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Departamento de Lingüística General, Lenguas Modernas, Lógica y Filosofía de la Ciencia, Teoría de la Literatura y Literatura comparada.

Programa de Doctorado: Lenguaje humano: Naturaleza, Origen y Uso.

TESIS DOCTORAL

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

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2017

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AGRADECIMIENTOS

Quisiera agradecer, en primer lugar, a mis directores Antonio y Karina, que han sido unos maestros y unos modelos en este largo camino. En concreto, me han sabido guiar con sumo rigor académico y a la vez con grandes dotes humanas, como la empatía y sensibilidad: una mezcla realmente preciada. Han compartido mi pasión por el tema elegido, me han ayudado a estructurar mis ideas y a plasmarlas con orden y lógica, haciendo resaltar la información que pretendía transmitir.

Gracias a todo mi alumnado, primero a los que han contribuido de forma activa a este estudio con su disponibilidad e interés, y también a los que han querido expresar sus emociones, miedos y deseos sobre esta gran aventura llamada inglés. Gracias también a los/as compañeros/as de la EOI, con lo que he compartido observaciones, ideas y proyectos y que han colaborado a circular el cuestionario entre sus alumnos. Gracias a Sandra y Luismi, los formadores del curso de teatro para la enseñanza de idiomas, por haberme hecho ver esta maravillosa profesión de una forma aún más fresca, innovadora y transformadora.

Además, quisiera agradecer el apoyo y la paciencia de las personas cercanas, tanto los que me han brindado palabras de aliento como los que han puesto en duda, aunque fuera sutilmente, el fin de este ingente trabajo (los de “¿y para qué estás haciendo eso?”), con lo que han logrado que me reafirmara en mi decisión.

No quiero dejar de dedicar unas palabras al amigo Rodrigo, que falleció en pleno postdoctorado, hecho que me dio un estímulo más para creer en la investigación y aprovechar la vida al máximo y hacer lo que uno se siente antes de que sea demasiado tarde.

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of this doctoral dissertation was to deal with the constructs Motivation and Foreign Language Anxiety (FLA) as part of the identity construction of adult learners at *Escuela Oficial de Idiomas* (EOI). In fact, the learning process may be experienced as potentially ego-threatening at an adult age, and thus negative feelings and thoughts may interfere in the development of a positive image as L2 users¹. In order to enhance motivation and tackle FLA, some drama activities have been designed and empirically tested.

Both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered and analysed on a sample of 94 adult EOI learners. Results indicate that gender and age are significant identity-related aspects, with female and older respondents admitting more to FLA. Intrinsic motivation turned out to be overwhelming, even though an increasing extrinsic one was also registered, due to the changing economic situation in Spain. The struggle to attain an ideal self² has been found as a powerful motivation drive, but also as a generator of FLA, whose detrimental effects were proven also in terms of listening comprehension, an area previously not tested. Moreover, self-efficacy³ was discovered as the best predictor of FLA, even more powerful or detrimental than a learner's actual proficiency level. Elementary students seemed to be less aware of FLA and not to deploy the same strategies as the advanced students to tackle its effects. To this purpose, drama techniques have proven successful in order to enhance confidence through a process of role identification with an L2 persona. Indeed, a transformation appeared to be brought about thanks to drama. In particular, if used consistently, learning an L2 through drama might have a more consistent effect as a therapy against FLA in the long run.

In sum, this thesis contributes a new construct, Listening Anxiety, to FLA research; in addition, it provides more insights into FLA and motivation thanks to qualitative data, as well as a pedagogical proposal based on drama techniques.

¹ A person who has the full right to use a second language (L2) at any degree of proficiency.

² A ideal model to aspire to, in this case a proficient L2 user.

³ The learner's perception of their language proficiency.

RESUMEN

El objetivo principal de esta tesis doctoral ha sido investigar los conceptos de Motivación y Ansiedad en Lenguas Extranjeras (o FLA⁴) como parte de la construcción de la identidad de alumnos de Escuela Oficial de Idiomas (EOI). En efecto, el proceso de aprendizaje resulta potencialmente perturbador para el ego en edad adulta, por lo que sentimientos y pensamientos negativos pueden interferir en el desarrollo de una imagen positiva de un usuario de L2⁵. Para fomentar la motivación y controlar la FLA se han diseñado y sometido a ensayo empírico unas actividades teatrales.

Se ha recabado y analizado tanto datos cuantitativos como cualitativos en una muestra de 94 alumnos adultos de EOI. Los resultados indican que el género y la edad son aspectos significativos de la identidad, ya que son las participantes de sexo femenino y los de edad mayor quienes admitieron más la FLA. La motivación intrínseca resultó predominante, aunque se ha registrado también una motivación extrínseca al alza debido al contexto económico actual español. El esfuerzo por alcanzar un ser ideal⁶ se ha revelado un potente motor de motivación, pero al mismo tiempo algo que puede generar FLA, cuyos efectos negativos se han comprobado también a nivel de comprensión oral, hecho que no se había investigado anteriormente. Además, se ha descubierto que la auto-eficacia⁷ es la variable que más repercute en la FLA de una forma aún más poderosa o perjudicial que el propio nivel de conocimientos del alumno. Los alumnos de nivel básico parecen tener menos consciencia de la FLA y no utilizar las mismas estrategias contra sus efectos que los de nivel avanzado. Para este fin, las técnicas teatrales se han demostrado eficaces para aumentar la confianza a través de un proceso de identificación con un rol. De hecho, se ha apreciado una transformación en los alumnos gracias a dichas técnicas. En particular, si se utilizan de manera constante, pueden tener un efecto aún más duradero a largo plazo como terapia contra la FLA.

En definitiva, esta tesis contribuye a la investigación en el campo de la FLA con un nuevo constructo, la Ansiedad en la Comprensión Oral, además de profundizar en los conceptos expuestos gracias a datos cualitativos y brindando una propuesta pedagógica basada en técnicas teatrales.

⁴ Del inglés *Foreign Language Anxiety*.

⁵ Una persona que tiene pleno derecho a utilizar un segundo idioma (L2) independientemente de su nivel.

⁶ Un modelo ideal al que aspirar, en este caso un usuario competente de L2.

⁷ La percepción del aprendiz de su propia competencia comunicativa.

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In today's globalised world, mass and personal communication systems are becoming more and more multilingual, with English being what is often called the “international” or “global” language (Kachru 1982, Crystal 2003, Jenkins 2007). This language is being taught more widely and at a younger age, so future generations are expected to be more confident with their communication competence. In the Madrid Region we have witnessed a fast rise of “bilingual” schools, offering tuition both in Spanish and English, whereas adults who have not received a similar language training sometimes struggle to become proficient in English. Indeed, learning a foreign language at an adult age is normally driven by strong intrinsic and/or extrinsic motivation⁸, but it could also prove a challenging experience as it threatens the self-concept (Shavelson et al. 1976, Markus & Nurius 1986). Therefore, some adults seem trapped between high motivation and low self-confidence. Many a time we read or hear Spanish people blame self-consciousness (or in layman’s terms “feeling ridiculous”) as the reason why they do not consider themselves good at languages (Stegmann 2013), especially when it comes to speaking English. A scenario that may be riddled with something as serious as foreign language anxiety, namely “the worry and negative emotional reaction aroused when learning or using a second language” (MacIntyre 1999: 27). Therefore, adult language learning demands some further research.

FOCUS OF THE STUDY

Because of the advantages of a multidisciplinary approach, this research will be situated among different fields such as social psychology, education, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and discourse analysis. From all these angles, language learners will be the focus of the study as agents of their own learning process. In the theoretical part, after exploring essential concepts such as agency, self-concept and other identity-related issues (chapter 1), motivational processes and possible psychological barriers will be analysed, respectively in chapters 2 and 3. The second part of the thesis (chapters 4 to 7) consists of an empirical study,

⁸ Intrinsic motivation refers to behaviour that is determined by one's personal desire to do something, out of interest and inherent satisfaction with the task. Extrinsic motivation refers to behaviour that is driven by exterior pressures or duties, in order to obtain rewards or avoid punishment (Deci & Ryan 1985).

which involves drama as an experimental tool to tackle the socio-psychological barriers dealt with in the theoretical part.

In order to specify the focus of the study with some more detail, the content of each chapter will be briefly summarised in this section, concluding with the characteristics of the subjects of the study. To begin with, the identity dimensions relevant to this thesis are mainly age and gender, since it revolves around adult learners (as opposed to young learners) and their language anxiety (FLA), which may have a gender component to it. The latter will not constitute a given, set category, as in some studies (MacIntyre et al. 2002, Dewaele et al. 2008), but a constantly constructed and reconstructed aspect of identity (Butler 1999, Kimmel 2008). Indeed, the association between gender construction and FLA will be sought in the respondents' discourse, rather than pre-imposed to them. Another concept that explains identity construction during the language learning process is the ideal self (Dörnyei 2005), a sort of model to aspire to, which guides the learning experience. Striving to attain one's ideal self sets off motivational processes such as goal-setting, decision-making, self-regulation and self-assessment. However, in this process an individual may be hampered by some impediments, such as anxiety, self-consciousness, lack of confidence, frustration, superiority or inferiority feelings towards the target language and its speakers, and so on, which are often reported in the literature as obstacles to master a language for some students (Dörnyei 2005).

Learners themselves should thus be empowered to detect and overcome these negative feelings, in order to shape a positive second language (L2) user's identity. For this purpose, the pedagogical proposal put forward is aimed to enhance motivation and try to prevent or tackle FLA through drama, in the context of a community of practice at the Official School of Languages (EOI)⁹: a state-run institution composed of a network of schools devoted to teaching foreign languages all over the Spanish territory. Thanks to its non-compulsory nature, its students are generally adults and motivated by their own will to effectively learn how to speak a language that they, in many cases, have studied for several years in compulsory education, yet with poor results and consequent frustration. For this reason, in spite of their high motivation, the aforementioned negative emotions and behaviours do emerge and may have a negative impact on their learning experience.

⁹ From now on EOI, acronym of the Spanish name: Escuela Oficial de Idiomas.

NEED FOR THE STUDY

There exist both practical and academic reasons for the present study. The practical reasons stem from my experience as a language teacher in Spain. To begin with, a thorny issue frequently arising within laymen, language instructors and even policy makers is why Spaniards still lag behind other European countries on the English proficiency list. As many teachers of EOI including myself often report, adult students are likely to struggle with their speaking skills, especially with phonetics and intonation, due to this sense of feeling ridiculous or ridiculed by their peers; likewise some students will tend to avoid expressing themselves thoroughly or expanding on a topic for fear of making mistakes or oversimplifying their thoughts. In extreme cases, some students may refuse to use English until they feel completely at ease and confident. Another obstacle encountered is the attitude and prejudice against the Anglo-Saxon culture, for instance against its food culture or its people's presumed character, which could be an obstacle to making contact with native people and thus enhancing their language input and cultural experience. While it would be beyond the scope of this thesis to give a comprehensive account of why this all happens, I deem possible to delve into some aspects, in the hope to eventually come up with some innovative answer and feasible solution in the interest of our students.

On the academic side, from the literature review in this field, we can glean that up to now most studies have focused on younger learners (MacIntyre & Baker 2002, Matsuda & Gobel 2004), or adult multilingual immigrants (Dewaele et al. 2008). The case of EOI draws attention to the uncommon scenario of adults as language learners, since in other studies adults are normally considered as full-fledged second language speakers¹⁰, whereas adults as students is an area hardly ever taken into account.

Moreover, other studies have addressed Asian (Liu 2006, Kitano 2001, Kim 2009) or North American students of Spanish (Horwitz et al. 1986, Aida 1994, Marcos-Llinás & Juan-Garau 2009). In the Spanish context, there has been a lack of conclusive and updated studies targeting the same population as in this study. Pérez-Paredes (1996) deals with motivation within adult EOI learners but his study dates back to a time prior to major socio-economic changes in this country, which may have brought about changes in the reasons, expectations and feelings towards learning English as a foreign language in adulthood.

¹⁰ As opposed to foreign language speakers, which means that the former live in the country where the “second” language is spoken (for example in England in the case of English), whereas the latter live in a country where the “foreign” language is not spoken (for example English in Spain).

With regard to FLA, Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez (2000) is one of the very few studies addressing the same target and one of the few set in Spain, alongside Morena-Taboada et al. (2011) for high school students, as well as Ortega-Cebreros (2010) and Arnáiz & Guillén (2012) for university students. Narrowing down on drama as a pedagogical tool, Dinapoli (2001) is one of the not numerous studies carried out in Spain, again dealing with university students. Given the shortage of research regarding Spanish adult learners of English as a Foreign Language (EFL), especially from a qualitative point of view, the need for a study in this field seems paramount. We should also bear in mind the pervasiveness of FLA and its harming potential for L2 achievement and for constructing a positive L2 identity. In fact, as FLA is identified as “one of the major obstacles to acquisition and fluent production of foreign languages” (Dewaele et al. 2008), the need to deepen in the study of its causes and consequences appears quite evident, if we want to ensure that the efforts adult learners invest into learning English are paid off.

Finally, suitable guidelines for teachers to deal with FLA and other psychological barriers are in order; that is why the empirical study seeks to test the validity and effectiveness of drama in English classes.

Most importantly, the study adds new lines of research:

- 1) Qualitative data are gathered;
- 2) It compares two proficiency levels, elementary and advanced;
- 3) It expands the scope to FLA in listening;
- 4) It takes into account gender and identity construction in general;
- 5) It tests pedagogical techniques to deal with FLA, namely drama.

In fact, most studies are based on quantitative data, whilst through qualitative data I will have the chance to inquire more deeply into the reasons underlying motivation, FLA and students' coping strategies. Secondly, few studies have compared FLA in different proficiency levels; that is why in the empirical part I am particularly interested in comparing beginners and advanced students, not only in their degree of FLA but also in terms of reasons, awareness and possible strategies to tackle these manifestations. Thirdly, FLA has most often been studied related to speaking and, on fewer occasions, to reading and writing. Only two items of the Foreign Language Class Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) questionnaire by Horwitz et al. (1986) that has been used in most FLA studies deal with anxiety arising when the learner does not understand the teacher, but no study that I am aware of refers to FLA in listening as a skill, which I observed to be quite a serious issue. In fourth place, this thesis analyses

psychological issues in a solid identity theoretical frame. Finally, convinced that theory and practice ought to go hand in hand, I find it essential to provide a practical application and to further innovation in language learning techniques.

OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of this study is twofold. On the one hand, it purports to fill a gap in the literature, by gaining useful insights on widespread issues experienced by Spanish adult learners. On the other, it intends to put forward practical suggestions for language instructors who are concerned with helping their students overcome psychological impediments.

The primary objectives, therefore, are:

- 1) To analyse the process of identity construction of adult learners of English as a second language in Spain, including their gender identity construction.
- 2) To shed light on how possible psychological barriers may interfere in the development of a positive image of these students as L2 users.
- 3) To provide possible solutions to foster a positive L2 persona.

