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Mária Bakti: Motivation and identity of primary CLIL learners.
A Hungarian perspective
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Motivation and identity of primary CLIL learners. A Hungarian perspective

English language learning motivation research has witnessed a paradigm shift as a result of the developments that, on the one hand, English has become a global language and, on the other, English is being seen as a skill rather than a foreign language (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009; Sylvén, 2017). This shift has resulted in a stronger focus on the role of identity in research on motivation in English language learning. However, English language learning motivation and identity in CLIL have attracted limited research attention (Sylvén, 2017), and studies have yielded contradictory results.

This cross-sectional study into motivation and identity in primary CLIL in Hungary surveyed 90 primary school CLIL pupils attending an English-Hungarian bilingual primary school in Szeged, Hungary, with the aim of mapping the role that learning and mastering the English language plays in the identity and motivation of primary CLIL learners.

Results have revealed some differences related to age and the language used in filling out the questionnaire, suggesting that English and learning English play a limited role in primary CLIL learners' identity; however, they see English and the CLIL stream as major investments in their future.

Keywords: primary CLIL, CLIL learners' identity, motivation in primary CLIL

1. Introduction

Identity and language are closely intertwined; research results indicate that language plays a key role in shaping and defining identity, which also applies to a second language as well (Edwards, 2009). Research into identity and language learning has yielded numerous results, most centering on motivation.

This study aims to map the role that English and the mastering of English play in the motivation of primary school CLIL pupils in a Hungarian setting. This topic has received limited research attention, as most studies on motivation have surveyed secondary EFL pupils. This study is the replication of Child's (2017) investigation, with the addition of the variables of age (grade 6, age 11/12, and grade 8, age 13/14) and the language of filling in the motivation and identity questionnaire (Hungarian or English).

The results of this investigation will contribute to a better understanding of the upper primary age group and their motivation to learn English.

1.1 Motivation and identity in second language learning

In his doctoral thesis on motivational variables in L2 acquisition, Gardner uses the term *integrative orientation* (Gardner, 1960) to refer to “the willingness to become a member of another language group” (Gardner, 1960: 12) and contrasts it with *instrumental orientation*, in which the learners aim to acquire “sufficient knowledge of the language for its instrumental value in goal attainment but to retain or improve his membership in his “old” reference group” (Gardner, 1960:13).

The terms *integrativeness*, *integrative motivation*, and *integrative orientation* have been used ever since in the literature on motivation, often interchangeably (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002); however, there are some slight differences in their scope. The broadest category is *integrative motivation*, which covers attitudes toward the language learning situation, motivation, and *integrativeness* (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). Integrativeness is composed of attributes that reflect a positive outlook on the other language group (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993); the component measures of integrativeness include attitudes towards the target language group, interest in foreign languages, and integrative orientation. Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) conclude that “some sort of integrativeness-related factor typically emerges in empirical studies on L2 motivation, regardless of the characteristics of the learners and the learning situations examined” (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002: 453).

As a result of a recent paradigm shift in English L2 motivation research (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009), identity has become an integral part of L2 motivation research. This paradigm shift was initiated by the growing criticism of integrative orientation on two grounds (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). First, English has evolved into a global language, so the concept of integrative orientation has become difficult to apply without a clearly defined ethnolinguistic community with which learners can identify. In other words, English is now separated from its native speakers and cultures (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). A second factor Ushioda and Dörnyei (2009) refer to is that English has come to be seen as a fundamental skill rather than a foreign language. These developments have led to rethinking the construct of integrative orientation (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009).

Based on research in a Japanese context, Yashima (2002, 2009) argues for the extension of integrative orientation to include a general international outlook or *international posture*, which includes, among others, a willingness of learners of English to work or study abroad, and their readiness to communicate with intercultural partners. In other words, her research surveying the Japanese situation extends the external reference group of native English speakers to a non-specific global community of English language users. This marks a fundamental

theoretical shift in thinking about integrative orientation; language learners can see themselves as part of that global community (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009).

