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## CONSTRUCTING THE LANGUAGE IDENTITY OF A HONG KONG CHINESE LANGUAGE TEACHER: A NARRATIVE SELF-STUDY

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#### **Abstract:**

This study examines the development of second language (L2) identity based on the author's personal experiences as a citizen of Hong Kong. Employing a narrative self-study method, the author explores how Hongkongers' perceptions of their language identities evolve over time. The study reveals that the author's own perception of L2 identities has changed due to shifting political and social contexts as she has taken on various roles throughout her life, including daughter, granddaughter, student, and teacher. By using Mandarin and English at different times, the author has gained a unique understanding of her language identity as a Hong Kong citizen. This research demonstrates that L2 identity is fluid and constantly evolving, adapting to roles and experiences, which in turn influence teaching practices.

本研究透過探索香港教師的個人經歷,研究第二語言身份的發展和演變。透過自我敘說研究法,探討香港人如何隨著時間推移感知他們的語言身份的變化和連續性。研究亦探討個人的第二語言身份認同如何隨著生活角色轉換以及政治和社會環境的變化而改變,以及如何影響其教學實踐。

**Keywords:** second language identity, narrative self-study, language identity development, Hong Kong teacher

關鍵詞:二語身份認同、語言身份認同發展、自我敘說研究、香港教師

#### 1. Introduction

As a novice second language (L2) teacher, my experience as a Chinese teaching assistant at a US university was challenging due to culture shock, lack of training, and unfamiliarity with local educational systems and student learning styles. The biggest challenge, however, was grappling with my identity as a teacher from Hong Kong.

<sup>「</sup>香港語文教師的語言身分認同發展:自我敘說之研究

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During my time in the US, I shared my experiences during the 2014 Umbrella Movement via a public lecture, which reinforced my Hong Kong identity and led me to contemplate my L2 identity in Mandarin and English.

While studying for my TCSOL master's degree in the UK, I came across research on the language identity of Chinese-American students, which inspired me to explore my own identity. This study aims to understand the process of constructing L2 identities and the factors that may influence them for multilingual teachers. This study employs a narrative inquiry methodology, examining my process of L2 identity development through self-reflection, personal journals, photographs, and teaching materials. The implications of this study include providing first-hand evidence of the personal development of a multilingual language teacher, gaining an understanding of investment and motivation in language learning, and viewing L2 identity as a changeable phenomenon.

#### 2. Literature review

### 2.1 Second language (L2) identities

To comprehend the development of L2 identities, it is essential to investigate the definition of identity in language learning. Identity is defined as "how a person perceives their relationship with the world, how that relationship is formed over time and space, and how the person evaluates potential outcomes for the future" (Norton, 2010, p. 61). Therefore, every time a learner speaks, they are shaping and reshaping a sense of self in the larger social world and reorganizing that relationship across multiple dimensions of life. Identity negotiation may not necessarily involve two individuals, but may also occur within individuals, resulting in changes in self-representation (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). In this sense, language is not only a linguistic system, but a social practice in which experiences are structured and identities are negotiated (Norton, 2010).

Benson et al. (2013) examined the connection between L2 and identity, and they defined L2 identity as "any aspect of a person's identity that is related to their knowledge or use of a second language" (p. 28). L2 identity is a part of an individual's personal or social identities that arises from "the potential that knowledge of more than one language implies" (p. 29). An individual's identities may also be shaped by L2 learning and use. Wolf's study (2006 cited in Benson et al., 2013, p. 29) explains how French grammatical structures force L2 users to express "subjectivities" in their use of pronouns, tense, and argumentative discourse. Differences in the grammatical structure of French and English mean that native speakers of French as an L2 are necessarily confronted with the problem of reformulating their identity in a second language.

Researchers have demonstrated that L2 identity is embedded in context and constructed through interaction. Kanno and Norton (2003) studied the L2 identities of a group of Japanese returning from Canada and found that the participants' language identities of Japanese and English depended on where they lived, who they interacted with, and their personal development. The variation in the above factors not only

determined the relationship between participants and L2 but also their belonging to these two languages and cultural confidence. Norton (1997) conducted qualitative research on immigrant women learning English in Canada, showing that the social identities of individual language learners were complicated and at times contradictory, changing significantly over time and space.

Norton and Toohey (2002) argue that "the value ascribed to speech cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks and that the person who speaks cannot be understood apart from larger networks of social relationships" (p. 118). Recognizing that the value ascribed to a person or group can vary depending on contexts or circumstances, Norton (2000) focused on the unequal power relations between learners and target language speakers. Norton (2000) conducted qualitative research with a Canadian immigrant named Martina, who was not a proficient speaker of English and was employed in a fast-food restaurant. Her co-workers were all born in Canada, and some of them were the manager's children. Martina communicates in this extract that engaging in social interaction with her co-workers was a struggle, primarily because she was positioned as a dehumanized and inanimate "broom." Norton (2000, 2014) argues that the inequitable relations of power may limit and constrain a learner's opportunities to use L2 and negotiate a relationship with target language speakers.

