (cf. for example Muhr, 1996b or Glauninger, 2001). However, Muhr (1996a) also argues that the presentation of pluricentricity should go beyond the realm of vocabulary, which is somewhat contrary to the present findings, where it is precisely the vocabulary differences that the participants seem to primarily concentrate on, even though several other levels of the linguistic system are also mentioned, as is the relationship between pluricentricity and intercultural communication, which is again completely in accordance with the suggestions in the literature (cf. Bettermann, 2010 or Hägi, 2006).

Finally, as regards age groups and proficiency levels, there seems to be more agreement in the present sample about proficiency playing an important role, while in the case of age, the opinions are somewhat more mixed. In general, the picture painted by most of the participants seems to be in line with Muhr's (1996a) principle about beginner level neutrality, followed by a gradual increase in pluricentric presence across proficiency levels.

Having summarized the key findings broken down to the twelve codes that represented the twelve key themes addressed in the interviews, let me now formulate a couple of more general concluding remarks to end this chapter with. First, it is of paramount importance that the participants, without doubt, think of the incorporation of pluricentricity in a way that it is embedded in communication, as part of a general communicative approach to language teaching. This is a very important finding as it proves that this is not something that goes against the didactic-methodological tendencies which predominantly characterize the present-day foreign language classroom, but it seems to fit in with them rather neatly.

Second, it has also become apparent in almost all of the above themes that the incorporation of pluricentricity into foreign language education is seen as more realistic in the case of English than in the case of German. The recurring observations that the participants have made to the effect that it is already happening in the English classroom, but not so much in the German one, mostly due to the learners' lack of exposure to the German language outside of the school, has very important consequences for German language education. The key lesson to learn here seems to be that it would probably be wise of German teachers (as well as the developers of curricula, syllabuses, textbooks and other teaching aids) to place more emphasis on finding a way to introduce the German language into the day-to-day life of the learners outside of the school, possibly gaining inspiration from the example of English.

Of course, it is much more difficult to put this into practice in the case of German than in the case of English, since the German language lacks the status of a world language that English is undisputedly blessed with in today's world (cf. Clyne and Sharifian, 2008).

Third, a widespread counterargument that is frequently made to downplay the importance and feasibility of pluricentric language teaching has arguably been refuted by the present findings. To be more precise, it seems that – contrary to commonly held belief – one does not have to be a competent user of multiple varieties to be able to incorporate them in his or her teaching, since it is primarily in the receptive skills that these varieties have to be brought to the foreground. This is one of the most groundbreaking relizations that the participants of the present study seem to agree with pro-pluricentricity theoreticians about.

Finally, it should also be mentioned that it has not been possible in this chapter to address all the insights that have been formulated in the course of the interviews. There would be several observations to further explore, which might serve as the basis of a future, possibly more discourse oriented investigation of the interview data. Instead of delving into a detailed analysis of the interviews like that, the aim of the present chapter has been to explore basic tendencies and highlight fundamental connections to base further investigations upon in the future, possibly with a less comprehensive scope but with a deeper focus.

8. Conclusion

As has hopefully become evident on the basis of the above seven chapters, the fact that a language is pluricentric should have a crucial influence on the way it is taught to non-native learners. However, according to the literature cited above (see section 2.4), the extent to which this is realized in actual practice is often rather limited (cf. among others Muhr, 1996a, Buckledee, 2010, Takahashi, 2014, or Tajeddin and Pakzadian, 2020). On this basis, this dissertation has attempted to explore in detail the role of linguistic pluricentricity in language teaching, particularly in the case of English and German as foreign languages in Hungary.

As a pracising teacher of both of these languages in the Hungarian public education system, I have taken an insider's perspective on this topic, incorporating multiple facets of the education system into my investigation. In the name of method triangulation, I have carried out both quantitative and qualitative data collection, with the former encompassing the analysis of the legal–institutional background, including curricula, examination requirements, as well as textbooks (Chapter 4), coupled with a questionnaire-based component with a total of 484 learners and teachers of English and German (Chapter 5). The qualitative segment, then, consisted of the analysis of 37 semi-structured interviews (Chapter 6).

All the above sections of the dissertation have been directed at answering the following research question (as presented in Chapter 3): *What role does the linguistic diversity of English and German play in language teaching in the Hungarian education system?*

Pertaining to the above research question, the following three hypotheses have been formulated (again, as introduced already in Chapter 3):

(1) Pluricentricity plays a marginal role in the legal–institutional framework of the Hungarian education system.

(2) In accordance with that, teachers devote little attention to pluricentricity in their work, so learners are considerably more open to this topic than their teachers.

(3) In general, the predominance of dominant varieties over non-dominant ones can be observed in the entirety of the education system.

Of the above hypotheses, the first one has been verified completely in Chapters 4 and 5, proving that there is indeed a considerable need for more pluricentric presence in curricula, examination requirements, and textbooks alike. In the case of the latter two, some positive cases have been highlighted as inspiring examples to follow in the future, when it comes to the publication of new textbooks and other teaching aids with a more pluricentricity-oriented mindset.

Hypothesis 2, however, has been only partially verified, with the quantitative analysis (Chapter 6) proving the second part right, providing solid, significant statistical evidence that learners are indeed more open to pluricentricity than teachers, whereas the first part of the hypothesis, i.e. the one about teachers generally devoting little attention to pluricentricity, has been falsified by the qualitative segment (Chapter 7), in which a number of counterexamples have been found, i.e. teachers that regard pluricentricity as an important focus of their teaching. This goes to show that the decision to apply method triangulation in the present project has proved to be a beneficial one, as the two paradigms (i.e. the quantitative and the qualitative one) mutually complement each other, thus increasing the depth of the analysis considerably.

Finally, Hypothesis 3 has been verified throughout Chapters 4 through 7, with the predominance of dominant varieties over non-dominant ones being obvious beyond dispute in the case of the legal–institutional background, the questionnaire-based results, and the interview-based findings alike. In the case of English, this means that almost no non-dominant presence can be observed, with pluricentricity being reduced to a sheer British-American dicothomy in the overwhelming majority of the cases. German, of course, is different in this regard, since it is a monodominant pluricentric language, which means that any mention of pluricentricity will at the same time automatically also be a mention of non-dominance. As a result, while in general pluricentricity seems to be less present in the case of German than in English (a recurring observation in many of the interviews), the non-dominant varieties of German are somewhat better represented than those of English. This is, however, simply due to a typological difference between the two languages, with English being a codominant pluricentric language, and German a monodominant one.

As for the relevance of the findings outlined in the present dissertation, it is important to recognize that this project encompasses the entire Hungarian education system with all its levels and constituent parts, thus yielding highly informative results with considerable practical relevance at all these levels and facets of this complex system. Furthermore, it also aims to connect the theoretical background with the practical reality of language teaching in Hungary. This idea of building a bridge between theory and practice becomes especially apparent in the concrete suggestions for a pluricentricity oriented language education, listed at the end of Chapter 2, and then also at the end of Chapter 5, from a somewhat different perspective, outlining in a very practical sense the course of action that is necessary for a better inclusion of pluricentricity in all the different segments of the education system.

As an essential endnote, to truly bring this dissertation to an appropriate conclusion, I want to highlight the fact that, based on all the minutely detailed and multi-faceted considerations above, it can be argued that there is no magic trick to the creation of pluricentricity oriented language education, as all it takes is essentially an open mindset to linguistic variation, and a consciously and systematically increased exposure of the learners to the different standard varieties of the language(s) in question. In other words, the point is for the teachers to make an effort to include materials from a wide range of standard varieties in the teaching process, and the role of the other agents in the system (e.g. textbook authors, teaching aid and curriculum developers, teacher trainers, etc.) is to assist the teachers in that enterprise by placing enough focus on pluricentricity in their own subsystem, thus securing an all-encompassing coherence in all the facets of the education system, which makes the step of opening up to pluricentricity a unified, organic, and systemic change.

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Appendix 1: A complete interview transcript

Kérdező: Elöljáróban annyit mondanék, hogy én gimnáziumban és felsőoktatásban tanítok angolt és németet. A témám a doktori disszertációmhoz kapcsolódóan a különböző sztenderd változatoknak (angol esetében ilyesmikre kell gondolni, hogy amerikai angol, brit angol, ausztrál angol stb., német esetében svájci német, németországi német, ausztriai német) szóval, hogy ezeknek a szerepe, jelenléte vagy nem jelenléte a magyar közoktatási nyelvtanári munkában. Ezt vizsgálom, és akkor van sok komponense ennek a kutatásnak. Elemzek tankönyveket, tanterveket. Végeztem kérdőíves kutatást is, és akkor ez itt most az interjús komponens, aminek az első részeként arra kérnélek, hogy mondj egy pár mondatot magadról mint nyelvtanárról!

Adatközlő: Igen! Hát én 16 éve tanítok most már gimnáziumban. Mind…mindig is, hát gimnáziumban tanítottam, ami közoktatás. Előtte egy pár évet nyelviskolában még így egyetem alatt, mint mindenki, és ugyanazon a helyen vagyok. Tehát ez egy … egy darab budapesti gimnázium, aminek van most már egy pár éve szakgimnáziumi, illetve most technikumi része, de én főleg a gimnáziumban tanítok, és ott is a 9.- től fölfele. Mert 6 évfolyamos képzés is van nálunk, de már nagyon rég tanítottam 7-8.-ban. Úgyhogy inkább a nagyobban. Ezenkívül érettségiztetek is ugye természetesen középszinten nálunk, illetve érettségi elnök is szoktam lenni. Ezt egy olyan három-négy éve csinálom. Emelt szinten nem, tehát azt még kihagytam. Középszintű érettségiken szoktam elnök lenni. Magyar szakos is vagyok, de azt most nem tanítom három éve. Korábban voltak magyaróráim is, de mindig is több volt az angol, tehát, hogy így inkább angoltanárnak tartom magamat. Más nyelven nem is nagyon beszélek. Ez egy érdekes dolog! Most így többször fel-felmerült, így több … több tanított csoporttal beszélgettünk erről, hogy nyelvtanulás ….stb., hogy … hogy énnekem soha nem sikerült rendesen semmi más nyelvet megtanulni. Úgyhogy német … németes voltam még anno gimnáziumban, mert kellett egy alapfokú nyelvvizsgát abból csinálni, de nem … nem használom azt se..

Kérdező: Hát ha már alapfokú nyelvvizsgád van, akkor azért az már lehet ilyen alapszintű kommunikáció.

Adatközlő: Hát mondjuk, igen! Hogyha nagyon muszáj, akkor nyilván megoldom, de … de mondjuk nyilván, ha Ausztriában vagy Németországban járok, akkor sokkal könnyebb átváltani az angolra.

Kérdező: Persze, ott már azért az emberek jelentős része azzal nem küzd problémákkal. Meg egyébként nekem, amikor én még nyelvtanulóként nagyon igyekeztem a németekkel a németet erőltetni, és észrevették, hogy nekem ez kihívás, akkor az volt a problémám, hogy nem tudtam őket meggyőzni, hogy ne váltsunk már angolra! Én angolul jobban tudtam már akkor, és hogy én a németet szeretném gyakorolni. Egyszerűen valahogy bennük van ez, hogy *you don't have to speak my language.*

Adatközlő: Igen, meg ha külföldi vagy, hogy akkor elvagyunk az angollal.

Kérdező: Igen, igen, igen! Na, szóval ez nem könnyíti meg most nyelvtanárként sem a dolgomat, amikor ilyen projekteket akarok anyanyelviekkel az én tanítványaimmal végezni németből. Sokszor azon kapom őket, hogy átváltanak angolra. Szóval ez egy ilyen érdekes gondolat, amit itt...

Adatközlő: Igen!

Kérdező: …amit itt megfogalmaztál!

Adatközlő: Még annyit ahhoz, hogy én mivel foglalkozom, én is PhD hallgató vagyok amúgy…

Kérdező: Aha! Wow!

Adatközlő: …és most a második kurzust tanítom felsőoktatásban. Tehát, hogy ebben még ilyen nagyon kezdő vagyok, de most az őszi félévben volt egy ilyen Skills Development kurzus és most egy Content-Based Language Development – azt hiszem, ez a neve.

Kérdező: De jó! És az mi? Egy ilyen CLIL, ilyen kéttannyelvű…

Adatközlő: Nem, nem! Ez … így hívják a tantárgyat. Igazából az is egy ilyen … ilyen készségfejlesztő.

Kérdező: Aha, tehát nyelvóra?

Adatközlő: Nyelvóra tulajdonképpen.

Kérdező: Aha, aha! És ez melyik intézmény?

Adatközlő: Ez az [X], az [X]-nek az Anglisztika meg … meg tanárszakos tanárszakos hallgatói, másodévesek vannak nálunk.

Kérdező: És Te miből doktorálsz, vagy miből írod majd a disszertációt?

Adatközlő: Hát igen, ez a … jól … jól alakul, most másodéves vagyok, szóval most kell ezt így ugye…

Kérdező: Komplex vizsga lassan aktuális lesz?

Adatközlő: Komplex vizsga lassan igen. Én én azt vizsgálom, hogy az angoltanárok az angolórán hogyan … egyrészt, hogy milyen szerepekben szeret… tehát hogy milyen szerep…

Kérdező: Értem! Hogy ilyen facilitátor…

Adatközlő: Igen, igen! És hogy ezen a szerepükön belül esetleg a tanulók lelki egészségének a gondozása.

Kérdező: Wow! Nagyon nagyon releváns téma szerintem.

Adatközlő: Igen!

Kérdező: - És XY, vagy ki a témavezetőd?

Adatközlő: A témavezetőm ZZs.

Kérdező: Aha! Őt nem ismerem.

Adatközlő: XY-t is ismerem. Hát úgy ő is így..

Kérdező: Nyilván ez hát az ő iskolája kis túlzással!

Adatközlő: Igen, igen! Igen!

Kérdező: Jól van! Hát nagyon szurkolok!

Adatközlő: Köszönöm!

Kérdező: Ez nagyon hasznos meg releváns meg fontos téma szerintem!

Adatközlő: Hát remélem, hogy menni fog!

Kérdező: Ami a korosztályokat, akiket tanítasz, illeti, az … az akkor már elhangzott, viszont a nyelvi szintjükről is mondjál már nekem valamit!

Adatközlő: Igen! Hát, nálunk az a jellemző … ez egy nem különösebben elit iskola … gimnázium, hogy mondjuk a középszintű érettségit mindenki eléri … ez … ez … és mondjuk van minden csoportban minden évben egy néhány 4-5 tanuló, aki esetleg az emelt szinttel megpróbálkozik. De úgy ez a maximum!

Kérdező: Tehát a záró szint az a B1-B2.

Adatközlő: B1-B2!

Kérdező: És honnan indítasz 9.-ben?

Adatközlő: És 9.-ben általában most már az utóbbi pár évben az megvalósul, hogy egy A2 szinten.

Kérdező: Tehát mondjuk egy „pre" könyvvel tudsz kezdeni?

Adatközlő: Egy „pre" könyvvel szoktuk kezdeni, illetve, hogyha vannak kezdők, mert ugye néha az is előfordul, hogy németes volt általános iskolában, nálunk nincs elég tanuló, hogy német csoport induljon, haladó német csoport, ezért ők is bekerülnek egy angol csoportba, ott pedig hát egy elementary-vel szoktunk kezdeni és akkor ilyen nagyobb léptékben arra alapozva, hogy azért a némettel már van valami…

Kérdező: Persze, nyelvtanulói tapasztalatuk!

Adatközlő: Igen!

Kérdező: Jó, köszönöm szépen! Szerinted ez a nyelvtudásszint meg akár a korosztályos különbségek, ezek befolyásolják-e bármilyen módon azt, hogy a különféle nyelvváltozatokat be tudod-e építeni, vagy hogyan tudod beépíteni a nyelvtanításba?

Adatközlő: Hát a korosztály meg a nyelvi szintjük?

Kérdező: Igen! Tulajdonképpen két kérdés!

Adatközlő: Igen! Hát a korosztály ... én azt mondanám, hogy ugye kamaszokról van szó, tehát ugye 14-től 18-ig, és az, hogy amerikai filmeket meg sorozatokat néznek, az nem kérdés. Tehát, hogy az az, ami … ami nekik a legtermészetesebben hangzik, igen. A legtöbben, akiknek ilyen azonosítható … mondjuk … akcentusuk van, az inkább az amerikai. Úgyhogy emiatt talán a korosztály az, hogy kamaszok, és nyilván a … a mass media-ból táplálkoznak, ez … ez ezt így befolyásolja.

Kérdező: De, hogyha mondjuk össze kellene hasonlítanod a 9.-eseket a 12.-esekkel, ott érzékelsz-e bármi különbséget?

Adatközlő: Nemigen. Nem, nem.

Kérdező: És a nyelvi szinteken? Tehát hogyha mondjuk neked az lenne – tudom, vagy hát valószínűnek tartom, hogy nem ez az elsődleges célod –, de hogyha mégis az lenne a szándékod, hogy megmutasd a sokféleséget a változatok között, akkor van-e bármi különbség, hogy ezt hogy lehet, mennyire lehet? Lehet-e egyáltalán egy kezdő, vagy akár egy haladó csoportban?

Adatközlő: Hát haladó csoportban inkább van lehetőség arra, hogy autentikus szövegeket, tehát mondjuk filmrészletet, sorozatot… Hogyha ugye kép, tehát hogyha videóról van szó, vagy akár írott szövegben is … sokkal hamarabb elképzelhető, hogy egy … egy autentikus anyag nem okoz nagy nehézséget.

Kérdező: Világos!

Adatközlő: Nyilván alacsonyabb nyelvi szinten vagy, valahogy módosítani kell, tehát átalakítani vagy úgy válogatni, hogy … egy tudom jól, hogy egy egyszerű párbeszéd van ott, abban a részében annak a filmnek mondjuk, akkor jobban meg kell szűrni, hogy mi az, ami…

Kérdező: És abban van-e esetleg különbség, hogy a … hogy a különbségeknek milyen aspektusait mutatod meg? Tehát ilyesmire gondolok, hogy szókincs vagy nyelvtan, vagy kiejtés. Tehát, hogy mittudomén kezdőknek inkább ez, aztán haladóknak már az is. Vagy ilyenben nem látsz különbséget?

Adatközlő: Hát … ja … gondolkozom… Kezdőknél nyilván az a … az a kiejtés, amit én hozok, ami egy ilyen keverék amúgy, illetve a tankönyvünk, ami egy brit kiadás, tehát ööö ott ugye a legtöbben brit akcentussal beszélnek. A kezdőknél eleve az, hogy mi hogy hangzik, és ahhoz képest hogy van leírva, és hogy … hogy ezt hogy kell ejteni. Tehát én talán azt mondom, hogy egyszerűbb, hogyha nincs nagyon megkeverve. Tehát, hogyha mindig csak egyfélét, és akkor az bármi lehet, tehát hogy én … én nem gondolom azt, hogy … hogy mondjuk a brit kiejtésnek például egy ilyen felsőbb szerepe lenne, csak mondjuk az anyagaink ezt hozzák, és akkor … akkor később, amikor már ezt megszokták, mondjuk, hogy egy … egy … egy *intermediate* szinten, akkor talán már kevésbé okoz nekik nehézséget, hogyha többfélével találkoznak. Nem tudom, hogy lesz-e a kérdés arra, hogy a tananyagaink milyenek.

Kérdező: Lesz kérdés, de idehozhatjuk! Ez ilyen semi-structured interjú, tehát bármire kitérhetsz! Térjünk ki rá most akkor, hogyha ez…

Adatközlő: Jó, jó, merthogy az az érdekes ebben a tananyagban – ezt mondjam, hogy melyik?

Kérdező: Persze!

Adatközlő: Ez a Pearson-nek a Success illetve a New Success sorozata, most még. Jövőre már nem lehet, mert már nincs…

Kérdező: Nem lesz a listán, ugye?