The secondary objectives deriving from the primary ones are:

- 1) To reveal whether and how far the identity variables have a bearing on the students' learning process and correlate with FLA.
- 2) To detect specific FLA factors underlying the learners' and teachers' discourse, actions and beliefs.
- 3) To devise possible strategies and tools suitable for tackling FLA issues.
- 4) To provide suitable advice to foreign language trainers and trainees.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions are the following:

- 1a. Which identity-related aspects (namely Age, Gender, Stay abroad, Frequency of use) and emotions have an impact on adult EOI learners' FLA?
- 1b. Does the learning experience at EOI bring about any transformation in adult learners' self-concept?

2. Which motivational components (namely extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, self-efficacy) intervene in adults' learning experience at EOI?

- 3a. Which factors in the FLCAS account for FLA in the EOI sample? Does "Listening Anxiety" contribute to account for FLA?
- 3b. Does FLA hinder achievement in speaking and listening?
- 3c. Does the manifestation of FLA differ in EOI elementary and advanced learners of English?

- 4a. Are drama techniques useful to reduce FLA in adult learners?
- 4b. Are other strategies deployed to cope with FLA?
- 4c. Does drama bring about any changes in their self concept?

HYPOTHESES

I expect to uncover strong attitudes, hopes, fears, beliefs and expectations involved in learners' identity construction; moreover, environmental factors such as class climate, rapport and self-consciousness are also likely to be observed. All these factors may hamper students' L2 identity construction.

The stark intrinsic motivation found in previous research is expected to have shifted towards a more extrinsic one due to the current economic situation, in which English takes on an even more prominent role, with subsequent possible stress deriving from higher demands and requirements.

Regarding the third set of questions, I expect that FLA does play a role, hindering students' development and performance to a variable degree, from slight feeling of discomfort to complete block. It is reasonable to think that FLA effects may be related to level of proficiency, age, gender, self-esteem and negative past learning experience.

As far as the experiment is concerned, I expect that the drama activities will prove effective and that, in the long run, they may bring about some improvements in L2 identity through consistent use.

OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided in two blocks: the first part providing a review of the theoretical issues (namely identity, motivation and Foreign Language Anxiety), the second presenting the empirical study, reporting and analysing its results.

The three theoretical chapters (chapters 1 to 3) are designed to elucidate those concepts that will guide the reader to understand the empirical part. For this reason, from the wide amount of information available, I have selected the studies that are more relevant to my research purposes and eventually to the population of the study.

In the empirical part, I firstly define methodology and instruments and describe participants and setting (chapter 4). I go on to present a pilot study (chapter 5), which contributed to the elaboration of the empirical study itself, dealt with in chapter 6 (quantitative data) and 7 (qualitative data).

In the conclusion I aim to answer the aforementioned research questions based on the empirical results and to provide suggestions for further research into the topic.

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

1. IDENTITY

In everyday life the individual has always been a main concern, as proven by the Western preoccupation for human rights or by the danger of identity theft through modern technologies. On a more mundane level, individuals' lives are eagerly uncovered and scrutinized by reality shows and self-help literature, in an attempt to find out who we really are (Block 2007). In academic literature in general, the concept of identity has held a prominent position in our culture since Greek philosophy up to the 21st century; scholars of all fields have been particularly concerned with the self and have attempted to define who we are. The importance and relevance of identity in second language learning is paramount, as clearly stated by Cohen & Norst (1989: 76): “language and self/identity are so closely bound, [...] that a perceived attack on one is an attack on the other”.

This chapter delineates the main concept that the empirical study seeks to explore: the construction of one's identity, its components, processes and changes in order to shed light on the self-threatening process of learning a foreign language at an adult age. In order to do so, section 1.1 contains a definition of the concept of identity and its evolution throughout time from the perspective of different disciplines, namely philosophy, social psychology and sociolinguistics and according to different schools of thought, in particular the shift from essentialism to post-modernism. After that, the concepts of power and agency will link the general overview with identity in relation to society in Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Then I will go on to specify some components of identity taken into consideration in the study, namely gender and age. Finally I will focus on the shifting nature of L2 learners' identities and the effects of acquiring a new language/culture on them.

1.1 DEFINITIONS OF IDENTITY

The concept of identity has not always been the same and uncontroversial; it has actually undergone a dramatic transformation throughout the centuries, since Aristotle's discrete categories, up to post-structuralist views of fluid, ever-changing identities. In applied linguistics, more specifically, this notion has heavily borrowed from contiguous social science fields, inasmuch as until the nineties there had been little work on the topic (Block 2007). For this reason in this section I will outline a historical review of identity studies grouped by the following fields: philosophy, social psychology and finally linguistics, notwithstanding the interconnection of some social sciences and the multidisciplinary work of some scholars, especially in recent years.

1.1.1 PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW OF IDENTITY

In philosophy, the origin of the concept of identity can be traced back to the Greek philosopher and polymath¹¹ **Aristotle's** “Categories” (Barnes 1995). As suggested by Gallois (2008), the philosopher was a pioneer trying to solve the puzzle of identity by speculating on which changes would be so radical as to compromise the fundamental properties of an entity. He came up with the example of a house which may undergo “accidental” or “essential” changes, such as being painted or burnt down. In the first case the identity of the house would not be jeopardized, whereas in the second one the change would affect the essence of the house. I personally consider that Aristotle's stance and exemplification make us reflect on the concept of stability and change, even when we deal with personal identity. In fact, in an individual's development or “identity construction” - as we will define it later- there is a hierarchy of changes which affect the person to different degrees. Some of them will be so substantial that the very concept of identity will undergo a crisis.

In his work “Categories”, he goes on to elaborate a complex semantic theory of properties underlying an entity, with the purpose of establishing concrete categories into which to divide the world. Any object would fall into one of the ten categories without composition, thus being either a subject or a predicate of the proposition. The ten categories are reported in Barnes (1984):

Of things said without any combination, each signifies either substance or quantity or qualification or a relative or where or when or being-in-a-position or having or doing or being-affected¹². To give a rough idea, examples of substance are man, horse; of quantity: four-foot, fivefoot; of qualification: white, grammatical; of a relative: double, half, larger; of where: in the Lyceum, in the market-place; of when: yesterday, last-year; of being-in-a-position: is-lying, is-sitting; of having: has-shoes-on, has-armour-on; of doing: cutting, burning; of being-affected: being-cut, being-burned. (1b25-2a4).

These categories are claimed to be discrete and exhaustive, which means that they are clearly defined by precise properties and that everything can be neatly classified into one them. Aristotle's ideas have been extremely influential in Western philosophy, although

¹¹ As a person whose interests spanned numerous subject matters from biology to ethics, psychology and politics.

¹² The original has been underlined to highlight the ten categories.

several different views and theories have since been proposed, as we are going to see in the rest of the section.

One of the strongest influences is found in the 17th century, when **Rationalists** became also highly concerned with grasping the concept of identity by means of logical reasoning. Wilhelm Gottfried Leibniz (in Loemker 1969), one of their exponents, articulated an analytical ontological principle in his *Discourse on Metaphysics* that was later called “Leibniz Law”. As Forrest (2012) suggests, this law is composed of two parts. On the one hand, the “Law of the Indiscernibility of Identicals” stated that if x and y are identical, then all the predicates of x are the same predicates of y , which means that every quality of one also belongs to the other; or, in mathematical terms:

$$\forall F(Fx \leftrightarrow Fy) \rightarrow x=y^{13}$$

The converse, or “Identity of Indiscernibles”, states that if all properties of x are the same as the properties of y then x and y will be identical.

$$x=y \rightarrow \forall F(Fx \leftrightarrow Fy)^{14}$$

It follows that two separate objects or entities with all properties in common cannot exist.

The issue of identity went through a completely different stage when, at the beginning of the 20th century, **Analytical philosopher** Ludwig Wittgenstein (1922) claimed the Dispensability of Identity. Echoing Russell (1903), he reasoned that identity cannot be a relation because two objects are needed for a relation and they cannot be identical, which would be nonsense; at the same time one term alone is not enough to make a relation and saying that it is identical to itself equals to saying nothing about this object. Therefore, there should never be an issue with identity, for it being a straightforward inherent property of the object, since, as phrased by four-dimensionalist David Lewis (1986):

More important, we should not suppose that we have here any problem about *identity*. We never have. Identity is utterly simple and unproblematic. Everything is identical to itself; nothing is ever identical to anything except itself. There is never any problem about what makes something identical to itself; nothing can ever fail to be. (pp.192–193)

¹³ It reads: for any property F , if and only if x has F and Y has F , then x equals y .

¹⁴ It reads: x equals y if for any property F , if and only if x has F and Y has F .

Identity was not further radically problematised until the late 20th century when **Relativists**, who believed in the possibility of different realities according to personal perceptions, challenged the idea of a single truth in the nature of things binding all human conscience at all times. Griffin (1977), one of the most renowned advocates of Relativism, argued that there is not a single, absolute identity whereas we should relativise this concept and allow different realities equal possibilities of being true, considering their transitivity and that their interpretation may be culture-bound. As reported in Gallois (2008), Griffin criticized Leibniz's Law as oversimplistic as it did not account for gains or losses of properties through time. For example, a man who is athletic in his youth and sedentary in his old age would not be the same man according to the law of Indiscernibility of Identicals because his properties would have changed.

These ideas show how the strict discreteness that Aristotle pursued has been challenged in favour of more flexible categories: **Cognitive** scientist and linguist George Lakoff (1987) in his "Theory of Prototypes" claims that categories do not exist objectively but have fuzzy boundaries which depend on people's experience. The element within the category with the most salient traits would be the prototype for that category, which would not exclude other less prominent members from pertaining to the category, though more peripherally. For instance, the concept of "mother" prototypically involves qualities such as being female, married, someone who gave birth to and nurtured the child and so on. In reality, some of these qualities may not be met, and yet single or adoptive mothers are considered full-fledged mothers belonging to the same category, although not possessing the whole range of qualities of a "prototypical" mother. The recent case of a transgender female-to-male who became a mother¹⁵ is a case in point that challenges even the most salient trait of being female in order to be a mother, pointing out how fuzzy boundaries are.

The Theory of Prototypes represents a step towards what Mendoza-Denton (2002), defines as a struggle over the last three decades to argue against and detaching from **Essentialism**, which is the tendency to assign a person to a category because of one single aspect that they exhibit; this aspect would then be used to characterise the whole category and is meant to be true for all its members. Attributing the reason for people's behaviour to their belonging to a group is said to be a "correlation fallacy" by Pavlenko (2002), in that the explanation provided is just a description of the fact, or in other words, the correlation between the two parts does not bear a causal correspondence. For instance, when we claim

¹⁵ ABC News, Goldman, R. (2008, 3rd July) "Pregnant man" gives birth to girl.

“she behaves like that because she is a woman”, the clause introduced by “because” is in fact a description rather than an explanation. Furthermore, Essentialism also claims that individuals' identity is determined by something that precedes them, either their genetic make-up (Biological Determinism) or the social structure they develop in (Structuralism).

The step forward is thus defined **Post-structuralism**, as opposed to Structuralism. According to Post-Structuralism, categories such as gender, are no longer rigid structures determining people's behaviour, rather, individuals have their autonomy to re-create their selves and are able to challenge categorical boundaries. Identity becomes an issue when “the self ceases to be taken for granted” (Delanty 2003: 135). Identities are therefore discursively constructed and constantly reconstructed by means of language, among other things.

In this school of thought, **Feminist** Chris Weedon (1987) inaugurated the Post-structuralist discussion of identity, adopting the term “subjectivities”, previously used by psychoanalyst Lacan, to refer to “conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her way of understanding her relation in the world” (Weedon 1997: 32). Her view of identity, in contrast with the structuralist one, is “precarious, contradictory and in process” (Weedon 1997: 32). She integrated language with individual identity and social power in a theory of subjectivity, where agency plays an important role and language is essential in the relationship between individual and society.

Another extremely influential Feminist and philosopher, Judith Butler (1990), coined the term “performativity” -echoing Goffman's theatrical terminology- to point out that categories, in particular gender, are neither determined by nature nor nurture. Instead, they are continuously constructed by abiding or challenging societal norms. People recreate and repeat acts, they “perform” identities by enacting previous discourses, often in the belief that they are acting spontaneously. The author thus conceives of identity (including gender) as performance, that is, bodily and linguistic enactment of discourses, temporally and spatially contextualized. Since constant transformation is at the heart of identity, Butler (1995) questions the very notion of identity as untenable.

Finally Rom Harré's work is worth mentioning, although his work belongs to social science in general, and to philosophy as well as social psychology in particular. Harré and his collaborators (Davies & Harré 1990) used the term “positioning” to refer to the act of situating oneself and the others through discourse practices according to what is considered appropriate in a situation by the subjects. Positioning is constant work of definition and redefinition of

who one is, therefore it clearly illustrates the concept of identity within a Post-structuralist frame.

The post-structuralist perspective has been widely embraced by theorists of second language identity (see 1.1.3). These assumptions are useful to the purposes of this thesis in that they allow me to look into students' identities with a more nuanced view of their identity and gain a more complex understanding of their actions, feelings and thoughts. Their interviews can be analysed as discourse in which they construct and perform their L2 identity and their subjective agentive experience will inform my argumentation.

1.1.2 SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL REVIEW OF IDENTITY

In order to understand the identity process carried out by language learners, one needs to consider identity within a social context and within a group in particular, in relation to other members of the group. That is why, after having defined the concept of identity from a merely philosophical point of view, it will be useful to explore it from a social psychological angle. In the review of social psychology, some identity-related notions widely employed in SLA will first be introduced, namely self-concept and self-esteem. After delimiting these key concepts, the definition of identity from three main perspectives will be examined: social cognition, interactionism and post-modernism.

In the literature, one of the key concepts that one often comes across in identity studies is the notion of **self-concept** (Rosenberg 1979, Shavelson et al. 1976, Markus & Nurius 1986, Harter 1998). The main property of the self is that it is something reflexive, because it can take itself as an object and categorize itself, in view of the fact that humans have the capacity of regarding and evaluating themselves. Such process is called “identification” in identity theory because it is through this process that an identity is formed (Stets & Burke 2000). The self is organized into multiple parts, its identities, or roles occupied by the self in the social structure. For instance, a person's identity could be their self as father or in another context as colleague or neighbour, according to the role taken on in a particular context. Interactions take place between identities rather than between whole persons, for this purpose we need counter-identities that legitimize our own, for example one's identity as teacher needs a counter-identity as student to interact with in order to be enacted (Stets & Burke 2003).

In sum, the self-concept is the view of how we are when we point out who we are to ourselves and to the others. In other words, it is the set of meanings that we have regarding

ourselves when we think of who we are. Originally, before Rosenberg (1979), self-concept coincided with self-esteem, but later, following the author's recommendation, it was enlarged in scope and came to include both cognitive and affective components, such as thoughts, feelings, and also self-esteem, which is the affective, evaluative part of the self-concept.