This shift has brought about a realignment of focus to self and identity in English language learning motivation research (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009), which can be seen in the cross-fertilization of ideas between the various domains of psychology, identity and globalisation, and sociolinguistics (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). One of the first examples is Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) longitudinal study from Hungary, based on the results of which the authors state that integrativeness plays a key role in shaping L2 motivation; however, they also stress that integrativeness didn't relate in this case to integration into any L2 community; instead, it can be interpreted as an identification process within the language learner's self-concept (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002: 456).

This finding constituted the basis for Dörnyei's *L2 Motivational Self System*, with its foundations in psychology. The basic idea behind the L2MSS model is that there is a difference between the *ideal self*, the attributes the language learner would like to possess, and the *ought-to self*, which is the collection of attributes one believes one should possess (Dörnyei, 2005). If mastering the L2 is an integral part of a language learner's ideal self or ought to self, this means a strong motivation for the language learner to learn the language.

Research related to English learning motivation rooted in identity and globalization (Lamb, 2004, 2009) has found that language learners in Indonesia aim to achieve a bicultural identity, both as global citizens and citizens with a strong local identity.

Sociolinguistic approaches to language learning and identity have criticized theories of L2 learning motivation because the field lacks a comprehensive theory that includes the language learner and the language learning context (Norton, 2000). Norton has developed the motivational concept of investment and uses the term *identity* "to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2000: 5).

Norton emphasizes that it is through language that people create a sense of self in different scenes and at different points in time, and language also helps people to access social networks of power where they are allowed to have their voices heard. By learning a foreign language, learners will accumulate cultural capital and social power (Norton, 2000). It also has to be noted that Norton's construct of investment is not to be equated with instrumental orientation, as described by Gardner (1960). Norton states that instrumental motivation requires "a unitary, fixed and ahistorical language learner who desires access to material resources that are the privilege of target language speakers" (Norton, 2000: 10), whereas the concept of investment presupposes a language learner with a complex social history and multiple desires. In addition to exchanging information, language learners are continually reshaping their own identities and how they connect to

the world. In conclusion, an investment into the target language is an investment into a language learner's identity that dynamically changes across time and space (Norton, 2000), which moves Norton's concept of identity closer to integrativeness in its more recent interpretation.

The motivation and identity of Hungarian EFL learners have been extensively mapped. When surveying 13/14-year-old pupils in Hungary in 1993 and 1999 in a repeated cross-sectional investigation, Dörnyei and Csizér found a declining interest in foreign languages between 1993 and 1999 in general, except for English, in the case of which an "almost unanimous and unqualified endorsement" (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002: 438) was documented. They also describe a language globalization process, with the emergence of the trend of world-language (English) learning vs. non-world language (all other foreign languages) learning. In this context, world English maintained its high profile throughout the decade. In addition, US-based attitudes among pupils were consistently more positive than UK-based ones; in other words, pupils associated English as a world language more clearly with the USA than with the UK (Dörnyei and Csizér, 2002).

Using multiple-group structural equation modeling, Csizér and Kormos (2009) found support for Dörnyei's theory of the L2 Motivational Self System in the Hungarian context. Their results indicate that "latent dimensions measuring ideal L2 self and L2 learning experience contribute significantly to motivated learning behaviour; however, the ought-to L2 self seems to play a limited role in the motivation of the participants" (Csizér & Kormos, 2009:85). Their results also show that an international posture is only related to students' ideal L2 self, but doesn't correlate with students' ought to L2 selves (Csizér & Kormos, 2009:87).

1.2 Motivation and identity of CLIL learners

The relationships between Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), motivation, and identity have been investigated at different levels of education, sometimes yielding contradictory results; however, to date, no investigations have been carried out in the Hungarian context. Sylvén lists several factors that explain why CLIL is more motivating than the EFL classroom (Sylvén, 2017). These include that CLIL learners use the language in an authentic context and produce and process real messages. CLIL also offers a variety of tasks, as in most programmes, several subjects are taught through the CLIL language. In addition, in a CLIL class, students are required to produce either written or spoken output for the class, which is a crucial contribution to mastering the target language, which, in turn, can contribute to learner motivation (Sylvén, 2017). Sylvén argues that CLIL, in contrast to an EFL classroom, can be motivating in different ways, primarily because it fulfils many of the ideal prerequisites found in models of motivation in L2 learning (Sylvén, 2017).