Adatközlő: Így sincs a listán, hanem ilyen … ilyen…

Kérdező: Aha! Megoldottátok!

Adatközlő: ...példányokkal megoldottuk! Szóval, hogy ez egy olyan érdekes könyv ebből a szempontból szerintem, és ez nekem tetszik nagyon, hogy … hogy nagyon sokféle akcentusú szöveg, vagyis beszélő, tehát a különféle listening-ekben tényleg mindenfélével lehet találkozni. Native-ekkel is … úgyhogy, hogy mondjuk az Egyesült Királyság különböző területeiről. A … a tanári könyvben ott jelzik is, hogy ez melyik akcentus. Én magam nem tudom, én onnan szoktam megnézni magam számára.

Kérdező: De jó! Ennek a Pearson-nek egy Speakout-ját ismerem, az egy ilyen … azt hiszem C1+ vagy C2-es, nem tudom, az egyetemen abból tanítunk. Én most találkoztam ezzel a kiadóval először, és nagyon meggyőzőnek tűnik nekem.

Adatközlő: Ezt a Success-t mi nagyon szeretjük, és nem engedjük el! Nem tudom, hogy mi lesz helyette.

Kérdező: Annyira tipikus, nem? Hogy ezt leveszik a listáról!

Adatközlő: Igen! Beginner-től Upper Intermediate-ig van. Tehát hogy ez abszolút lefedi így a közoktatásban, ami kellhet, szóval igen, tehát, hogy nagyon sokféle…

Kérdező: De, jó!

Adatközlő: ...van, és nonnative is, tehát, hogy

Kérdező: English as a Lingua Franca…

Adatközlő: Hogy mondjuk indiai vagy nem tudom kicsoda, az ugye kérdés, hogy az native vagy nem, mindegy!

Kérdező: Ja, hát az lehet az is, az indiai, de nem feltétlen az.

Adatközlő: Igen, igen! De, hogy … hogy … hogy vannak olyanok is, akikkel tényleg nehéz, tehát úgy nehéz értenem, hogy én tudom, hogy na most akkor ezt úgy kell hallgatni, hogy! És

… viszont alacsony szinttől is … tehát már az Elementary-ben néha fel-fel felbukkannak ilyen … ilyen nem brit akcentusok.

Kérdező: Ez tök jó, akkor ezt a Pearson-t én lehet, hogy beveszem, mert őket vagy az ő tankönyveiket még nem … nem elemeztem. De akkor ilyen pozitív példaként jó, hogy kiemeled, mert akkor bevehetem ezt is a disszertációmba, úgyhogy már … már megérte részemről ez a beszélgetés! Köszönöm szépen!

Adatközlő: Nagyon örülök! Még egyet akartam – mert ugye itt az akcentus vagy a kiejtés volt csak –, hogy a szókincsben … az … azt meg egész kezdő szinttől szoktam. Hát nyilván nem nagy tömegekben, hogyha mondjuk jellemzően egy szó vagy két szó az nagyon más az amerikai meg a brit angolban, hogy akkor … hogy akkor *football* vagy *soccer*, és akkor … szóval, hogy ezt … ezt azért be lehet fogadni már úgy alacsonyabb szinteken.

Kérdező: Világos, világos! Jó! És milyen feladatok, illetve tevékenységek azok, amiket az angolórákon be tudsz vetni, vagy akár az órán kívül, amiknek a segítségével meg lehet ismertetni a tanulókat a változatok sokféleségével?

Adatközlő: Hát a listening, az egyértelmű, ugye a tananyagok hozzák is. Szókincses feladatok … tehát akár … bármi, ami szókincsgyakorlásra való, és hát én szoktam ösztönözni azt … és nem is nagyon kell, hogy ugye órán kívül hallgassanak, nézzenek filmet, videót, zenét, bármit. Erről szoktunk beszélgetni, hogy akkor hogy érdemes, hogy … hogy azért jó, először még mondjuk ott legyen a magyar felirat, de aztán arról egy idő után leszokunk. Meg … megpróbáljuk a … mondjuk az angol felirattal. Azért mégis segít követni, stb. Hát hogy így erről … erről így szokott…

Kérdező: Az jó, hogy egy kis ilyen autonómiát is fejlesztesz ezzel!

Adatközlő: Igen, igen! Hát aztán meglátjuk, hogy mennyire hatásos ez, vagy hogy … szóval én ezt nem csinálom ilyen nagyon hardcore, hogy…

Kérdező: Szerintem ez kulcsfontosságú, hogy én is … most nálunk a jövő héten síszünet lesz, és akkor minden csoportomban ezt adtam házi feladatnak, hogy írják föl, hogy mi volt az az egy dolog, ami az angollal kapcsolatos, és … és mindennap előjött az ő kis szabadidejükben. És ehhez nem kell nagy dologra gondolni! Mondtam nekik, hogy lehet … nem tudom én … egy játék, egy videójáték, amit játszol, és előjön benne az angol, vagy egy sorozat, amit nézel, bármi. Aztán nyilván nem ellenőrzöm én azt le, hogy ő tényleg foglakozik-e! De ha egyáltalán följön a fejében ez a gondolat, akkor szerintem már ez nekünk nagy segítség egyfelől, meg eredmény másfelől, hogy az életük részévé tesszük!

Adatközlő: Igen, igen! Én szerintem most már ez annyira nem kérdés, hogy … hogy ott van a kezükben az internet, és … és használják. És akkor miért ne használják jóra?

Kérdező: Persze, persze, igen! Ez egyébként nagyon eltér az angol meg a német esetében, meg szerintem az angol és bármelyik más nyelv esetében. Én ugye ezt a kettőt tanítom, és még az angolnál néha arról kell meggyőznöm az ügyesebb nyelvtanulót, hogy „Te, én még azért tudok neked tanítani, meg tudatosítani benned dolgokat!" Nem csak minden a Netflix meg az HBO meg a nem tudom én micsoda! Addig a német esetében meg úgy kell ráerőszakolnom, hogy „nézzél már valami német sorozatot" meg „hallgass már valami német zenét!" Valami eszméletlen ez a … ez a kettősség!

Adatközlő: Hát ez én szerintem egyértelmű, ez a menőségből fakad.

Kérdező: Igen, az angol menő!

Adatközlő: Az angol, az menő! Sajnos … vagy hát…

Kérdező: Ez ilyen szempontból előny is, attól függ, hogy mit kovácsolunk magunknak belőle! Jó! Aztán hogyha mondjuk ilyen kommunikatív nyelvtanításnak a négy alapkészségét vesszük, hogy … hogy olvasott szövegértés, hallott szövegértés, beszédkészség meg íráskészség, akkor említetted, hogy a hallott szövegértésbe okvetlen be lehetet ezt építeni. A többiben van lehetőség, vagy szerinted jó ez egyáltalán, hogyha a többiben rávilágítunk a különbségekre, a változatok sokszínűségére, vagy erről mi a véleményed?

Adatközlő: Hát a másik...Tehát én mondjuk … ha sorrendbe kéne állítanom … a listening az első, utána a reading, tehát, hogy azt, hogy mondjuk olvasott szövegben rámutatni akár helyesírási különbségre, ugye az angol meg az amerikai angol között, vagy … vagy a szókincshasználatban, az talán egy ilyen megfogható dolog, és akkor a produktív készségeknél hát örülünk, ha valahogy sikerült!

Kérdező: Ez egyébként abszolút, amit most elmondtál, ez abszolút összhangban van a szakirodalommal! A receptív…

Adatközlő: Ennek örülök!

Kérdező: A receptív készségekre érdemes koncentrálni! Ez abszolút így … így van!

Adatközlő: Hát igen, mert ugye amit … amit ő produkál, az … az tényleg … tehát, hogy ott szerintem úgyis annyi munkája van abban, hogy összehozza…vagy pláne, ha írni akar, hogy még arra is figyelni, hogy akkor ez most valamelyik változathoz szóljon, hát ez ilyen nagyon nagyon magas szinteken esik.

Kérdező: Igen, igen! Hát meg nem is biztos, hogy az a célunk szerintem.

Adatközlő: Hát nem! Mert ugye, hogyha lingua franca-ként használja, akkor valójában mindegy!...

Kérdező: Jó arról mi a véleményed, hogy hogy érdemes-e ahhoz ragaszkodni, hogy egy adott változatot válasszanak ki és részesítenek mindig előnyben a nyelvtanulók?

Adatközlő: Hát ez nagyjából az előző válaszomhoz hasonló. Tehát, hogy … hogy én ezzel nem frusztrálnám még tovább a nyelvtanulót. Hogy még erre is figyelni kell, mert … mert épp elég dologra kell figyeljen amúgy. És inkább azt szoktam mondani, de nem tudom, hogy ez most így az utóbbi két év olvasmányai vagy, hogy ezt amúgy is így gondoltam, hogy alakítsa ki a saját angolját, hogy úgyis az lesz … tehát … az akcentusa, kiejtése úgyis az lesz. Tehát ez egy természetes dolog. Azonban van egy diákom, aki kitalálta, hogy ő brit angolul akar beszélni, és mesterkélten így a brit kiejtést … és nagyon fura, tehát így kinevetik, meg minden. Szóval ez nem annyira jó!

Kérdező: Hallottam, hogy valaki egyszer azt mondta ezzel kapcsolatban hogy: *Why did you do that to yourself?*

Adatközlő: Hát körülbelül igen. Igen, igen. Tehát, hogy ez szerintem így természetesen kialakul abból, hogy mit hogy fog használni. Írott szövegben meg aztán pláne! Azt azért el szoktam mondani, így akik nyelvvizsgára készülnek, hogy általában, de ezt nem tudom, mennyire igaz amúgy, és ezt így olvastam ilyen jótanácsok között a nyelvvizsgázóknak, hogy jó, hogyha konzekvens az ember, vagy mondjuk egy nemzetközi nyelvvizsgán azért abból lehet pontokat veszteni, hogyha mondjuk ilyen nagyon zsiráf-elefánt módon csinálja. Tehát, hogy mondjuk a helyesírás konzisztens legyen, meg ilyesmi. Hát ez … ez talán. De mondjuk, amíg valaki nem vizsgázik, vizsgát nem akar, addig ez mindegy.

Kérdező: Jó. Az szerinted milyen, vagy miért jó ez, ha egyáltalán jó, hogy a tanítványaid tudnak a különböző nyelvváltozatoknak a létezéséről?

Adatközlő: Énszerintem ez hozzátartozik a nyelvtudásnak az egészéhez, tehát, hogy … hogy ugye kultúra is a nyelv, és arról tudniuk kell, hogy … hogy kulturálisan ez azért itt egy … sokféleségről van szó. Az angol … nem is tudom, hogy van-e még olyan nyelv, amelyiknek ennyi változata lenne. Ennyi…

Kérdező: Hát ilyen sok biztos, hogy nincsen!

Adatközlő: Ennyi non-native változata lenne. Igen. És szerintem ez … ez tehát egyrészt egy érdekes dolog, tehát szerintem … legtöbb, vagy hát a diákok egy részének ez biztos, hogy érdekes információ, és hát használat szempontjából sem mindegy, tehát ugye, hogyha … ha mondjuk a munkájához vagy a tanulmányaihoz később használja, ha elmegy, külföldre megy … szóval, hogy … hogyha elmegy külföldre, akkor ott ne lepődjön meg.

Kérdező: Persze! És mondjuk nem tudjuk megjósolni, hogy hol meg kivel fog ő majd a jövőben angolul érintkezni. Jó! És mi ebben az egészben a tanár szerepe?

Adatközlő: Hát a tanár az egyrészt modell a saját nyelvhasználatával. Ahogy … ahogy ő használja a nyelvet, mindenképp egy modell. Éntőlem meg szokták kérdezni, tehát … tehát nem egy csoport kérdezte meg hogy: „És akkor a tanárnő milyen angolt tanít?" És akkor hát erre nem tudok egyszerűen válaszolni! Úgyhogy ilyenkor kénytelenek meghallgatni a … a választ.

Kérdező: Ők nyomták meg a gombot, mi?

Adatközlő: Ők nyomták meg a gombot. Úgyhogy … úgyhogy ez a modell szerep, akkor az, hogy az információt átadom, ahogy az előbb mondtam, tehát, hogy egyáltalán, hogy ezt így bemutatom nekik, hogy … hogy ennyiféle változat létezik, és ilyen … és ilyen szempontokból.

Kérdező: De említetted, hogy máshonnan is szerzik ők ezeket a tudás…

Adatközlő: Igen, igen, igen, valami ilyesmit akartam, igen, hogy ez … tehát egyrészt a tanárnak szerintem ez nem elsődleges feladata, vagy nem ez a legfontosabb, amit csinálunk!

Kérdező: Persze…

Adatközlő: Fontos, fontos … tehát, hogy a teljesség szempontjából fontos! És hogy a tanulók meg máshonnan is megszerezhetik a tudást bőven … bőven!

Kérdező: Jó! És hogyha most mondjuk egy olyan írásművet kapsz a tanulóidtól, egy fogalmazást, amiben váltogatják, össze-vissza keverik - most ezt nem így kellett volna mondanom - de keverik a különböző nyelvváltozatokat, akkor azzal mit csinálsz? Otthagyod, aláhúzod, kijavítod, kommentálod? Mit csinálsz vele?

Adatközlő: Hát ehhez azért hozzátartozik az, hogy énrajtam azért ki lehetne fogni. Tehát hogy … hogy … hogy én azt egy pillanatig nem gondolom magamról, hogy én nagyon pontosan fölismerem, és tudom azonosítani a … az összes különböző nyelvváltozatokat. De, hogy nem valószínű, hogy bármely diák ugye jamaikai angolul vagy... Tehát mondjuk azt, hogy a brit és az amerikai helyesírás közti különbség…

Kérdező: Például!

Adatközlő: A favourite – favorite, stb. stb. Ezt szoktam javítani. És amikor ilyen … ilyen hiba van, ezt … ezt föl szoktam használni arra, hogy ezt elmondjam, hogy … hogy mindegy, hogy melyik, de konzekvens legyen.

Kérdező: Oké, értem. Ez a konzekvencia az előbb is … bocsánat … az előbb is a helyesírás kapcsán említetted…

Adatközlő: Igen, meg a szóhasználat meg a szókincs, aha! Én kiejtést sose javítok. Tehát szó… szóbeli produkciónál, kiejtést ilyen szempontból sose javítok.

Kérdező: Akkor nyilván maximum, hogyha nem lehet érteni, nem?

Adatközlő: Hát igen, de akkor az nem a nyelvváltozattól van, hanem … hanem valami…

Kérdező: Persze, nem!

Adatközlő: Hanem valami más kiejtés…

Kérdező: Más lapra tartozik, igen.

Adatközlő: Igen.

Kérdező: Jó! Mit akarok még itt? Nézem gyorsan a listámat. Igen! Hogyan reagálnak a nyelvtanulóid akkor, hogyha … hogyha ilyen különféle nyelvváltozatokat mutatsz nekik?

Adatközlő: Érdeklődnek, tehát ez egy ilyen érdekesség cím alatt futhat így az órákon.

Kérdező: Értem. Tehát nem…

Adatközlő: Általában ez egy érdekes információ számukra.

Kérdező: Tehát inkább pozitív a reakció?

Adatközlő: Abszolút, abszolút!

Kérdező: Jó. Találkoztál-e bármi nehézséggel, ami ezt a témát illeti, a különböző nyelvváltozatok megjelenítését? Gátol-e ebben téged bármi?

Adatközlő: Mármint abban, hogy én ezt az órámon vagy a tanításban egyáltalán fölvessem?

Kérdező: Aha, igen, igen.

Adatközlő: Nem.

Kérdező: Nincs ilyen? Nem is volt?

Adatközlő: Nem, nem igazán.

Kérdező: Jó, és akkor szerintem már csak egy utolsó szegmens maradt. Csak közbe' itt ilyen kommentárok is vannak ebben a dokumentumban. Igen! Milyen anyagokat tudsz alkalmazni a nyelvtanításban arra, hogy … hogy bemutasd ezt a sokszínűséget, sokféleséget?

Adatközlő: Hát nyilván akkor ugye a tankönyvet, amit használunk. Filmeket, sorozatokat, én … én a popdalokat kevésbé szoktam alkalmazni, de ez egy más lapra tartozik. Tehát..

Kérdező: Igen!

Adatközlő: Nem annyira tartom alkalmasnak, mint amennyire szokás azért, meg divatos, meg mindig is az volt.

Kérdező: Meg én is egyébként csínján bánok velük, mert azt se lehet tudni, hogy most éppen az ő ízlésviláguknak mennyire ...

Adatközlő: Pontosan ezért! Tehát ami nekem tetszik, amit én szeretek, az lehet, hogy nem … vagy nem alkalmas arra, amire akarnám. Tehát, hogy csak azért, hogy szórakozzunk, meg legyen egy kis színes valami, arra én azért ezt sajnálnám! De a … de a film és a … tehát egy jól megválasztott film, és akkor ez így tényleg nagyon sokféle műfaj lehet. Én már mindenféle műfajú filmet mutattam… Na jó, azért nem mindet!

Kérdező: Mondjuk ilyen véres horrort lehet, hogy nem!

Adatközlő: Nem, nyilván nem! Bár lett volna igény rá, de nem!

Kérdező: Ja, gondolom!

Adatközlő: És … és akkor a sorozatok közül … hát, ami kedvencem, de ez egy nagyon érdekes tapasztalat, a Friends. A Jóbarátok-nak sok … sok … ezt nagyon kedvelem, nyilván innen indul. És tizenév óta sok … hát mondjuk az ünnep… az ünnepekhez kapcsolódóan, vagy egy-egy témához kapcsolódóan vittem belőle. És nagyon érdekes az, hogy a mai … tehát most ugye a most tizenévesek már ezt nem ismerik. Illetve ismerik úgy, minthogy „Jaj ez anyámék kedvence!"

Kérdező: Igen, igen, igen, igen!

Adatközlő: És akkor … és akkor nagyon érdekes, ahogy reagálnak a Friends-re! Tehát nevetnek, de azon, hogy milyen béna.

Kérdező: De jó!

Adatközlő: Viszont ... mittudomén New York-ban ott egy kávézóban, hogy vannak … arra szerintem ez tök jó.

Kérdező: Tök jó! És én is azért … én ezt inkább ilyen magántanítványoknak szoktam bevetni. Vagy így ajánlani mert, hogy annyira egyszerű dolgok zajlanak, hogy így nem … az se baj, hogyha nagyon kezdő is tud vele foglalkozni, mert nem…

Adatközlő: Igen!

Kérdező: …nem baj, ha nem érti olyan részletesen, hogy mi van. Egy-két dolgot megért már…

Adatközlő: És eljátsszák.

Kérdező: Akkor is vicces. Eljátsszák, így van.

Adatközlő: Igen.

Kérdező: Szerintem nagyon motiváló is lehet. Ott ezekkel a szerencsétlenekkel úgy tud azonosulni is sokszor az ember. Szóval ez … ez … ez nekem is az egyik kedvencem. Jó! És az ilyen alkalmazott anyagok kapcsán van-e bármi nehézség? Itt megint a nehézségre csatolnék vissza.

Adatközlő: Hát csak annyi, hogy ezeket mind akkor elő kell készíteni. Tehát ez azért irgalmatlan idő tud lenni. Tehát emlékszem, amikor...

Kérdező: Persze!

Adatközlő: …én kitaláltam, hogy egy ilyen tök jó Thanksgiving-es órát lehet csinálni a Friends-ből. Hát én azt egy napig csináltam! Egy darab órát!

Kérdező: Hát ez az! Ezzel én is tudok azonosulni!

Adatközlő: Tehát ez azért elég nagy nehézség, hogy ezeket neked kell, ezeket neked kell legyártani.

Kérdező: Jó lenne akkor, hogyha lenne valamiféle adatbázis vagy…

Adatközlő: Hát akár, akár. Mondjuk az biztos, hogy ezeket … tehát bármi, ami autentikus, azt … azt … azt muszáj saját magadnak ahhoz az adott csoporthoz vagy tanulóhoz...