Self-esteem as a component of self-concept has been largely studied by social psychologists (Maslow 1943, Emler 2001, Baumeister 2005, Smith & Mackie 2007, Greenberg 2008, Schacter et al. 2009, among others) and it is particularly relevant when considering the psychological aspects of a language learner's identity construction because it may affect their learning and performance. It can be based either on efficacy or on worth: in the former case a person values oneself when they perceive themselves as competent and capable of doing something, whereas the latter is the feeling that one is accepted and valued by others, a sort of outer self-esteem in contrast with the efficacy-based dimension which is of an inner type. It is interesting to point out that what one perceives is more relevant than whether they are actually in control of their lives, because feeling empowered will increase self-esteem (Stryker 1980).

Bandura (1982) argues that positive self-efficacy is acquired through achieving pre-set goals, because it allows the person to perceive that they are able to obtain what they want and to control their environment. Conversely, inefficacy may be generated when the evaluation criteria are excessively high, or when one compares himself/herself to unattainable models or, also, when there is loss of some abilities. Students with high self-efficacy show a high level of effort, are more persistent facing difficulties, use varied learning strategies, have a higher self-control over the learning process, and display higher motivation. I will deal more in depth with self-efficacy and self-esteem respectively in chapter 2.2.3.5 and 3 as they are also linked to motivation.

In order to narrow down on self-concept in education, the area of concern of this thesis, the **academic self-concept** will help round off this description. The first model of academic self-concept was elaborated by Shavelson and his collaborators and it is the most widely used (Shavelson et al. 1976). It clearly separates the academic self-concept from the general one. It is multidimensional because it is a synthesis between the perceptions of the different subjects studied by a student, which are hierarchically correlated. The academic self-concept consists of both a cognitive and an affective component. The former is about one's perceived competence in a specific area of knowledge. In order to gather information in this area, students are asked whether they are good at a subject, if they learn quickly and if they

consider it easy. The latter, the affective component, is related to the importance attached to a subject, as well as the interest and enjoyment related to it.

Self-concept and self-esteem are related to the main concept of **Identity**. As previously stated, identity is at the heart of social psychology research. Indeed it has become a keyword of contemporary society, as it expresses the need for a sense of who one is amongst dramatic social changes. It has been deemed to hold a “generic force” as a concept, in that it does not imprison or detach persons from their social symbolic universe (Davis 1991 in Howard 2000). Indeed, persons and society are reflexively connected, given that the individual influences society by creating groups and networks. In turn, society influences individuals through language and meanings (Stets & Burke 2003). This relationship has been tackled in different ways according to different schools of thoughts, as will be illustrated below.

From the **social cognition** perspective (Hogg & Abrams 1988, Turner 1999, Hogg & Terry 2000, among others), which deals with how information is stored and processed in the brain, the cognitive version of identity is a self-schema, i.e. an idea or organized knowledge of who one is, including characteristics, preferences, goals and behaviour patterns that we associate with ourselves. According to social identity theory, society is organized into groups, which are sets of individuals who hold a common social identification as members of the same social category. There are two main cognitive processes involved in social identification: Social categorization and Social comparison (Hogg & Terry 2000), since we categorize ourselves as individuals by perceiving similarities and differences between us. Once we compare ourselves with others and categorize ourselves into a category, we acquire our social identity, or we become social beings with a set of suitable behaviour to follow (Leyens et al. 1994).

By doing so, we distinguish ourselves from other individuals (constructing a personal identity) but at the same time we also identify as belonging to a group (social identity). The two identities lie on the two ends of a continuum, but they often interplay and are thus not easily separable (Deaux 1993). Turner (1999) labels social identity as membership to a social category, whereas personal identity is composed of personal attributes. Social identity sometimes functions to the exclusion of personal identity, inasmuch as individuals might give up their own behavioural patterns in favour of intergroup consensus and identification (depersonalization). In fact, social identity imposes group behaviour characterised by ethnocentrism, when we evaluate positively the group's internal characteristics, and in-group favouritism, when we behave in such a way as to benefit our group (Turner et al. 1987). The

more salient the social identity, the more depersonalised the self results in terms of diminishing expression of individual differences. Depersonalised intergroup attitudes occur when one's shared social identity becomes so salient to override personal identity, so that intergroup attitudes become normative for that specific group and even for the individual. In SLA the group corresponds to the class and we should be aware of the normative tensions that take place, especially self-conscious attitudes when it comes to venture into unfamiliar environments such as FL pronunciation.

Interactionism suggests that identities are created through interactions in which we convey symbolic meanings that we attach to people, things and behaviour. There exist two main approaches: situational and structural. According to the traditional “situational approach” to interactionism, society itself is always in flux, constantly being created through the interpretation of its actors. Identity is, therefore, constructed mainly by means of language, the main carrier of the meanings we transmit (Howard 2000). Instead, the “structural approach” to interactionism views society as a stable construct, in which we follow patterns of behaviour. Within this perspective, Stryker (1980) deals with the structure of identity and the roles we take on. Roles are relatively stable morphological components of social structure and mark the position occupied by individuals. He argues that people recognize themselves and each other as occupants of these roles, characterized by specific expectations and meanings, which are the basis for social behaviour. In this way we act to fulfil the meanings and expectations of our role. As concluded by Howard (2000), identity is in this line the categorization of the self as occupant of a role with meanings and expectations attached to it.

Hence, roles are not fixed and the understanding of these meanings and roles may differ from a person to another, which leads to negotiation through interaction. A more recent development of his theories is the **Perceptual Control System**, a cybernetic model that compares how one feels in a given situation with the identity standard (the cluster of meanings attached to the self) in order to modify the output (their behaviour) so that it matches the standard (McClelland & Fararo 2006). Behaviour results from what is considered to be appropriate according to internal standards for a specific situation. One strives to keep their behaviour in line with identity standards in a cognitive process called **self-verification** (Stets & Burke 2000). The more a role is verified (is consistent with identity standard), the stronger the ties to role partners. For example, it has been observed that in a spousal relationship if each partner behaves according to their role in the couple, or in other words their role is “verified”, then their connection will be stronger and their commitment higher.

Although I find that this reference to sticking to one's role in a spousal relation may echo traditional hetero-sexist values, according to which there are set roles in a relationship, I value the attempt of the study to illustrate empirically the concept of role and verification.

As roles may be subject to interpretation and context, identities also have a sort of internal hierarchy. Stryker (1980) ranks identity in a **Salience Hierarchy** in which a salient identity is the one that is more likely to be played out across different situations, which reminds of Prototype Theory (1.1.1). As stated by Stets & Burke (2003), commitment would be connected to salience in that the number of people one is tied to through an identity (quantitative dimension) and the depth and strength of these ties (qualitative dimension) will determine how committed one is to that identity. The greater the commitment to an identity, the higher the identity will be on the salience hierarchy. McCall & Simmons (1978) propose a similar model called Prominence Hierarchy. Prominence here refers to what an individual values as their main identity. In this model, the more prominent an identity, the more likely it will be performed.

As we can see, both from the cognitive and the interactional perspective, except for the situational approach to interactionism, identities are generally stable though sensitive to context, whereas **post-modernism** problematized this stability and brought about a sort of “identity crisis” with a loss of certainty and continuous questioning of what reality really is, analogously to Post-Structuralism in 1.1.1, with which it shares most tenets. Identity is deconstructed and goes through processes of hybridity, liminality and border-crossing, which make it more fluid, unstable and multiple. In line with these changes, Erickson (1995) points out the challenge of achieving authenticity, defined as acting in accordance with one's self-values and resisting to external expectations. She argues for a self that is both emotional and cognitive, multidimensional and unified, individual and social.

As underlined by post-modernists (Howard 2000), we usually take on multiple identities in different degrees. More complex selves consist of a higher number of identities. In fact, the larger one's social network and the less similar the relationships, the more complex the self. Interestingly, Smith-Lovin (2001) found that having a complex self has positive consequences even on individuals' mental health.

The psychological review has been useful to describe concepts that have been taken as basis of most SLA studies. In particular, the awareness of models such as self-esteem and

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

self-verification will guide us when analysing the empirical data, students' behaviour, interaction and roles.

1.1.3 REVIEW OF IDENTITY IN LINGUISTICS

Applied Linguistics has been nurtured by the above mentioned theories and thoughts, which fostered interest in identity construction in SLA, overcoming the limited focus on “disembodied brains” (Thorne 2000: 220). In particular, the shift from Essentialism to Post-structuralism in social sciences (1.1.1) has had repercussions in the field of Applied Linguistics. In fact, in 1995, Norton called on the linguistic community to integrate the language learner and the language learning context, developing a specific social identity theory. In this section, I will provide a description of the main authors who marked this shift, reporting on the principal advocates who elaborated and defended the concept of L2 user in the debate on Non-nativeness and within multicultural contexts.

Before Norton's appeal, linguistics studies had relied on an **Essentialist** concept of identity, focusing on the stratification of population according to essentialized social and demographic categories, such as region, age, ethnicity, sex, social class and so on. Peter Trudgill's (1974) pioneering study is a classic example of this early tendency. The scholar inaugurated variationist studies in sociolinguistics as he analysed the difference in speech of men and women, in particular the pronunciation of the *-ng* ending in the English city of Norwich. He concluded that women tend to use more prestigious forms (in this case the nasal pronunciation of *ng* /ŋ/). However, he also came in for criticism later on from a post-structuralist point of view because of the rigidity of his gender categories and the one-to-one correspondence between sex and linguistic features. This is a warning against the essentialist interpretation of the empirical results and it reminds us of the importance of allowing for variance and subjectivity when conducting empirical research.

Another example of Essentialism, in this case of **Biological Determinism**, is Chomsky's idea that language is a biologically innate property that just needs stimulus to be re-activated. Since the input we receive before acquiring our L1 is too limited as to justify a person's mastery of their L1 (Poverty of the Stimulus Hypothesis), he concluded that there must be an innate capacity. As regards identity, the Chomskyan model played down any social and environmental factors and reduced language learning to an ideal speaker in an ideal community, something which sociolinguists have argued against (Pavlenko 2002).

A step away from Essentialism and towards Post-structuralism is represented by the **Interactional approach**, led by Gumperz (1982) and Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985). They focused on identity as produced within social action; each linguistic act, such as code-

switching, was seen as an act of identity, i.e. a strategy of language choice related to identity construction. A conversational interaction was seen as a case in point to appreciate the fluid, locally-constructed nature of identity. As we can see, society and context were taken into consideration by interactionists, but it was not until the mid 90's that a discursive turn took place.

In fact, since Norton's appeal reported in the opening of this section, there has been a flourishing of studies of identity from a **Post-structuralist** perspective, extensively drawing on Weedon and Butler (1.1.1), as well as classic sociologists Bourdieu and Foucault. Two of their main ideas that would be influential for these studies are “cultural capital” and “discourse”. Cultural capital refers to the educational resources and assets that an individual can rely on to take part in his/her community of practice¹⁶, such as behavioural patterns, skills and so on (Bourdieu 1977, 1986). For Foucault (1972) language is not objective but it forms the object being spoken about, which he calls “discourse”. Discourse is the expression of subjectivity and “resource of identity construction” (Block 2007: 16).

The first ground-breaking studies were carried out by Norton (1995) on L2 learning investment among immigrant women in Canada, and by Rampton (1995) who analysed code-crossing in the UK multilingual and multicultural context (Pavlenko 2002). Other significant contributions that will be described next have been Cook's (2002) on L2 learners' rights as L2 users, Pavlenko's (2002) stance on nativelikeness and multiculturalism, and finally Block's (2007) examples of identity issues in different contexts.

Cook (2002) points out the break with earlier SLA research embracing the new paradigm when he talks about identity in flux and multiple group membership, namely when an L2 user belongs simultaneously to more than one communities of practice. Cook's (2002) notion of L2 user - a person who has the right to use a certain language at different degrees of proficiency- fits the post-structuralist perspective as learners are not seen as a monolithic group with no individual characteristics but as individuals with their own identities and control over their construction. Subsequently, they are no longer considered as “imperfect” native speakers but in their rightful identity as an L2 user. Hence, their linguistic output should no longer be considered as imperfect production according to native standard, but as the product of their on-going effort, namely as their interlanguage.

¹⁶ “An aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464 in Block 2007: 25)

Pavlenko (2002) reinforces the shift to the new paradigm by pointing out the biases and reductionism in previous research. The language learner was considered as monolingual, living in separated, clear-cut communities, whereas in the present world there are more commonly bi- or multilingual situations; hence learners may belong to more than one community at the same time, even just through virtual reality. Another criticism was that the learning context was not taken into consideration; actually, individual factors such as gender or ethnicity may have a bearing on the learning process and it should be borne in mind that these concepts are socially constructed and may vary across communities. The importance of context in this identity flux is captured by Mendoza-Denton's (2002) definition of identity as “active negotiation of an individual's relation with larger social constructs (...) neither attribute nor possession but an individual and collective-level process of semiosis” (p.475).

Regarding identity, Pavlenko (2002) signals that identities are hybrid rather than monolithic ones: learners can create new communities of practice -for instance as adult language learners in central Madrid in 2014 - which do not need to correspond to previous or to native-related communities, overcoming the native/non native dichotomy. L2 users' identities (the learner's social, cultural, gender, ethnic circumstances) structure their language use and resources and at the same time their identities are constructed and reconstructed in this process. A young digital-native learner will have a different access to multimedia content material compared to another learner without access to the Internet in a remote area or without digital skills. At the same time, learners' status, beliefs, opportunities (among other things) will be modified through and by the learning process. Language is the site of identity construction. Identities are constructed by discourse, which provides the terms by which identities are expressed. Language and identity are in a two-way relationship in that languages are used to “produce, reproduce, transform and perform identities” (2002: 298); in turn, identities and their components affect the access to resources, opportunities and L2 outcomes.

Block (2007) clearly summarizes what identity is from the new perspective: it is socially constructed and self-conscious. Identities are worked out in relation with others, with whom we may share beliefs and practices but there might also be conflict, resolvable through negotiation. The present context of movement and boundary-crossing leads to a loss of certainty in the self, which becomes more complex and multiple.

The importance of context in this identity flux is underlined by the point made in Omoniyi & White (2006) about the basic tenets agreed upon in the current debate on sociolinguistic identity:

- Identity is not fixed;
- Identity is constructed within contexts and it may vary from context to context;
- Contexts are influenced by social variables and are expressed through language(s);
- Identity is a salient factor in every communicative context;
- Identity informs social relationships;
- More than one identity may be articulated in the same context.

To conclude, the Post-structuralist approach has been chosen to guide this work, not only for its contemporary appeal, but specifically because the fieldwork is aimed to delve into participants' language use and discourse on their language learning experience in order to gain an insight in how language is used and learnt to forge their identities as L2 users.

1.1.3.1 POWER AND AGENCY

Once defined identity from a Post-structuralist perspective in the area of Applied Linguistics, and its emphasis on the relationship between individual and social environmental context, the concepts of power and agency emerge and need further explanation. In the context of this thesis, power relations are exerted at a micro level between teacher and students, as well as among students, besides, at a macro level of analysis, between languages and cultures. Agency is a key concept in one's identity development as a proficient language user, as for goal-setting and the effort and persistence afforded. It means that it is partly in the students' hands to overcome negative feelings which hamper with mastering the language. Moreover, anxiety and self-consciousness may be linked to a tension between power and agency. That is why defining some basic concepts will be useful for the empirical data analysis, such as power, resistance, authentication, audibility, recognition and finally agency.