Navarro Pablo and García Jiménez (2018) investigated the motivation of primary and secondary EFL and CLIL learners, but their results didn't adequately

fulfil the hypothesis that CLIL learners would have higher language attainment and motivation.

Oprescu (2015) investigated the link between CLIL and university students' cultural identity and found that their mother tongue determined students' identities. No associations were found between CLIL and the identity of university students.

Content and Language Integration in Swedish Schools (CLISS) was a longitudinal study in which motivation was one of the many factors investigated at the beginning and end of high school after three years of exposure to CLIL (Sylvén, 2017). Results indicate that at the beginning of high school, CLIL stream students were significantly more motivated language learners than non-CLIL stream students; in other words, CLIL stream students had a higher interest in foreign languages, a more positive attitude towards English, and a higher willingness to communicate in English. However, by the end of high school, the significant differences between CLIL stream students and non-CLIL stream students seem to have eroded; for example, CLIL stream students like English less and put less effort into learning English (Sylvén, 2017).

Child (2017) examined the identity of Finnish primary school pupils attending CLIL, music, and regular classes, from the point of view of language learning as an investment into the target language and one's social identity. She aimed to examine the differences between the identity of these three groups and to see if sixth graders are aware of the benefits of language learning. Her results indicate that sixth-grade CLIL pupils have a more complex and multifaceted way of expressing identity than music stream pupils, and they see more advantages of their specialization than music pupils. 45% of the CLIL-stream pupils mentioned they were CLIL-stream pupils when defining who they were. However, only 18% of the CLIL-stream pupils said they had strong English skills. Pupils in the CLIL stream were aware that CLIL had clear benefits regarding work in the future, benefits to learning, benefits to living abroad in the future, and benefits to their intercultural communication skills. These demonstrate the importance of CLIL education in developing identity and language learner identity, even in students as young as sixth graders.

In the Hungarian context, CLIL is implemented in the form of bilingual primary and secondary schools. One of the aims of these schools is to intensively develop target language knowledge and cultural awareness so that pupils get to know the countries where the target language is spoken and understand the target language's culture (EMMI decree, 2013: 609). For this purpose, in grades 5 to 8 of bilingual primary schools, the subject *Target Language Civilization* is taught (1 lesson/week), covering the geography, economy, history, society, everyday life, holidays, traditions, sports, literature, and art of the target language countries.

Bakti (2020) replicated the study of Child (2017) with four groups: sixth-grade CLIL and sports stream pupils and eighth-grade CLIL and sports stream pupils.

Her results support the findings of Child (2017) in that CLIL pupils in the investigation had a more multifaceted identity than sports stream pupils. Age- and specialization-specific differences were found between the groups, with CLIL benefits related to the future and intercultural communication as part of CLIL pupils' identity.

In Bakti (2020), respondents received and answered the questionnaires in their mother tongue, while in the investigation by Child (2017), participants could answer in Finnish, English, or even another language (Child; 2017:20); however, the language of filling in the questionnaires was not taken into consideration when analysing the results. In order to see the role that language might play when filling in the questionnaires, the choice was made in this study to ask one grade 6 CLIL group and one grade 8 CLIL group to complete the Hungarian questionnaire in English. Even though results suggest that when non-native speakers are asked to answer English-language surveys, they provide lower data quality (Wenz et al., 2021), it was assumed that answering the Hungarian questions in English would serve as a priming stimulus for the pupils, while the groups responding in English would mention learning English more frequently than the groups that filled out the questionnaires through Hungarian.