Kérdező: Persze, igazítani.

Adatközlő: …igazítani.

Kérdező: Jó, köszönöm szépen, X, ez volt részemről minden.

Appendix 2: The English translation of the interview transcript

Interviewer: First of all, I want to say that I teach English and German in high school and in higher education. My topic for my doctoral dissertation is the role, presence or absence of the different standard varieties in language teaching in Hungarian public schools (in the case of English, that means American English, British English, Australian English, etc., in the case of German, Swiss German, Germany German, and Austrian German). This is what I am looking into, and then there are many components to this research. I analyse textbooks, curricula. I have also conducted questionnaire research, and then this is the interview component, in the first part of which I would like to ask you to say a few sentences about yourself as a language teacher.

Interviewee: Yes. Well, I've been teaching in high school for 16 years now. I've always, well, I've always taught in high school, which is public education. Before that a couple of years in language schools, way back during university, like everybody, but I've been in the same position ever since. So it's a ... it's a secondary grammar school in Budapest, which has now had a vocational part for a couple of years, and now a technical part, but I teach mainly in the grammar school part, and I teach there from 9th grade upwards. Because we also have a 6-year course, but it's been a long time since I taught in 7-8th grade. So I prefer the higher ones. And I also give school-leaving exams, of course, at intermediate level, at our school, and I also regularly act as chairperson of the school-leaving examination board. I've been doing that for about three or four years. Not at the advanced level, I haven't done that yet. I usually act as chairperson at intermediate level exams. I'm also a teacher of Hungarian language and literature, but I haven't taught that for three years now. I used to have Hungarian classes, but I've always had more English, so I consider myself more of an English teacher. I don't really speak any other languages. It's an interesting thing! Now it's come up several times, so we've been talking in several ... several classes about this, language learning, etc. and that ... that I've never managed to learn any other language properly. So German ... I took German when I was in high school because I had to take a B1 language exam, but I don't ... I don't use it either..

Interviewer: Well, if you already have a B1 language exam certificate, then it can be a basic level of communication.

Interviewee: Well, let's say yes! If I really have to, I can obviously do it, but ... but let's say, obviously, if I'm in Austria or Germany, it's much easier to switch to English.

Interviewer: Of course, the majority of people there don't have problems with that. As for me, when I was still a language learner, and I was trying very hard to use German with the Germans, and they noticed that it was a challenge for me, my problem was that I couldn't convince them that we shouldn't switch to English. I already knew English better and I wanted to practise German. They just kind of have it in them that *you don't have to speak my language*.

Interviewee: Yes, and if you're a foreigner, you get along with English.

Interviewer: Yes, yes, yes. Well, it doesn't make my job as a language teacher any easier now, when I want to do projects like this with native speakers of German with my students. I often catch them switching to English. So it's such an interesting thought that we have here...

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: ...what you have said here!

Interviewee: Just to add to what I do, I'm also PhD student by the way...

Interviewer: Aha! Wow!

Interviewee: ...and now I'm teaching the second course in higher education. So, I'm still very much a beginner at this, but now in the fall semester I had this Skills Development course and now I'm doing Content-Based Language Development - I think that's what it's called.

Interviewer: Very nice! And what's that? Is it like CLIL, like this bilingual...?

Interviewee: No, no. That's ... that's the name of the subject. Actually, it's also a ... it's a skill-development class.

Interviewer: Aha, so a language class?

Interviewee: Yes, a language class, actually.

Interviewer: Aha, aha. And which institution is this?

Interviewee: This is [X], for the English majors and ... and the teacher trainees, we have second year students.

Interviewer: And what PhD program are you in, or what will you write your dissertation on?

Interviewee: Well, yeah, it's ... well ... it's going well, I'm in my second year now, so now I have to like…

Interviewer: Comprehensive exam coming up soon?

Interviewee: … comprehensive exam, yes. I'm looking at how English teachers in the English language classroom ... on the one hand, what roles they like to ... so what role ...

Interviewer: I see! That they can act as a facilitator...

Interviewee: Yes, yes! And that within that role they might be looking after the mental health of the students.

Interviewer: Wow! I think it's a very, very relevant topic.

Interviewee: Yes!

Interviewer: And XY, or who is your supervisor?

Interviewee: My supervisor is ZZs.

Interviewer: Aha! I don't know them.

Interviewee: I also know XY. Well, they are also...

Interviewer: This is obviously their school, with a little exaggeration!

Interviewee: Yes, yes, yes.

Interviewer: OK! Well, I'm keeping my fingers crossed for you!

Interviewee: Thank you.

Interviewer: I think this is a very useful and relevant and important topic.

Interviewee: Well, I hope you can do it!

Interviewer: As for the age groups you teach, that's ... that's already been said, but tell me something about their language level.

Interviewee: Yes. Well, in our school the norm is... it's not a particularly elite school ... high school, that everybody reaches the level of the intermediate school-leaving exam ... it's ... it's ... and let's say in every group every year there are some 4-5 students who might try for the advanced level. But that's the maximum!

Interviewer: So the final level is B1-B2.

Interviewee: B1-B2.

Interviewer: And where do you start in 9th grade?

Interviewee: And in 9th grade in general, it's been happening now for the last couple of years that it's at an A2 level.

Interviewer: So you can start with a "pre" book, say?

Interviewee: We usually start with a "pre" book, or if there are beginners, because sometimes it happens that someone had German in primary school, and we don't have enough students to start a German group, an advanced German group, so they are also put into an English group, and there we usually start with an elementary one, and then at a faster pace, based on the fact that with German they already have some...

Interviewer: Of course, some language learning experience.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Good, thank you very much. Do you think that the level of language proficiency and even age differences, do they in any way affect whether or how you can incorporate different varieties into your language teaching?

Interviewee: Well, the age group and their language level?

Interviewer: Yes. Actually, that's two questions.

Interviewee: Yes. Well, the age group ... I would say that we're talking about teenagers, so 14 to 18, and the fact that they watch American films and series is not a question. So that's what ... what sounds most natural to them, yes. Most of the people who have that identifiable ... let's say ... accent, it's more American. So that's maybe the role of the age group that they're adolescents, and obviously they feed off the ... the mass media, so it's ... it's influenced that way.

Interviewer: But, if you had to compare, say, the 9th graders with the 12th grraders, would you notice any difference?

Interviewee: Not really. No, no.

Interviewer: And concerning the language levels? So if you were to say - I know, or I think it's likely that that's not your primary goal - but if you were to say that your intention was to demonstrate the diversity of language variation, is there any difference in how that could be done, how much it could be done? Is it possible at all in a beginners' group or even in an advanced group?

Interviewee: Well, in an advanced group, it is more possible to use authentic texts, so let's say a film clip, a series... If it's a picture, so if it's a video, or even a written text ... it's much quicker to imagine that some ... some authentic material doesn't cause much difficulty.

Interviewer: Clear.

Interviewee: Obviously you're at a lower proficiency level, you have to modify it somehow, so you have to adapt it or select it so that ... you know well that there's a simple dialogue there, in that part of the film, let's say, so you have to filter it more, what is it that...

Interviewer: And is there any difference in ... what aspects of the differences you are showing? So I mean something like vocabulary or grammar or pronunciation. So for beginners, I don't know, it's more like this, and then for more advanced learners it's more like that. Or do you see no difference in that?

Interviewee: Well... yeah... I'm thinking... For beginners obviously the... the pronunciation that I bring in, which is a mixture anyway, and our textbook, which is a British edition, so erm most people there speak with a British accent. For beginners, it's about how it sounds, and how it's written, and how it's ... how it's pronounced. So I would probably say that it's easier if it's not too mixed up. So if it's always one thing, and it can be anything, so I ... I don't think that ... that there's a higher role for British pronunciation, for example, but it's just that our materials have that, and then ... then later on, when they're used to it, say, at an ... at an ... at an *intermediate* level, then maybe they have less difficulty if they encounter more than one thing. I don't know if there will be a question on what our materials are like.

Interviewer: There will be a question on that, but we can bring it here. This is a semi-structured interview, so you can touch upon anything. Let's get to it now, if it's...

Interviewee: Good, good, because what's interesting with this textbook is – can I say which one?

Interviewer: Of course!

Interviewee: This is the *Success* or *New Success* series of Person, for now. Next year it can't be, because it won't be...

Interviewer: It won't be on the list, will it?

Interviewee: It's not even on the list now, but we kinda like...

Interviewer: Aha! You've solved it.

Interviewee: ...we have solved it with these copies. So, it's such an interesting book from that point of view I think, and I really like that ... that there's a very wide variety of accented texts, or speakers, so you really can come across all kinds of things in the different listening tasks. Native speakers as well ... so that it's like from different areas of the UK. The ... in the teacher's book it's also indicated there which accent it is. I don't know myself, I usually look it up for myself there.

Interviewer: That's good. I know *Speakout* by Pearson, it's one of those ... I think it's C1+ or C2, I don't know, we use that at university. I've just come across this publisher for the first time and it looks very impressive to me.

Interviewee: We love this *Success*, and we're not letting it go! I don't know what will replace it.

Interviewer: It's so typical, isn't it? That they take it off the list.

Interviewee: Yes. Yes. From Beginner to Upper Intermediate. So that absolutely covers what you need in public education, so yes, so that there's a very wide range of...

Interviewer: Yes, good.

Interviewee: And there's non-native too, so that…

Interviewer: English as a Lingua Franca...

Interviewee: Let's say it's an Indian speaker or I don't know who, so it's sometimes questionable whether they're native or not, whatever!

Interviewer: Yeah, it could be that, Indian, but not necessarily.

Interviewee: Yes, yes! But, that ... that ... that there are also people with whom it is really difficult, so it is difficult even for me to understand when I know that I have to listen to this in such and such a way. And ... but even from a low level ... so even in elementary, sometimes these ... these non-British accents pop up.

Interviewer: That's cool, I might take this Pearson one, because I haven't ... I haven't analysed them or their textbooks. But then it's good that you highlight it as a positive example, because then I can include it in my dissertation, so it's ... this conversation has been totally worth it for me! Thank you very much!

Interviewee: I am so glad. I wanted one more thing - because so far we have only talked about accent or pronunciation - that in vocabulary ... the ... I do that from the very beginner level. Well, obviously not in large quantity, if a word or two words are very different in American and British English, then ... then *football* or *soccer*, and then ... so that ... this can be covered at lower levels.

Interviewer: Clear, clear. Good. And what are some exercises or activities that you can use in English lessons, or even outside of class, to introduce students to the different varieties?

Interviewee: Well, listening, that's obvious, the teaching materials have it. Vocabulary exercises ... so even ... anything that is for vocabulary practice, and I usually encourage them ... and you don't even really need to … to listen to or watch a film, video, music, anything outside of class. That's what we usually talk about, how it's worthwhile ... that it's good to have the Hungarian subtitles at first, but then after a while we stop doing that. And ... we try it ... let's say with English subtitles. Well, it helps to follow it, etc. Well, that's how it ... that's how it is...

Interviewer: It's good that you're developing a bit of autonomy too that way.

Interviewee: Yes, yes. Well, we'll see how effective it is, or how ... so I don't do it very hardcore, so ...

Interviewer: I think that's a key thing that I also ... now we have a ski break next week, and then I gave all my groups this homework to write down what was the one thing that was related to English, and ... and it came up every day in their free time. And you don't have to think big to do that! I told them that it could be ... I don't know ... a game, a video game that you play and it contains English, or a series that you watch, whatever. Then obviously I don't check if they're really engaged with it. But if they even have that idea in their head, I think it's a great help to us on the one hand, and a great achievement for us to make it part of their lives.

Interviewee: Yes, yes! I think now it's not so much an issue that ... they have the internet in their hands and ... and they use it. So why not use it for good?

Interviewer: Of course, of course, yes! It's very different for English and German, and I think for English and any other language. I teach these two languages, and even with English I sometimes have to convince the more skilful language learners that "Hey, I can still teach you and make you aware of things!" It's not all Netflix and HBO and I don't know what! In the case of German, I have to force them to watch some German TV and listen to some German music! It's just mind-boggling... this duality!

Interviewee: Well, I think it's obvious, it's the coolness.

Interviewer: Yes, English is cool!

Interviewee: English is cool! Unfortunately... or well...

Interviewer: It's an advantage in that sense, it depends on what we make of it! Good! And then if we take the four basic skills of communicative language teaching, that is ... reading comprehension, listening comprehension, speaking and writing, you mentioned that you could

definitely build this into listening comprehension. Is it possible in the others, or do you think it's good at all, to highlight the differences in the others, the diversity of variation, or what do you think about that?

Interviewee: Well, the other one... So I would say ... if I had to put them in order ... listening is first, then reading, so that to point out, say in a read text, a spelling difference between English and American English, or ... or in vocabulary use, it is perhaps a tangible thing, and then in productive skills we are happy if we somehow manage!

Interviewer: What you just said is absolutely in line with the literature. The receptive...

Interviewee: I'm glad!

Interviewer: You should focus on receptive skills! That's absolutely right!

Interviewee: Well, yes, because what ... what they produce is ... it's really ... so I think they have so much work to do to put it together ... or especially if they want to write, to even pay attention to the fact that it's now one of the versions, well, it's at such a very, very high level.

Interviewer: Yes, yes! Well, I'm not even sure that's what we're aiming for, I think.

Interviewee: Well, no! Because if you use it as a lingua franca, it doesn't really matter!...

Interviewer: What is your opinion on whether it is worth insisting that a particular variety is always chosen and preferred by language learners?

Interviewee: Well, that's pretty much the same as my previous answer. So that ... that I wouldn't frustrate the language learner any further. That they have to pay attention to that because ... because they have to pay attention to enough things anyway. And I prefer to say, but I don't know whether it's just all the things I have read in the last two years or whether I thought so anyway, that they should develop their own English, that it will be ... so ... their accent, their pronunciation will be that. So it's a natural thing. However, I have a student who has figured out that they want to speak British English and they've mastered the British accent ... and it's very weird, so they get laughed at and everything. So it's not so good.

Interviewer: I heard somebody once say, "*Why did you do that to yourself?*

Interviewee: Well, more or less yes. Yes, yes. So, so I think it's going to naturally evolve from what you're going to use. In written text, of course. I usually tell people who are preparing for language exams that it's usually good to be consistent, but I don't know how true that is, and I've read it in some advice for language exam takers, that it's good to be consistent, or you can lose points in an international language exam if you do it in a very giraffe-elephant kind of way. So that spelling is consistent and so on. Well, that's ... that's it maybe. But as long as someone doesn't take an exam, doesn't want to take an exam, it doesn't matter.

Interviewer: Good. What do you think it is like, or why is it good, if it is good at all, that your students know about the existence of different varieties?

Interviewee: I think that this is part of the whole issue of language knowledge, so that ... that language is also a culture, and you have to know that ... that culturally it is a ... diversity. English ... I don't know if there is another language that has so many varieties. So many...

Interviewer: Well, there are certainly not that many!

Interviewee: … so many non-native varieties. Yes. And I think it's ... so it's an interesting thing, so I think ... most of the students, or well, for some of the students it's certainly interesting information, and it's not all the same in terms of usage, so if ... if you use it for your work or your studies later on, if you go abroad ... so if you go abroad, you shouldn't be surprised.

Interviewer: Of course! And we can't really predict where and with whom they will interact in English in the future. Good. And what is the role of the teacher in all this?

Interviewee: Well, on the one hand, the teacher is a model with their own language use. The way ... the way they use language is definitely a model. I'm often asked, so ... so multiple groups have asked me: 'So what kind of English do you teach?' And then I can't answer that in simple terms, so they are forced to listen to the ... the answer.

Interviewer: They pushed the button, huh?

Interviewee: They pressed the button. So ... so that's the model role, and then also to pass on the information, as I just said, so I'm presenting it to them in that way that ... that there are so many different varieties and so ... so from those aspects.

Interviewer: But you mentioned that they get this kind of knowledge from elsewhere too...

Interviewee: Yes, yes, yes, I wanted to say something like that, yes, that's ... so on the one hand, I don't think that's the teacher's primary task, or that's not the most important thing that we do.

Interviewer: Of course...

Interviewee: It is important, yes, it is important ... so that it is important for the sake of completeness. And the students can get the knowledge from elsewhere ... plenty of it!

Interviewer: Good! Now, if you get a piece of writing from your students, an essay in which they alternate, mix and match - I shouldn't have said it like that - but mix different varieties, what do you do with that? Do you leave it, underline it, correct it, comment on it? What do you do with it?

Interviewee: Well, part of it is that you could really get me in this topic. So that ... that ... that I don't think for a moment that I can recognize and identify very accurately all the ... different varieties. But it's unlikely that any student will produce Jamaican English or ... So let's say the difference between British and American spelling...

Interviewer: For example.

Interviewee: …favourite vs. favorite, etc. This is what I usually correct. And when there's a ... a mistake like that, I use it ... I use it to tell them that ... that it doesn't matter which one, but it has to be consistent.

Interviewer: Okay, I understand. That's the conclusion you just ... sorry ... you just mentioned about spelling...

Interviewee: Yeah, and the vocabulary and the vocabulary, yeah! I never correct pronunciation. So ... in oral production, I never correct pronunciation in that aspect.

Interviewer: Obviously maybe if it can't be understood, right?

Interviewee: Well, yes, but then it's not because of the varieties, it's ... it's something...

Interviewer: Of course not!

Interviewee: But some other pronunciation...

Interviewer: That's a different story, yes.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Good. What else do I want here? I'll have a quick look at my list. Yes! How do your language learners react when ... when you show them different varieties like this?

Interviewee: They're interested, so this could be one of those interesting things that are going on in the lessons.

Interviewer: I see. So they don't...

Interviewee: Usually this is an interesting piece of information for them.

Interviewer: So the reaction is rather positive?

Interviewee: Absolutely, absolutely!

Interviewer: Good. Have you encountered any difficulties with this topic, the representation of the different varieties? Is there anything that prevents you from doing it?

Interviewee: You mean, from mentioning it in my class or in my teaching?

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: No such thing? Not even in the past?

Interviewee: No, not really.

Interviewer: Good, and then I think there's only one last segment left. Just in the meantime there are these comments in this document. Yes. What kind of materials can you use in language teaching to ... to introduce this diversity, this plurality?

Interviewee: Well, obviously the textbook that we use. Movies, TV series, I ... I use pop songs less, but that's a different story. So...

Interviewer: Yes.

Interviewee: I don't think it's as appropriate as it's customary and fashionable and always has been.

Interviewer: And I'm also very careful with them, because you don't know how much their tastes are ...

Interviewee: That's exactly why! So what I like, what I like may not be ... suitable for what I would want. So, just to have some fun, to have some colour, I wouldn't do it. But the ... but the films and the ... so a well-chosen film, and then it can really be a very diverse genre. I've shown films of all genres... Well, not all of them!

Interviewer: Maybe not this kind of bloody horror!

Interviewee: No, obviously not! There would have been a demand, but no!

Interviewer: Yeah, I guess!

Interviewee: And ... and then of the series ... well, the one that is my favorite, but it's a very interesting experience, *Friends*. *Friends* has a lot of ... a lot of ... I really like that, obviously, that's where it comes from. And I've taken a lot of ... well, let's say holidays ... I've taken a lot of it related to the holidays or related to a theme like that. And it's very interesting that today's ... so today's teenagers don't know this anymore. Or rather, they know it as "Oh, this is my parents' favourite!"

Interviewer: Yes, yes, yes, yes!

Interviewee: And then ... and then it's very interesting how they react to *Friends*. So they laugh, but at how lame it is.

Interviewer: But good!

Interviewee: But ... I don't know, in New York there's a coffee shop that they have ... I think it's great for that.

Interviewer: Cool! And I also ... I use it more for private students. Or I recommend rather because it's so simple that it's not ... it's okay if it's a complete beginner, because it's not ...

Interviewee: Yes!