Foucault (1981) first pointed out that **power** relations are pervasive at all levels of human activity, from institutional government control down to human everyday interactions. Power could be both positive and negative: positive when it enables people to act and make decisions in communities of practice, and negative when it limits them in their faculty to act. When power is negative or oppressive, the reaction of some individual is termed **resistance**,

specifically their active opposition to such powers by performing alternative courses of action. In classroom contexts, this notion has been applied to cases where students' apparent misbehaviour highlights possible oppressive classroom settings or teaching dynamics, which do not facilitate learning or developing social skills and do not foster a positive attitude towards the learning process (Blackledge & Creese 2010). On the other hand, when individuals choose to act in the community of practice, because they share their values and common effort, they need to assert that their identity is genuine and credible, through a process of **authentication** (Bucholtz 2003), so that the other members accept their behaviour as appropriate for that community.

The counterpart of authenticity in linguistic terms is **audibility**, designating the search for a suitable L2 identity. Miller 2004 (in Jenkins 2007: 205) defines audibility as how speakers position themselves and are positioned by others through the use of the L2; it reflects the degree to which speakers sound like and are legitimated by users of the dominant discourse. It involves developing an identity in an L2 not only linguistically but also in other semiotic forms. This concept informs us about the extent to which a learner feels legitimated to use the FL and imitate standard sounds, which is something that usually creates self-consciousness.

Audibility is tightly linked to **recognition**, i.e. a blend of the identity that people claim for themselves and the one attributed by somebody else (Block 2007). This is evident when in the first seconds of a conversation we tend to ascribe the interlocutor to a community of practice (native, non-native at different degrees) based on their level of proficiency. It results in a different choice of vocabulary, especially idiomatic expressions, cultural references and higher or lower speed of elocution.

In this struggle to be authentic, recognized and audible, a great deal of power depends on the individual him/herself. This leads to another key conceptualization, **agency**. In broad terms, agency is the property of an agent to act and engage in the world. It entails a relationship between an individual and the social structure in which he/she lives and also the capacity to make choices for oneself. Zooming in on agency in the second language realm, agency defines the extent to which a person may wish to join or imitate the TL¹⁷ community and the degree of investment in the learning process. One may wish to just partly adhere to this community: Kachru (1982) labels as “tacit fossilization” the unspoken decision made by a

¹⁷ Target Language

learner not to pursue further acquisition because it would trigger unwelcome social, cultural, political attitudes. The author specifically referred to the Indian post-colonial scenario and the unwillingness of some Indians to aim at a native British English model, which would bring back colonialist connotations. For our aims the concept itself is useful to reflect upon a learner's right to set his/her goals and to try and aspire to a certain identity in L2.

To this purpose, Jenkins (2007) stresses the role of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), by now substantially detached from the country or countries where this language is spoken as a first language. Agency is seen here as the right of a learner to make an informed choice as for which model he/she wants to adopt and to which extent, then consequently constructing an identity consistent with the choice. Jenkins's proposal of features of a Lingua Franca Core of pronunciation, aimed at mutual intelligibility between non-native speakers, has the ambition to resolve the conflict of those who want to project their own L1 identity into the L2, or those who aim at native-like standards but fail to achieve them. In this way, an ELF learner would be able to express at the same time his/her L1 identity together with membership to an international English-speaking community.

While, on the one hand, I praise the realistic and pragmatic intent of this proposal, on the other hand I argue that it does not consider the fact that identity is massively influenced by language attitudes and judgements, so that we should be aware that a strong foreign accent, though perfectly intelligible, is bound to prompt not always favourable reactions from the interlocutors. I feel more in line with Block (2007) who positions himself half-way in the debate on agency: he fully acknowledges agency but he is also cautious about backing total individual agency, since it would underplay social environmental pressures and constraints, such as those mentioned above deriving from attitudes and beliefs and also language-learning limited aptitude. Block reconciles agency and structure resorting to communities of practice where everyone is engaged in and affected by (Omoniyi & White 2006). This emphasis on communities of practice makes clear that identity construction cannot occur in isolation from the rest of society.

A class, the setting where the population of this study forges its language identity, can be seen as a community of practice in which the participants must feel recognized by the instructor and by other peers and feel comfortable in order to develop and learn efficiently. To do so their behaviour must be felt as authentic in a stress-free, encouraging environment. Their tools reside in their agency over the learning process, but they must be made aware of

that, overcoming the traditional dependence on the teacher: learners must be empowered as for autonomy and freedom of choice.

This section has been devoted to defining identity firstly from a philosophical point of view, from Essentialist categories to Post-modernist ones, passing through phases that argued the importance of the debate itself. Secondly, the contribution of social psychology provided an insight of how identities are formed within groups and society at large, with the useful concepts of individual and social identity, multiple identities, self-concept and self-esteem. Finally, the linguistics review has permitted tracking the evolution of the concept of identity in this field in parallel with other social fields, culminating with the idea that a learner is an agent in a community of practice and their identity as L2 users evolves through time and is subjected to the interaction with others. It follows that students are endowed with the power to modify their experience and develop a full-fledged L2 identity.

1.2 IDENTITY: GENDER AND AGE

After conceptualizing identity as fragmented and complex, I will briefly touch on some of its components that are often analysed in identity studies and in this study in particular: gender and age. The evolution in the conceptualization of identity will be mirrored by the same process in gender studies. The final stance of gender as a socially and discursively constructed concept will prove operational for the gender analysis in the empirical part. This factor is always entangled with other variables, one of which being age. It will be shown how this latter factor affects identity during the learning process.

1.2.1 GENDER IDENTITY

Gender is a fundamental dimension of identity that has been interestingly studied in all domains, including its relation to language, as reported by Kimmel (2008), whose analysis ranges from education, to media, workplace and so on, in order to describe how pervasively everything is conditioned by gender, or “gendered”. Nowadays gender is considered a socio-cultural construction in the academic studies based on the post-structuralist/post-modern tradition, as it is constructed through social interactions, including language, in all the social spheres. Let us briefly review the path leading to this conceptualization.

In the 70's publications were imbued with Essentialism. The first steps in this direction were taken by Robin Lakoff (1975) who identified some patterns that would be characteristic of what she terms as “woman's language”, namely the abundance of question tags, hedges¹⁸ and boosters¹⁹. Her conclusion was that women's language reflects the inferiority position of women in society. This first pioneering study was criticized on different fronts. Pavlenko & Piller (2008) claimed that the relation between language and gender was made through the notion of difference and dominance (men as superior and women inferior), within the deficit framework. Moreover, it was based on observation and lacked empirical evidence. Another study, already mentioned in 1.3, was the research conducted by Trudgill (1974) on women's language in Norwich. He found out that they overused a more formal register in order to compensate their inferiority status. In these studies an androcentric prejudice clearly emerges, taking for granted women's inferior status, still echoing the difference/dominance paradigm.

The other debate within Essentialism is between biological and cultural factors as explanations of gender differences. According to Kimmel (2008), biology only provides the basis, a sort of pre-condition from which we forge our own socio-cultural identity, including gender. He stressed this idea by saying that hormones and genitals cannot possibly determine our behaviour, values and other more nuanced aspects of our ego. With her motto “one is not born a woman, one becomes one”, Simone de Beauvoir's (1989 in Krefting 2000) intends to fight against the biological argument which obscures the socio-cultural process of “Otherness”, i.e. of producing women's inferiority and discrimination. This Otherness is then internalized by women and it seems as if this inferiority were innate and had always been there, so women would experience an on-going inauthenticity. Asserting that discrimination is socially constructed opens up new possibilities for women, who may not be able to overcome biological limitations but can definitely resist and contest those socially imposed.

Whereas in the 90's, alongside the performativity of gender (see Butler in 1.1), the focus was shifted from the difference between genders to the possibility of parodying and subverting these fixed categories. For instance, Coates (1993) reinterprets “hedges” as a way to soften one's statements when dealing with personal topics, leaving room to other points of view and trying to prevent conflicts. Interestingly enough, this strategy may be applied both by men and women according to their communicative need rather than to their belonging to one gender or the other. The author suggests that the way men and women speak forms a

¹⁸ Vague language to soften the strength of a statement, such as “I think that...”.

¹⁹ Emphatic language, such as “really”, “amazingly” etc.

continuum on which women tend to use -but not necessarily do use- features closer to what was labelled “women's language” and that these features were available not only to women but also to men for certain communicative purposes. From this point of view, Gal (2001) underlines the criticism carried out by women against the androcentric discourse and against values such as individualism, competitiveness and hierarchy, in favour of solidarity and cooperation. Weatherall (2002) points out the complexity of the matter by reminding researchers to take into account all contextual and interactional factors. According to this discursive turn, “women's language” would be a symbolic construction to which a woman is free to adhere or not. Indeed, at present we maintain the idea of performed gendered identities as valid. Being aware that gender is a socio-cultural construction, detaching from biological determinism, allows us to be free to choose how to construct our own gender identity and to exert our “agency”.

Narrowing the topic down to education, gender studies still tend to relate achievement or self-concept to the two clear-cut categories, males or females (Cerezo & Casanova 2004, Costa & Tabernero 2012). As Sunderland (2000) reported, although there has been a growing recognition of the problematic nature of gender as a binary concept, the results of the studies are still analysed following the two dichotomous categories. Even when the focus is on masculinities (what is experienced as masculine), this notion is perceived in binary opposition with femininity. Pavlenko instead, who purports a post-structuralist view on theoretical basis, does also apply it to the educational context, in particular how teachers deal with the topic in EFL classes (Norton & Pavlenko 2004), or the inequities and gender ideologies in different contexts, as well as gender identities as channelled by other languages/cultures and students' reaction to this approach (Pavlenko & Piller 2008).

Another application to education which does take into account the new paradigm is the work done by Ringrose (2007, 2012), who argues that we find ourselves in the post-feminist era in which girl-power discourses of the 90's have resulted in a new identity construction of women who have been able to adapt themselves to neo-liberal challenges. The “feminist triumph” in education, with girls over-performing boys, signalled boys' failure and consequent masculinity crisis (Francis 2006) as new gender victims. However, girls' success at school has led to pressure for achievement, feeding into post-feminist anxieties. Not only has this pressure been felt at school, but also in other realms like sexuality girls are required to put up with the same pressure for sexual knowledge, practice and agency as boys (García-Gómez 2010, 2013 and 2014). To counteract masculine power they are now asked to over display and

perform their femininity. This newly-acquired agency is expressed by notions of overly successful, violent and sexual individuals, which girls have to negotiate (Gonick et al. 2009). Thus, girls' gendered agency is influenced by normative processes of gender construction. The scholars interpret the scenario as a new set of norms for women to adapt to, which are just a substitute of previous emphasis on values like “virtue” (Gill 2007: 72). From a post-feminist point of view it seems that feminism has gone too far and its effects are now circularly reverberating on girls and boys alike.

In particular, Harvey et al. (2013) point out that identity construction within youngsters is carried out via commodities such as label clothes that transcend their status of commodities to take on a socio-cultural function, which may even serve as self-defence from bullying. This mechanism of identity regulation would partly explain extreme expressions of resistance such as London 2011 youth riots, when thousands of teenagers looted high street clothes and technology shops. This alternative interpretation of looters as protesters against inequality and wealth is a post-structuralist response to statements imbued with classed and racialised norms of gender such as “the whites have become black” (The Telegraph 2011) and that riot girls have taken on features of “masculinity” such as toughness, violence and crime.

The last example shows the complexity of identity construction, in which gender is entangled with other variables and must be contextualised. It also demonstrates how reality can be interpreted from different angles beyond what it superficially appears to be at first glance, and beyond what is often reported in the media and asserted by mainstream discourses.

In particular, I will be interested in finding out whether a learner's identity construction as a man or woman includes being anxious as a trait directly attributed to his/her gender.

1.2.2 AGE AND IDENTITY

The target of this study is adults, for this reason this section is devoted to analysing the age factor as an important component of language learners' identity. Evidence for and against the alleged advantage of younger over older learners will be presented, and advantages and disadvantages of both adults and children will be detailed from a cognitive, socio-psychological and motivational point of view.

On the one hand, a common tenet in SLA is that there are substantial differences in the acquisition of an additional language between children, teenagers and adults, both at a neurological and socio-psychological level. The neurological studies are gathered under the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH): Lennenberg (1967 in Johnstone 2002) attributed to brain lateralization and maturation the existence of a more sensitive period in the early stages of an individual's lifespan after which it would be impossible to acquire an additional language at native-like level of proficiency²⁰. The age when this ability would start to decline varies according to different authors and perspectives, beside the linguistic domain taken into account. Studies on deaf children receiving an auditory cochlear implant demonstrated that benefits of language input could be observed as young as in 1- to 3-year-olds (Tomblin et al. 2005). Other studies show that regarding phonology, neuro-physiological changes would occur from the age of 6, whereas for morpho-syntax the critical boundary would be as late as 15 years old (Long 1990 in Han & Odlin 2006). As for semantics, it seems that there is no cut-off point after which acquisition at native-like levels would be impossible (Slabakova 2006).

A modular perspective²¹ with multiple sensitive periods for each linguistic subsystem is the currently most accepted view of CPH: a learner could have started to acquire a language too late to master the L2 phonemes but still in time to fully acquire its morphology and semantics. Ellis (1994) suggests that it is easier, rather than the only possible option, to acquire a second language at an early age. In fact, as a consequence of the impossibility to access the Universal Grammar²², adults would rely on a lexical route and on global problem-solving skills to learn a second language (Han 2004). According to the author, the consequences of starting learning an L2 after the critical boundary - whenever that might be - is evident in a reduced sensitivity to input and in the interference of L1, or transfer. To demonstrate the reduced sensitivity to input in order to acquire grammatical categories, Blom et al. (2006) studied the acquisition of Dutch morphological endings comparing L2 learners whose age of onset varied, to finally conclude that this factor does play a role and that adults were not able to acquire this linguistic characteristic from input, unlike children who did succeed. Franceschina (2005) attributed the reason for fossilised errors in French and Spanish gender to reduced exposure to input. Another neurological assumption is that the more an L1 is stabilised, the less language networks can be modified by an L2 because neuro-connections would be less active (Pallier 2007). Finally, modern magnetic imaging confirms that different

²⁰ For the debate on native-likeness see Jenkins in 1.3.1

²¹ Modular refers to some modules of a system that can be considered independently one from the other.

²² The theory proposed by Noam Chomsky that language is innate.

parts of the brain are activated when learning a language in children and adults (Johnstone 2002).