## 2.2 Investing in language

The concept of an imagined community explains the investment of language learners in their use of and learning of a L2 (Norton, 2014). Norton (1997) introduced the term "investment" to describe how learners reshape their identities and relationships with the social world through the acquisition of L2. However, Norton (2000) emphasizes that investment does not refer to a single, fixed, non-historical learner who is solely motivated by instrumental reasons. Instead, learners' intentions and needs are more complex. They seek a good return on their investment, which broadens their range of symbolic or material resources, adds value to their cultural capital, and provides access to resources that were previously unavailable to them (Norton, 2000, p. 10). Additionally, Norton (2001) argues that the learner's investment must be understood within the context of an imagined community as a representation of oneself within their respective societies.

Motivation allows experts to view language learners' investment through cross-cultural perspectives. The development of a traditional language has long been viewed as beneficial to one's sense of ethnic and cultural identity (Cho, 2000). However, the advantages of language have evolved in recent years. The understanding of language primarily associated with the building of nation-states has gradually merged with the notion of language as a means of access to economic resources. Carreira and Armengol (2001) argue that the expansion of the global market has made proficiency in different languages essential, especially in languages with larger populations or significant political roles, such as Spanish and Mandarin (p. 110). Wong and Xiao (2010) investigated the motivations of Chinese heritage language (CHL) learners from dialect backgrounds who were learning Mandarin. All participants agreed that learning Mandarin would

provide them with a significant advantage in their career development. They believed it would help them overcome the challenges of being both American and Chinese. One participant stated that she could use her new language skills not only to connect with the Chinese community but also to compete with other Americans in the job market (p. 328).

### 2.3 L2 teacher identity constructions

The identity of language teachers is a crucial aspect of their professional development (Barkhuizen, 2017; Gao, 2017). L2 teacher identity refers to the self-concept or sense of self of L2 teachers (Jackson, 2017). It's important to note that L2 teacher identity is not a fixed or unchanging concept, but rather a multifaceted and complex one that can shift over time and contexts (Trent, 2015; Barkhuizen, 2017). The construction of L2 teacher identity is an ongoing and collaborative process that may involve various factors such as prior language learning experience, expected roles of L2 teachers in institutional settings and through social practices, and individual teachers' desire to make sense of their identities as language teachers (Richards, 2017).

Numerous studies have explored the identities of non-native English-speaking teachers in EFL/ESL contexts (Benson, 2017; Trent and DeCoursey, 2010). For example, Benson (2017) found that non-native English-speaking teachers in Asia who became language teachers after years of learning English as an L2, relied on learner and teacher autonomy to develop their identities as English language teachers, learners, and users. Benson et al. (2013) suggest that L2 teacher identity also includes six aspects: (1) embodied identities we are born with as physically separated beings; (2) reflexive identities, which are our own views of ourselves; (3) identities projected in interaction with others; (4) identities recognized by others as they interpret the identities we project; (5) imagined future identities; and (6) socially constructed identity categories (p. 20).

Tsui (2007) conducted a longitudinal case study of a novice Chinese EFL teacher to understand his L2 teacher identity construction. Through his narratives over six years and in different contexts, the researcher found that the participant's teacher identity development was complex and influenced by both internal and external factors such as the identity negotiation process, including mediations as an EFL learner, reconstruction of his identities in different contexts, the appropriation of beliefs about language learning and teaching, and expectations of the institution.

## 2.4 L2 Self-efficacy

According to psychologist Albert Bandura (1994 cited in Jackson, 2018, p. 126), self-efficacy is defined as people's belief in their ability to perform at a particular level and their belief that beliefs can influence events in their lives (p. 71). He argued that these beliefs determine people's self-perceptions, motivations, and the actions they will take. He found that people with high levels of self-efficacy tended to make a concerted effort to tackle difficult and challenging tasks, while people with low levels of self-efficacy found the tasks intimidating and avoided them, thus hindering their learning of new knowledge. In SLA research, self-efficacy is closely related to motivation, as they can

influence L2 learners' imagination and commitment to L2 learning and use in different situations.

It is worth noting that self-efficacy depends on students' perceptions of language competence, which may not reflect their actual level of competence. Benson et al. (2013) interviewed two interviewees with similar levels of English about their learning outcomes in the same exchange program in the United Kingdom. The result showed that a participant did not have enough confidence and motivation to make a successful cultural exchange in the host country. In contrast, the other participant was able to make a bold attempt and was not afraid to make a mistake, thus gaining more cultural opportunities. Jackson (2018) argued that L2 learners must possess enough confidence and self-efficacy to develop and sustain cross-cultural interactions in the host environment. These beliefs are closely related to L2 learners' willingness to use language in their social environment. Jackson (2018) suggested that to build L2 learners' confidence, it is crucial to increase their knowledge of effective learner strategies and their ability to evaluate their language-cultural learning strategies.

## 2.5 Language identity in Hong Kong

### A. Cantonese language identity

Cantonese is considered the native language of Hong Kong and its people, and is, therefore, the primary language identity of Hong Kong people during different periods (Hansen Edwards, 2020; Lai, 2001, 2011). Lai (2001) compared the language identity of two groups of Hong Kong secondary school students, namely the middle class and the working class. Both groups of students viewed Cantonese as a strong Hongkonger identity, with working-class students showing an even stronger sense of Hong Kong identity than their middle-class counterparts. This was likely due to their fear of assimilation by new immigrants from Mainland China, whose socio-economic status was much closer. A later study by Lai (2011) in 2009, when Hong Kong entered the second decade of the post-colonial era, found similar results. Despite China's growing influence on Hong Kong's economy and culture and the deeper roots of national education in Hong Kong, Cantonese still held a significant place in Hong Kong's identity as a marker of cultural uniqueness.