Interviewer: ...it's okay if you don't understand it in that much detail. You understand a thing or two...

Interviewee: And they act it out.

Interviewer: Still funny. They act it out, that's right.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: I think it can be very motivating. I think it's very motivating. So that's ... that's ... that's one of my favourites too. Good. And are there any difficulties with this kind of materials? Here I would like to come back to the difficulties.

Interviewee: Well, it's just that you have to prepare all of these. So it can be a very long time. So I remember when...

Interviewer: Of course!

Interviewee: ...I figured out that a great Thanksgiving lesson could be made out of Friends. Well, I did that for an entire day! One single lesson!

Interviewer: That's it! I can relate to that!

Interviewee: So it's quite a big difficulty that you have to … you have to produce these.

Interviewer: Would it be nice then if there was some kind of database or...?

Interviewee: Well, yes, maybe. Let's say for sure that these ... so anything that's authentic, you have to ... you have to ... you have to make it yourself for that particular group or that particular student...

Interviewer: Of course, you have to adjust it.

Interviewee: ...adjust it.

Interviewer: OK, thank you very much, X, that's all from me.

Appendix 3: The Hungarian original of the interview excerpts quoted in the dissertation

Quote 1:

Kérdés: Játszik-e ebben szerepet az, hogy ők milyen korúak, illetve milyen nyelvi szinten helyezkednek el?

Válasz: […] Tehát ott ugye most már látjuk, hogy az utóbbi érettségikben akár az ausztrál, akár az amerikai angol, nyilván a brit … tehát nincs a britnek egyeduralkodó szerepe. Mindenfélét bedobnak a hallás utáni szövegértési feladatokba, tehát nekünk is kötelességünk ugye ezt így tanítani.

Quote 2:

Kérdés: Ezzel a témával kapcsolatban, hogy különböző angolok meg különböző németek, van bármi nehézség, amivel szembe kell néznie a tanulóknak? Említetted ezt, hogy mikor vizsgára készültél, a hirtelen váltás a felvételek között, az nehézséget tudott jelenteni. Van-e bármi más, amiről még így be tudnál számolni, hogy hú, hát ez azért nehéz?

Hát ööö vizsgán úgymond ööö nem … szerintem annyira nem osztályozzák, hogy … hogy brit vagy amerikait…

Quote 3:

Kérdés: Tegyük fel, hogy kapsz egy fogalmazást egy tanulódtól, aki ebben a fogalmazásában különböző nyelvváltozatokból származó elemeket jelenít meg. Legyen az szókincs, vagy nyelvtan, vagy bármi. Akkor mit csinálsz ezekkel? Kijavítod, otthagyod, odaírsz valamit? Milyen stratégiát alkalmazol?

Tehát itt … itt én azt gondolom, hogy mivel a középfoknak … azért ott nem egy olyan magas a szint még, ezzel szerintem a nyelvvizsgára … vagy ezek a különböző nyelvvizsgák érzésem szerint nem nagyon foglalkoznak még. Felsőfokon is, ha foglalkoznak, szerintem ez komoly … komoly levonást nem igazán jelent.

Quote 4:

Kérdés: Milyen feladatokat vagy aktivitásokat, tevékenységeket tudsz elképzelni egy angolórán vagy németórán, amikben előkerülhet ez a sokféleség a különböző nyelvváltozatok között? Tehát hogy mit csinálhatnak a tanulók az órán, amikor ez előjön?

Adatközlő: És elég … fú … hát, hogy már nem annyira veszem észre, de az elején, amikor kezdtem, amikor a B2-t kezdtem csinálni, akkor nagyon furcsálltam, hogy Úristen, ez most micsoda, és akkor … hát igen.

Kérdező: Ez okozott egyébként problémát?

Adatközlő: Ööö elején igen. De utána nagyon meg lehet szokni könnyen.

Quote 5:

Kérdés: Arról mi a véleményed, hogy érdemes-e ahhoz ragaszkodni, hogy egy adott változatot válasszanak ki, és részesítenek mindig előnyben a nyelvtanulók?

Válasz: Azt azért el szoktam mondani, így akik nyelvvizsgára készülnek, hogy … hogy általában, de ez nem tudom, mennyire igaz amúgy, és ezt így olvastam ilyen jótanácsok között a nyelvvizsgázóknak, hogy jó, hogyha konzekvens az ember, vagy mondjuk egy nemzetközi nyelvvizsgán azért abból lehet pontokat veszteni, hogyha mondjuk ilyen nagyon zsiráf-elefánt módon csinálja. Tehát, hogy mondjuk a helyesírás konzisztens legyen, meg ilyesmi.

Quote 6:

Kérdés: Szerinted befolyásolja a nyelvi szint azt, hogy hogy tudjuk beépíteni a különféle nyelvváltozatokat, vagy akár csak megmutatni ezeket?

Válasz: […] de én határozottan nem szeretem azt, mikor mondjuk egy listening-ben, egy nyelvvizsgán előjön egy-egy ilyen nagyon erős, mondjuk skót. Szerintem ez … ez motivációvesztéssel jár, ez egy rizikós dolog az elején. Egy … egy … egy olyan C1-es már hallgasson, értse meg, de C1-es szint alatt biztos, hogy nem hoznék ílyen helyzetbe nyelvtanulót.

Quote 7:

Kérdés: És van-e ezeknek az anyagoknak kapcsán bármi nehézség?

Válasz: Ez sokkal több munkát jelent, ami … ami időben … hát … valljuk be őszintén, ilyen leterhelés mellett, ilyen óraszám mellett nagyon sokszor a „majd" kategóriájába kerül.

Quote 8:

Kérdés: Mi akadályozza azt, hogy ez a hétköznapokban így előkerüljön?

Válasz: Hát szerintem sokszor az, hogy a tanár saját maga sem annyira járatos ezekben. Tehát én személy szerint nem igazán ismerem ezeket. Én már hallottam már, meg … meg jártam is

ilyen területeken, de … de, hogy nem kötődöm személy szerint sem a sváb hoz, sem az osztrák változatokhoz. És akkor ez … nyilván az ember nem mozog otthonosan, akkor inkább úgy … úgy el tudja ezeket így tolni magától.

Quote 9:

Kérdés: Abban hogy tud a tanár bármilyen szerepet játszani, hogy a kiejtésbeli különbségekre felkészítsük a tanulókat? Arra milyen ötleted lenne?

Válasz: Egyetemen sem tanultunk olyan túl sok mindent ezzel kapcsolatban.

Quote 10:

Kérdés: Szerinted van-e bármiféle nehézség, ami megnehezíti azt, hogy a különféle nyelvváltozatokat egy nyelvtanuló megismerje?

Válasz: Hát így most ahhoz tudnék visszanyúlni, amit ugye mondtam így az előzőekben is, hogy nyilván ugye a hallás meg az ilyen szövegértés, tehát a hallott szöveg értése, az … nyilván ugye ezt nehezítheti az, hogyha a diák nem túl gyakorlott ebben, és akkor esetleg ugye elsőre nem ért meg egy szöveget, vagy egy-egy nyelvváltozatot. És akkor az például nálunk előfordult, hogy ez így amiatt nehezítette ugye a tanulást, hogy az ember ilyenkor könnyen feladja azt, hogy … hogy akkor próbálkozzon még, és akkor hallgasson még több szöveget, olvasson még több olyat.

Quote 11:

Kérdés: Mi a helyzet a produktív készségekkel, a beszéddel meg az írással? Ott is van ennek létjogosultsága?

Válasz: Tudom, ugye mi egy más helyzetben vagyunk, mint az ország más részén, keleten, keleti részében élők, mert ugye nekünk azért több a kapcsolatunk Ausztriával. Nyilvánvaló, sokan kint dolgoznak. Szülő dolgozik kint, utána esetleg a gyerek is kimegy, és ezen kívül is tehát rengeteg programok és egyéb dolgok miatt azért szükség van rá. […] És hallottam azt is ezzel kapcsolatban az egyik tanítványomtól, hogy … mivel Pinkamindszentnél van is egy határátkelőhely, ők át szoktak járni a szomszéd osztrák faluba beszélgetni az emberekkel.

Quote 12:

Kérdés: Vannak, akik azt mondják, hogy érdemes eldönteni rögtön az elején, hogy melyik nyelvváltozat az, amit tanítunk vagy tanulunk, és akkor ehhez ragaszkodjunk minden

körülmények között. Ne kavargassuk itten, hogy akkor egy kis osztrák, egy kis svájci, egy kis németországi német! Neked erről mi a véleményed?

Válasz: Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia kapcsán rengeteg szó van, ami borzasztóan hasonlít a magyarra. És akár még könnyebb is megtanulni, és nahát-nahát, mennyi szót tudok már!

Quote 13:

Kérdés: És a nyelvtanár, az pedig milyen anyagokat tud ehhez bevetni?

Válasz: […] Szerintem egyébként így … így erre mondjuk itt a … nálunk, például a Szombathelyen lévő nyelviskolák szerintem teljes mértékben egyébként úgymond ráállhatnának […] mert például […] az egyik barátom, ő … ő itt tanult meg németül, [X] nyelviskolában, Szombathelyen. És nekik is igazából ezt a Hochdeutsch-ot tanították. De például szerintem tényleg itt mi teljesen a határ mellett vagyunk […] így teljesen elképzelhetőnek tartanám, hogy … hogy az osztrák németet tanítják mondjuk jobban. És … és tényleg, az hogy célirányosan így csak arra fókuszálnak úgymond. Úgyhogy igen.

Quote 14:

Kérdés: Meg Ausztria azért a szomszédunk, nem igaz?

Adatközlő: …hát az még eleve szomszéd is. Arra szerintem érdemes kitérni. Meg egyébként az is lehet, hogy … hogy mondjuk a Dunántúlon kicsit többet tanuljanak ebből, a Tiszántúlon igazából talán nem utazzák át a fél országot azért, hogy mondjuk kint dolgozzanak Ausztriában. De ugye a … a határmenti településeknél, ott tudjuk, hogy ott sokan kijárnak dolgozni Ausztriába. Ilyen szempontból lehet őket segíteni, hogy jó, akkor egy kis osztrák nyelvjárást is tanítanak, vagy akár nem tudom, aki tervezi, az járjon valami szakkörre, vagy nem tudom.

Kérdező: Szerinted vannak ilyenek? Megvalósul ez a gyakorlatban?

Adatközlő: Hát szerintem nincsenek.

Kérdező: Aha, értem. De jó lenne akkor, úgy érzed.

Adatközlő: Hát szerintem biztos lenne olyan, akinek segítene. Vagy akár ilyen … nem tudom … ott … ott a határmenti településeknél nem csak iskolai szakkör, hanem akár idősebbeknek is, akik mondjuk tényleg már tudják, hogy na most akkor mennék ki Ausztriába dolgozni, és akkor beíratkozik egy ilyen rövidke nyelvtanfolyamra, vagy nem tudom. Aztán akkor lehet, hogy könnyebben elboldogul.

Quote 15:

Kérdés: Említetted, hogy a németnél, ott úgy viszonylag magától értetődő a németországi német elsődlegessége. Az angol esetében azt mondtad, hogy a suliban inkább a brit dominancia volt jellemző. Ez szerinted jól van így, magától értetődő, vagy itt azért más a helyzet? Hogy látod ezt?

Válasz: Ó, hát hogyha azt nézem, hogyha ugyanazt a logikát követem, mint a németnél, akkor biztos, hogy többen vannak, többen mennek magyarok közül Angliába, mint Amerikába. Mert azért Amerika kicsit messzebb van.

Quote 16:

Kérdés: Milyen anyagokat használhat egy tanár arra, hogy ezt bevigye az órára?

Adatközlő: Nekünk például volt ilyen órarendi óránk, hogy … hogy ugye lektori beszélgetésünk.
Kérdező: Amerikai lektorotok volt, igaz?
Adatközlő: Igen, igen, nekünk amerikai volt. Illetve volt egy kanadai is, és akkor így váltogatták, hogy épp … épp kivel találkozunk.

Quote 17:

Kérdés: Hogyha visszagondolsz a te németes tanulmányaidra, amiket mondjuk iskolai keretek között végeztél, akkor azok mennyire tartalmazták ezt az ausztriai variánst?

Adatközlő: Nekem … nekem ugye a kéttannyelvű német miatt szerencsém volt, mert ugye nyelvi lektori óráink is voltak, és ott igazából tanultunk már … már ilyen párokat, hogy … hogy hogyan meg mint van. De hát őszintén megmondom, tehát amikor én kikerültem, igazából így akkor beleestem én is így a lecsóba, mentem a mélyvízbe, és igazából akkor … akkor tanultam meg igazán. Viszont tényleg, mondom, így az itthoni nyelvtanulás keretein belül is azért már felkészítettek, igen.
Kérdező: Oké! A lektorotok, az osztrák volt egyébként?
Adatközlő: Először német lektorunk volt, és utána pedig osztrák, igen.

Quote 18:

Kérdés: Szerinted az, hogy milyen szinten vagy mondjuk angolból, az szerepet játszik-e abban, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat mennyire lehet megismerni, vagy mennyire lehet a tanulás részévé tenni?

Adatközlő: Hát azt mondanám, hogy nálunk teljes mértékben sikerült így a … így az osztályba ez, tehát, hogy így mi elsajátítottuk ezt, hogy például felismerjük a különböző akcentusokat meg ilyesmi. Mert volt kifejezetten olyan óránk, amikor erre koncentráltunk, hogy melyik pontosan milyen és számomra például sokat segített az, hogy rengeteg hallgatást csináltunk. Tehát, hogy így megértem nagyjából az összeset, még hogyha nem is ismerem föl, hogy melyik pontosan honnan van.

Kérdező: Hát a lényeg tulajdonképpen a megértés.

Adatközlő: Igen, igen, igen, igen! Tehát abba' mindenképpen úgy érzem, hogy így … így sikerült fejlődnöm. Tehát, hogy az iskola által.

Quote 19:

Kérdés: Vannak, akik azt mondják, hogy érdemes eldönteni rögtön az elején, hogy melyik nyelvváltozat az, amit tanítunk vagy tanulunk, és akkor ehhez ragaszkodjunk minden körülmények között. Ne kavargassuk itten, hogy akkor egy kis osztrák, egy kis svájci, egy kis németországi német! Neked erről mi a véleményed?

Válasz: Én azt gondolom, hogy ezeket eleve kötelességünk is megtanítani, felhívni a gyerekek figyelmét arra, hogy … hogy léteznek ilyenek, hogy … hogy ne lepődjön meg, hogy ha mondjuk odakerül, akkor egy picikét másfajta nyelvvel találkozik, mint egyébként. […] Egyrészt azért, mert ezek léteznek, és … és nem lehet megkerülni azt, hogy én most itt bedugom a fejemet a homokba, és akkor, ha … ha nem tudok róla, akkor nincs. Tehát, hogy … hogy ezt … ezt tudnia kell azoknak, akik akár csak turistaként, vagy nem tudom én, ugye járják a világot, találkoznak evvel a jelenséggel, és … és akkor ne ott lepődjenek meg, vagy … vagy egyáltalán. Meg szerintem azért ez egy alapvető dolog, hogyha én tanulok egy idegen nyelvet, akkor arról tudok egy s mást.

Quote 20:

Kérdés: Mi az ami megnehezítheti azt, hogy én minél többféle változatot megismerjek?

Válasz: Hát iskolai keretek között nyilván az, hogyha a tanár nem nyílt rá, mert hiába ugye célja a diáknak, hogyha esetleg órán nem hall olyan tartalmakat, meg nem lát, akkor … akkor ugye nyilván önszorgalomból egy kicsit nehezebb ezt az egészet ugye kivitelezni amellett, hogy nyilván az iskolába' még az órák mellett … tehát készülni kell ugye. Tehát, hogyha esetleg valakinek nincs annyi szabadideje, akkor szerintem az egyik nagyon jó módszer az,

hogy az órán tanuljuk meg. És hogyha ott így nincsen szó ilyenekről, akkor … akkor az ugye nehezítheti nyilván, szóval akadály lehet.

Quote 21:

Kérdés: mit gondol arról, hogy befolyásolja-e a tanulóknak a nyelvi szintje azt, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat hogyan, illetve milyen mélységben tudja megjeleníteni a nyelvórán?

Válasz: Szerintem nagyon érdeklődőnek kell lennie a diákoknak, vagy egy érdeklődő csoport vagy fakultáció, hogy itt ezekbe mélyebben belemenjünk.

Quote 22:

Kérdés: Van-e valami nehézség, ami megnehezíti a dolgod abban, hogy mondjuk a különböző nyelvváltozatokat bemutasd a diákoknak?

Válasz: Ez nem egy prioritás nekem.

Quote 23:

Kérdés: Mi nehezíti meg a számodra azt, hogy ezekkel a különbségekkel megismerkedjél?

Kérdező: Azt mondtad, hogy nem sokszor fordult ez elő például az iskolai óráidon.
Adatközlő: Igen.
Kérdező: Szerinted miért?
Adatközlő: Hát azért, mert nem annyira fontos.

Quote 24:

Kérdés: Oké, és ahhoz, hogy minél jobban megvalósuljon ez a cél, hogy minél többféle angolt megértsünk mondjuk, vagy németet, ahhoz milyen tevékenységeket lehet végezni, amik ezt segítik, mondjuk órán vagy órán kívül?

Válasz: […] De igazából úgy gondolom, hogyha akármelyik verziót is megtanulja az ember, mondjuk megtanulom a brit angol nyelvtanát, azt meg fogja érteni az amerikai angol … angol is, szóval […] szerintem elég az egyiket megtanulni, nem kell feltétlenül a másik verziót is.

Quote 25:
Kérdés: Te hogy látod, mi ebben a tanár szerepe?
Válasz: Azért így általános iskolai órákon annyiszor nem találkozunk ezekkel.

Quote 26:

Kérdés: Az iskolai németórákon milyen német változatokkal találkozol?

Adatközlő: A német német, a németországi német.

Kérdező: Aha! Kizárólag? Vagy … vagy azért néha előjön más is?

Adatközlő: Hát a többi fajta némettel nem foglalkozunk.

Kérdező: Aha! És mondjuk az iskolai órákon kívül találkoztál-e már bármilyen formában az egyéb változatokkal, mint mondjuk ausztriai vagy svájci német?

Adatközlő: Nem igazán.

Quote 27:

Kérdés: Látsz-e különbséget, mondjuk abban, amiről eddig beszélgettünk, az angol és a német között?

Válasz: Ebbe meg végképp nem merültünk bele.

Quote 28:

Kérdés: Hogyha mondjuk a négy kommunikatív készséget – tehát olvasás, hallgatás, beszéd és írás – vesszük alapul, akkor ezek közül melyibe lehet szerinted ezt a változatosságot beépíteni a leginkább?

Válasz: A valóság az, hogy a másfél év alatt egyáltalán nem csináltáltam ilyet.

Quote 29:

Kérdés: Lehet, hogy pont a motivációt el is venné, nem? Hogyha kötelezővé tennénk...

Válasz: Tehát ez abszolút tényleg csak ilyen plusz, amivel, ha foglalkozunk, és akkor ő még beleáshatja magát.

Quote 30:

Kérdés: Az Ön mindennapi munkájában milyen szerepe van a különböző nyelvváltozatoknak, ha egyáltalán bármilyen szerepe van ezeknek?

Válasz: Természetesen érdekességként, hogyha éppen olyan szót tanít az ember, akkor … akkor megemlíti, hogy ezt másképp mondjuk Németországban. Vagy gesztenyét … vagy megyünk adventre, akkor mit sütnek, *Kastanie*-t vagy *Marone*-t Bécsben. Tehát ilyen szinten előfordul, de hát ez … ez … ez elenyésző.

Quote 31:

Kérdés: Amikor a némettanulásod meg az angoltanulásod során valahogy előjött az órán ez a többközpontúság kérdése, akkor hogy reagáltál erre? Ez téged érdekelt, vagy inkább csak túl bonyolultnak találtad, vagy sőt inkább még unalmas is volt? Vagy szóval mi volt a te véleményed ezekről?