On the other hand, there are relevant lines of thought that claim just the opposite, i.e. that adult learners can perfectly succeed in mastering a foreign language although they have started learning it after puberty. Of particular interest among these studies is Nikolov (2000a) who puts down the reason of these successful adult learners (Hungarian ESL teachers) to their will to sound like natives, or in other words to their intrinsic and integrative motivation that will be dealt with in the next chapter.

After presenting the state-of-the art in the academic debate, let us now delve into the advantages and disadvantages of younger and older learners. Most scholars and society at large observe that children are more likely to master the FL phonetic and prosodic system, as a clear advantage over adults (Birdsong 1999). Cognitively, they rely on intuitive acquisition processes, or LAD (Language Acquisition Device) in Chomskyan terms, thus the language will become more embedded in their brain. Other benefits are an obvious longer exposure to FL input when they are adults, compared to adult beginners, plus a general positive influence on their educational development, including -very interestingly for our purposes- the formation of a multilingual and intercultural identity (Johnstone 2002). Regarding socio-psychological factors, Ellis (2008) acknowledges that children are more prepared to accept external norms because they are less subject to peer pressure and because stereotypes on their own identity are not formed yet, whereas adolescents feel a threat to their identity “in progress”. Guiora et al. (1972/1980) uses the term “ego permeability” to refer to the degree of openness to foreign influences on one's identity. Thus children who have a weak language ego will be very permeable; adolescents who are more inhibited²³ and whose language boundaries are becoming more rigid, will show less permeability; finally adults, who are already comfortable with their established ego, will display a minimum level of permeability. Language ego and permeability would be completed, so “second language learning in all of its aspects demands that the individual, to a certain extent take on a new identity” (1972: 113).

Nonetheless, children's short attention span has often been reported as a limit for SLA, which implies that in instructed SLA settings they need a wide variety of activities to grasp their attention. Moreover, they are less likely to remember previous content, so that they need to work with the same material over and over. On the research level, an important bias to bear

²³ Due to their physical and psychological transformations.

in mind is that many studies have been conducted in naturalistic settings, which mean when a child is learning the language of a new country where he/she has just moved. In this case their language exposure is definitely bigger through schooling and socialising (Singleton 2000). For this reason we ought to be careful when comparing FL settings, which have completely different characteristics. Johnstone (2002) warns that in these settings other requirements are indispensable to guarantee that children's advantages will play some part in their SLA: teachers must have an excellent command of the language, in particular pronunciation and intonation, the classes must be as small as 10-15 students per class, there must be intensive interaction and daily sessions. Otherwise, as Nikolov (2002b) cautions a negative experience with the TL would exert a detrimental effect on their language attitude.

On the adult front, in spite of possible sensory, cognitive and neurolinguistic deterioration, there are also some advantages of learning a language at an older age. On the one hand it is a fact that deterioration ranges from possible impaired hearing -normally from the age of 50 onwards auditory skills gradually start to decline with their more visible effects after 65 years old- (Pérez-Paredes 1996) to difficulty in coping with time-pressure, risk-taking and long-term memory. Yet on the other hand, adults present positive assets, such as higher L1 linguistic awareness, a wider life-experience and particularly in conversation and negotiation of meaning, and finally stronger motivation for a present purpose, unlike children and adolescents who normally learn a language for future job opportunities. These advantages will be available to younger starters when they grow, in order to re-process their early language experience in a more cognitive, analytical way, so early starters would be able to sum up their advantages to these (Johnstone 2002).

Age is thus an important factor, but not the only one, as Bialystok & Hakuta (1999) warn: differences are due to a cluster of interacting factors, age and education being two of them, which shows the unreliability of a solely biological explanation. Individual differences between learners -which account for the huge variance in SLA outcomes- rely on other main factors, as Dörnyei (2006) illustrates: personality, self-esteem, intelligence, creativity, anxiety, learning styles and strategies, to name the most relevant ones.

In sum, the CPH is a useful construct but it must be handled with caution. Indeed, from a literature review it has been gathered that it is too simplistic - and not completely accurate- to state that “the younger a learner the better”, and consequently claim that adults have an intrinsic disadvantage. As concluded by Johnstone (2002), it is never too early nor too late to begin studying a foreign language, which gives hope to older adults at institutions such as EOI

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

and, more importantly, given that biological factors are barely mutable, it shifts the focus of learning on motivational and agency issues.

1.3 SHIFTING IDENTITIES

In the previous section, I have concluded that identity is something fluid and in constant flux, which leads to a wide array of identity changes that may occur in a person who gets in touch with a foreign language/culture and “fluctuates” between identities. These changes are both cultural and linguistic, ranging from identity construction in general to conceptual reorganization, including even changes in the use of the first language. In this section I will deal with these changes, first by reporting studies on acculturation when a person lives in an L2 community, then by looking at what happens in a foreign language (FL) context, namely when studying an L2 in a country where the language is not spoken and finally tackling changes in one's L1. These concepts constitute a fundamental theoretical background in order to understand the extent of the changes that L2 learners could undergo in terms of identity, which may hamper or facilitate learning.

1.3.1 ACCULTURATION

Acculturation will be presented in this section as a cluster of social factors - among which social dominance, adaptation and preservation- interacting with affective factors, such as language and cultural shock, motivation and ego-permeability. As mentioned in section 1.3.1 with regard to English as a Lingua Franca, in the nowadays globalised world it makes little sense to advocate for a total integration to a new culture, this culture being the globalised world. However, in other contexts it is still a burning topic to what extent a new-comer should adjust his/her habits and values to fit into a new community.

The first studies on acculturation were conducted by Schumann (1978/1986) in Pavlenko (2002), who found a correlation between the degree of integration/acculturation in the target culture and the degree of target language (TL) acquisition. Pavlenko criticizes Schumann's model by arguing that an L2 learner does not necessarily wish to join the TL group; actually she sees acculturation as a way of imposing a mainstream culture on minorities or on people who might have little or no interest in this culture. Pavlenko's post-structuralist proposal considers L2 users as individual agents engaged in a process of socialization.

The acculturation hypothesis echoes Gardner's **integrativeness** theory. Integrativeness is a sort of “psychological and emotional identification” (Dörnyei 2005: 96). It involves a positive disposition toward the L2 community and the desire to be accepted by its members. It

also leads to being open and respectful towards the L2 speakers and their cultural habits. In extreme cases, one would wish to abandon their own community in order to become part of the target culture.

These early original acculturation models have been reappraised by Dörnyei (2003) into the idea of an “**integrative disposition**”, which refers to the identification with the cultural and intellectual values attached to L2 language and culture, to the learning experience itself and to speaking a second language as a vehicle of communication; a sort of “virtual and metaphoric identification” (Dörnyei 2005: 97), which also accounts for when L2 learners are not living in a country where the L2 is spoken. In fact, as Jenkins (2007) stresses, the fact that speakers of English as a second language outnumber native speakers makes us reflect on the concept of nativelikeness as a standard against which to compare learner's proficiency. There are actually numerous interactions in English on a daily basis which take place in countries very far geographically and culturally from English motherland, in which the speakers are completely detached from the native model from a linguistic and a cultural point of view. As an umbrella term, Dörnyei proposes the notion of “**world identity**”, as a “non-parochial, cosmopolitan, globalized world citizen identity (Dörnyei 2005: 97), encompassing an instrumental use of the vehicle language, interest in international affairs and cultures, a non-ethnocentric attitude, the access to globalized media, travelling, socializing, entertainment and career opportunities.

Since the population of this study is a FL case, the motivation to adapt to the TL community is normally not the drive for learning English, whereas this other set of interests and motivations will be the ones that move them to study this language.

1.3.2 SHIFTING IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE CONTEXTS

Let us now zoom in on the analysis of the situation that will be the context of this study: FL instruction. What kind of identity transformation can be expected among language learners in a country where this language is not spoken? Or, borrowing Block's (2007: 21) term “**critical experience**” (the contact with a different language/culture that brings about an “irreversible destabilization of the individual's sense of self”), to what extent will classroom teaching be a kind of “critical experience”? Or will it be necessary to have lived abroad in order to claim a “critical experience”? And in this case, how long should the stay be?

I will draw on Block (2007) for his comprehensive analysis of identity in foreign language (FL) context. He first points out the field of pragmatics as one of the most promising to explore, as it includes both linguistic competence and social knowledge about socio-cultural practices carried out in a particular TL context. Pragmatics is a linguistic area in which someone's L1 identity would spring up untamed, with possible negative results on self-image, unless specific instruction or experience of different habits intercede.

The author distinguishes between “cross-cultural learning” (learning about cultural differences) and “intercultural learning” (learning through the cultural differences emerging during interaction with members of target language/culture). Evidently the second type of learning is more likely to lead to a “critical experience”, as it is more profoundly and actively experienced. The goal of intercultural learning is to achieve an adequate level of intercultural competence, meant as linguistic behaviour suitable for intercultural communication. This competence also signals the ability to construct one's self-identity while dealing with two (or more) cultures. Intercultural competence requires two pre-conditions: first relativizing one's culture and then acquiring knowledge about another culture, which finally leads to *savoir faire*, a step further than know-how which entails interacting in practical circumstances. The first step is considered the most delicate, as stepping away from ethnocentrism is not so obvious but, given its importance, it should be an objective of language teaching. In fact, as Byram 1990 (in Block 2007) argues, foreign language learning is an experience ideally meant to break with, or at least be aware of, one's beliefs, concepts and schemas acquired in one's own cultural context.

According to the author, in FL contexts the change has more to do with the learning experience itself and with the relationship with the teacher and the other classmates, which is depicted in Block's case-study as capable of raising very strong feelings and emotions, both positive and negative. This kind of “critical experience” depends on the community of practice that comes to life in a particular classroom context.

Two practical examples of FL learning that could lead to overcome the otherwise limited transformations in such contexts are reported by Block. The first case is a feminist group in Japan, where the English language was the vehicle to tackle feminist topics among women in a country where they reportedly suffer from discrimination. English was the medium for these women to raise their voices in an international community of practice – world's feminists. Clearly, this language is completely disembedded from the native country/countries where it is spoken and serves more efficiently as an identity destabilizer and

catalyst. This is a case in which the English language is a vehicle of a target culture which does not necessarily correspond to British or American culture *tout court* but more exactly to an international community which is Feminism.

The second example mentioned by Block of FL learning activity capable of stimulating a “critical experience” involves instant communication technology as a means to get in touch with geographically distant L2 users otherwise impossible to get acquainted with. Through this type of computer-mediated interaction, which could be carried out in class-time or outside, many cultural benefits can be reaped, apart from the linguistic improvement through language practice. The benefits range from getting to know different habits and lifestyle, to realising the practical worth of learning the language, probably leading to enhanced motivation to further learning. In many cases, due to a learner's social or economical circumstances, a foreign language class is the only option for them to get in touch with the foreign culture/language and to belong to a different community of practices. As seen in 1.2, belonging to several communities may have a positive effect on self-esteem on account of the different roles played by the individual.

1.3.3 CONCEPTUAL REORGANIZATION

What kind of changes may we expect within the individual? Lantolf (1999: 29) argues that during the process of language learning a person undergoes a transformation in his/her way of seeing the world and of categorizing it. They come to use “culturally different eyes”, which as a mental process goes beyond intellectual understanding and tolerance towards the target language. Adopting a cognitive perspective, he explains **second culture acquisition** as a process through which our L1 mental representations, which function as sociocultural constraints, develop while we adjust to the new cultural models encountered, resulting in a modification of one's conceptual organization.

Reality is interpreted differently according to the place where L2 has been learnt, in terms of values and world-view, and in particular when it comes to pragmatic features. Bouton (1999) studied how L2 learners interpreted **conversational implicatures**²⁴ with the filter of their L1 background and how they improved in this skill after residency in an L2 country and through specific training. Irony was found to be one of the most difficult kinds of

²⁴ Pragmatic inference, first signalled by Paul Grice, that arises from contextual factors and conventions observed in conversation.

implicatures to eventually be mastered, being extremely culture-specific, unlike formulae, more easily learnt thanks to their fixed, conventional nature.

In the case of long residency²⁵ abroad, **conceptual reorganization** pushes individuals culturally closer to the L2 native group, although they are unlikely to completely identify with it, given that they have missed experiencing the target culture as children and/or as teenagers. But at the same time, these long-term residents also detach themselves from their L1 monolingual community both culture-wise and linguistically, as demonstrated by Major (in Cook 2002) even for pronunciation, a domain which would seem more resilient to attrition. This is a clear example of how identities are malleable and in constant readjustment.

Finally, touching on affective factors, I will refer to social psychologist Ernest Boesch's (1998 in Madureira 2009) opposite notions of **“heimweh”** and **“fernweh”**: the former, glossed as “way home”, entails lingering within a secure and already known territory; the latter, “away from home”, is the platform for potential selves, and it involves adventure, encounter, novelty but also risks and threats to self-esteem. I think that these concepts are particularly influential in L2 identity construction in that a hypothesis is that what makes second language learners in Spain refrain from developing a new identity is this fear of the unknown and unexpected, of getting lost on this path “away from home”. This need for security reminds us of the importance of catering for the emotional side of learning. Arnold (1999) suggests that affect exerts a vital influence on the learning process. She stresses that the relationships between students as persons are more important than the actual material used and she encourages language instructors to take into account factors both on the individual level (motivation, anxiety, learning style, self-esteem) and on the relational one (cross-cultural, classroom atmosphere), concepts that will be elaborated on in chapter 3.

1.3.4 EFFECTS OF AN L2 ON THE L1

After dealing with changes in one's cultural identity, in this section I will make reference to the major effects that can be brought about in an L1 by contact with an additional language, as argued in Cook (2003), ranging from conceptual change to linguistic features, through pragmatic effects. These linguistic changes are particularly emblematic of the extent to which a person's identity, in this case their L1, can go through a transformation process.

²⁵ “Long” means over 10 years, according to Grabis (1997) in Hinkel (1999).

To begin with, in order to appreciate the full picture of these effects, we must frame them in the **multicompetence model**²⁶, which presupposes that the mind of a person who speaks an L2 is not composed of two monolingual minds but of his/her L1 plus the L2 interlanguage. This entails that each language is present all the time but activated in different proportions according to the circumstances, the addressee etc. The two (or more) language systems must be thought of on a continuum separation/integration: on one side they are two separate systems and on the opposite end they are integrated and overlapping. So a learner may start acquiring a second language in a separate storage of the mind from their L1 and then gradually integrate it alongside fluency improvement (Cook 2003).

Proficiency is a prerequisite for **conceptual change**: Keckes & Papp (2003) devised a test to gauge when a learner has reached such a high proficiency level as to demonstrate that he/she has started to integrate the two systems: when a learner can make a summary in the L2 of a text without repeating the actual words from the original L2 text, it means that this learner has reached the threshold for comprehending L2 texts “conceptually”, as opposed to literally. Before this level is achieved we can only speak of educational enhancement and of acquiring new labels for existing concepts, but not of a conceptual change. When this kind of change does take place, the authors propose an interesting model called Common Underlying Conceptual Base (CUCB), a sort of container where socio-cultural background knowledge is stored, mixed and confronted with new information, which may destabilize and reorganize previous conceptual settings.