Recent research by Hansen Edwards (2020) also emphasized the role of Cantonese in Hong Kong identity. Among the three languages (Cantonese, English, and Mandarin) in Hong Kong, Cantonese was rated highest on the trait of unity. Cantonese has become a more prominent marker of Hong Kong's identity, especially in the context of grassroots political movements such as the Umbrella Movement in 2014 and the civil unrest resulting from the proposed extradition treaty between Hong Kong and mainland China in 2019. This is likely due to Hong Kong people's eagerness to embrace a marker that distinguishes them from Mainland China. Hansen Edwards (2020) argues that the view of Cantonese implies ownership of the language and an imagined identity border between Hong Kong and Mainland China.

## B. English L2 identity

Although Cantonese has been more widely used in Hong Kong in the past two decades than during the colonial period, English still plays an important role in Hong Kong's language identity (Hansen Edwards, 2020; Lai, 2001, 2011). Lai's study (2001) found that even after the handover, the majority of participants still considered English a prestigious language in Hong Kong. Respondents believed that English would continue to be the most important language for academic and career development, as well as the prosperity of Hong Kong in the 21st Century. In Lai's later study (2011), English was found to be a marker of Hong Kong identity, like Cantonese. English has been successfully promoted as a tool for upward and outward mobility in Hong Kong society, as one participant noted that "English is a must for university entrance and a good job" (p. 259). Some participants also associated English with a higher social group, as one noted that "Speaking English is more high-class" (p. 259).

Hansen Edwards's study (2020) found that participants viewed English as part of Hong Kong's identity due to nostalgia for British colonial rule, as well as valuing English as part of Hong Kong's international identity. The majority of respondents viewed themselves as bilingual in Cantonese and English, with an increasing acceptance of a mixcode of Cantonese and English and Hong Kong-accented English as characteristics of Hong Kong's language identity.

## C. Mandarin L2 identity

Pennington (1998, cited in Lai, 2001) predicted that Mandarin would acquire the same national and linguistic vitality, and the next linguistic transformation of Hong Kong society would be centered on Putonghua. However, Lai's study (2001) found that the national identity that Mandarin represents among the younger generation is not as strong as expected. Few respondents considered Mandarin a superior language in Hong Kong. Even though Mandarin has already been introduced as a core subject in schools, no evidence showed that Mandarin would replace both Cantonese and English as a dominant language. Similar findings were also stressed in Lai's later study (2011). During this period, Hong Kong's cultural and economic ties with China grew stronger, and China's international standing was greatly enhanced by its successful hosting of the Beijing Olympics and its leading role in stabilizing the world. The findings suggest that Mandarin is being promoted as a tool for broader communication and better life chances, rather than as a symbol of nationalism.

Despite China's outstanding achievements in the past decade, the postcolonial generation of Hong Kong has maintained a stronger local than national identity since the Umbrella Movement in 2014 and the civil unrest due to the proposed introduction of an extradition treaty between Hong Kong and Mainland China in 2019 (Hansen Edwards, 2020). Hansen Edwards (2019, 2020) found that for Hong Kong's young generation, there was a need to create a language border between Hong Kong and Mainland China. This need may have accelerated in more recent years due to concerns that Hong Kong's autonomy is eroding (p. 133). Hansen Edwards (2020) explains that Hong Kong's

linguistic identity, whether as a monolingual or bilingual identity, also seems to be a response to the increasing carving up of Hong Kong's linguistic space, with the increased use of Mandarin in education, trade, tourism, etc., exacerbating the perception that Cantonese is under threat in Hong Kong. Since the handover in 1997, Mandarin has been promoted as the national language of Hong Kong and has gradually replaced Cantonese as the language of instruction in local schools, adding fuel to the perception that China linguistically assimilates Hong Kong to the detriment of Cantonese (Hansen Edwards 2019, 2020). Thus, imagined linguistic boundaries might also serve as a psychological means to insulate Cantonese speakers from the influence of Mandarin (Hansen Edwards, 2020).

## 3. Research methodology

This study is guided by the integrated language identity framework, which incorporates both sociocultural linguistic perspectives (Benson et al., 2013; Norton, 2000, 2004) and the social theory of learning (Wenger, 1998). The following questions guide this study:

- 1) How do I construct my L2 identity within and across different times and contexts?
- 2) What are the factors that impact my L2 identity construction?

## 3.1 Rationale of the research methodology

This research aims to explore my L2 identity construction in the context of Hong Kong using an integrated approach of "self-study" and "narrative inquiry". Self-study involves the study of oneself, actions, ideas, and the "not self," which draws on one's life experiences, people known, and ideas considered. The approach of self-study can examine L2 identity construction in micro and macro contexts and lead to an "integration of both first-hand empirical investigation and the theoretical and comparative interpretation of social organization and culture" (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007, p.1).

Narrative inquiry is used to account for the critical role of individual identity formation and can help reach a deeper understanding of L2 identity development. The integration of narrative inquiry into the self-study can help researchers make sense of highly complex situations and seek in-depth insights. In this study, I draw on the integrated framework of L2 identity construction as well as previous related research to gather insights into my L2 identity development in the Hong Kong context.