2. Research questions and assumptions

This cross-sectional investigation surveys the motivation and identity of two groups of primary CLIL pupils, one group aged 11/12 and the other group 13/14. The aim was to answer the following research questions:

- 1) How often is English, learning English, or being CLIL-stream pupils mentioned as components of CLIL pupils' identity in their *Me Mind Maps*?
- 2) To what extent does exposure to CLIL (in time) and the language of filling out the questionnaires (Hungarian or English) influence the motivational investment factors mentioned by CLIL learners in connection with learning in general and learning in a CLIL stream in particular?
- 3) In addition to motivational investment factors, would pupils' answers reflect identification with an external group of native English speakers or with a group of international speakers of English?

Based on the literature reviewed in the introduction, my assumptions are the following.

English will receive frequent mentions in the pupils' *Me Mind Maps*, as described by Child (2017).

As far as the motivational investment aspect is concerned, exposure to CLIL, operationalized in terms of pupils' age, will impact the answers. The answers of eighth graders will focus more on benefits related to work and future studies, that is, accumulating cultural capital and social power, than those of sixth graders (Bakti, 2020). I also expect that groups answering the questionnaires in English will mention learning English or English more frequently than the groups filling

in the questionnaires through Hungarian for all three questions in the questionnaire.

Regarding integrativeness, I expect that mention will be made of the target language cultural community because of the pupils' exposure to target language civilization classes and CLIL's strong cultural dimension. However, I also expect some signs of identification with the international community of English users in the pupils' answers.

3. Methodology

3.1 Participants

90 primary school CLIL pupils participated in this investigation; participation was voluntary and anonymous. 29 6th grade (age: 11/12) and 23 8th grade (age:13/14) CLIL stream pupils filled in a questionnaire on identity through Hungarian, and 22 6th grade and 16 8th grade pupils filled in the same questionnaire through English (Table 1). The pupils' language level was not tested. The pupils' expected language level in grade 6 is A2 (CEFR), and in grade 8 is B1(CEFR) (EMMI decree 2013). Their exposure to English in the school is higher than in average EFL programs; CLIL stream students have 5 English lessons per week from grade 1 through grade 8 and one class per week on target language civilization from grade five through grade 8. In addition, they have at least three subject classes per week taught in English. The school also particularly emphasizes celebrating holidays related to English-speaking countries. There is no information available on the pupils' extramural exposure to English.

Table 1. Participants

Grade	Filled out the questionnaire in		Total
	Hungarian	English	
6	29	22	51
8	23	16	39
Total	52	38	90

3.2 Data collection and analysis

In this research, which is a replication of Child's (2017) investigation, I used a paper and pencil questionnaire described in Child (2017) (see Appendix 1), with three open-ended questions. Question 1 was a *Me Mind Map*, an open-ended mind map, with three sample answers. Question 2 asked about the perceived benefits of attending primary school, and question 3 asked pupils to identify the perceived benefits of attending the CLIL stream. The pupils filled out the questionnaires in school.

The data were analysed using keyword analysis of the answers given by the pupils.

4. Results

Table 2 indicates the total and average number of answers per pupil to each question. First is the total number, then the average number of answers per pupil. As the numbers indicate, more answers per person were given for question 1 by those groups that filled in the questionnaire in English. In contrast, for questions 2 and 3, fewer answers were provided by the groups filling in the questionnaire in English.

There was a statistically significant difference between groups concerning the number of answers given to question 3 as determined by one-way ANOVA ($F(3,86) = 3,095, p = 0.031$). A Tukey post hoc test revealed the number of answers given by the grade 6 group answering in English ($1.1818 \pm 0.66450, p = 0.029$) was statistically significantly lower than the number of answers provided by the grade 8 group responding in Hungarian (1.786 ± 0.7358). There was no statistically significant difference between the other groups.

An independent samples t-test revealed no significant difference between the grade 6 and grade 8 age groups regarding the number of answers to each question.

However, independent samples t-tests revealed significant differences between the groups filling in the questionnaire in English and Hungarian. This study found that the group answering through English (grade 6 and grade 8) gave fewer answers (1.27 ± 0.60) to question 2 than the group responding in Hungarian (grade 6 and grade 8) (1.65 ± 0.88), $t(86.9) = 2.427, p = 0.017$. The same was found for question 3; the group answering in English gave fewer answers (1.26 ± 0.68) to question 3 than the group responding in Hungarian (1.69 ± 0.72), $t(88) = 2.8229, p = 0.006$.