From a linguistic point of view the same authors mention other changes that would affect L1 structure well-formedness: clause organization, such as subordination, as a sign of thought development; increased number and nature²⁷ of metaphors, which underlie the representation of concepts, again as expression of thought; lexical extension and more accurate choice, due to new lexical routes being opened up; and finally cultural values that may be modified in contact with other culture’s values, considered appealing for an individual to incorporate.

In the field of pragmatics, Cenoz (2003) demonstrates the “**Intercultural Style Hypothesis**”, according to which there exists a unique style both different from and related to L1 and L2 that contemplates a possible bi-directional L1-L2 transfer. From L1 to L2 we normally speak about pragmatic failure, i.e. linguistically failing to adjust to different cultural

²⁶ “Knowledge of two or more languages in one mind” (Cook, 1991 in Cook 2003: 2).

²⁷ Unusual metaphors in L1 but common in L2 may emerge by influence of L2 on L1.

codes, but we should also acknowledge the influence of an L2 into an L1, for instance the use of British English politeness formulas in another language. To this respect the author signals that fluent Spanish learners of English make requests in their L1 differently from low level speakers, with the former displaying a wider range of downgrades and more indirect mitigators, which are attested as British English typical strategies for requests (e.g. I was wondering... Would you mind...?). This indicates that by means of using English, these Spanish speakers have widened their pragmatic repertoire in the L1.

As far as **linguistic changes** are concerned, Pavlenko (2003) points out that an L2 can affect all L1 areas as attested, from phonology, to morphosyntax and semantics; she identifies five major phenomena, the most significant of which in terms of identity construction are the following²⁸:

- *restructuring transfer*, or incorporation of L2 elements with the result that changes occur in the L1, such as simplification of standard features, for instance the loss of morphosyntactic markers for gender, number or case;
- *convergence*, which refers to the creation of a unitary system, different from both L1 and L2, especially in phonetics, for example the moderately aspirated stop to produce a French and English /t/;
- *shift* from L1 in the direction of L2, for instance a semantic extension of an L1 lemma to incorporate an L2 meaning, like the semantic extension of the Spanish verb “*correr*” (=to run) in American Cubans’ “*correr para gobernador*”²⁹. The latter phenomenon may underlie a drastic identity shift, less dramatic only than language attrition/loss.

To conclude, I would like to refer to the idea in Pavlenko of a language (either L1 or L2) as the preferred means of self-expression: her interviewees declared to feel clumsy speaking Russian, their own L1, finding English expressions like “I can make it” closer to what they want to convey. Channelling one's feelings and thoughts in a preferred language reflects the interface between linguistic and identity changes.

In section 3, I have described how and to what extent identities may change in contact with other languages/cultures or during learning processes in FL contexts. After having defined identity as in constant fluctuation from a philosophical and socio-psychological point

²⁸ The others being borrowing transfer and attrition/loss.

²⁹ “To run for governor”. Extension: “*correr*” = “to present oneself as a candidate”.

of view, this section has demonstrated that the language learning process is indeed a powerful one capable of deep changes in one's cultural and linguistic identity, up to the point of bearing effect within the individual and their use of their L1.

This framework is needful to analyse the “critical experience” of the population of this study, who reside in Spain, thus the learning experience itself - including the relationship with the teachers and classmates and other characteristics of the community of practice- will be fundamental to their identity construction as L2 users. That is why the next chapters will be devoted to delving into the mechanisms and feelings that come to play when an individual embarks on the study of a foreign language.

1.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter identity has been analysed from different perspectives as to highlight its complexity and shifting nature. Gender and age have been singled out because of their bearing on the population of the empirical study of this thesis. The key idea purported for identity and its components is that it must be conceived of as something in constant fluctuation which may vary considerably, in particular in the case of being involved in a second/foreign language learning experience. The radical effects of this experience have been described, ranging from intercultural awareness, changes in categorization of reality or even in one's first language. This scenario stresses the importance to delve into the psychological side of learning, which is what the next chapters will be devoted to.

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

2. MOTIVATION

As this thesis main concern is why some students act and react differently from others when it comes to learning and using the FL, a deeper understanding of individual differences is in order. Motivation is considered one of the core psychological factors that explain these differences in second language acquisition, along with aptitude. Aptitude studies since Carroll (1973, 1981) have developed from purely psychological to more contextualized paradigms, displaying an interest in interrelated aspects. Indeed, motivation is said to be even more relevant than aptitude as for its bearing on achievement, so that the former can make up for deficiency in the latter, even when the learning conditions are not optimal. Studies in bilingual contexts (for instance Canada) have shown that individual differences cannot be due solely to aptitude, since members of minority language communities (i.e. French) reach a higher level of proficiency on account of their need and motivation (Gardner & Lambert 1972). Furthermore, motivation is actually prerequisite for other factors inasmuch as it initiates and sustains learning: without motivation learning does not even begin or continue (Dörnyei 2005). It is often reported in the educational literature and in everyday teachers' experience that motivation and achievement go hand in hand (Pintrich & Schunk 2002). More motivated students achieve better results, thanks to their feeling of self-efficacy, the effort they make, their persistence and the use of effective strategies, whereas demotivated students are bound to fail, although they might have potentialities to pass. Dörnyei (2005) and Ellis 2008, based on their long career respectively in motivation research and in SLA, confirm that those students who are really keen on learning a foreign language, which means equipped with enough motivation to do so, will be able to master it at least at a minimum level, independently of their aptitude for foreign languages.

Due to its importance, in this chapter I will attempt to define what motivation is and present the main theories related to it, mainly from the perspective of psychology of education and of second language acquisition. Finally, some educational application to L2 teaching will be put forward and a link to the identity issue will bond this chapter to the previous one.

2.1 DEFINITION OF MOTIVATION

Before analysing the evolution of motivation theories, a definition of the concept is due. Its complexity will be evident in the classification by Kleinginna & Kleinginna (1981), but a more clarifying and contextualised view will be provided by Pintrich & Schunk (2002) and Quirós & Cabestrero (2008), to finally zoom in on our field, SLA, through Dörnyei & Skehan's (2003) contribution.

As a matter of fact, we use the word “motivation” on a daily basis, but what exactly is it? Dörnyei (2001:1) provokingly affirms that “there is no such thing as motivation”, meaning that this is an umbrella term encompassing such a wide array of motives as aiming at financial benefits or yearning for freedom. Motivation has been considered a complex, hypothetical, wide and multidimensional construct, interacting with numerous other concepts such as impulse, reward, desire, interest, need, goal and attribution. In order to illustrate the complexity of the term and try to classify the definitions, Kleinginna & Kleinginna (1981) collected 102 definitions of this concept, gathered from different fields. They were categorised into nine groups, ranging from definitions referring to internal mechanisms (such as desires, choices, physiological changes of the organism and how the nervous system translates needs into behaviour), to functional processes (energy arousal, driving forces, incentives, response to stimuli, direction, vector, goals etc). After this exhaustive analysis, the authors concluded that the highest number of definitions referred to functional processes, in particular the concepts of direction and energy arousal. They finally proposed their own definition (p. 272):

“... those energizing/arousing mechanisms with relatively direct access to the final common motor pathways which have the potential to facilitate and direct some motor circuits while inhibiting others. These mechanisms sometimes may influence sensory input and analysis as well”.

In spite of the abstraction of this formulation, it can be gathered that numerous mechanisms and processes are at play when motivated behaviour occurs.

The definition provided by Pintrich & Schunk (2002) turns out more specific and helpful for our purposes. First of all, they signal that the word comes from the Latin verb *moveo, moves, movi, motum, movere*, meaning “to move”. The commonsense definition based on the etymology thus reflects movement: when we are motivated, something gets us moving to complete a task. More specifically, the authors define it in the following way:

“Motivation is the process whereby goal-directed activity is instigated and sustained” (p. 5). The definition signals that motivation is conceived of as a process, rather than a product. Therefore, it is something that we do not observe directly but we infer from the observable outcome (i.e. behaviours). It is directed by goals, that is something that a person bears in mind towards which they direct their efforts. Finally it is something that must be both started and also maintained through time, especially in case of long-term goals, such as learning a foreign language or writing a thesis. The action could be a physical activity, involving physical effort, persistence and movement or a mental one, including cognitive processes such as planning, organizing, supervising, decision-making and problem-solving. Additionally, in order to maintain motivation, focusing on what is being carried out is essential.

Apart from defining the concept, authors like Quirós & Cabestrero (2008) describe the main characteristics constituting motivation, which are activation, persistence, intensity and direction, summarised in the following terms:

- **Activation**: energy put into the decision to initiate a behaviour. However, if the behaviour does not take place, it does not necessarily imply lack of activation, since the energy may be used for different purposes or the behaviour may not be directly observable.

- **Persistence**: continuous effort towards a goal in spite of any obstacles that may appear in the way. Certain behaviours may be repeated in order to attempt to fulfil a goal, although the likeliness of success is low.

- **Intensity**: concentration and vigour that are expended in order to pursue a goal. The more motivated a person, the more intense the behaviour. However, an intense behaviour (e.g. shouting) might be a learnt behaviour rather than an indicator of motivation, so that caution must be exercised with this parameter.

- **Direction**: more easily analysable than the previous ones, it refers to the preference of an alternative over another, directing one's behaviour in a certain direction.

Finally, the above mentioned aspects have been key concepts in SLA too. In this field, motivation is defined as a choice of starting a particular action (in our case learning a new language or enrolling on the next level of a course), followed by persistence in the action (for example attending to class regularly) and finally the effort expended on it (the amount of

study and practice devoted to the language). In other words, motivation answers the questions “why?”, “how long” and “how hard?” (Dörnyei & Skehan 2003).

2.2 MOTIVATION THEORIES IN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Theories of motivation can be broadly classified into behaviourist and cognitive theories, as Pintrich & Schunk (2002) summarise. **Behaviourist** theories focus on the changes in behaviour due to the environment. One receives stimuli from the environment and responds to them. The stimulus-response pairing can be either reinforced or inhibited, leading to respectively future behaviour or no/weaker behaviour response. For instance, if an aggressive behaviour is reinforced by an aggressive environment, in the future it will become more resistant and durable than if it is inhibited by a non-aggressive environment. Within this framework, motivation is considered as the rate or likelihood of a behaviour to be repeated. For example, the likelihood that a student engages in a task represents his/her motivation. Whereas Behaviourists are concerned with external, observable phenomena (namely behaviour), rather than internal ones, **cognitive** theories do look at mental structures and individuals' thoughts, emotions and beliefs. Motivation is seen as internal and what we observe is its products, via behaviour. There are several mental processes involved, among which attributions, perceptions, values, affect, goals and so on.

The theories of motivation will be briefly presented from the very beginnings with Freud's first approach, through Behaviourist theories, touching on Humanistic contributions and dealing with a certain number of Cognitive Models (Expectancy-value, Achievement, Attribution, Self-determination, Social cognitivist and Goal orientation), to finally zoom in on motivation theories in SLA. Most information in section 2.2.1 and its subsections is gathered from the comprehensive review in Pintrich & Schunk (2002), unless otherwise stated.

2.2.1 BEHAVIOURIST THEORIES

The very first attempt to explain human behaviour in terms of motivation may be traced down to **Freud**³⁰, who claimed that inside the human being there is a psychical force named “*trieb*” in German, which translates as “moving force” or “drive”. Every person has a constant amount of this energy residing in Id -the part of the psyche devoted to satisfying basic needs and desires by channelling the energy into behaviours that reduce the need. When

³⁰ Widely known for psychoanalysis, but also relevant as a precursor of following behaviourist theories.

the need is satisfied, the person does not feel any stimulus, which presents itself instead when there is a need unfulfilled. The energy may also be repressed when an individual resists to a force or does not recognize it. In these cases, the energy is not eliminated but manifests itself in an indirect way, giving rise to a different need. For instance, if sexual energy is repressed, it may be channelled into a craving for food. Although this incipient conceptualization unveils the existence of unconscious thoughts and behaviour, still credited up to date, it cannot be straightforwardly applicable to how motivation works in the educational environment since it refers to this internal, unconscious force without any link to cognitive and environmental factors.

Behaviourists proper are gathered around what is known as “**Conditioning theories**”, which see stimulus-response as the mechanism for learning, and motivation as the probability of responding to the stimulus. They drew the idea of “drive” from Freud, but they clearly detached from this line because they pursued theories based on observation rather than on unconscious phenomena. Within Conditioning theories we can distinguish three main theories: Connectionism, Classical Conditioning and Operant Conditioning. The following subsections describe Drive Theory and each of the three Conditioning Theories.

2.2.1.1 DRIVE THEORY

Behaviourist Hull (1951) elaborated Drive Theory, according to which drives are internal forces that maintain homeostasis (optimal state of bodily mechanisms): when a need arises (due to the lack of some essential element, for instance, food), a drive is activated so that the organism will respond in order to satisfy the need. Drives are characterised by:

- Intensity: the extent, from low to high, of a drive to activate behaviour (how hungry we are)
- Direction: the object or goal towards which we make efforts (hunger directs us towards food)
- Persistence: the continuation towards the goal (our efforts to obtain food)
- Habit Strength: the strength of the pairing stimulus-response that reinforces the habit.

The shortcoming of this theory, according to Pintrich & Schunk (2002), is that it explains mechanical learning of basic skills but cannot be easily applied to human motivation in general. It only addresses biological needs while we are often more concerned with issues other than survival. In addition, long-term goals, such as earning a degree, cannot be explained as a high drive continuously sustained throughout such a long period.

2.2.1.2 CONNECTIONISM

Learning is the result of a set of associations (connections) between sensory experiences and neural impulses. Thorndike's (1913) elaborated the Law of Effect which states that people learn through trial-error: trial is a selection among possible responses to a stimulus. If the option is successful, this response will be established; conversely, if it is unsuccessful, it will be abandoned and substituted by an alternative. In this way the consequences of a choice (trial) determine future behaviour. In the learning context this theory informs us on the fact that students will benefit from positive feedback and learn from their mistake.

Motivation in particular is defined by the Law of Readiness: when a person is ready to act (or learn), the action (learning) will be satisfying; otherwise it will be annoying. Although it does not expand much on how to assess or promote readiness, the theory gives a hint of students' indispensable subjective predisposition (or lack of predisposition) to learn.

2.2.1.3 CLASSICAL CONDITIONING

In Pavlov's well-known experiment on dogs, he demonstrated that a conditioned stimulus (sound of a bell), when paired with an unconditioned stimulus (food), gives rise to a conditioned response (salivation). The repetition and reinforcement of this pairing will result in a response even in absence of the unconditioned stimulus. Motivation is defined as expectation through conditioning, when we anticipate reinforcement that follows a certain stimulus.

In the learning context, conditioned emotional responses, i.e. emotions paired with certain stimuli, are something we should be aware of. For instance, an apparently neutral conditioned stimulus, such as the group, the classroom, a teacher, or a book, may be paired with a negative unconditioned stimulus (failing an exam), leading to potential anxiety. Vice

versa, a welcoming setting and class atmosphere could be associated with a positive idea of learning.