The inquiry process is imbued with a subjective interpretation of the researcher, and intersubjectivity is one of the central tenets of narrative inquiry and one of the major criteria of accuracy. In this study, stories have been reconstructed from a personal point of view, which is inevitably subjective and interpretive in nature, although my accounts have been supported by evidence as far as possible. Additionally, the three-dimensional inquiry developed by Connelly and Clandinin (2000) makes a suitable framework for this study, which emphasizes subjectivity and demonstrates a practical orientation.

The approach can provide an integrated analysis of individual identity development at both micro and macro levels, as stories reflect a person's life history,

social practice as well as professional knowledge contexts in which people live. In this study, I provided a rich description of interactions with my peers, students, colleagues, and supervisors, and professional practice as a Chinese language teacher in my situated communities where my identities emerged and developed. Through the intertwined micro and macro levels of analysis, I have developed a better understanding of the various features and processes of L2 identity construction that emerge from the ongoing social and professional practice. It is also profoundly influenced by and interconnected with changes in the social, cultural, and institutional environment.

## 3.2 My role in this study

In this narrative inquiry, I explore the development of my L2 identity construction through self-study, using the first person "I". Self-study is a methodology that allows researchers to examine their own role within their inquiry, and provides a private vested interest in understanding the practice. It also allows the researcher to develop their own perspective on L2 learning and teaching practice. By using the first person, I was able to approach myself as a language learner and teacher and explore who I am and who I would like to be.

Furthermore, this study emphasizes how individuals understand themselves in relation to others in the world and considers power relations when studying second language identity development. It is not just about how we are positioned, but also what positions we occupy and how we accept and enforce the rights, responsibilities, and obligations that come with one position over another. By examining my own position and how I am positioned by friends, students, and colleagues, I can gain a deeper understanding of my own practice.

Finally, interactivity is another important characteristic of a self-study. As human practice always involves others, either in the immediate present or in the interactive reconstruction of memory, it is important to consider the voices of others in order to reconstruct experiences in certain contexts and times. In this study, I engage with critical friends and ex-colleagues, asking them to question my data, interpretations, analyses, and assertions about my practice. Others in my inquiry are valuable sources of data and analysis, as well as sources of evidence to confirm and deny my understandings and claims to action.

### 4. Data collection process

#### 4.1 Autobiographical account

At the start of my research, I wrote down my own thoughts and experiences of learning and teaching my L2 before reading related theories to gain more ideas on how L2 identity is built. This study made use of my autobiographical account of my L2 learning experience, which was audio-recorded in Cantonese. It helped me to document my learning experiences in Mandarin and English, as well as critical incidents throughout the process of becoming and being a language teacher. Additionally, it elicited my beliefs,

attitudes, and feelings as a Chinese language teacher, as well as the factors that influenced my professional practice and development. This produced critical insights into my L2 identity change and development.

To explore my professional experiences and identity as a Chinese language educator, I completed a narrative frame developed by Barkhuizen (2008). In my narrative framework, I give an autobiographical account of how I became a Chinese language teacher, the circumstances under which I pursued it, what I have learned personally and professionally, and how I currently feel as a language teacher educator. I then describe my current understanding and practice in relation to the important roles that teacher educators are generally considered to play as teachers, researchers, and learners.

#### 4.2 Personal diaries, teaching materials, and photos

Narrative inquiry researchers can gather a variety of documents that can provide valuable information about the setting being studied or its wider context (Barkhuizen, 2020). These documents can corroborate or challenge information gathered from autobiographical accounts or a narrative frame (Benson, 2014).

In this study, I collected various written sources, such as my personal diary which I have been keeping since 2012. It contains my perceptions, feelings, and data information of some incidents that I have included in the narrative. To understand how the teacher discursively constructs and reinforces my professional identities, I also gathered teaching journals, syllabi, lesson plans, and teaching materials used in different teaching contexts. Additionally, photo-narratives can be used to connect with other sources in an L2 identity development study (Chik, 2014; Giroir, 2013). I have used photos to document my language learning and teaching experiences in the reconstruction of some incidents.

As suggested by Ortaçtepe (2013), using multiple documents as data in a narrative inquiry study not only sheds light on the lived experiences of the participants but also provides a rich source of data to investigate L2 identity development.

### 4.3 Validity and ethics of the study

In qualitative research, "validity" refers to how trustworthy and credible the findings are (Rolfe, 2006). To ensure credible analysis and results, this study used several research designs. One such design is triangulation, which involves collecting information in multiple ways rather than relying on just one (Rolfe, 2006). To answer the research questions, multiple data sources were used to form the triangulation matrix (Mills, 2007). These data sources included autobiographical accounts and a variety of documents such as personal diaries, teaching materials, and photos. The autobiographical account recorded my feelings and interpretations about my L2 learning and teaching, as well as how personal and social issues impacted my L2 identity development.

#### 5. Data analysis

#### 5.1 My story

I am a third-generation immigrant from Hong Kong with a rich language heritage. My father insisted that I learn Hokkien, a Chinese dialect used in Fujian and some parts of Cantonese, as a way of connecting with my grandfather's roots. Although communication within my family was mainly in Cantonese, I later took the dialect seriously as a way of expressing gratitude to my grandfather. My parents also believed that having good communication skills in English and Mandarin would be beneficial for my career prospects. While I struggled with English proficiency compared to my peers, my Mandarin was better than that of my classmates. This led me to choose Chinese as my major in university, and I later pursued a master's degree in Teaching Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages. I discovered a profound interest in teaching Chinese as a foreign language and participated in various short-term teaching programs in North Korea and the United States. These experiences made me reflect on my language identity as a multilingual person.