Válasz: Nem annyira tartottam nyilván fontosnak, mert volt egy csomó minden más is. De érdekesnek érdekes. Tehát az … az tény, hogy érdekes.

Quote 32:

Kérdés: Mondtad, hogy a diákokat érdekli, szóval, hogyha egy ilyen dolog előjön, akkor általában te és a társaid ez iránt érdeklődni szoktatok? Vagy hogy szoktatok reagálni erre?

[…] Tehát lehet, hogy könnyebben emészthető, de kevésbé fontos.

Quote 33:

Kérdés: Van-e valami nehézség, ami megnehezíti a dolgod abban, hogy mondjuk a különböző nyelvváltozatokat bemutasd a diákoknak?

Válasz: Nem tartom úgy központi kérdésnek, mert úgy gondolom, hogy … hogy … hogy előbb-utóbb, ha ilyen helyzetbe kerülnek majd a gyerekek, meg én is, tehát akkor alkalmazkodik, és kész, és előbb-utóbb megérti azt a másikat.

Quote 34:

Kérdés: Tehát mi lehet ennek a gyakorlati haszna, hogy ismerem azt, hogy hogy mondják az osztrákok, hogy mondják a svájciak, hogy mondják a németek?

Válasz: Én azért nem tartom ezt továbbra se annyira fontosnak, mert mondom, hogyha például kimegyek Ausztriába akár még dolgozni, ilyesmi, és több időt eltöltök, akkor úgyis egy idő után meg fogom érteni, ha nem tudtam.

Quote 35:

Kérdés: Ez központi szerepet játszik az óráitokon, vagy csak úgy néha előjön?

Válasz: Csak néha előjön.

Quote 36:

Kérdés: Milyen aktivitásokat, milyen feladatokat vagy tevékenységeket tudsz alkalmazni az óráidon, amelyeken keresztül megjelennek a különböző nyelvváltozatok?

Válasz: Most ezek, hogy most kiejtés vagy nyelvtan vagy szókincs, ezek ilyen elszigeteltebbek. Tehát ez … ez … ez szerintem mondjuk, tehát nem olyan szisztematikusan jelenik meg, én úgy érzem, az én tanításomban.

Quote 37:

Kérdés: Ad-e ez bármiféle előnyt a nyelvtanulóknak, hogyha tudnak erről a változatosságról? Önnek mi a véleménye?

Válasz: […] Csak nem ezzel kezdem, hanem… hanem menet közen haladok, és hogyha éppen előkerül, akkor mondom.

Quote 38:

Kérdés: Tehát akkor ez inkább órán kívüli tevékenységek sora. Van olyan, amit az órába is be lehet építeni?

Válasz: Szerintem órán annyira nem fontos. Szerintem egy tanórán az lenne a cél, hogy felkészítse a diákokat az érettségire vagy a nyelvvizsgára.

Quote 39:

Kérdés: Sokan mondják azt, hogy hát hogyan tanítsak én ausztriai németet vagy mittudomén skót angolt, amikor én magam sem tudok ezen a nyelvváltozaton beszélni vagy kommunikálni? Ez szerinted jogos felvetés?

Válasz: […] Tehát, hogyha az a kérdés, hogy ne haladjunk-e tovább mondjuk akkor vizsgafeladatokkal inkább e helyett. Meg hogy ne … ne érettségire gyakoroljunk vagy még … még egy plusz szókincset valamivel kapcsolatban. Tehát, hogy … hogy ez a másik, amit a mérlegre kell tenni. És ez bizony … ez nagyon fontos szempont szerintem.

Quote 40:

Kérdés: Van-e bármi nehézség, amit Ön tapasztal, ami esetleg meggátolja vagy megnehezíti az Ön számára a nyelvváltozatok sokféleségének a megmutatását vagy beépítését a nyelvtanulási folyamatba?

Válasz: Egyszerűen nem törekszem rá, hogy … hogy ez feltétlen előkerüljön, mert annyi mindent tartok fontosnak, meg akarom, hogy ebbe beleférjenek, ebbe a négy évbe, amíg kiengedem a kölyköket a kezem közül, hogy ez … ez nem tartozik a legfontosabb teendőim közé.

Quote 41:

Kérdés: Szóval van-e bármi más nehézség, amibe ütközöl, vagy más korlát, ami nehézséget okoz?

Válasz: […] Tehát, hogyha például ott lenne egy olyan csoport, aki vagy érettségizik, vagy tényleg annyira azért küzdünk, hogy a minimális meglegyen, és lenne egy olyan feladat akár a könyvben, hogy … hogy … ami … ami mondjuk a nyelvváltozatokra épül, akkor lehet, hogy azt mondom, hogy azt kihagyom. És akkor még gyakoroljuk a present simple-t, vagy nem tudom.

Quote 42:

Kérdés: És mi ebben az egészben a tanár szerepe?

Válasz: A tanárnak szerintem ez nem elsődleges feladata, vagy nem ez a legfontosabb, amit csinálunk. […] Fontos, fontos … tehát, hogy a teljesség szempontjából fontos. És a tanulók meg máshonnan is megszerezhetik a tudást bőven … bőven!

Quote 43:

Kérdés: Vannak, akik azt mondják, hogy érdemes eldönteni rögtön az elején, hogy melyik nyelvváltozat az, amit tanítunk vagy tanulunk, és akkor ehhez ragaszkodjunk minden körülmények között. Ne kavargassuk itten, hogy akkor egy kis osztrák, egy kis svájci, egy kis németországi német! Neked erről mi a véleményed?

Válasz: Elsődlegesen ugye nyilván nem sokféle nyelvváltozatot próbálunk egyszerre tanítani, hanem inkább egyet alaposabban, de azért ki-kitérve azokra a lehetőségekre, amik adódnak a különbségek tárgyalására.

Quote 44:

Kérdés: Szerinted abban van különbség, hogy ezek közül mit tudok megmutatni egy kezdőnek, összehasonlítva egy haladóval?

Válasz: Nem biztos, hogy jó irányba menne, hogyha túlterhelném őket ezzel szerintem.

Quote 45:

Kérdés: Visszadobnám hozzád a labdát, hogy neked van-e bármi hozzáfűznivalód, kérdésed, megjegyzésed? Még eszedbe jutott-e ehhez kapcsolódóan bármi?

Válasz: […] Meg hogy nem kell kifejezetten az összes kifejezést tudni az összes akcentusból, hanem elég, ha kettőt-hármat tudunk, aztán úgyis megértik, amit mondunk.

Quote 46:

Kérdés: Hogyha mondjuk a nyelvtanárod nyelvórán valamilyen változatosságra hívja föl a figyelmet, vagy ilyet mutat be, akkor hogyan reagálnak erre a nyelvtanulók?

Válasz: […] Úgyhogy valamilyen szinten bele lehet szőni, de túl sok ne legyen!

Quote 47:

Kérdés: Amikor azt mondtad, hogy valószínűleg az angol kapcsán egy mixet tanulunk, és nem is annyira tudod megmondani, hogy most akkor ez amerikai angol vagy brit angol, vagy ilyen angol, olyan angol, hogy szerinted ez jó vagy rossz?

Válasz: És hát szerintem ez akár így érdekességnek jó is, de még … de még szerintem ez pont olyan szint, ami még nem zavarja meg különösebben a nyelvtanulót, amit mondjuk angolból csinálunk.

Quote 48:

Kérdés: Szerinted milyen szerepe van a nyelvtanulók nyelvi szintjének abban, hogy a nyelvi változatosságot mennyire tudod nekik megmutatni?

Válasz: Ez tulajdonképpen sokszor tankönyvfüggő. Tehát vannak tankönyvek, amelyek bizonyos leckéknél hangsúlyt fektetnek arra, hogy ezeket a változatokat is megmutassák. De épp az elmúlt napokban lapoztam át pár tankönyvet, ami tulajdonképpen azt a következtet amiben tulajdonképpen azt a következtetést vontam le, hogy igazából nem nagy hangsúlyt fektetnek erre a különböző könyvek. Nyilvánvaló ez egy szűk réteg, amit én megnéztem.

Quote 49:

Kérdés: Akkor ezt a tanulóidtól is megköveteled, hogy ha ők eldöntik, hogy németországi német vagy ausztriai német vagy mit tudom én, akkor tisztán ahhoz ragaszkodjanak vagy azért itt a keveredés is szóba jöhet?

Válasz: A könyvekhez tudnám kötni, hogy mivel azok leginkább a németországi németet tanítják, magától nem fogja tudni amúgy se, hogy milyen akár az ausztriai vagy nyilván svájci, akármi, már ha nem érdeklődik, és nem ássa bele magát esetleg, ha én nem mutatok

verziókat, akkor úgyis csak azt az egyet fogja ismerni. Meg talán ... hát igen … tehát ez itt megint a könyvek miatt, hogy az az elsődlegesebb inkább.

Quote 50:

Kérdés: És ebben az egészben – értem ez alatt nyilván a különböző nyelvváltozatoknak a beemelését a nyelvtanításba – mi a tanár szerepe? Mit tud tenni a tanár azért, hogy ez így megvalósuljon?

Válasz: Ez … ez nagyon nehézkes dolog szerintem. Tehát ahhoz, hogy ilyen nem tudom mennyi óra mellett az ember még akkor napi szinten osztrák, svájci, bajor, nem tudom, hogy milyen videókat, internetes anyagokat nézzen, tehát ez sok idő is lenne!

Quote 51:

Kérdés: Abban hogy tud a tanár bármilyen szerepet játszani, hogy a kiejtésbeli különbségekre felkészítsük a tanulókat? Arra milyen ötleted lenne?

Válasz: Igen, szerintem ez a … ez a legnehezebb terület, ugye az a kiejtés, mert ugye erre … én még nem láttam olyan könyvet, ahol erre utaltak volna. Tehát, hogy a kiejtés szempontjából, hogy a német, dél-német, ausztriai, svájci, stb. Tehát a kiejtés, az … az tényleg, az abszolút elhanyagolt terület.

Quote 52:

Kérdés: A szókincsen kívül mi lehet még különbözőség?

Válasz: Hát nyilván itt leginkább ugye a hallott szövegértés, […] és hát lássuk be azt is, hogy az se mindig túl autentikus, ami mondjuk a könyvekhez van.

Quote 53:

Kérdés: Van-e bármiféle nehézség, amiről be tudna számolni, ami megnehezíti azt a feladatot a tanár számára, hogy megmutassa a nyelvtanulóknak ezt a fajta sokféleséget?

Válasz: Tehát ugye most küldte szülinapomra az egyik hajdani, 30 évvel ezelőtti tanítványom ugye az „Imagine"-t. Hát azt … kazettáról, indigóval másoltam ki nekik a szöveget, ugye. Manapság ezek a gyerekek egyet kattintanak, és ugye ausztrál angoltól mindenük van.

Quote 54:

Kérdés: Hogyha az ember teljesen kezdő, mondjuk nyelvtanulóként, akkor van értelme egyáltalán ilyesmivel foglalkozni, vagy ez inkább csak egy haladóbb szinten kell, hogy előkerüljön szerinted?

Válasz: […] Most, hogyha a németből indulok ki, és azokból a Hörverstehen feladatokból, amik órán vannak, sokkal nehezebb megérteni számomra egy osztrák németet például ugye, mert máshogy beszélnek, meg ilyesmi.

Quote 55:

Kérdés: Mit gondolsz, milyen feladatok vagy tevékenységek lehetnének akkor a németórákon, amiken keresztül találkozhatnál a különböző változatokkal?

Válasz: […] merthogy kívülállóként nem ismerem fel ezeket.

Quote 56:

Kérdés: Ez így fontos, hogy megjelenjen, vagy inkább csak mondjuk az egyiket, és kész?

Adatközlő: […] Szerintem úgy volt a tankönyvünkben egyébként, hogy […] sok helyen volt i/h.
Kérdező: Aha! Vagy *ist,* vagy *hat*.
Adatközlő: Vagy *ist,* vagy *hat*. Nem tudom, ez konkrétan azért van-e, mert a németek is valamelyiknél ezt használják néha-néha, vagy amazt.
Kérdező: Olyan is van.
Adatközlő: Vagy azért, merthogy az osztrákok miatt is odarakták.
Kérdező: Akkor viszont odaírhatták volna, hogy az osztrákok miatt.
Adatközlő: Igen! Szóval nem tudom, hogy amiatt–e.

Quote 57:

Kérdés: Milyen tevékenységeket használhatok az órán, vagy akár órán kívül, amiken keresztül a különböző változatokat be lehet mutatni?

Válasz: Sokszor adok olyat, hogy … hogy nézzenek utána a dolgoknak például a YouTube-on, és akkor … akkor direkt olyat választok, vagy amolyat.

Quote 58:

Kérdés: Ezeknek a már említett anyagoknak a használatában tapasztalsz-e bármi nehézséget?

Válasz: Igen, igen, tehát ez a rengeteg … ez a rengeteg videó- és hanganyag, ami fent van az interneten, és ezek … ezek most már majdnem azt mondhatjuk, 99% -ban amerikai angolul vannak. Ennek … ennek kétségtelenül meglesz a nyoma a … a nyelvtanulók esetében is.

Quote 59:

Kérdés: Szerinted milyen tevékenységek vannak az órán, vagy akár az órán kívül, amik segíthetik ezeknek a különböző nyelvváltozatoknak az elsajátítását, vagy a velük való ismerkedést?

Válasz: Hát már csak abból kiindulva, hogy … hogy én hogy tanultam, meg … meg a Z generáció hogy tanul nyelvet, szerintem a sorozatok nézése, filmek, meg angol nyelvű, idegen nyelvű könyvek olvasásával … A Nagy Gatsby-vel, azt is angolul olvastam el.

Quote 60:

Kérdés: Jó, és az iskolán kívül, amikor bármilyen formában találkozol az angol nyelvvel, akkor annak milyen változatai szoktak megjelenni?

Válasz: Igazából, mikor sorozatokat nézek, akkor azért szoktam ausztrál sorozatokat nézni, meg hát ugye … meg amerikait leginkább.

Quote 61:

Kérdés: Szerinted a diákoknak a kora és nyelvi szintje, az szerepet játszik-e abban, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat milyen mértékben tudod beépíteni velük való foglalkozásba?

Válasz: Hát ezt szerintem angolból a könyvek nagyon megvalósítják. Tehát angolból van hozzá könyv, ha mondjuk a tanár nincs annyira képben, éppen van hozzá a könyvben mindig anyag, vagy tudsz szerezni ugye könnyen. Szerintem németből nem annyira.

Quote 62:

Kérdés: Szerinted abban, hogy ezt a változatosságot megmutassuk a diákoknak, abban van szerepe az ő előképzettségüknek meg nyelvi szintjüknek? Vagy már a kezdőnek is be lehet ezt ugyanúgy építeni, mint egy haladónak?

Válasz: Tehát például pont a *Kontakt* felkínálja azt, hogy … hú, nem tudom, talán a *Kontakt 2*, de teljesen mindegy, hogyha nem ismered, van egy ilyen kiegészítő anyag, ahol pont ezt nézi meg, hogy jé, néhány élelmiszernek a neve, gyümölcsök, zöldségek, nem tudom én, az osztrák sztenderd változatban így hangzanak.

Quote 63:

Kérdés: Abban esetleg érez-e a különbséget, hogy a nyelvváltozatok közötti különbségek milyen aspektusait mutatja meg mondjuk haladóbb, felső tagozatos csoportnak, meg egy alsó tagozatosnak?

Válasz: Hát ugye ez a … a könyvekben, most már például mi az MM Publications sorozatait tanítjuk, és például ugye ebbe nem, de mondjuk a *Full Blast*-ban itt-ott már előfordul, hogy kimondottan egybeveszi például ugye kimondottan az amerikai meg a brit angolt. Tehát pont a nyolcadikosaimmal ez tananyag is volt, ugye. És akkor másoltam nekik a … mert mi a *Project*-ből tanultunk, és akkor másoltam nekik a mittudomén a *Full Blast*-ból, vagy nem tudom, melyikbe' találtunk ilyet, és akkor összevetették.

Quote 64:

Kérdés: És ott, amikor azt mondod, hogy "listening," akkor a könyvhöz tartozó listeningekben is van már egyfajta változatosság, vagy a tanárnőd visz be pluszban olyanokat, amik más változatokból…?

Válasz: A tanárnő visz be pluszban inkább.

Quote 65:

Kérdés: Ehhez kiegészítő anyagok kellenek?

Válasz: Nekünk ezeket a tanárnő szokta mutatni, mondani. […] Hát, ő, elmagyarázza, hogy hogy lehet az amerikai meg a brit.

Quote 66:

Kérdés: És akkor a szókincs meg a nyelvtan, ezeken kívül vannak-e más területek, amik még fontosak, és különbségek mutatkozhatnak meg bennük? Mondjuk az ausztriai német és a németországi német vagy a svájci változat között?

Válasz: Én sokszor például fényképeket is készítek. Én mindig tanár… ilyen szemekkel járok mindenhol, és akkor fényképezek, és akkor … akkor bemutatom a gyerekeknek. Ugye az *Erdapfel* meg a *Kartoffel,* meg nem is tudom, hogy mit. Mindig, ha valamit meglátok. […] Az első, az a személyes tapasztalatok. Az tehát, hogy saját tapasztalatból mondom el, mesélem el.

Quote 67:

Kérdés: Milyen anyagokat lehet használni a különböző változatok bemutatására németórán?

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Válasz: Hát még az jutott eszembe, hogyha mondjuk van olyan ismerős vagy személy, akit akár így meg lehetne hívni. Ott az előző helyen, ahol voltam, ott például meghívtak egy-egy osztrák írót, ilyen gyerekkönyvírót, és akkor ő ugye németül beszélt, és … és a gyerekek nagy része egyébként értette is, amiket így mondott, és akkor az … az megint egy ilyen közelebbi. Nyilván ezt nem lehet így bárhol megcsinálni, de hogy … hogy azért ez megint egy új kapcsolódási pont.

Quote 68:

Kérdés: És mi ebben a tanár szerepe?

Válasz: […] Nekem is volt olyan tanítványom, aki mondta, őneki ez nem tetszik, ez az amerikai angol. Mondom, akkor … akkor nem muszáj! Tehát … ráadásul lett egy brit barátja…

Quote 69:

Kérdés: És abban van-e mondjuk különbség a nyelvi szintek szerint, hogy melyik csoportban mennyit és mit tud ebből megmutatni?

Válasz: […] És hát talán a gyerekek érdeklődése, érdeklődési köre. Vagy esetleg néha még az is számíthat, hogy akár a család vagy iskola segítségével voltak-e az adott nyelvterületen. Hát például Ausztriában, akkor az … az is egy kicsit szerintem lendíthet a dolgon.

Quote 70:

Kérdés: Szerinted abban van különbség, hogy ezek közül mit tudok megmutatni egy kezdőnek, összehasonlítva egy haladóval?

Válasz: Ha van egy olyan csoport, ahol a többség Ausztriában szeretne továbbtanulni, és … és eleve van egy ilyenfajta érdeklődés, vagy látom, hogy fogékonyság is vagy a dologra…

Quote 71:

Kérdés: És akkor ez csak hallott szövegértés, vagy mondjuk az olvasott szövegértésben is valamennyire megjelenik?

Válasz: Főleg azok számára, akik valamilyen, mondjuk, nemzetközi nyelvvizsgát szeretnének majd.

Quote 72:

Kérdés: Most rólad áthelyezve a hangsúlyt a nyelvtanulóidra, hogyan reagálnak ők, amikor mondjuk órán vagy azon kívül szembesülnek a különböző nyelvváltozatokkal?