2.2.1.4 OPERANT CONDITIONING

Popularized by Skinner (1953), Operant conditioning differs from the previous theory as it focuses on reinforcement rather than on repetition. Previous stimulus leads to a behaviour, followed by a consequence, which is the probability that future stimulus will lead to future response, through reinforcement or feedback. Positive feedback is the reinforcement of positive actions; for instance, students who make efforts in class are praised by teachers. If this praise leads them to pay attention in class in the future, it means that the feedback has had a positive effect. The same mechanism would apply for punishment or non-reinforcement. If a student raises his/her hand in class and he/she is not called on by the teacher, they may stop raising hand, which would lead to “extinction” of response due to lack of reinforcement. Similarly, what may work for a student as positive feedback may not for another, namely, praise could be perceived as a punishment if the students does not enjoy being praised or feels self-conscious when praised; moreover, too frequent praise might lead to satiation and decreased response. There are several class applications of operant conditioning: obviously praise and punishment but also marks, rules, homework, extra free time etc.

Nonetheless, the cause-effect reasoning seems too simplistic and may not be automatic in a real situation, besides there are many other factors involved, among which students' beliefs, therefore it is not so easy to disentangle a certain reinforcement as the reason for future behaviour. Tolman (1932) pointed out the limits of reinforcement (thus of operant conditioning) by demonstrating that learning can occur in absence of a goal or of reinforcement, which he termed “latent learning”. In the same line, Weiner (1990) demonstrated that rewards influence behaviour but not necessarily learning, and learning can occur in absence of a goal or reinforcement, which is an idea that following cognitivists would embrace (see 2.2.3).

2.2.2 HUMANISTIC THEORIES

Humanistic psychologists, in contrast with Freudians and Behaviourists, stress human potential and control over one's life in a holistic view of the human being, taking into account simultaneously its behaviour, thoughts and feelings. Individuals would strive to pursue self-realization, or in Rogers's (1959) words “self-actualization”. The author believes that

motivation is the continuous process of personal growing and goal achievement, which is innate in everyone. Rogers maintains that people have a natural disposition to learning (“actualizing tendency”) as long as the learning is relevant and meaningful, in particular it must involve the person as a whole (beliefs and feelings), be self-initiated (not imposed on by others), pervasive (affecting behaviour, attitude and personality) and finally evaluated by the learner as meeting their needs.

In this growth, the human being becomes more independent of and free from external influences. However, the interaction with the environment is also important to give rise to our “self-experiences”. In a class, the teacher becomes a facilitator of resources rather than an authoritative person limited to imparting the lesson, and they are also in charge of creating a climate promoting “positive regard” (feelings of respect, sympathy, acceptance and so on). In this view, motivation is the attempt to be creative and to exploit one's potential and skills to the maximum (Pintrich & Schunk 2002).

The other main advocate of Humanistic Theories in motivation, Maslow (1954), is often referenced to for his attempt to build a hierarchical taxonomy of needs, which would motivate actions. The bottom of the pyramid is occupied by lower level needs such as purely physiological ones, followed by safety needs, needs of belongingness and love, esteem and finally the highest level is represented by self-actualization needs. The main feature of this hierarchy is that lower level needs must be satisfied in order for higher level needs to be dealt with. In this pyramid of needs, motivation is explained as the wish to fulfil a higher level of needs when the lower level is satisfied.

Chronologically there is a similar hierarchical relation between needs, in that an infant's action will be motivated by its need for survival (they cry when they need to be fed), up to self-realization needs which would be addressed just from adolescence on, when the previous needs are covered. One would start being concerned with one's personality growth from an age when physiological and safety needs have been assured since infancy, and belongingness and esteem have already been catered for in later childhood. Intuitively the latest assumption should be qualified, as many adults do have to deal with lack of belongingness and self-esteem, so we should say that although these needs are preponderant in childhood, they may still be present in adulthood. Another concern expressed by the author in this case is that explaining a behaviour as the need for this behaviour might be tautological. For instance, explaining an aggressive behaviour as the need to be aggressive and saying that an aggressive

urge will be channelled in aggressive behaviour is a circular reasoning, providing little explanation of what motivates behaviour. Nonetheless, Maslow's ideas have inspired social cognitivists for the elaboration of goal theories.

2.2.3 COGNITIVIST THEORIES

In the 70's what is known as Cognitive Revolution began, based on research on how the mind works, regarding individuals as active and rational decision-makers (Pintrich & Schunk 2002). There are several theories within this framework and they all give capital importance to individuals' beliefs about their achievement and goals, as well as their ability to control the learning process. Below I will present the main tenets and contributions of each theory to motivational studies, namely: Expectancy-value Theory, Achievement Theory, Attribution theory, Self-determination, Social cognition and Goal oriented Theory. In particular, I will point out the role of perceived self-efficacy in Expectancy-value Theory, in which the individual gauges his/her capability and assesses whether and why they should engage in a task. Subjective perception and decision-making will be present in Achievement Theory, where success and failure are processed subjectively, whose perception will guide future actions. Similarly, Attribution Theory analyses the reasons why things have happened that way, in particular linked to past episodes of success and failure. Subjective decision-making and the process to attain objectives will be shown as a key point in Self Determination and Goal Theories. Let us now analyse each of them from a general pedagogic point of view, so as to set the basis for their application to SLA (2.3).

2.2.3.1 EXPECTANCY-VALUE THEORY

Although Tolman (1932) still belonged to the behaviourist period, he started to use cognitive concepts such as expectations and values, that is why he marked the shift from Hull's mechanistic drive model to a more a cognitive notion of motivation. As individuals were believed to be active learners responsible for their decisions, what motivates behaviour (whether it was needs, drives etc.) becomes less important for Cognitivists, in favour of focusing on how decisions are made, for which goal and in which direction efforts are channelled.

This model is composed of two parts: Expectancy and Value.

- Expectancy includes one's beliefs and judgements about one's capabilities to succeed. It answers the question “Can I do the task?”.

- Value is about the reason why students might engage in a task, answering the question “Do I want to do the task? Why?”.

The term “value” was introduced by Lewin et al. (1944) to describe the importance of an object to satisfy our needs. For instance when we are hungry, food will acquire higher value than furniture. Value depends on the intensity of the need, it is not an intrinsic property. In the learning context, a task does not have any inherent value itself, but its success depends on whether students are eager for and in need of learning, which is when they will value a task positively, i.e. they will recognise its value (Pintrich & Schunk 2002). Value and goals are related in the sense that the same mark could be considered as a great achievement by some students whose goal was that mark and a disappointment by others who expected a higher grade.

Another concept related to value and expectancy is “level of aspiration” defined as “the goal or standard that individuals set for themselves in a task based on past experience and familiarity with the task” (Pintrich & Schunk 2002: 55). The experiment associated with it is ringtoss game, where participants were asked to set a goal for themselves of how many rings they would throw into pegs situated at different distances from them, after being given the chance of becoming more familiar with the game. Expectancy was given by the probability of success of a toss and value by the distance from the peg (the farther the more valued). This experiment served as springboard for future studies in expectancy and value. For instance, Weiner (1992) found that his subjects felt more successful if they got closer to the goal they had set for themselves, no matter if it was a high or low goal. At the same time they were influenced by the group in setting goals in a sort of peer comparison. Another finding was that previous experience and success would also influence how high we play our stakes. This theory stresses the importance of achievable goal-setting for the sake of the learner’s perceived ability and self-satisfaction.

2.2.3.2 ACHIEVEMENT THEORY

Atkinson (1957, 1964) is the main theorist of this model that claims that human beings have a need for mastering things, improving themselves, competing with others and

overcoming obstacles. Atkinson built on expectancy and value theories, defining achievement as “the result of an emotional conflict between striving for success and avoiding failure” (Covington 2000: 173). The first is linked to optimism in one's skills and the pride in performing well and the second may lead to feelings of shame when failure takes place.

Considering Atkinson's two kinds of motives (to seek success and to avoid failure), Covington (1992) came up with a two-by-two quadripolar matrix and identified four types of students: success-oriented, failure avoiders, failure acceptors and overstrivers, as shown in the table below, taken from Covington & Roberts (1994: 160).

Figure 2.1 Quadripolar model of need for achievement

		Motives to approach success	
		<i>low</i>	<i>high</i>
Motives to avoid failure	<i>low</i>	Failure acceptors	Success-oriented
	<i>high</i>	Failure avoiders	Overstrivers

Failure acceptors are low in both motives. They are either indifferent to or even resistant to achievement and its associated values and are not bothered by the possibility of failure. **Success-oriented** students strive for success and are low in failure avoidance; so they will get involved in achievement tasks and will not be anxious about the outcome. A **failure avoider**, low in success motive and high in failure-avoidance, will be very anxious about the outcome and avoid failure through delaying tasks and other strategies. Finally, **Overstrivers** are both high in approach to success and in fear of failure. They work hard and generally do well but might feel very anxious about their performance in terms of marks, errors and teacher's opinion (Covington 2000).

As well as classifying students according to their attitude to achievement, another contribution of this theory to the present-day debate on motivation is the finding that motivation is highest at intermediate levels of task difficulty, so as to avoid both frustration and enhance success-strive at the same time. Flow theory illustrates quite clearly that a right balance between challenge and skills is the desirable combination in order to learn effectively (Csikszentmihalyi 1990). A task should be neither too challenging nor too easy. If challenges exceed skills (the ability of students to get about the task), a learner might experience anxiety,

whereas if skills exceed challenges, when the task is too easy, boredom may arise. Atkinson's shift of paradigm focusing on cognition and beliefs leads the way to contemporary cognitive studies, which will be explored in the following sections.

2.2.3.3 ATTRIBUTION THEORY

First postulated by Weiner (1974) and further expounded by Dörnyei (2003), it is a cognitive theory in which learners are seen as human beings able to make choices and think consciously. They are motivated by the fundamental need/goal of understanding the environment and themselves; in this way they adapt themselves to the environment and are able to learn from it. It is summarizable in the metaphor of naive scientists who ask themselves “why” something has happened, or in other words, who seek the causal determinants of their own and other people's behaviour. Ellis defines attributions as “explanations learners give for their progress” (2008: 684).

The core of the model is the perceived causes for something to happen, or “attributions”, which could be influenced by prior environmental or personal factors. An individual “attributes” to these factors the explanation for something that has happened. Among the personal factors we can find the person's previous schemas and beliefs, derived from previous experiences. In the learning context, if a student has had previous negative experiences, which produced a certain belief in one's poor skills or in external causes, this belief will influence how they accept their own mistakes or failure. Environmental factors include information such as teacher's comments or social context in general (Pintrich & Schunk 2002).

According to this theory, it is more important how individuals construct reality than reality itself, since this construction (the perceived causes) will lead to consequences, which do not necessarily follow from true, actual causes. For instance, if a student thinks that he/she failed because of his/her poor skills, this cause will lead to a psychological consequence (shame) and a behavioural one (decrease in effort or even dropping out of the course); however the real cause could be a different one, perhaps a lack of adequate preparation for that particular exam or the high level of complexity of the test itself, which would require a different course of actions to overcome the problem.

The three dimensions implicitly activated when a person has generated the attribution, thus determining its psychological force, are: stability, locus and control. Causes could be **stable** or unstable, depending on the persistence through time, for example aptitude is a stable cause whereas effort is more unstable, thus changeable. They may have internal or external **focus**, depending on whether they are attributed to one's merit/fault or to external circumstances, with a bearing on self-esteem: when we think that something positive has happened because of us (internal) we feel proud, otherwise, if it just depends on luck, we will feel less fulfilled. Finally, causes can be **controllable** or not, relating to social factors like shame and guilt: if something is under our control and we fail, we feel guilty, whereas if it is uncontrollable we feel ashamed. Among the three factors, stability has received more empirical consistency, so that Weiner (1986) proposed a general expectancy principle linked to stability: attribution to a stable cause will increase the expectancy that the event will occur again, otherwise, attribution to an unstable cause will decrease this expectancy.

Attribution is also linked to the need for achievement. If a student has high need for achievement they will feel responsible both for their success and for their failure. On the contrary, a student with low need for achievement thinks that success is something non-controllable and depends on external factors, so they will attribute failure to their own lack of skills, at the same time they will attribute success to something external like luck, time or task complexity (Madrid 1999).

2.2.3.4 SELF-DETERMINATION THEORY

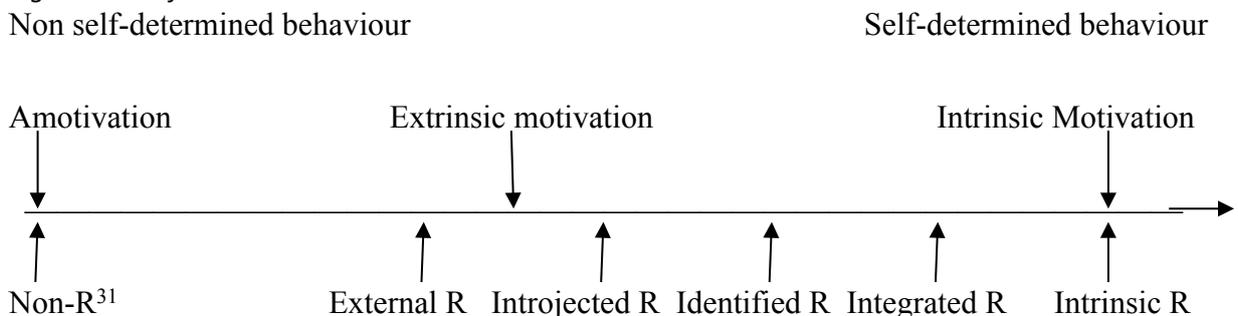
Self-determination is one of the most common conceptualizations of motivation, first introduced by Deci & Ryan (1985, 2002) as the ability to determine one's own learning goals, to choose one's own ways of pursuing them and then to evaluate the progress made. It is based on **Self-regulation**, which consists of a set of self-management skills which come into action whenever learning conditions become adverse. Control should be applied by learners on their commitment to the task, on their metacognitive processes, against satiation -meant as sense of tiredness that may block action- and negative emotions, besides possible environmental sources of distraction and annoyance. These mechanisms will shape motivation. For instance, if one can play down negative influences and focus on controllable aspects, the result will be a proactive involvement in the task being carried out, with benefits for acquisition. The authors imply that when a learner lacks self-regulation, he/she will be demotivated, whereas if

this regulation is strong there will be intrinsic motivation. The more internalized and integrated the regulation, the more autonomy and confidence the learner will rely on. As Ellis (2008) points out, when learners become self-directed and are involved in decision-making, their motivation increases, thus, their outcome is also bound to benefit.

In the classical model (deCharms 1968) two fundamental kinds of motivation are distinguished: intrinsic and extrinsic. **Intrinsic** motivation refers to behaviour that is determined by one's personal desire to do something, out of interest and inherent satisfaction with the task. **Extrinsic** motivation refers to behaviour that is driven by exterior pressures or duties, in order to obtain rewards or avoid punishment. Intrinsic motivation particularly emphasizes learner's autonomy, a stance which will gain numerous followers and supporters in applied linguistics. In fact, Noels (2001a) reports that an autonomy-supporting teacher was preferred to a controlling one, as the former would enhance students' intrinsic motivation in terms of perceived competence.