Table 2. Total answers and (answers per pupil) to the questions

group	Question 1 <i>Me Mind Map</i>	Question 2 Benefits of primary school	Question 3 Benefits of the CLIL stream
grade 6	123 (4.24)	50 (1.7)	47 (1.6)
grade 6 (in English)	97 (4.4)	26 (1.18)	26 (1.18)
grade 8	107 (4.65)	36 (1.56)	41 (1.78)
grade 8 (in English)	94 (5.9)	23 (1.44)	22 (1.16)

The complexity of the identity of the pupils is illustrated by the number of broad categories mentioned in each group's answers. For questions one and two, there was no considerable difference between the groups answering in Hungarian and English; however, in the case of question three, the perceived benefits of the CLIL stream, groups responding in Hungarian gave more varied answers; in other words, their answers covered more categories than those offered by pupils who filled in the questionnaire in English (Table 3.)

Table 3. Number of categories covered in the answers of each group

	Question 1 <i>Me Mind Map</i>	Question 2 Benefits of primary school	Question 3 Benefits of the CLIL stream
grade 6	9	8	11
grade 6 (in English)	10	7	6
grade 8	13	5	12
grade 8 (in English)	11	7	7

4.1 Results, *Me Mind Map*

Question 1 was an open-ended mind-map (see Appendix) with three sample answers (I like dogs, I play basketball, my favourite food is pizza). There were 421 answers for question 1, falling into 16 broad categories. These categories include favourite food, sport, or pet, English, friends, environment, likes or dislikes, school subjects, health, family, personality, gender, personal or secret information, future plans, music, and home.

The most frequently mentioned categories in all four groups were favourite pet, food, and sport, along with likes and dislikes. This result is partly because the three categories of favourite pet, food, and sport were included in the sample answers given in the questionnaire. Table 4 presents the six most frequent categories of answers to question 1.

Table 4. Most frequent answer categories to question 1

ranking	CLIL 6 HU	CLIL 6 EN	CLIL 8 HU	CLIL 8 EN
1	pet 22.8%	food 28.9%	(dis)likes 26.2 %	(dis)likes 38.3%
2	food 22.8%	(dis)likes 21.7%	sport 22.5 %	pet 13.8%
3	sport 21.1 %	sport 20.7%	food 16.8%	sport 12.8%
4	(dis)likes 17.9%	pet 20.7%	pet 13.1%	food 9.6%
5	health 4.9%	music 3%	friends 7.5 %	English 8.5%
6	family 4.9%	English 1%	English 3.7%	school 8.5%

English was mentioned by three out of the four groups. It ranked 5th in the grade 8 group that filled out the questionnaire in English, 6th in both the grade 8 group that filled in the questionnaire in Hungarian, and the grade 6 group that filled in the questionnaire in English.

There was a statistically significant difference between groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ($F(3,86) = 8.00, p = 0.000$). A Tukey post hoc test revealed the number of answers referring to English in the first question was statistically significantly lower in the grade 6 group that filled in the questionnaire in Hungarian (0.00 ± 0.000 mentions, $p = 0.000$), in the grade 6 group that filled in the questionnaire in English (0.05 ± 0.213 mentions, $p = 0.001$), and the grade 8 group that filled in the questionnaire in Hungarian (0.17 ± 0.491 mentions, $p = 0.024$) than by the grade 8 group that filled in the questionnaire in English (0.05 ± 0.516

mentions). There was no statistically significant difference between the other groups.