Válasz: A gyengébb képességűeknek általában nehezebb, ez komolyabb nehézséget okoz nekik. Azzal küzd meg, hogy … hogy … hogy életben maradjon, és annak a sztenderd angol, az … az bőven sok, és […] a jobb diákoknak, a jobb képességűeknek és a magasabb nyelvi szinteken lévőknek pedig … pedig ez az angolnak a sója, vagy az életnek a sója.

Quote 73:

Kérdés: Hogyha mondjuk a nyelvtanárod nyelvórán valamilyen változatosságra hívja föl a figyelmet, vagy ilyet mutat be, akkor hogyan reagálnak erre a nyelvtanulók?

Válasz: Hát biztos, hogy valamilyen szinten függ attól, hogy mennyire nyitott az illető. Attól is függ, hogy mennyire érdekli a nyelv. Tehát, hogyha valakit nagyon nem érdekel az az adott nyelv, akkor még a másik nyelvváltozat se fogja érdekelni. Csak túl akar lenni azon a nyelvórán meg a nyelven igazából.

Quote 74:

Kérdés: Szerinted a nyelvtudásszint meg akár a korosztályos különbségek, ezek befolyásolják-e bármilyen módon azt, hogy a különféle nyelvváltozatokat be tudod-e építeni, vagy hogyan tudod beépíteni a nyelvtanításba?

Válasz: Kamaszokról van szó, tehát ugye 14-től 18-ig, és az, hogy amerikai filmeket meg sorozatokat néznek, az nem kérdés. Tehát, hogy az az, ami … ami nekik a legtermészetesebben hangzik, igen. A legtöbben, akiknek ilyen azonosítható … mondjuk … akcentusuk van, az … az inkább az … az amerikai. Úgyhogy emiatt talán a korosztály; az, hogy kamaszok, és nyilván a a mass médiából táplálkoznak, ez … ez ezt így befolyásolja.

Quote 75:

Kérdés: Mit gondol a nyelvtudásszint szerepéről azzal kapcsolatban, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat mennyiben lehet megmutatni a tanulóinknak? Tehát számít-e az, hogy milyen nyelvtudásszinten állnak?

Válasz: Amikor még ez a bizonyos nyelvtudási szint alacsonyabb, akkor az ember örül, hogyha a … a … a Hochdeutsch-ot meg tudja nekik tanítani.

Quote 76:

Kérdés: Van-e bármi nehézség, ami a tanárnak a feladatát megnehezíti azt illetően, hogy hogy tudjuk ezt a fajta nyelvi változatosságot megmutatni? Van-e, ami ezt nehézzé teszi?)

Válasz: Hát én azt gondolom, hogy … hogy az is nehézség, hogy a gyerekek is nem feltétlenül annyira érdeklődőek és nyitottak, mint ahogy én most azt mondom, hogy mi ketten. Tehát, hogy … hogy igen, és szerintem azért a gyerekek fejében is van egy korlát. Szükségem van rá, nincs rá szükségem. Kell a nyelvvizsgán, nem kell a nyelvvizsgán. És leginkább ez a kiindulópont, én azt érzem egyre inkább a a fiatalok körében, hogy … hogy nekem ez … tehát valami hasznot hoz, vagy nem hoz hasznot.

Quote 77:

Kérdés: És mi a diákok reakciója, hogyha előkerül egy-egy ilyen kérdés németórán? Akkor örülnek ennek, érdekli őket vagy inkább megijednek? Szóval mit szoktál kapni reakcióként?

Válasz: A meglepetésen túl egy ilyen örömöt érzek, hogy … a felfedezés örömét, vagy a kíváncsiságnak a … az erejét, hogy tehát így pozitívan fogadják én szerintem alapvetően, nem, nem érzem azt, hogy így akkor ez megterhelő lenne.

Quote 78:

Kérdés: És hogyha a fő készségekről beszélünk, tehát olvasott szövegértés, hallott szövegértés, beszédkészség meg íráskészség, akkor ezek közül melyikekben lehet megjeleníteni a nyelvváltozatok közötti különbséget, még ha nem is ez a legfontosabb?

Válasz: […] Tehát meg a németnél, ott én azt látom, hogy mivel ott nagyon sokfajta dialektus van, az a nyelvtanulónak egy kicsit olyan frusztráló érzés is, hogy … hogy hát mennyire másképp beszélnek Hamburgban, mennyire másképp beszélnek Münchenben, meg … meg Bécsben, meg…

Quote 79:

Kérdés: A te osztálytársaid vagy angolos meg németes csoporttársaid hogyan reagálnak akkor, hogyha ilyenfajta különbségek előjönnek nyelvórán? Örültök ennek, vagy inkább ijesztőnek találjátok, vagy kit érdekel? Mi az általános reakció erre?

Válasz: Hát németórán lehet ijesztőnek találnánk, de angolórán nem hiszem.

Quote 80:

Kérdés: Azt mondod, hogy azért inkább negatívan reagáltok egy-egy ilyen hangfelvételre, aha! És akkor az mi miatt van szerinted? Tehát, hogy ez ijesztő, vagy egyszerűen csak nem lehet érteni, vagy már idegesítő is, hogy még egy bonyolultság ebben a hülye német nyelvben? Vagy hogy tudnád összefoglalni a reakciótokat ilyenkor?

Adatközlő: Szerintem, szerintem az lehet, hogy megijedünk, mert például angolból kiindulva megszokjuk például, hogy a britek úgy írják, hogy *colour* […], az amerikaiak meg … meg … meg már csak *color* – kiesik az *u* betű, és akkor inkább ezek az újdonságok megijesztik a diákokat, hogy valami olyannal találkoznak, amit nem ismernek.

Kérdező: És mondjuk ugyanez az ijedtség jelen van az angolban is, hogyha egy ilyen különbséggel találkozol, vagy … vagy ott már nagyobb biztonsággal mozogsz?

Adatközlő: Ott már sokkal nagyobb biztonsággal, igen. Mondjuk nem örülnék, hogyha nyelvvizsgán egy ilyen ír akcentussal, meg ilyesmivel beszélnének, de szerintem meg tudnék birkózni vele.

Quote 81:

Kérdés: Ebben az egészben mi a tanár szerepe?

Válasz: […] Nagyon sokan nagy ívben tesznek rá […] tanítványok közül, hogy nem érdekli, viszont van egy-két vájtfülű, akit … akit meg érdekelne.

Quote 82:

Kérdés: Hogyha mondjuk a nyelvtanárod nyelvórán valamilyen változatosságra hívja föl a figyelmet, vagy ilyet mutat be, akkor hogyan reagálnak erre a nyelvtanulók?

Válasz: Hát valaki biztos, hogy azt mondja, hogy hú, hát ez milyen érdekes, és hogy erre nem is gondoltam volna, és milyen jó, és nyilván van a másik oldal, aki meg azt mondja, hogy hagyjon már békén! Úgyse tudok ennyit megtanulni, úgyis elfelejtem, mire hazaérek, engem ez nem érdekel.

Quote 83:

Kérdés: Az, hogy milyen nyelvi szinten van egy tanuló, az mennyire befolyásolja azt, hogy a különböző változatokat meg tudod-e mutatni, vagy hogyan tudod megmutatni neki?

Adatközlő: Ez olyan érdekes, meg minden. […] Másrészt meg … meg … hát egy-két ilyen változat vicces a diákok számára. Szerintem … tehát ez motiválja … motiváció. […] Persze, vannak olyanok, akik eléggé elutasítóak a némettel kapcsolatban. Őket ez nagyon nem hatja

meg. De … de, aki … aki meg lelkes, meg … meg szeretne valamit kezdeni, ő igen, szerintem mindenképpen! […] És hát azok, akik nem annyira motiváltak, mert ugye, hogy ezt is meg kell tanulni…

Kérdező: Mormognak … aha … egy kicsit.

Aatközlő: Igen.

Quote 84:

Kérdés: Hogyha kapsz mondjuk egy fogalmazást egy tanítványodtól, és abban különböző változatokat jelenít meg, mondjuk szókincs, helyesírás stb. formájában, akkor ezeket a fogalmazásokat hogyan javítod ki?

Válasz: Nem, nem veszem úgy hibának, tehát kijavítom, de nem veszem konkrétan hibának.

Quote 85:

Kérdés: Mi van akkor, hogyha egy fogalmazásban mondjuk váltogatja a brit–amerikai, mondjuk helyesírást, vagy akár kifejezéseket, vagy akár még más nemzeti változatot is behoz? Akkor azzal mit csinálsz, hogy javítod ki azt a szöveget, azt a fogalmazást?

Válasz: Hát ööö a tipikus ez a *color* szó, tehát azt ugye leírják így is, úgy is. Azt én át szoktam javítani a britre, de nyilván úgy, hogy nem hibaértékűen, hanem felhívom rá a figyelmet, hogy egyébként így is helyes, csak mi alapvetően brit angolt tanulunk, és ott így van benne.

Quote 86:

Kérdés: Azt fontosnak tartod-e, hogyha a nyelvtanuló kiválaszt egy nyelvváltozatot, akkor minden körülmények között ragaszkodjon ahhoz, vagy megengedő vagy mondjuk a kevergetéssel szemben?

Válasz: Nem húzom alá egy fogalmazásban, hogyha ő sztenderdhez ragaszkodik, az amerikai angolhoz, és jön egy *colour u*-val, akkor azt mondom, hogy oké. Igazából helyesként elfogadom. Próbálok nem szögletes lenni ebben.

Quote 87:

Kérdés: Ha kapsz egy olyan fogalmazást egy tanulódtól, amiben ő többféle nyelvváltozatból is írt elemeket, tehát ott van egy ausztriai elem, ott van egy németországi német struktúra, meg ott van valami svájci is, akkor te hogy reagálsz erre?

Válasz: Én nagyon rugalmas vagyok, és én úgy gondolom, hogy én … én tehát semmit nem húznék alá, én … én mindent elfogadnék.

Quote 88:

Kérdés: Hallottál-e már arról, hogy mind az angol nyelvnek, mind a német nyelvnek vannak különböző változatai? Ez előkerül nálatok órán?

Válasz: Igazából a tanárom mind a kettőt […] elfogadta: amerikai vagy pedig ugye brit angolt.

Quote 89:

Kérdés: Tegyük föl, hogy mondjuk egy nyelvtanulótól kap egy olyan írásbeli produktumot, fogalmazást, levelet, bármit, amiben különböző változatokból vannak elemek. Mondjuk osztrák és németországi német vegyesen. Akkor Ön erre hogy reagál?

Válasz: Szerintem megemlíteném, hogy oké, ez ott így van, de mondjuk Németországban viszont ez a szó, vagy ez a kifejezés, hogy ezt így használják.

Quote 90:

Kérdés: Hogyha találkozol egy olyan beadott dolgozattal, fogalmazással, amiben különböző nyelvváltozatokból származó elemek vannak jelen, akkor mit teszel?

Válasz: Hát ugye itt az értelmezésen van a hangsúly a tanár részéről, hogy úgy érti-e azt a szöveget, ahogy öö ugye azt a befogadónak szánta volna az a diák, […] hisz ugye nyelvet azért használunk, mert meg akarjuk magunkat értetni. Tehát én azt gondolom, hogy mindenképpen a … a megértésén van…, a szövegeknek a megértésén és a megértetésen van a hangsúly.

Quote 91:

Kérdés: Hogyha mondjuk kapsz egy írásbeli produktumot, egy fogalmazást mondjuk, és ott hol a brit, hol az amerikai, mondjuk ez a kettő, de akár valami más változat is még bekeveredik, akkor mit csinálsz ezzel? Most mondtad, hogy elfogadod. Meg se jelölöd, vagy azért kommentálod?

Válasz: Nem jelölöm meg, illetve utána rákérdezek, hogy „Ezt most véletlenül írtad így?" […] például, és akkor megbeszéljük, hogy hát lehet, hogy nem így gondoltad, de ez így is … tehát jó, helyes.

Quote 92:

Kérdés: Ha mondjuk kapsz egy olyan írásművet egy nyelvtanulódtól, amiben különböző változatokból hoz innen-onnan elemeket, tehát vannak benne amerikai elemek, brit elemek, ausztrál elemek stb. – ezt így tegyük fel – akkor mit csinálsz?

Válasz: Hát akkor mondjuk az egy érdekes kihívás lenne szerintem, hogy akár csoportosítani a szavakat, hogy akkor melyik melyik, vagy … vagy, ha helyesírásban a … például az … az *s*, a *z* a szavakban. […] Szóval, igen. Hát akkor … akkor ugye abból … abból kiindulva … vagy esetleg megbeszélni, hogy hol találkozott azokkal a kifejezésekkel. Hogy akkor valahova odakötni.

Quote 93:

Kérdés: Hogyha például az történik, hogy kapsz egy fogalmazást egy gyerektől és abban ő mondjuk a németországi németet használja alapvetően, de itt-ott beépít ausztriai vagy svájci elemeket is, akkor te arra hogy reagálsz? Vagy akár szóban, egy feleletnél, vagy csak egy beszélgetésnél…

Válasz: Mindenképpen elismerőleg … és felhívom egyben a csoport figyelmét, hát többnyire azért az illető engedelmével, […] hogy akkor lám, lám, ilyen elemek is léteznek, és milyen jó…

Quote 94:

Kérdés: Ha esetleg egy diáktól olyan – mondjuk, írásbeli – produktumot kap, amiben többféle változatot is használt ez a diák, akkor ezt hogyan javítja ki? Vagy kijavítja-e egyáltalán?

Válasz: „Tök jó, hogy te ilyen kreatív vagy, és ezt csináltad!" Dehogy javítanám, Isten mentsen!

Quote 95:

Kérdés: Mit gondolsz, hogyha te írnál egy fogalmazást, és abban lennének brit, amerikai, ausztrál stb., tehát többféle változatból való elemek, akkor erre a te tanárod, az hogyan reagálna?

Adatközlő: Hát az én tanárom biztos, hogy nagyon-nagyon örülne neki, mert ő mindig is arra törekedett, hogy minél sokszínűbben, ugye, beszéljük meg ismerjük az angol nyelvet. És igen, tehát én ahogy ismerem, biztos elájulna, hogy milyen kifejezések vannak abba'.

Kérdező: Oké, és akkor megdicsérne?

Adatközlő: Igen! Biztos vagyok benne.

Quote 96:

Kérdés: Hogyha például egy nyelvtanuló olyan nyelvi produktumot, mondjuk egy fogalmazást ad Önnek, amiben vannak vegyesen brit és amerikai elemek is, gondolok itt helyesírásra, szókincsre, ill. akár nyelvtanra, akkor mit csinál ezzel? Hogy javítja ki ezt a fogalmazást?

Adatközlő: Az érettségin elvileg az volt a kérés […] például, […] hogyha mondjuk a *favourite*-et például ugye *u* nélkül írja, akkor azt el kellett fogadni. Csak valami olyan kitétel volt akkoriban, hogy akkor … tehát akkor logikusan végigvezesse, tehát akkor mondjuk a *colour*-ben is ugyanígy tegye ki a...

Kérdező: Tehát konzekvens maradjon.

Adatközlő: Igen, tehát, hogy … hogy … ennyire emlékszem, hogy például ilyet kértek.

Quote 97:

Kérdés: Tegyük fel, hogy kapsz egy fogalmazást egy tanulódtól, és ebben a fogalmazásban mondjuk dominánsan németországi németül ír, vagy próbál írni, de úgy bele-belerakosgat valamiért mondjuk osztrák vagy svájci elemeket. Akkor te mit csinálsz?

Adatközlő: Hogyha összevissza használjuk, akkor nyilván nem vonok le érte, de akkor oda kell írni, hogy ő … hogy most akkor melyik, és miért ez. Tehát … vagy akkor indokolja meg, és legközelebb ne úgy használja véleményem szerint! Ne összevissza!

Kérdező: Oké! Az mit jelent, hogy ne összevissza? Ezt meg tudnád egy kicsit magyarázni?

Adatközlő: Tehát, hogy … hogy … nem tudom én … tehát, hogy ne az elején mondjuk csak ilyen … csak svájcit, a másik végén meg osztrákot. Vagy az üdvözlés ilyen, az elköszönés meg olyan, akkor az meg..

Kérdező: Tehát némileg legyen azért konzekvens.

Adatközlő: ...az zavaró, de … de attól függetlenül nem fogom leszúrni érte. Megdicsérem, hogy ennek utánanézett, ha esetleg…

Kérdező: Ha ez egyáltalán tudatos a részéről, nem? Tehát az is lehet, hogy ő nem is tudja, hogy mit használt.

Adatközlő: Igen. Azt mondom, hogy akkor viszont tisztázni kell, hogy ez ilyen, az meg olyan. Tehát a javításba azt bele kell írni.

Quote 98:

Kérdés: Ha mondjuk egy konkrét példát veszünk, kapsz egy valami írásbeli munkát, egy fogalmazást mondjuk egy tanítványodtól, és abban többféle változatot is használ egy adott munkán belül a tanuló. Akkor mit teszel?

Válasz: Tehát, hogyha megkapok egy feladatsort, mondjuk van benne ilyen szövegkiegészítés, és ott helytelen a helyesírás, akkor én azt kijavítom, tehát, hogyha nem illeszkedik a brit angolhoz, akkor azt kijavítom, igen.

Quote 99:

Kérdés: Hogyha visszagondolsz a saját német- vagy angoltanáraidra, és azt az elképzelt szituációt vegyük most, hogy te beadsz egy fogalmazást mondjuk, és azt írod németországi németül vagy brit angolul, és egy-két helyen beleépítesz egy-egy osztrák vagy teszem azt amerikai kifejezést. Na, akkor erre hogyan reagál a te jó öreg némettanárod vagy angoltanárod?

Válasz: Mondjuk ez szerintem attól is függ, hogy mit tanított a tanár. Hogyha mondjuk erre külön felhívta a figyelmet, hogy ezt használjátok, mert nem tudom miért, akkor … akkor ne fogadja el, viszont hogyha … hogyha nem is tanultuk ezt a szót, csak valamiért beleírja a diák a fogalmazásba, akkor elfogadhatja, és szerintem egyébként ezt az én tanárom jól csinálta. Szóval nekem erre így nem, tehát ezzel kapcsolatban nem volt problémám soha.

Quote 100:

Kérdés: És akkor ez okozhat nehézséget? Vagy te hogy állsz ehhez, hogy az iskolában a brit angol van túlsúlyban, viszont talán az amerikai mégis közelebb áll hozzád? Azt mondtad, nem annyira érted, hogy ez miért van. Tudnál még egy kicsit beszélni erről, hogy hogyan vélekedsz erről a kettősségről?

Válasz: […] A tanárnők ránkszóltak, hogy ne az amerikait, hanem a britet használjunk. […] Igen, amikor … amikor hetedikes voltam … meg hetedikesek voltunk. Valószínűleg, hogy most már idősebbek vagyunk, így kicsit több dolgot megengednek nekünk.

Quote 101:

Kérdés: És hogyha mondjuk egy olyan írásművet kapsz a tanulóidtól, egy fogalmazást, amiben váltogatják, össze-vissza keverik - most ezt nem így kellett volna mondanom - de keverik a különböző nyelvváltozatokat, akkor azzal mit csinálsz? Otthagyod, aláhúzod, kijavítod, kommentálod? Mit csinálsz vele?

Válasz: Hát ehhez azért hozzátartozik az, hogy énrajtam azért ki lehetne fogni. Tehát, hogy … hogy … hogy én azt egy pillanatig nem gondolom magamról, hogy én nagyon pontosan fölismerem, és tudom azonosítani az összes különböző nyelvváltozatokat.

Quote 102:

Kérdés: Hogyha például egy nyelvtanuló olyan nyelvi produktumot, mondjuk egy fogalmazást ad Önnek, amiben vannak vegyesen brit és amerikai elemek is, gondolok itt helyesírásra, szókincsre, ill. akár nyelvtanra, akkor mit csinál ezzel? Hogy javítja ki ezt a fogalmazást?

Válasz: […] Ha meg véletlen nem értettem, mert mondjuk olyan szót használt, azt meg én megnéztem, hogy netalán hol fordul elő.