### 5.2 Influential people in my language identity development

My father, grandfather, mother, cousin, and a teacher were all influential figures in my language identity development. My father and grandfather played crucial roles in my Hokkien learning experience, while my mother introduced me to Mandarin and Taiwanese culture. My cousin's fluent English inspired me to speak English as fluently as he did and go to a university in the United States. Finally, my drama teacher helped me boost my confidence to speak English in class. These experiences made me realize that learning a language not only provides me with different career development and life experiences but also shapes my language identity as a multilingual person.

#### 5.3 Self-confidence

When I started university, I realized my Mandarin was better than that of my peers. I excelled in my Li Bai Poetry class taught by a professor from mainland China, while many of my classmates struggled with the language and often missed class. I appreciated the professor's knowledge and good manners and frequently interacted with him, even helping him translate Mandarin into Cantonese. This experience boosted my confidence in using Mandarin and led me to enroll in the Chinese department, where I recognized the importance of both Cantonese and Mandarin. Despite discrimination against Mandarin by some of my classmates, my fluency gave me the confidence to communicate with my professor and help him with translations. To further improve my language skills, I participated in language exchange programs and enjoyed exchanging ideas with international students from different countries.

During my time at university, I had only one year of academic English lessons, and all major courses were taught in Cantonese. I found that my English skills were not as good as those of my classmates. To improve, I participated in a language exchange

program and met exchange students from Thailand, France, and the United States. While chatting with them, I talked casually, even though I sometimes struggled to understand their accents when they spoke quickly or used unfamiliar words. I preferred to talk to native English speakers because I could learn more authentic English usage. My university experience taught me that I still need to improve my English to become a better speaker.

## 5.4 Contexts factors A. In China

"My family and I visited siblings in Shanghai when I were a child. I found that Shanghai people spoke very fast and I could not understand most of the Mandarin. However, when I went to Beijing in 2008, I was able to communicate freely with the local people. In order to make my Mandarin more authentic, I kept imitating Beijing people and learning the Beijing accent. For example, I would deliberately say " $\pm \overline{E}$  / potato" as " $\pm \overline{E}$  / potato + rhotacization of syllable finals"."

When I was a child, I travelled to Shanghai with my family, but I seldom interacted with the local people because of my poor Mandarin skills. Also, Shanghainese speak quickly and most of the time I can only understand some words. However, I became very confident speaking it when I went to Beijing as a secondary student in 2008. By this time, I felt comfortable speaking Mandarin in public and tried to interact with the local people by trying to use Beijing accent, like "兒化音 / rhotacization of syllable finals" so as to get assimilated into the local community.

"In my second year of university, I joined the summer school of Peking University in China, which was composed of students from Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. At that time, all my classmates thought I was Taiwanese because my Mandarin had a South Min accent. When I introduced that I am from Hong Kong, everyone was surprised and praised me for my good Mandarin. At that time, I felt unique as a Hong Kong student with an accent. Also, I found that I was able to talk to local and Taiwanese students in diverse topics, such as history, culture, entertainment and even politics. Other Hong Kong students can only speak to Hong Kong students because they were not fluent in Mandarin. It can be said say that because my fluency in Mandarin makes me look more knowledgeable than other Hong Kong students."

When I interacted with the students who joined in the same summer program of Peking University, I found that even I can speak fluent in Mandarin, I was very different from local students as my accent. I also found that I was not the same as my Hong Kong peers, because I can able to speak Mandarin more fluently.

#### B. In the United States

"My first job after graduating from college was as a Chinese teaching assistant in a foreign language department at a United States university. I remember that I first introduced myself as a Hongkonger to my colleague from Puerto Rico. She asked "So you're Chinese?" I said, "Chinese from Hong Kong"."

In most situations, I had a stronger intention to let others to know that I was a Hongkonger but not a Chinese. If he or she could hardly understand the label Hongkonger, I would answer "Chinese from Hong Kong". In order to indicate my unique Hongkonger identity, I use the term "Chinese from Hong Kong" to emphasise that I was different from the Chinese in Mainland China. I felt more comfortable describing myself specifically as a Chinese from Hong Kong, rather than being referred to as a Chinese in general.

"We had a long chat in the living room after dinner today. They asked me a lot of questions about the umbrella movement in Hong Kong. Still, I can only share some of my personal experiences, including when I went on strike and marched with my peers and some of my personal opinions. I am glad that I was able to let foreigners know more about the development of the protests in Hong Kong. However, since my English is not fluent enough, I haven't been able to explain many parts in depth... A lot of the time, I'm just listening to what they share. I wish I could share Hong Kong's affairs and views on world news in as much depth as they do. However, I was afraid of being criticized, especially for my Hong Kong-accented English, and felt pressured to communicate with them."

During my period in the United States, I lived with three colleagues from Russia, Germany, and Spain. When we backed to home, they moved their chairs out of the room and talked about political issues and world news in various countries, not just their own. They talked for hours, yet the topics they discussed were so foreign to me that I found it challenging to participate in the conversation. Sometimes, I can share Hong Kong social movements with them but most of the time I just sat and listened.