The results for the two grade 6 and grade 8 groups are presented together in Table 5 to illustrate age-specific differences between the groups. The figures show the proportion of mention of each answer category to the Me Mind Map question. The answers do not signal major age-specific differences between the two age groups. However, independent samples t-tests revealed significant differences between the age groups when mentioning English in the answers to question 1. It was found that 6th graders mentioned English in fewer answers (0.02 ± 0.14) to question 1 than 8th graders (0.31 ± 0.521), $t(42.219) = -3.363$, $p = 0.002$. The tests revealed no significant difference in the mention of English in answers to question 1 according to the language of filling in the questionnaire.

Table 5. Differences between the two age groups. Answers to question 1.

grade 6	grade 8
food 25.4%	likes and dislikes 31.8%
pet 21.8%	sport 17.9%
sport 20.9%	pet 13.4%
likes and dislikes 19.5%	food 13.4%
school subjects 3.2%	English 6%
family 3.2 %	friends 5%
friends 2.2%	school subjects 5%
music 1.4%	family 2%
environment 0.9%	future 2%
English 0.5%	personality 1.5%
health 0.5%	health 0.5%
personality 0.5%	gender 0.5%
	secret 0.5%
	hometown 0.5%

In the answers of grade 8 pupils, English, friends, and school subjects were mentioned in a higher proportion of answers, and some eighth graders also mentioned future plans. English and learning English were scarcely mentioned in the sixth-grader group.

4.2 Results, perceived benefits of primary school

The second question in the pupils' questionnaire concerned the benefits of primary school. There were 135 answers, falling into 13 categories. The categories were: I will know a lot / I will be smart; it is easier to get a good job; we acquire the foundations or basics of every subject. In addition, there were answers related to the future, further secondary or tertiary studies, mastering English, developing foreign language skills, finding friends, the school's prestige, learning how to learn effectively, learning new things, and attending primary school is compulsory.

The three most frequently mentioned categories by each group are listed in Table 6, and in addition to the categories of becoming smart and acquiring the foundations of every subject, future and future secondary and tertiary studies also ranked high in the answers of all four groups, irrespective of age. However, references to the future and prospective studies were made slightly more frequently by 8th graders. English or speaking English as a benefit was rarely mentioned by any of the groups.

Table 6. Most frequent answer categories to question 2

ranking	CLIL 6 HU	CLIL 6 EN	CLIL 8 HU	CLIL 8 EN
1.	be smart 32%	know the basics 34.8%	know the basics 50%	know the basics 18%
2.	further studies 20%	be smart 30.8%	further studies 30.6%	learn new things 26.08%
3.	know the basics 18%	learn to learn 11.5% future 11.5%	be smart 11.1 %	future 17.4%

The data in Table 7 signal some age-specific differences in the proportion of keywords mentioned by sixth graders and eighth graders. Eighth graders mentioned learning the basics as the most essential perceived benefit of attending primary school, followed by preparation for further education. In contrast, sixth graders perceived being smart as the most important benefit of attending primary school. Preparation for further education received almost the same proportion of answers as in the case of sixth graders. Interestingly, preparing for the future was mentioned in a more significant proportion of responses among sixth graders than among eighth graders.

Statistical analyses revealed no significant difference between age groups or between the groups according to the language of filling in the questionnaire when mentioning English or English skills in the answers.

Table 7. Differences between the two age groups. Answers to question 2.

grade 6	grade 8
becoming smart 31.7%	learning the basics 44%
learning the basics 23.7%	further education 18.6%
further education 14.5%	learning new things 10.2%
getting a job 9.2%	becoming smart 10.2%
future 9.2%	future 6.8%
friends 3.9%	prestigious school 4.3%
learning to learn 3.9%	English 1.7%
English 2.6%	friends 1.7%
foreign languages 1.3 %	don't know 1.7%
	it's compulsory 1.7%

4.3 Results, perceived benefits of the CLIL stream

Question 3 asked participants about the perceived benefits of attending the CLIL stream. There were 136 answers that fell into 15 categories. Pupils think that they will be able to communicate, study, work, or live abroad. Pupils also mentioned that speaking a foreign language is a basic skill nowadays, and a further benefit was acquiring good English skills, along with the fact that it would be easier for pupils in the CLIL stream to learn additional foreign languages. Passing a language exam was also mentioned. Some respondents noted that the CLIL stream was fun; taking part in a CLIL program had cognitive benefits, but at the same time, it was hard work. Perceived benefits include a better future, access to better secondary schools or universities, and attending the CLIL stream was an overall advantage.