Quote 103:

Kérdés: Hogyha visszagondolsz a saját német- vagy angoltanáraidra, és azt az elképzelt szituációt vegyük most, hogy te beadsz egy fogalmazást mondjuk, és azt írod németországi németül vagy brit angolul, és egy-két helyen beleépítesz egy-egy osztrák vagy teszem azt amerikai kifejezést. Na, akkor erre hogyan reagál a te jó öreg némettanárod vagy angoltanárod?

Válasz: […] De mondjuk ez attól is függ szerintem, hogy mennyire ismeri a tanár ezeket a nyelvváltozatokat. Tehát, ha mondjuk valamit nem tud, akkor lehet, hogy tudatlanságból fogja aláhúzni, mert most miért tudna minden nyelvváltozatot? Tehát az elvárhatatlan szerintem.

Quote 104:

Kérdés: Hogyha visszagondolsz a saját német- vagy angoltanáraidra, és azt az elképzelt szituációt vegyük most, hogy te beadsz egy fogalmazást mondjuk, és azt írod németországi németül vagy brit angolul, és egy-két helyen beleépítesz egy-egy osztrák vagy teszem azt amerikai kifejezést. Na, akkor erre hogyan reagál a te jó öreg némettanárod vagy angoltanárod?

Válasz: […] Sőt, angolból szinte biztos, hogy előfordult ilyen is. Hát németből viszont szerintem nem nagyon fordult ilyen elő. Ez valószínűleg azért is, mert még nemzetiségi osztályban is kutatni kell azt a diákot, aki német nyelven néz filmeket. Tehát inkább angolul szokták … vagy sorozatokat. És … és nem nagyon voltak kint.

Quote 105:

Kérdés: Ön szerint a nyelvtanulóknak a szintje az befolyásolja-e azt, hogy mennyire lehet a különböző nyelvváltozatokat beépíteni a nyelvtanításba?

Válasz: […] És hát én személy szerint mondjuk az amerikai angolt beszélem, tehát tőlem ezt hallják a gyerekek angolórán. […] A tanár szerepe, az óriási, hiszen azt a dialektust, amit én beszélek, ők – tetszik, nem tetszik – valamilyen szinten azt fogják ők is megtanulni! Ugye? Mert … mert, hogyha egy gyerek minden … minden nap, mert majdnem minden nap... hát sőt, minden nap van nyelvórájuk, akkor hogyha az én hangomat és azt a dialektust hallja, meg mellette ugye azért a házi feladatok is nagyrészt, most hogyha az angolnál maradunk, akkor többnyire amerikai angol hanganyagokat szoktam feladni, akkor … akkor … akkor elsősorban azt fogja megtanulni, és azt fogja természetesnek tekinteni, azt fog … arra fog ráállni a füle.

Quote 106:

Kérdés: És hogy látod, mi ebben a tanárnak a szerepe? Mármint abban, hogy a tanulók megismerkedjenek minél többféle változattal, vagy akár csak választani tudjanak. Tehát ebben az egész kérdésben, ha a tanár szerepét kéne megfogalmaznod, akkor azt hogyan tudnád megtenni?

Válasz: Tehát szerintem a tanárnak ebben így nagyobb … nagy szerepe van igazából, hogy … hogy megismertesse ezzel a gyerekeket. Merthogy ezzel így megmutathatja, hogy nem csak egyféle angol létezik, meg nem csak egyféle brit angol, meg nem csak egyféle amerikai angol, hanem sokkal több. És ezzel így megmutathatják, hogy mennyivel sokszínűbb igazából, mint amilyennek elsőre tűnik.

Quote 107:

Kérdés: És ebben miben áll a tanár szerepe vagy a tanár feladata?

Válasz: Hát szerintem az jó, hogy … mindenképpen, hogyha megismerteti a diákokkal, hogy … hogy vannak ilyenek is. Akárcsak egy-egy videóval, játékkal, bármivel, hogy … hogy tudják, hogy ez … ez nem nyelvjárás, ez nyelvváltozat. Mert én például ezt se nagyon tudtam, hogy most mi a különbség, vagy ezek így léteznek, vagy nem tudom.

Quote 108:

Kérdés: És akkor a különböző nyelvi szintek ebben mennyire játszanak szerepet? Kezdőkkel is lehet már ilyesmivel foglalkozni szerinted?

Válasz: […] Ugye tudták, hogy én is sokat járok ki Németországba, Ausztriába, és meg is szoktuk beszélni ezeket a dolgokat.

Quote 109:

Kérdés: Mi a tanár szerepe szerinted a többféle nyelvváltozat megmutatásában? Vagy mi a tanár feladata?

Válasz: Szerintem egyfajta iránymutatás, vagy nem? Tehát, hogy … hogy adjon egy ilyen … egyrészt egy mankót, hogy … hogy segítse a gyereket abban, hogy hogyan tovább. Merre tud tájékozódni, melyik irányban, mit talál, hogyha elindul erre vagy arra, akkor ott … ott adott esetben mi vár rá. Tehát, hogy … hogy legyenek egy … legyen egy olyan alapja, ami … amiből kiindulva ő tud építkezni, akármerre is indul tovább. Tehát egy olyan … olyan jellegű mankót gondolok.

Quote 110:

Kérdés: És mi a tanár szerepe ebben az egészben?

Válasz: Hogyha esetleg a diákot érdekli, akkor el tudja neki magyarázni, hogy hogy van ez.

Quote 111:

Kérdés: Mi ebben az egészben a tanár szerepe?

Válasz: Hát az […] megint csak nagyon tanárfüggő. Azért volt nekem jópár tanárom így nyelvből. És mindenki máshogy tanít, nyilvánvaló. Tehát most, hogy mi a szerepe? Hát most nyilván megismertet vele, meg ő hozza az anyagokat, meg ő az, aki az órát is tartja, irányítja. Tehát most végülis az a szerepe neki. Tehát, hogy ezt milyen módon teszi, hát az attól függ, hogy ő milyen. Mert most szerintem azt, hogy így ráerőltetni módszereket bizonyos emberekre, annak sincs semmi értelme.

Quote 112:

Kérdés: És mi a tanár szerepe ebben az egészben?

Válasz: Tisztába' kell lennie szerintem egy tanárnak jobban azzal, hogy melyik … hogy melyik nyelvverzióban miféle különbségek vannak, hogy melyikben mit használnak.

Quote 113:

Kérdés: Mégis akkor mi a szerepe a tanárnak?

Válasz: Én mindenképpen ezzel kapcsolatban azt érzem, hogy az én tudásom elég kicsi ehhez. Tehát, hogy ez a … ez az egy-egy szó, hogy akkor most a répa hogy van osztrákul meg németül, meg nem tudom, mi, tehát ezen kívül nagyon kicsi.

Quote 114:

Kérdés: Mi a tanár szerepe ebben, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat beépítésük a nyelvtanításba?

Válasz: Hát ugye a tanár szerepe, az mindenképpen a … a rendszerezés lenne, és az, hogy … hogy adagolja ezeket különböző szinteken. Mert ugye elsősorban én ebben látom a mi feladatunkat, hogy ugye minden szinten adjunk sikerélményt, és ne kudarcélményt, és nyilván itt ugye, ahogy … hát majd később említem, hogy ugye a különböző szinteken különböző ööö nyelvváltozatokat lehet bedobni.

Quote 115:

Kérdés: Hogy megismerjük a különböző változatokat, ebben mi a jó, vagy miért fontos ez?

Válasz: Hát szerintem egyrészt azért is, mert most ezzel az ember szerintem nagymértékben tudja bővíteni a saját tudását is, és hogy … hogy … hogy úgymond nem adhatnak el Ausztriába' se meg Németországba' se, hogyha kimész, mert már mindenképpen így tudsz hozzászólni a dolgokhoz.

Quote 116:

Kérdés: Miért jó az a diákoknak, hogyha tudnak arról, hogy különféle német nyelvváltozatok léteznek?

Válasz: Nem csak az van bennük, hogy Németorszságban tudok ezzel a nyelvvel elhelyezkedni, hanem akár a szomszédos országokban is.

Quote 117:

Kérdés: Mondtad, hogy jó, ha betekintést nyerünk a különféle nyelvválzozatokba. De mégis milyen előnyökkel jár ez?

Válasz: Akármilyen filmet nézünk vagy sorozatot, ott is a megértésben jobban segít, hogyha a különböző nyelvváltozatokat ismerjük. Meg akár egy olvasott szövegnél is, hogyha például a liftnek például ugye két változata van, amerikai angolban *lift*, brit angolb'a meg *elevator,* és hogyha például egy könyvben úgy van leírva, hogy *elevator*, akkor azt is értjük, hogy az a lift.

Quote 118:

Kérdés: Mit ad a tanulóknak az, hogyha tudnak erről a nyelvi változatosságról?

Válasz: Tök jó, hogyha az ember ezeket így … így még tudja színesíteni.

Quote 119:

Kérdés: És akkor hogyan reagálnak a tanulóid erre, hogyha te rávilágítasz a sokszínűségre?

Válasz: […] De ebben az a nagyon jó, hogy … hogy az is aktív, aki … aki egyébként lemarad.

Quote 120:

Kérdés: Ha mondjuk kapsz egy fogalmazást egy tanulódtól, és abban ez a tanulód különböző változatok elemeit vegyíti, akkor hogyan reagálsz erre?

Válasz: Talán én is tanulok valami újat.

Quote 121:

Kérdés: És az, hogy a tanulóid mondjuk akkor egy idő után már tudnak arról, hogy különböző nemzeti változatokban létezik az angol, az szerinted előny nekik bármilyen szinten bárhol? Ha előny, akkor miért előny, ha nem, akkor miért nem?

Válasz: Szerintem kiejtés szempontjából előny. Az egyik azért, mert … tehát az, hogy ugye valaki merjen beszélni az órán, szerintem ez a legnagyobb feladat, és nagyon sokszor az, hogy valaki mondjuk egy szót rosszul ejt ki, ott a nevetség … tehát az, hogy nevetséggé váljon, azt nagyon gyorsan ki lehet gyomlálni azzal, hogy én azt mondom, hogy … hogy ezt egyébként így ejtjük, de annyiféle angol van, hogy elképzelhető, hogy valaki így mondja, csak nem így a szép, vagy így annyira nem hangzik jól. És akkor itt … ezt már azért használtam párszor, hogy … hogy most ezen miért nevettek? Lehet hogy valaki így ejti ki. Magyarul is van, aki ezt így mondja, vagy úgy mondja. Szóval erre nagyon jó. […] Mert, hogyha most én azt mondom, hogy ezt a szót csak így lehet kimondani, és mondjuk egy nap múlva egy sorozatban ötször kimondják máshogy, akkor utána nekem nem fognak már semmit se elhinni.

Quote 122:

Kérdés: Szerinted ezeknek a nyelvváltozatoknak egy kezdő nyelvtanuló nyelvtanulásában kellene, hogy legyen szerepük, vagy ez inkább csak megnehezítené a kezdőknek a dolgát?

Válasz: Szerintem jó dolog az, amikor valaki nem csak ugye így az irodalmi, tankönyvi németet tanulja meg, hanem egy kicsit jobban szélesíti a látókörét, és akkor másfelé is hajlik, nem csak az a tankönyvi német, amit mindenki tanul.

Quote 123:

Kérdés: Mit ad a tanulóknak az, hogyha tudnak erről a nyelvi változatosságról?

Válasz: Hát abszolút az, hogy így kinyílik számukra a világ, hogy nem egy beskatulyázott gondolkodásmódjuk van. Tehát így a világkép szempontjából mindenképpen építi.

Quote 124:

Kérdés: Szerinted mi értelme van annak, hogy beépítsük a nyelvtanításba ezt a fajta sokszínűséget, a nyelvváltozatok különbözőségeit?

Válasz: Hát eleve a multikulturalizmusra való nevelés szerintem. Ennek van egy ilyen szocio háttere.

Quote 125:

Kérdés: Pár mondatban mutassa be önmagát mint nyelvtanárt!

Válasz: […] Én úgy gondolom, hogy mivel általános iskolában tanítok, a nyelvváltozatoknak az okítása én szerintem inkább már magas szinten jöhetne szóba, egyetemen, vagy egy középfokú nyelvvizsga fölött. Tehát egy általános iskolában szerintem nem. Én úgy gondolom. Aztán nem tudom, hogy igazam van-e, de szerintem nem várható el sem tanártól, se gyerektől, hogy … itt a német … az irodalmi német nyelvet a … oktatjuk. Slussz.

Quote 126:

Kérdés: Mit gondol arról a hozzáállásról, amit sokan képviselnek, hogy fontos választani magunknak egy adott nyelvváltozatot, és ahhoz akkor minden körülmények között ragaszkodni?

Válasz: Hát szerintem valamilyen szinten fontos az, hogy egyhez ragaszkodjunk, és szerintem az a németországi, Németországban használt és beszélt nyelv, nyilván a Hochdeutsch, nem a … nem a különböző tartományokban. […] Nem, hanem a Hochdeutsch! Ehhez azért ragaszkodni kell.

Quote 127:

Kérdés: Ha mondjuk egy konkrét példát veszünk, kapsz egy valami írásbeli munkát, egy fogalmazást mondjuk egy tanítványodtól, és abban többféle változatot is használ egy adott munkán belül a tanuló. Akkor mit teszel?

Válasz: Hát azért az legyen … az legyen végig következetes. Tehát akkor választani kell, akkor azt ki kell gyomlálni, hogy … hogyha egy hivatalos levélen belül vannak eltérések, az nem fog működni. Tehát azt … arra fölhívom a figyelmet, hogy válasszon, vagy egyik vagy másik mellett tegye le a voksát.

Quote 128:

Kérdés: Oké, tehát akkor nincs meg ez a fajta ragaszkodás a részedről egyetlen nyelvváltozathoz?

Adatközlő: Igazából talán ennél a lánynál, aki most C1 … C1-re készülünk, és nagyon ügyes, és ő … és ő rengeteget néz Netflixet, tehát ő nagyon az amerikai angolt nyomja, és akkor neki szoktam így mondani, hogy … hogy azért nyelvvizsgán inkább, ugye ezt vagy azt a kifejezést, hogy inkább ne … ne használja. Hogy inkább … inkább a brit angolt, meg … meg így mondtam neki, hogy a könyvekben inkább ugye a brit angolt találja, de úgy konkrétan végülis nem zavar, meg a szóbelin nem hiszem, hogy gondja lenne ebből. Esetleg az írásnál, hogy…
Kérdező: Az írásnál mit látsz? Hogy miből lehet gondja?
Adatközlő: Hát inkább ez, hogy szisztematikusan használja akkor, hogy ugye akkor vagy egyiket vagy másikat úgy tisztán.

Quote 129:

Kérdés: Vannak, akik azt mondják, hogy érdemes eldönteni, hogy melyik nyelvváltozatot tanulom, legyen az svájci német vagy németországi német vagy ausztriai német, vagy nem tudom én, kanadai angol, brit angol, stb. És akkor kiválasztani azt az egyet, és minden körülmény között ehhez az egy változathoz ragaszkodni. Neked erről mi a véleményed?

Válasz: […] Mert akkor tényleg csak egyvalamire kellene fókuszálni és nem zavarna be az, hogy a másik nyelvváltozat hogyan használja a szavakat, vagy milyen módon.

Quote 130:

Kérdés: Mit gondolsz arról, hogy érdemes-e egy nyelvtanulónak kiválasztani, hogy melyik változatot tanulja? Mondjuk legyen ez az osztrák német vagy a németországi német vagy a

svájci német, és akkor minden körülmények között ahhoz a változathoz ragaszkodni, és nem kevergetni ezeket egymással?

Adatközlő: Szerintem tanulja meg az alap német nyelvet, és majd úgyis hozza az élet, hogy melyik nyelvterületen fog elhelyezkedni, vagy melyik nyelvet, nyelvterületet fogja úgymond használni, és akkor majd annak megfelelően úgyis meg fogja tanulni. Meg alkalmazkodnia kell.

Kérdező: Tehát akkor azt mondod … azt mondtad, hogy tanulja meg az alap német nyelvet, ez azt jelenti hogy akkor ennek a sokszínűségnek a … akkor nem is fontos, hogy része legyen a német tanulásunknak, vagy … vagy … vagy ezt hogy kell érteni, hogy tanulja meg az alap német nyelvet?

Adatközlő: Tanulja meg az iskolai németet. Tehát … tehát a németországi németet.

Quote 131:

(előzetes kérdés: Aha, tehát te úgy vélekedsz erről, hogy azért egyet érdemes kiválasztani, és azt tanulni, és nem annyira kevergetni, jól értem?)

Adatközlő: Én inkább azt mondom, hogy legyen egy fő, és szerintem az a németországi német, mert szerintem azt könnyebb elsőre megtanulni, meg az … az magától értetődőbb, vagy nem tudom, lehet, hogy nekünk magától értetődőbb, de hogy a kiejtés is gyakorlatilag mindig tükrözi az írásmódot. Jó persze vannak, amiket meg kell tanulni, de hogy szerintem azt … azt könnyebb ilyen szempontból elsőre tanulni. Meg hát akkor is, azért is … azért Németország nagyobb, mint Ausztria.

Kérdező: Igen, igen, igen, dominánsabb.

Adatközlő: Szerintem azért a németországi német, az mindenképpen legyen az elsődleges, és az osztrák németet, azt így … hát szerintem inkább érdekességnek érdemes bevinni, mert nincs is annyi idő szerintem, hogy ezt rendesen ki lehessen fejteni.

Quote 132:

Kérdés: Csak írásban, vagy már a beszédben is? Azt mondod, hogy akkor válasszon egyet, mindegy, hogy melyiket, de ahhoz ragaszkodjon?

Válasz: Én beszédben nem … nem tennék különbséget.

Quote 133:

Kérdés: Arról mi a véleményed, hogy érdemes-e ahhoz ragaszkodni, hogy egy adott változatot válasszanak ki, és részesítenek mindig előnyben a nyelvtanulók?

Válasz: Alakítsa ki a saját angolját, hogy úgyis az lesz … tehát az akcentusa, kiejtése úgyis az lesz. Tehát ez egy természetes dolog.

Quote 134:

Kérdés: Mit gondolsz arról az elvről, hogy a nyelvtanuló válasszon ki egy adott nyelvváltozatot, és minden körülmények között ahhoz ragaszkodjon? Tehát hogyha ő németországi németet tanul, akkor ahhoz ragaszkodjon, ha ausztriait, akkor ahhoz, ha svájcit, akkor ahhoz, és így tovább. Erről mi a véleményed?

Válasz: Hát én úgy gondolom, hogy … hogy a sokszínűség fontos!

Quote 135:

Kérdés: Szerinted az életkor meg a nyelvi szint az befolyásolja-e azt, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat hogyan tudod beépíteni a nyelvtanításodba?

Válasz: […] Én nem követelem meg, hogy egyikhez vagy másikhoz ragaszkodjanak. Engem az se zavar, ha keverik, tehát mindegy, hogy *roundabout* vagy *traffic circle*. Értsem meg!

Quote 136:

Kérdés: Említetted, hogy a németnél, ott úgy viszonylag magától értetődő a németországi német elsődlegessége. Az angol esetében, ott azt mondtad, hogy a suliban inkább a brit dominancia volt jellemző. Ez szerinted jól van így, magától értetődő, vagy itt azért más a helyzet? Hogy látod ezt?

Válasz: […] Meg azzal az angollal, amit ott megtanulunk az iskolában, filmeket is könnyen meg lehet érteni. Hát egyébként nem is tudom, szerintem ilyen mixet tanulhatunk, vagy fogalmam sincs. Ezt sose tudtam pontosan.

Quote 137:

Kérdés: Mit gondolsz arról, hogy vajon a tanulóidnak a nyelvi szintje, meg akár a kora, játszik-e bármilyen szerepet abban, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat hogy tudod nekik megmutatni?