## C. In the United Kingdom

"Today I had breakfast with J and T at the fox cafe. I always thought they were born and growth in England. They told me that they were immigrants from France when they were secondary students, and I said you guys don't have a French accent! J laughed and said, "what's wrong with an accent. I wish I could speak English with a French accent!""

I changed my perception about accent of the English when I studied in the United Kingdom. During this time, I joined in different international events which were organised by the university. I met J and T during the event and became close friends.

They can speak fluently English, although they grew up in France. More importantly, they showed me that an accent is not a barrier to speaking English.

#### D. In the North Korea

"Today, I had lunch with students, and they asked me why my Mandarin sounded different from other teachers. I told them that it's because I from Hong Kong, and the official language in Hong Kong is Cantonese, which is entirely different from Mandarin. So, my Mandarin naturally influenced by my mother tongue. Then the students told me that Korean in Wonsan sounds different from Korean in Pyongyang."

In the summer of 2019, I participated in a voluntary teaching job to teach Chinese at a university in Pyongyang of North Korea. I was the first Hong Kong teacher to teach Chinese in Pyongyang. Since all the Chinese teachers were from North China, the students were not used to my accent at first. However, teachers are considered as symbols of intellectual authority in North Korea. Thus, students could not question the teachers' proficiency. Hence, students were unable to ask me about my accent until we had been together for some time.

## 5.5 As a language teacher

"When I taught Chinese in a United States university, my Mainland Chinese colleague criticised me that "you cannot use code-mixing that is was acceptable as a professional Chinese teacher." I can say that after that time, I started to limit my use of mixed codes. However, when I backed to Hong Kong, I code mixed a lot. For example, I would say "去 high 個 tea / have an afternoon tea" in Cantonese, instead of "去食個下午茶 / have an afternoon tea" Also, Also, I did not know how they say it in Chinese, like "WhatsApp" and "USB.""

I tried to avoid code-mixing in formal situations and speak pure Mandarin when I worked as a language teacher. However, I have been using code-mixed a lot since I returned to Hong Kong, simply because it was easier to express myself to friends or because I did not know how to say it in Chinese. Although I claim that I have been trying my best to avoid it, I cannot do so in my daily life.

"Today, I asked E what she thought about code-mixing as a multilingual language teacher. She replied that code-mixing is a natural part of being bilingual or multilingual. Of course, she avoids using mixed language in front of her students, but the habit of using code-mixed language helps her to understand students' language learning situation."

During my period in North Korea, I met a British professor who was good at French, Spanish, Cantonese, and Mandarin. I asked her what she thought about code-

mixing, and she replied that code-mixing was natural as a bilingual or multilingual person and people should not find strangers. After that, I changed my mind that code-mixing might be used in a way to facilitate communication.

#### 6. Discussion

### 6.1 Imagined language identity of English

Many language learners view the target language community as an imagined community, not just a reconstruction of socially and historically constituted relationships from the past (Norton, 2014). In this self-study, I felt superior when speaking English. This is because many people in Hong Kong consider English to be a prestigious language (Lai, 2001; 2011). When I heard Hongkongers speaking English, I found their behavior admirable and felt that they should be encouraged to speak more English. I considered English to be part of Hong Kong's identity, both due to nostalgia for British colonial rule and Hong Kong's international identity (Hansen Edwards, 2020). However, when I started my first teaching job in the United States, I felt stressed and inferior when speaking English with native speakers. I was worried that people would judge my accent and grammatical errors. Therefore, English cannot be associated with the imagined identity of an elite Hongkonger in the host environment.

As a university student, I considered Hong Kong-accented English unacceptable. I believed that learning a foreign language should adhere to its standardized rules, and Hong Kong-accented English violated the standard form of English, neither British nor American English. However, after studying in the United Kingdom, I became more accepting of Hong Kong-accented English. I thought this was a typical result of the process of learning a second language and suggested that my French friends also spoke accented English and were very proud of their accents. As Hong Kong-accented English is understood in spoken communication, I find it acceptable and useful to represent Hongkongers' language identity (Hansen Edwards, 2020).

#### 6.2 Imagined language identity of Mandarin

As a secondary student, I dreamed of mastering Mandarin like a native Mainland Chinese speaker. Through the power of imagination (Norton and McKinney, 2001), I felt a connection with them. At university, I had more opportunities to interact with Mainland Chinese students. Speaking Mandarin with them on campus was easy since I had already mastered the language in secondary school. However, I was aware that my accent was Hong Kong-style and did not sound very local. To improve my Mandarin skills, I started watching Chinese TV dramas and listening to Chinese pop music. My identity as a Hong Kong Chinese was strengthened after studying in the summer program at Peking University in China. As Norton and McKinney (2011) point out, community affiliation affects the learning trajectory of learners. By speaking Mandarin with local people in Beijing, I considered myself a Mandarin learner and paid more

attention to local accents. I imitated the local accent more to be more integrated into the local community.

Although I taught Mandarin abroad after graduating from university, I did not associate Mandarin with my Hong Kong identity. When asked about my preferred identity label in foreign countries, I would answer Hong Kong people. Even though most foreigners I met did not know about Hong Kong's complex historical background, I did not mind being called Chinese. Instead, I tried to explain to them the special status and political issues of Hong Kong. As Hansen-Edwards (2020) suggests, there is a need to establish a language border between Hong Kong and mainland China for the younger generation in Hong Kong. I thought it would be easy to distinguish Hongkongers from Mainlanders by their Hong Kong-style Mandarin.