The most frequently mentioned benefits are summarized in Table 8. English is mentioned in a higher proportion in the answers of those groups that filled in the questionnaire in English. The two most frequent benefits, namely mastering English and communicating abroad, are the same across the four groups.

Table 8. Most frequent answer categories covered in answers to question 3

CLIL 6 HU	CLIL 6 EN	CLIL 8 HU	CLIL 8 EN
Communication abroad 38.3%	Good English skills 61.6 %	Good English skills 26.8 %	Good English skills 45.6 %
Good English skills 19.1 %	Communication abroad 11.5 %	Communication abroad 14.7 % Working abroad 14.7 %	Communication abroad 27.3 %
Studying abroad 8.5 %	Working abroad 7.7% Good job 7.7% New languages 7.7%	Language exam 12.2 %	Working abroad 9.1 %

It is clear from the data that the most important perceived benefit of attending the CLIL stream is learning English well, followed by being able to communicate abroad. In all the answers, pupils used the term abroad and did not give specific answers, such as communicating in Britain or the USA. Age-specific differences (Table 9) include a higher proportion of responses mentioning working abroad and passing a language exam among eighth graders and a slightly higher proportion of answers citing further studies.

There was a statistically significant difference between groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ($F(3,86) = 8.157, p = 0.029$). A Tukey post hoc test revealed the number of answers referring to English in the third question was statistically

significantly lower by the grade 6 group that answered in Hungarian (0.31 ± 0.47 , $p=0.023$) than by the grade 6 group that answered through English (0.73 ± 0.456). There was no statistically significant difference between the other groups.

As answers related to *international posture* (working, living, studying, and communicating abroad) are concerned, there was a statistically significant difference between groups as determined by one-way ANOVA ($F(3,86) = 4.745$, $p= 0.004$). A Tukey post hoc test revealed that the number of answers related to international posture was significantly lower in the grade 6 group that answered in English (0.2273 ± 0.4289 , $p= 0.002$) than in the grade 6 group that answered in Hungarian (0.9310 ± 0.7987 min). There was no statistically significant difference between the other groups.

Independent samples t-tests revealed significant differences based on the language of answering the questions in the mentions of English, international posture, and a language exam in answers to question 3. It was found that groups responding in English mentioned English as a CLIL benefit more often (0.68 ± 0.471) in responses to question 3 than groups answering in Hungarian (0.38 ± 0.53), $t(88)=-2.775$, $p=0.007$. In addition, it was also found that groups answering in English mentioned international posture less often (0.3421 ± 0.534) in answers to question 3 than groups responding in Hungarian (0.8077 ± 0.768), $t(87.822)=3.391$, $p=0.001$. Furthermore, it was also found that groups answering in English mentioned a language exam as a CLIL stream benefit less often (0.3 ± 0.162) in answers to question 3 than groups responding in Hungarian (0.15 ± 0.364), $t(74.835)=2.239$, $p=0.028$.

Independent samples t-tests revealed no significant difference between the answers to question 3 of the two age groups.

Table 9. Differences between the two age groups. Answers to question 3.

grade 6	grade 8
good English skills (34.4%)	good English skills (33.2%)
communication abroad (28.8%)	communication abroad (19%)
learning additional foreign languages (6.8%)	working abroad (12%)
working abroad (6.8%)	passing a language exam (9.5%)
studying abroad (5.5%)	important for further education (4.8%)
passing a language exam (4.1%)	foreign language is a basic skill (4.8%)
language-related job (4.1%)	living abroad (3.2%)
living abroad (2.7%)	learning additional foreign languages (3.2%)
foreign language is a basic skill (2.7%)	future (3.2%)
it is fun (1.4%)	studying abroad (1.6%)
it has cognitive benefits (1.4%)	language-related job (1.6%)
important for further education (1.4%)	it is hard work (1.6%)
	it is an advantage in life (1.6%)

5. Discussion

This paper looked at the motivation and identity of primary school CLIL learners in grades 6 and 8, with the CLIL language being English. Even though the motivation and identity of Hungarian EFL learners have been mapped extensively (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002), the motivation and identity of primary CLIL learners in Hungary have received limited research attention.