Válasz: Én sajnos olyan angolt beszélek, amit – szerintem – amit tanítottak nekünk, hogy nem jó, tehát én vegyesen beszélem. Mindegy! Van olyan szó, amit biztos, hogy amerikaiasan ejtek ki, de alapvetően a könyvünk, az brit angolt, nagyon keményen azt mutatja be.

Quote 138:

Kérdés: Mit gondolsz arról az elvről, hogy a nyelvtanuló válasszon ki egy adott nyelvváltozatot, és minden körülmények között ahhoz ragaszkodjon? Tehát hogyha ő németországi németet tanul, akkor ahhoz ragaszkodjon, ha ausztriait, akkor ahhoz, ha svájcit, akkor ahhoz, és így tovább. Erről mi a véleményed?

Válasz: […] Mert jó, megismeri egyét, akkor a többi, az úgy … úgy elmarad, és … és ha esetleg éppen arra lesz az életben szüksége, akkor … akkor az kimarad az életéből. Én úgy gondolom, hogy egy átfogó kép, az nagyon-nagyon fontos!

Quote 139:

Kérdés: Szerinted mennyire fontos az, hogy az ember kiválassza, hogy melyik változatot tanulja, és akkor ahhoz ragaszkodjon?

Válasz: Igazából ezt el lehet engedni, és akkor megtanulja úgy az angolt, ahogy így „proper" módon lehet beszélni, de nem tudom igazából, hogy most van-e olyan, hogy tiszta…

Quote 140:

Kérdés: Milyen tevékenységeket használhatok az órán, vagy akár órán kívül, amiken keresztül a különböző változatokat be lehet mutatni?

Válasz: Igazából, amikor olvasnak. […] Hát a hallgatási feladat, ott mindenképpen.

Quote 141:

Kérdés: Említetted az olvasott meg a hallott szövegértést, ugye. Hogyha a négy készséget vesszük, akkor van még a szövegalkotás írásban meg szóban. Azokban van-e ennek a nyelvi változatosságnak bármi szerepe? Vagy ez inkább az olvasásra és a hallgatásra korlátozódik?

Válasz: Tehát ugye az első kettő, a hallott meg az olvasott szövegértés, az arra fókuszál, hogy értsem, amit mondanak nekem. […] És én azt gondolom, hogyha mondjuk kikerül akár Ausztriába, most teljesen mindegy, hogy nyaralni, vagy tanulni, vagy dolgozni, a gyerek, akkor neki elsődlegesen az lesz a dolga, hogy azt megértse, […] amit hozzá beszélnek, vagy éppen tudjon olvasott szöveggel is tájékozódni arról a világról, ami ott van. Tehát én azért azt gondolom, hogy nyelvváltozatok szintjén neki elsődlegesen erre a kettőre van szüksége.

Quote 142:

Kérdés: Szerinted az, hogy milyen szinten vagy mondjuk angolból, az szerepet játszik-e abban, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat mennyire lehet megismerni, vagy mennyire lehet a tanulás részévé tenni?

Válasz: Számomra például sokat segített az, hogy rengeteg hallgatást csináltunk. Tehát, hogy így megértem nagyjából az összeset, még hogyha nem is ismerem föl, hogy melyik pontosan honnan van.

Quote 143:

Kérdés: Akkor ezen kívül van még a beszéd és az írás. Azokról mit gondolsz? Azoknak van ebben bármi szerepe?

Válasz: Hát szerintem a beszédnek azért mindenféleképpen igen.

Quote 144:

Kérdés: Eddig említetted a hallgatást, hogy ennek lehet a nyelvváltozatok tanításában szerepe. Hogyha megnézzük a maradék hármat, mint olvasás, beszéd és írás, azokról mit gondolsz ilyen szempontból?

Válasz: Hát igazából, hogyha a játékos feladatokat nézzük, akkor akár előkerülhet a beszéd is, vagy az írás is.

Quote 145:

Kérdés: Ezek közül tehát, hogy beszéd, hallgatás, olvasás, írás, szerinted melyikben játszik ez az egész szerepet, hogy különböző változatai vannak a nyelvnek?

Válasz: Az írást és a beszédet azért nem mondanám, mert azt ugye, azt mi írjuk, és mi mondjuk. […] Tehát mi azt használjuk, amelyiket szeretnénk. […] És nem kapunk magunk elé egy előre meghatározott …ööö… szöveget, mint mondjuk a reading-nél.

Quote 146:

Kérdés: Milyen feladatokat vagy tevékenységeket tudna megemlíteni, amiken keresztül akár órán belül vagy akár órán kívül a tanulókkal meg lehet ismertetni ezeket a változatokat?

Válasz: Inkább arra törekedtem, hogy értse meg, tehát egy Hörverstehen-nél tudja, hogy miről is van szó. Nem feletétlen kell tudnia használni.

Quote 147:

Kérdés: Hogyha mondjuk a kommunikatív nyelvtanításnak a négy alapkészségét vesszük, hogy … hogy olvasott szövegértés, hallott szövegértés, beszédkészség meg íráskészség, akkor említetted, hogy a hallott szövegértésbe okvetlen be lehet ezt építeni. A többiben van lehetőség, vagy szerinted jó ez egyáltalán, hogyha a többiben rávilágítunk a különbségekre, a változatok sokszínűségére, vagy erről mi a véleményed?

Válasz: Amit ő produkál, az … az tényleg … tehát, hogy ott szerintem úgyis annyi munkája van abban, hogy összehozza … vagy pláne, ha írni akar, hogy még arra is figyelni, hogy akkor ez most valamelyik változathoz szóljon, hát ez ilyen nagyon-nagyon magas szinteken esik.

Quote 148:

Kérdés: Volt neked ilyen valaha a némettanulásodban, hogy …ööö… előhozott egy tanár mondjuk …ööö… érdekesség szintjén, vagy akár …ööö… komolyabban is, ausztriai vagy svájci …ööö… tartalmakat?

Adatközlő: Hát …ööö… nem igazán.
Kérdező: Aha. És az angol esetében? Brit angol, amerikai angol és egyéb angolok, előkerült ez a kérdés?
Adatközlő: Igen, az sokkal [...] sűrűbben előfordult. Például, hogyha volt egy szó, amit az amerikaiak mondanak, de a britek nem, akkor külön kiemelte a tanárnőm, hogy ezt használjátok Amerikába', de ezt nem mindenhol fogják megérteni.

Quote 149:

Kérdés: Hogyha mondjuk a kommunikatív nyelvtanításnak a négy alapkészségét vesszük, hogy … hogy olvasott szövegértés, hallott szövegértés, beszédkészség meg íráskészség, akkor említetted, hogy a hallott szövegértésbe okvetlen be lehet ezt építeni. A többiben van lehetőség, vagy szerinted jó ez egyáltalán, hogyha a többiben rávilágítunk a különbségekre, a változatok sokszínűségére, vagy erről mi a véleményed?

Válasz: Mondjuk olvasott szövegben rámutatni akár helyesírási különbségekre, ugye az angol meg az amerikai angol között, vagy … vagy a szókincshasználatban, az talán egy ilyen megfogható dolog.

Quote 150:

Kérdés: Milyen feladatokat vagy aktivitásokat, tevékenységeket tudsz alkalmazni a a nyelvtanításban, amelyeken keresztül ezek a különböző változatok megjelenhetnek?

Válasz: […] megfogalmazni akár egy levelet úgy, hogy … hogy mondjuk azt a szókincset vegyük, amelyet inkább használnak az angolok vagy inkább az amerikaiak.

Quote 151:

Kérdés: És szerinted melyik készségek vagy területek esetében lehet beépíteni ezeket a változatokat?

Válasz: Hát a szókincs, az persze!

Quote 152:

Kérdés: A nyelvnek milyen területein tapasztalsz olyan változatosságot, ami fontos lehet a nyelvtanuló számára hogy megismerje?

Válasz: A szókincs az, amit … amit én inkább ki szoktam emelni.

Quote 153:

Kérdés: Abban esetleg érez-e a különbséget, hogy a nyelvváltozatok közötti különbségek milyen aspektusait mutatja meg mondjuk haladóbb, felső tagozatos csoportnak, meg egy alsó tagozatosnak?

Válasz: […] És én azt látom, hogy a legnagyobb nekik ez a … mellbevágó … ez a szókincsbeli feltűnés.

Quote 154:

Kérdés: Szerinted az életkor meg a nyelvi szint befolyásolja-e azt, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat hogyan tudod beépíteni a nyelvtanításodba?

Válasz: […] Tehát ugye van egy-két kiejtésbeli különbség, hangsúlybeli különbség, tehát *advertisement*, stb.

Quote 155:

Kérdés: És amikor azt mondod, hogy foglalkoztok ezzel mondjuk órán, vagy egy vizsgafelkészülés esetében, akkor ez milyen aktivitásokat, milyen tevékenységeket jelent? Hogyan lehet megjeleníteni ezeket a nyelvváltozatokat?

Válasz: […] Az amerikai angol szavakról, a brit angol szavakról. Akkor van általában egy külön magyarázat a fonetikai-fonológiai különbségekről. A kiejtésekről vannak egy-két leírás.

Quote 156:

Kérdés: És amikor azt mondod, hogy jobban előjön többféle különbség, akkor azok milyen különbségek? Tehát itt eddig volt szó a szókincsről, volt szó a kiejtéstől – van-e bármi más?

Válasz: Ez szókincs elsősorban, meg hát ilyen … igen … a kiejtés ebből fakadóan.

Quote 157:

Kérdés: Milyen tevékenységeket használhatok az órán, vagy akár órán kívül, amiken keresztül a különböző változatokat be lehet mutatni?

Válasz: Nálunk, mi helyesírásra is rámentünk, nyelvtani szerkezetekre is.

Quote 158:

Kérdés: Tehát szókincsről beszéltünk azt hiszem, a kiejtéstől is volt szó. Ezen kívül van valami, ami még releváns eltérés ezek között a nyelvváltozatok között?

Válasz: Szerintem nincs, nyelvtannal szerintem nincs különbség, vagy … vagy én nem tudok róla.

Quote 159:

Kérdés: Mondtad a kiejtést. Van-e más aspektusa még ennek a változatosságnak, amit szerinted be tudunk építeni?

Válasz: Tehát vannak ezek a kulturális szcenáriók, hogy így fejezzem ki magam. Tehát, hogy ilyen … tehát, ami, ami kulturálisan más Amerikában, meg … mint … mint Angliában. Tehát például ez a … ez a „How do you do. How do you do." – az amerikaiak nem alkalmazzák.

Quote 160:

Kérdés: Azt, hogy ezek közül mit építesz be, azt befolyásolja-e az ő nyelvi szintjük meg korcsoportjuk? Vagy ez teljesen független attól?

Válasz: 12.-ben például a brit kultúrával, illetve az amerikai kultúrával is külön foglalkozunk, tehát ez egy-egy téma. Úgyhogy itt … itt abszolút megjelenik kulturális szinten is a … a különbség.

Quote 161:

Kérdés: És mondjuk ha a tanár szeretné ezeket a változatokat megjeleníteni, akkor milyen aktivitásokat, milyen tevékenységeket lehet órán végezni vagy akár órán kívül végeztetni a tanulóinkkal, ennek a célnak az elérése érdekében?

Válasz: Párosítani, összepárosítani, hogy … hogy mi lehet az, vagy nem tudom én. Vagy akár, amit már mondtam, hogy a hallott szövegből ugyanúgy próbálja kihallani a lényeget, és akkor mondjuk ilyen … ilyen módon. Tehát … de akár ilyen kis vicces történeteket, vagy nem tudom én, ahol … ahol ugye az akár a poén, vagy nem tudom én, az adott nyelvváltozatban jön le, akkor az sokkal jobban megmarad neki, vagy hogy ütősebb. El tudok képzelni ilyen rejtvényeket is. Tehát, hogy mindenképpen én azt gondolom, hogy ez nem ilyen szójegyzék vagy akármi formájában, és akkor takard le, tanuld meg az egyiket, és mondd el a másik oldalt. Tehát én … én vagy ilyen csoportmunkában kiadnám neadjisten ilyen projektmunkaszerűen, hogy keressetek rá ti erre, ti arra, ti amarra, és akkor így … így tudnám elképzelni. Akár referátum is, hogyha valaki nagyon érdeklődik, akkor egyénileg előad egy ilyen … ilyen dolgot, történetet, és akkor ő összeszedi. Tehát, hogy én … én azt gondolom, hogy egyrészt a gyerekeket próbálnám meg foglalkoztatni, akár úgy is, hogy mondom, egyénileg vagy csoportban ők … ők keresgetnek is akár valamennyit, aztán én meg kiegészítem, hozzáteszek, amit … amit én fontosnak tartok. Vagy pedig úgy, hogyha … ha nem, akkor meg egy kis játékos megközelítéssel próbálnám a tananyagot egy picikét elérhetőbbé tenni számukra. Kártyával, mittudomén, ilyen mind… mindenféle módon el tudom képzelni, ami … ami kevésbé ilyen tankönyvszerű.

Quote 162:

Kérdés: Milyen feladatok, illetve tevékenységek azok, amiket az angolórákon be tudsz vetni, vagy akár az órán kívül, amiknek a segítségével meg lehet ismertetni a tanulókat a változatok sokféleségével?

Válasz: Én szoktam ösztönözni azt a … és nem is nagyon kell, hogy ugye órán kívül is hallgassanak, nézzenek filmet, videót, zenét, bármit. Erről szoktunk beszélgetni.

Quote 163:

Kérdés: A tanulók hogy szoktak reagálni, amikor ez a téma előjön?

Válasz: [...] Másnapra tehát szorgalmi feladat, városokat meg … meg érdekességeket, képeket hoztak, hogy nézzem meg, hogy ők ezt találták, és hogy a … a kedves országba' mit … mit lehet még látni.

Quote 164:

Kérdés: Milyen aktivitásokat vagy milyen feladatokat, tevékenységeket lehet alkalmazni az órán vagy akár az órán kívül annak érdekében, hogy a gyerekek találkozzanak a különböző nyelvváltozatokkal?

Válasz: Ugye tavaly mondjuk mentünk egy walesi versenyre, és akkor jött az a bizonyos városnév, vagy mi volt. Szóval vannak ilyenek.

Quote 165:

Kérdés: És milyen forrásokból lehet megismerni ezeket a különböző nyelvváltozatokat?

Válasz: Hát, aki ugye helyi, annak a beszédét hallgatni.

Quote 166:

Kérdés: És szerinted ezt már kezdő szinttől meg lehet valósítani?

Válasz: Szerintem ezt egyébként már kiskorban is meg lehet…, mert szerintem akkor így a legfogékonyabb az ember, amikor gyerek.

Quote 167:

Kérdés: Szerinted az életkor meg a nyelvi szint befolyásolja-e azt, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat hogyan tudod beépíteni a nyelvtanításodba?

Válasz: [..] Tehát … tehát ez nem az életkoron múlik, hogy ezt elmondom-e, vagy sem.

Quote 168:

Kérdés: És mondjuk aközött van-e különbség, hogyha mégis előkerül – mondtad, hogy azért néha rá szoktál világítani – akkor milyen aspektusai kerülnek elő a változatosságnak?

Válasz: [...] De úgy külön, hogy ez egy ilyen törzsanyag legyen, én úgy nem szoktam általános iskolában. Középiskolában sokkal bátrabb lennék ebben.

Quote 169:

Kérdés: Ezeket a szókincs feladatlapokat vagy összehasonlító anyagokat inkább azért csak a nagyokhoz viszi be, vagy már a kicsiknél is lehet ilyen?

Válasz: Nem, kicsiknél nem!

Quote 170:

Kérdés: A tanulók kora, illetve a nyelvi szintje, az mennyiben befolyásolja azt, hogy te hogy tudod megjeleníteni ezeket a változatokat a nyelvtanításban?

Válasz: Szerintem van különbség, mert egy ilyen érettségbeli különbség is van. Meg szerintem a nyelv, tehát hogy igen, kell, hogy legyen szerintem világról alkotott tudásban mennyiségi különbség.

Quote 171:

Kérdés: Mit gondolsz arról, hogy vajon a tanulóidnak a nyelvi szintje, meg akár a kora, játszik-e bármilyen szerepet abban, hogy a különböző nyelvváltozatokat hogy tudod nekik megmutatni?

Válasz: […] Úgyhogy negyedikben csak az, és akkor ötödikben már esetleg előfordulhat, hogy mondjuk van egy szó, amit én mondjuk máshogy mondok. Ez mindig a táncolás, a váza, tudod, ez a /dɑːns/, /dæns/, igen . És akkor én, mondjuk én /dæns/-nek mondom, meghallgatjuk a magnón, az meg azt mondja, hogy /dɑːns/, és akkor így néznek, hogy mi a baj? És akkor mindig elmondom, hogy igen, ez brit, az pedig amerikai. Tehát akkor is megkérdezik, hogy "Hú, van még másféle?" Igen, van még másféle. És itt megállunk, és akkor hetedik-nyolcadikba' meg már előfordulhat az is, nyolcadikba meg pláne, hogy mutatok olyan videót, amiben van ausztrál, meg mindenféle angol.

Quote 172:

Kérdés: Sokan vannak, akik azt mondják, hogy ha elkezdünk tanulni angolul, akkor érdemes választani egy változatot, és akkor ahhoz ragaszkodni mindig. Neked mi a véleményed?

Válasz: Hát én elsősorban azt gondolom, hogyha egy teljesen kezdő tanulóról van szó, akkor biztosan, tehát mindenképpen célravezető az, hogyha egyelőre ugye egyhez csatlakozik. Meg ugye azt próbálja nyilván elsajátítani elsősorban. Viszont, hogyha már egy kicsit haladóbb tanulóról beszélünk, akkor szerintem mindenképpen hasznos az, hogyha több változatot is elsajátít vagy hall.

Quote 173:

Kérdés: Szerinted abban van különbség, hogy ezek közül mit tudok megmutatni egy kezdőnek, összehasonlítva egy haladóval?

Válasz: Én azt gondolom, hogy egy … egy kezdőnek alapvetően azért csak a nagyon lelkes és csak a nagy… tehát az ügyesebbjének, aki érdeklődő, de olyan … olyanoknak mutatnék, és inkább ilyen szorgalmi feladat felé menve, vagy ilyen … ilyen szakkörön. Mit tudom, tehát hogy olyan lehetőségekben próbálnám őket, hogy mondjam, egy picit megízleltetni evvel az egésszel, a… ami nem terheli túl azt a … azt a dolgot, amit tehát, hogy nem biztos, hogy jó irányba menne, hogyha túlterhelném őket ezzel szerintem. Tehát, hogy inkább csak úgy kóstolóba, és ott is az érdeklődőbbekkel tenném ezt meg. Illetve mondom, ilyeneket persze feltétlenül, hogy tudjon elköszönni, meg köszönni.

Quote 174:

Kérdés: Játszik-e ebben szerepet az, hogy ők milyen korúak, illetve milyen nyelvi szinten helyezkednek el?

Válasz: Ezt így fokozatosan kell csöpögtetni, és alapozni nekik.

Quote 175:

Kérdés: Szerinted hogyha haladnál előrébb, akkor ez relevánsabb kérdés lenne? Akkor úgy jobban? Itt most csak tényleg a te véleményedre vagyok kíváncsi! Jobban előkerülhetnének ezek a fajta ilyen eltérések különbségek?

Adatközlő: Persze, ha egy idő után így beszélgetek németül vagy ööö … vagy hogy … vagy hogy továbbtanulok, akkor … akkor persze, akkor jönni fognak ezek, csak annyira még nem.

Kérdező: És hogyha visszagondolsz az angoltanulásodra, ott, ahogy fejlődtél, […] ott így volt ez, hogy … hogy egyre inkább felfigyeltél, vagy akár a tanárod felhívta a figyelmed ilyesmikre? Vagy ott a kezdetek kezdetétől fogva jelen volt ez a tartalom?

Adatközlő: Ööö … szerintem talán kezdettől.