## 6.3 Investment in learning English

During my time in secondary school, I devoted a lot of effort to learning English due to its practicality for my future career. As I attended a local school, English was the only foreign language I studied. My parents believed that having strong English skills would lead to a high-status, well-paid job in the future, so they enrolled me in many English tutoring classes. I hoped to turn the linguistic capital I had accumulated through language learning into symbolic capital for the future workplace (Norton, 2000).

Although I devoted more effort to studying Mandarin than English, I continued to study English due to its emphasis on Hong Kong and its importance for being competitive in the job market. Norton (2000) notes that language learners' investments are not singular, fixed, or non-historical, and learners are driven by instrumental motivation that changes over time and in different contexts.

When I was in the United States, I believed that talking to native English speakers would improve my language skills. However, I often felt pressure to speak with them and was afraid of being criticized. As a result, I did not interact with them as much as I hoped. Instead, I preferred to converse with my colleagues from Taiwan and China. My low self-esteem due to my Hong Kong-accented English and lack of proficiency impeded me from interacting with native speakers.

Upon studying in the UK, my perspective on learning English changed. I began reading English books and watching British TV dramas to learn more about British culture. I made a greater effort to learn English than before after meeting two French friends at an international event organized by the school. Their impressive English skills encouraged me to invest more in my own language learning. By imitating my friends' success and participating in international student activities, reading English books, and watching TV programs, I was able to make further progress in my English proficiency and receive positive feedback from English speakers.

#### 6.4 Investing in Mandarin

I decided to invest in Mandarin mainly due to my parents' influence. They emphasized the importance of Mandarin in the job market, which motivated me to learn the language.

Similarly, to Wong and Xiao's research (2010), I believed that knowing Mandarin would help me connect with the Chinese community and compete with other Hong Kong compatriots in the job market. During my secondary school years, my parents encouraged me to choose Mandarin as the language of instruction for Chinese classes. My mother's fluency in the language further fueled my motivation to learn Mandarin.

From an early age, I was clear about my career goal of becoming a professional Chinese teacher like my mother. As a result, I invested a significant amount of time in Mandarin, reading classical Chinese literature, and watching Taiwanese and Chinese television programs to improve my language skills. This investment paid off with excellent results in Chinese language and literature on public exams, which prepared me to achieve a professional teaching status. Carreira and Armengol (2001) highlighted that fluency in languages like Mandarin has become highly valued in the global job market due to the expansion of the market. For this reason, I invested more in Mandarin than Cantonese because I knew Mandarin had greater market value.

After graduation, I worked mainly as a Chinese foreign language teacher, confident in my Mandarin skills, and open to meeting people who spoke the language. In my view, Mandarin led to many job opportunities. I listened to Mandarin news and aimed for high scores on national tests in the language. I interacted with my Chinese and Taiwanese colleagues to improve my proficiency in Mandarin. However, I always viewed Mandarin primarily as a tool for better communication and career prospects, rather than a symbol of nationalism (Lai, 2011).

Although I valued Cantonese because it gave me a sense of belonging to my family and local community, I saw both English and Mandarin as more valuable for my career prospects.

#### 6.5 Significant figures for L2 identity development

Experts suggest that interacting with a variety of people can have an impact on a language learner's motivation and confidence, which, in turn, affects their language identity development (Kanno, 2003; Norton, 1997). Growing up, my father emphasized the importance of Hokkien to me, but initially, I did not consider it a priority. However, since my grandfather, who I deeply care for, spoke Hokkien, I made an effort to learn it well. The reason I was motivated to learn Hokkien was to show my appreciation to him, and not necessarily because I identify as Hokkien. I feel comfortable speaking Hokkien with my grandfather at home, but outside, I avoid using it since I might be identified as a Mainland Chinese. Cantonese is gradually replacing other less commonly spoken languages in Hong Kong, such as Hokkien (Xiao & Wong, 2010). Whenever my grandfather speaks to me in Hokkien on the street, I respond in Cantonese. However, when I hear someone speaking Hokkien, it gives me a strong sense of connection to my hometown.

English has been promoted as a tool for upward and outward social mobility in Hong Kong (Lai, 2011). In fact, one participant in Lai's study pointed out that English is a prerequisite for entering university and finding a good job in Hong Kong. My parents

believed that learning good English would equip me with good communication skills, which would help me pursue a better career in the future. They encouraged me to take various English courses, such as English phonics, speaking, and writing skills. Additionally, I grew up with my cousin, who had good academic performance and English skills, and I aspired to be as successful as him. My parents also encouraged me to study abroad in the United States or the United Kingdom to develop my English skills.

In addition to English, my parents also emphasized the importance of Mandarin, which they believed would make me more competitive in the job market. When I was in secondary school, my parents encouraged me to choose Mandarin as the language of instruction in Chinese classes. My motivation to study Mandarin was mainly triggered by my mother, who was a former Chinese teacher and encouraged me to read China's classic poems in both Cantonese and Mandarin. I also developed a keen interest in Mandarin by watching Taiwanese television dramas and listening to Taiwanese pop music with my mother. Since my mother spoke Mandarin fluently, I always wanted to be as good as her.