The first research question concerned the role of English, learning English and being in the CLIL stream as part of pupils' identity. English, learning English or the CLIL stream, was scarcely mentioned as part of the *Me Mind Maps* and as a benefit related to primary school, which contrasts with the findings of Child (2017). This outcome might be explained by the differences between Finnish and Hungarian school cultures; however, further investigations are needed to determine the reason for this difference. In answers to the question related to perceived benefits of the CLIL stream, however, English and learning English were mentioned most frequently. It also has to be noted that the grade 8 group that filled in the questionnaire in English mentioned English statistically more often than the other groups. Age-specific differences have also been revealed; 8th graders, irrespective of the language of filling in the questionnaire, mentioned English in the answers to question 1 more often than 6th graders.

The second research question concerned the effect of age and the language of filling in the questionnaire on the motivational investment factors mentioned by CLIL learners in connection with learning in general and learning in a CLIL stream in particular. As already seen in Bakti (2020), age-specific differences could be detected in the answers to questions 2 and 3, irrespective of the language of filling in the questionnaire. Regarding the benefits of attending primary school, 8th graders mentioned the future and benefits related to future secondary and tertiary education more frequently than 6th graders. In answers to question 3, 8th graders mentioned working abroad as a benefit of the CLIL stream more frequently than 6th graders, and 8th graders also noted the successful passing of the language exam among CLIL stream benefits. In addition, most of the answers all four groups gave reflect attending primary school and the CLIL stream as an investment into accumulating cultural capital and social power (Norton, 2000; Child, 2017). Statistical analyses have revealed differences between the groups in the answers based on the language of filling in the questionnaires. For question 3, groups answering in English (grades 6 and 8) mentioned English or English skills in their answers to question 3 more often than the groups responding in Hungarian. In contrast, groups answering in Hungarian mentioned passing an English language exam more frequently.

The third research question was concerned with identification with a target group. Results imply that pupils identify with an international group of English speakers, instead of the external reference group of native English speakers, despite their exposure to target language civilization classes and target culture-

related events in the school. Interestingly, groups answering in Hungarian gave more answers related to international posture than groups responding in English. These results align with those in English L2 motivation research related to a shift in EFL motivation from identification with a specific cultural target group to identification with an international group of English speakers (Yashima, 2002, 2009; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009).

6. Conclusion

This paper investigated the motivation and identity of primary school CLIL stream pupils. Pupils did not mention English, learning English, or being part of the CLIL stream when describing who they were. In their motivation, some age-specific characteristics have been identified, together with some differences related to the language of filling in the questionnaire. The results can be interpreted in the context of Norton's (2000) investment model, according to which CLIL learners see language learning as an investment, and also support some of the findings of Child (2017).

Results indicate that CLIL pupils think of communication, life, and work “abroad,” which implies identification with a global group of English speakers, and some of them perceive English as a skill; both of these reflect changes documented in English learning motivation literature (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). In addition, these results might lead to a rethinking culture in CLIL, more precisely in cases where the CLIL language is English.

Some limitations of the current research should also be noted. No background data on the participants' socio-economic backgrounds are available. CLIL classes in Hungary are selective and are mostly open to pupils from higher socio-economic backgrounds, which might have influenced the results.

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Appendix

QUESTIONS TO LEARNERS IN THE CLIL STREAM

1. **Me Mind Map** – Please write down some things that you consider important about yourself. (for example: I like dogs, I play basketball, my favourite food is pizza.) Please **DON'T** give your name!



2. What do you think are the future benefits of attending primary school?
3. What do you think are the future benefits of attending the CLIL stream?

Thank you for helping our research with your answers 😊