The native English teacher in my secondary school also had a significant impact on my language use and attitudes. At that time, I felt pressure in formal English lessons since my English skills were not as good as those of my classmates. However, when the school hired an English foreign teacher from the UK who taught drama lessons, my confidence in speaking English improved. Kanno and Norton (2003) found that learners' language identity in English depended on who they were interacting with, which determined not only their relationship with the L2 language but also their sense of belonging and cultural confidence in the language. I found that I enjoyed English more when it was connected to drama class. Reading and performing English plays helped me understand the grammatical structure of the English language better, and more importantly, it increased my knowledge of British culture.

#### 6.6 The impact of Hong Kong's community on my L2 self-efficacy

I have been a lifelong resident of Hong Kong, and my L2 self-efficacy has been significantly influenced by the local community. According to Hansen Edwards (2020), English represents Hong Kong's unique history, as well as its British past, international present, and future. During my secondary school years, it was commonly believed that English was more important than Cantonese and Mandarin since only high-achieving students could attend English-medium schools. As a university student, I was also concerned about my public image, particularly with foreigners in Hong Kong. I believed that English proficiency was a fundamental skill that every Hong Kong resident should possess, and I always tried to appear confident in English to be considered a qualified Hongkonger. Furthermore, the process of learning English is a lifelong journey, and there is always room for improvement.

In post-colonial Hong Kong, the "bicoastal and trilingual" language policy considers Cantonese, English, and Mandarin as essential language skills that every educated Hongkonger should master (Lai, 2001). Thus, I believed that my English and

Mandarin skills were superior to those of my peers, and I thought that I had a better chance of succeeding in the competitive job market. My language skills have been useful, and I have worked as a Chinese teacher in different countries. Through this experience, I have interacted with Chinese and foreign language teachers in mainland China. I am confident that if I did not have good English and Mandarin skills, I would not have been able to secure a teaching position in foreign countries. This belief has strengthened my confidence in both English and Mandarin.

### 6.7 Contextual factors affecting L2 identity development

During my time in China, I spoke Mandarin with a Hong Kong accent, which often led locals to ask me where I was from in China. I would reply that I was from Hong Kong, as I wanted to be perceived as a Hong Konger and differentiate myself from people from mainland China. This identity made me feel superior, as the misbehavior of some Mainland Chinese prevented me from identifying further with my Chinese identity. However, I recognized that some Chinese, such as the local students I met in Beijing, were good-tempered and progressive. Despite this, I still viewed differences between them and Hong Kong students, especially in their attitudes towards politics. Hong Kong people have a much stronger fight for political rights, which made my Hong Kong identity unique.

When I worked abroad, I proudly identified myself as a Hong Konger. I found that many locals were interested in the current social situation in Hong Kong and wanted to know what young people in Hong Kong thought about the Chinese government. Thus, I always tried my best to help them understand the practicalities of Hong Kong. My interactions with local people in the host environment helped me understand the importance of English as an international language, which motivated me to improve my English skills.

#### 7. Implications and recommendations

#### 7.1 Implications

The findings of this study have implications for theory and methodology. This study adds to the increasing literature on the development of L2 identity in L2 learners. Researchers are beginning to identify and study the factors that may influence L2 identity development. Both internal and external factors can impact learning experiences abroad, leading to different outcomes. Few studies have examined the construction of L2 identities of Hong Kong people, and little is known about the experiences of Hong Kong people and the factors that influence their L2 identity development. This study uses a self-research approach to gain insight into a Hong Kong language teacher's L2 identity development. The findings suggest that personal and environmental factors impact L2 identity development and interaction with the host environment.

Benson et al. (2013) proposed a framework for L2 identity through a survey of an L2 learner from Hong Kong in a variety of contexts, stating that their findings should be

considered a hypothesis rather than an established theory. The researchers call for more research that "seeks to develop L2 identity as a conceptual tool for fine-grained analysis of the social and individual processes of language learning and use in a variety of contexts and contexts" (Benson et al., 2013, p. 168). This study aims to contribute to this work by focusing on an individual's L2 identity development. While Benson et al.'s (2013) framework serves as a useful guide to L2 identity development, it does not provide a graphical representation of the internal and external factors, as well as the temporal and spatial dimensions, that may influence the L2 identity development of student travellers. Thus, building on Norton and Benson et al.'s (2013) L2 identity framework, a post-structuralist approach to identity and van Lai's (2010, 2011) ecological perspective on identity and language learning is adopted.

Personal and environmental factors, temporal and spatial dimensions, and the participants' professional identity (imagined secondary teacher identity) were crucial elements in the construction of secondary identities. As secondary identities can change over time and space, temporal and spatial characteristics were added. The results show that all three dimensions - past, present, and future - influence the development of L2 identities, particularly concerning significant others, previous L2 learning experiences, last international experiences, and current L2 learning (domestic and foreign).

#### 7.2 Limitations and further studies

Firstly, this is a small-scale study conducted in a specific context and largely constructed from the author's thinking, with additional support from other data sources. The findings of the study were conducted in the context of the author's case study. Secondly, the author's second language is English, and writing in English may have some impact on the local expressions and nuances that writing in the author's native language can provide. The author has translated and edited several voices to make this thesis accessible to Western readers. Other agents may be lost as the author translates these reflections into acceptable English. Therefore, by recording the author's diatribe in Chinese, the author can make the most of their linguistic and cultural resources and speak more directly to their innermost feelings.

#### **Conflict of Interest Statement**

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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