The recent formulation (Deci & Ryan 2002) of the classic distinction hinges on **Organismic Integration Theory**, which states that if people are encouraged by someone significant to carry out an activity initially not intrinsically motivating for them, then they will end up internalizing the activity and integrating its value with the self. Motivation spans a continuum on which the more fully regulation is internalized, the more integrated it becomes with the self and will produce self-determined behaviour. The continuum ranges from non-regulation (representing amotivation) to intrinsic regulation (corresponding to intrinsic motivation), going through stages of extrinsic motivation called: external, introjected, identified and integrated regulation. See Fig 2.2 below (Deci & Ryan 2002: 55).

Figure.2.2 Self-determination continuum



³¹ R stands for Regulation.

In cases of **non-regulation** (or **amotivation**), people do not act, or do so without really wanting to. They will not trust their strategies and capability to achieve a goal or they will think that the task is too difficult for them. They will experience lack of control over the relation effort-result and will not value the task. In this case there is a lot of work to be done in terms of empowerment, goal-setting and explaining why and for what purpose the learner should carry out a task.

External regulation corresponds to the classic extrinsic motivation and is the least autonomous type because one behaves only to satisfy an external demand or to obtain a reward. An example would be a young learner who studies in order to avoid being punished by their parents or an adult being forced by their boss to take up a course. This motivation involves third parties by whom the individual feels to be controlled, so that their self-confidence will diminish.

Introjected regulation is partially internalized but not completely made part of one's self. It takes place when one feels pressure to do something (namely, studying) in order to avoid the sense of guilt or shame and to increase self worth, which demonstrates the controlling component of introjection.

Identified regulation is the process through which a person recognizes and accepts the implicit value of a behaviour, which becomes personally important to them, so that they freely choose to behave like that, although they may not find pleasure in it or it might be different from other personal values. It is normally associated with high autonomy because the person is ready to do things for their own good and they are able to overcome failure.

Integrated regulation is the most autonomous form of extrinsic motivation on the continuum. It occurs when identification has been integrated in one's self because it has become congruous with other personal values and goals. Although it shares some characteristics with intrinsic motivation since actions are executed volitionally, it is still considered extrinsic because of its instrumental value: the activity is not carried out for the sake of its inherent enjoyment but in order to obtain a goal which is external to and different from accomplishing the activity itself.

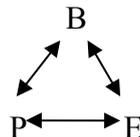
Applying these interesting categories to the population of our study, EOI students, a layperson may tend to think that just for the non-compulsory nature of this school and the adult age of its students, all learners are intrinsically motivated. In fact, while introjected

regulation cases are rare (maybe some teenagers), I would personally classify most students as falling into the categories of identified and integrated regulation. On the one hand, it is generally true that they enrol as a free choice because they accept the value of acquiring English as a second language, but many times they do lack learning autonomy and might not enjoy the classes or get entirely involved. The drama proposal of this thesis is meant, among other things, to stimulate complete engagement and work on the self as to integrate the value and enjoyment of learning a foreign language within the learner's experience.

2.2.3.5 SOCIAL COGNITIVE THEORY

The main influences on Social Cognitive theory are “latent learning” (see 2.2.1) and Rotter's (1954) “social learning”. The latter claimed that motivation is the interplay between the individual and his/her environment, according more importance to socially learnt behaviour (through a third person) than to biologically-based factors. The key ideas of Social Cognitive theory are context and interaction, as we learn through interaction and observation of others. Unlike Behaviourists, social learning psychologists believe that cognition and social models do play a role in learning. In fact, the theory lies on a triad of reciprocal personal (P) – environmental (E) - behavioural (B) factors.

Figure 2.3 Triad of interplaying factors in Social Cognitive theory



A classical example of the influence of the environment is the “Pygmalion effect” purported by Rosenthal & Jacobson (1968 in Madrid 1999): when a student is said to have poor academic results, being either true or false, the teacher will be influenced by this information and probably grade this student more negatively. Vice versa, another student considered a high achiever will receive positive assessment either they deserve it or not.

Bandura expanded Rotter's theory by including self-efficacy and self-regulation (see 2.2.3.4 above), enactive and vicarious learning and separating learning from performance. The idea of motivation that stems from Social cognition theory encompasses these conceptualizations, as will be explained below.

Self-efficacy is an individual's perceived capability to perform a task. It affects choice, effort and persistence. Indeed, a low self-efficacy person will tend to avoid a task whereas a high self-efficacy one will engage in it and persist even in case of experiencing difficulties. It somehow overlaps with self-concept, except for the fact that self-efficacy is more situational and task-specific: it may refer to one's belief to be able to deal with a specific topic, or on a certain day, in a certain mood, therefore accounts for more contextual and fluctuating variables.

When self-efficacy is overestimated and an individual engages in a task that is far beyond their actual capability, they may end up experiencing needless failure, thus debilitating their self-efficacy. On the other hand, if self-efficacy is underestimated, unnecessary anxiety and continuous doubts may be experienced, leading a person to easily quit a task, thus, again, debilitating their self-efficacy (Bandura 1986, 1993).

Self-regulation, according to Bandura, depends on the degree of choice and autonomy students have to tackle a task, as opposed to other-regulation when the task is strictly set for them. It is about how they control their motivation, cognition and behaviour with skills like time management, learning strategies, self-observation and so on.

Finally, learning is both **enactive** and **vicarious**. In the first case we learn by doing, but in case we do not have the chance to perform a task ourselves we also learn by observing a model, being it human like a teacher or non-human like a printed or electronical source.

Motivation in this theory takes place when a person attends to behaviour that they value because they think it will prove useful and believe will have positive consequences. Learning and performance are thus separated in this theory as we may acquire knowledge that we do not use until we find the appropriate moment when we are motivated to do so. What students learn may be put into practice or not, according to whether the individual feels that their skills are suitable for managing a situation and that the consequences will be positive. In the case of language, before they perceive the need for real communication in the foreign language, they will not be motivated to use the structures and vocabulary they have learnt.

2.2.3.6 GOAL ORIENTATION THEORY

The layperson's definition of goals is what every individual strives to pursue in their life. At school, one often hears that every student is unique and should be treated accordingly. Depending on their age, personality, social circumstances and so on, they might be seeking approval, competition or even other external goals such as looking for a job, entering university or socializing.

We may distinguish goal content and goal orientation theories, the former providing an account of possible goals for human behaviour in general, the latter focusing on how these goals get a person to engage in achievement behaviour.

As for goal content, Ford (1992) put forward a taxonomy of 24 goal clusters, with the groundbreaking notion that one may be willing to attain multiple goals simultaneously, therefore a hierarchy of priorities should be established between main goals and subgoals intended to reach the main goal. These multiple goals may be in conflict, for example wanting a high grade and at the same time preferring to spend one's time with friends. However, the multiple goals may as well be aligned and in this case create a synergistic effect. For instance, a student who wants a high mark and at the same time seeks recognition from parents and teachers will work harder towards the aim (Wentzel 2000). Social and academic goals are a case in point in school settings: for some students getting good results could be a way to be popular and make friends, for others the two objectives could be incompatible, if their peers do not value academic achievement (Wentzel 2000).

After Ford, goal theories have been one of the most active fields of research as they are the most directly applicable to classroom and students' motivation. Goal orientation theory (Dweck 1991, Ames 1992) focuses on the reasons and purposes for doing a task (goals proper) but also the evaluation of the performance. The peculiar contribution to achievement motivational studies is the distinction between mastery and performance goal orientation, mirroring somehow intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, but giving a more situational, context-dependent interpretation.

Mastery goal orientation focuses on learning itself, when a student engages in a task because he/she wants to master the subject matter, developing and improving their skills and at the same time, on the avoidance side, they try to avoid misunderstanding of the task or making mistakes. In contrast, **performance** goal orientation focuses on demonstrating one's

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

ability in search of public recognition, with a thrust for competition and at the same time trying to avoid low-ability judgements in comparison with the others.

2.3 MOTIVATION THEORIES IN SLA

The above mentioned theories constitute a solid framework to understand the motivational processes that are enacted when approaching learning. Let us narrow down the scope to motivation in the field of SLA, to try and get some insights of what processes the population of this study go through. Following Dörnyei (2005) we will divide the bulk of research on this topic into three periods, whose contributions will be outlined in the following section:

- 1) Social psychological period (1959-1990)
- 2) Cognitive-situated period (1990's)
- 3) Process-oriented period (2000's)

2.3.1 THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PERIOD

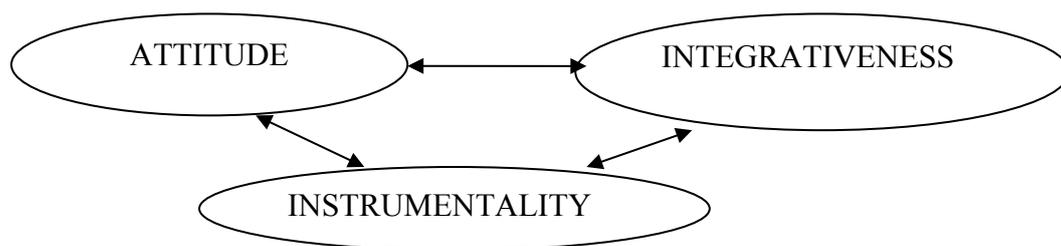
The pioneers of motivation studies in SLA, Gardner and Lambert, analysed a bilingual setting such as Canada, aiming to work for mutual understanding between the two major speech communities, thus fostering intercultural communication through L2 as a mediating tool. Indeed, they even received strong support from the Canadian government (Dörnyei 2003). Although our own setting is quite different (English as a foreign language), these studies provide precious information that have set the basis of motivational studies independently of the context.

Their first theorization, the **socio-educational model**, dates back to 1959 when the above mentioned scholars postulated that a positive attitude towards the L2 community positively correlates to achievement in L2 learning. They called this disposition “*integrative motivation*”, along with a different kind of motivation defined as “*instrumental*”, which had to do with the pragmatic benefits that could be drawn from acquiring a new language. In such a bilingual context, integrative motivation was found to be more powerful than instrumental motivation, whereas in FL settings -where there may be little or no contact with and interest in the L2 culture- the opposite was demonstrated to be true (Ellis 2008).

The **integrative motivation** model became very popular and remained predominant for decades, in spite of its terminological ambiguity: the words “integrative” and “motivation” appeared more than once at different levels of definition, which led to misinterpretation. It also turned out that integrative motivation was of little application to foreign language (FL) contexts, therefore its effect on achievement should be seen more cautiously as indirect rather than direct, as triggering classroom behaviours which would eventually enhance learning. An opposite correlation was even found by Oller & Perkins (1978): negative feelings towards L2 speakers may lead in some cases to a desire to outperform them through a mechanism labelled “Machiavellian motivation”.

Gardner's (2006) socio-educational model is hinged on the systemic view of motivation. In this model three interconnected constructs affect motivation: a general recipient called “attitude to the linguistic situation”, plus integrativeness and instrumentality. The last two were retrieved from previous theories but enlarged in scope; especially intergrativeness, which had come in for criticism, was tweaked so as to include a general openness to the international English-speaking community, particularly relevant in FL settings. Motivation in turn would contribute to language achievement along with ability, which would be more significant in formal settings such as a classroom, rather than in other informal ones where motivation would have a heavier weight. Finally anxiety stands in a biunivocal relationship with language achievement.

Figure 2.4 Interplaying constructs in Gardner's (2006) Socio-educational model



2.3.2 THE COGNITIVE PERIOD

The cognitive revolution mentioned in section 2.2.3 provided a new framework for L2 motivation studies, as well as a more fine-tuned, situated analysis, as opposed to the macro perspective of socio-psychological research. The studies in this period take into consideration concrete aspects of the teaching-learning process such as teacher's role and beliefs, the curriculum, the group in terms of class atmosphere and cohesion, methodology, assessment and so on. These elements are deemed so relevant that they may override general (positive or negative) attitude towards the language, as demonstrated by two interesting studies: Nikolov (2001) found out that her Hungarian participants' positive attitude towards English was overridden by their negative attitude towards more specific aspects such as previous methodology and assessment issues. Likewise but conversely, Israeli students studying Arabic were more motivated by the quality of teaching than by the overall (negative) attitude towards the L2 and its community (Donitsa-Schmidt et al. 2004). Let us now delve into three of these cognitive theories in motivational SLA: Self-Determination, Attribution and Task Motivation, which clearly hinge on the previously mentioned models (2.2.3).

2.3.2.1 SELF-DETERMINATION THEORY

Self-determination theory has been very influential in the L2 field: the need for autonomous goal-setting and effort-regulation applies to L2 as it does to general learning, as previously described (2.2.3.4). Additionally, Noels (2001b) demonstrated a correlation, firstly, between Gardner's integrative orientation and self-determined forms of motivation (identified regulation), and, secondly, between instrumental motivation and external regulation. This means that when students have a positive attitude towards the language and its community (integrative), they work more autonomously. On the other hand, if they study just in order to pass an exam or to have an additional asset in the work market (instrumental), they may depend on external sources to study. As for the role of teachers, the same author found that the more controlling a teacher was felt by students, the less they were intrinsically motivated. On the other end of the continuum, a teacher who would fail to give support and feedback was also correlated to low intrinsic motivation. A student should feel autonomous but not completely left on his/her own, as perceived autonomy would instead lead to higher intrinsic motivation.

2.3.2.2 ATTRIBUTION THEORY

An individual's interpretation of why past success or failure have occurred may influence future achievement and willingness to initiate future actions, as previously argued in section 2.2.3. Studies in SLA have analysed the role of past academic experiences, in particular failure, which seems to be such a common experience within L2 learners around the world (Dörnyei 2001). Because many people have experienced failure in their first steps in L2, as adults they should overcome these negative memories in order to improve their disposition to learning, attaching to the bad results other reasons and explanations, such as insufficient effort or unsuitable learning strategies.

Dörnyei (2001) makes a distinction between **debilitating** and **constructive** attributions: in the first case, learners ascribe the reasons for failure to one's lack of ability, which is a non-changeable factor (2.2.3.3). This kind of attribution affects future behaviour in a more serious way than if failure is interpreted in a constructive way, i.e. by ascribing it to insufficient effort, a more changeable variable that can be easily worked on in the near future. According to Ellis, (2008), these feelings are especially powerful in FL settings (as in this study); it is probably due to the fact that these learners have little chance to actually engage in real language use outside the class, so they base their feelings towards the L2 on their academic results.

2.3.2.3 TASK MOTIVATION THEORY

Tasks analysis offers a perfect ground for the situated approach in L2 motivation, as these units (the tasks) constitute discrete segments capable of providing more contextual information than any other macro settings. Unfortunately, Dörnyei (2005) points out that in spite of this potential interest, there has been scarce research from this perspective.

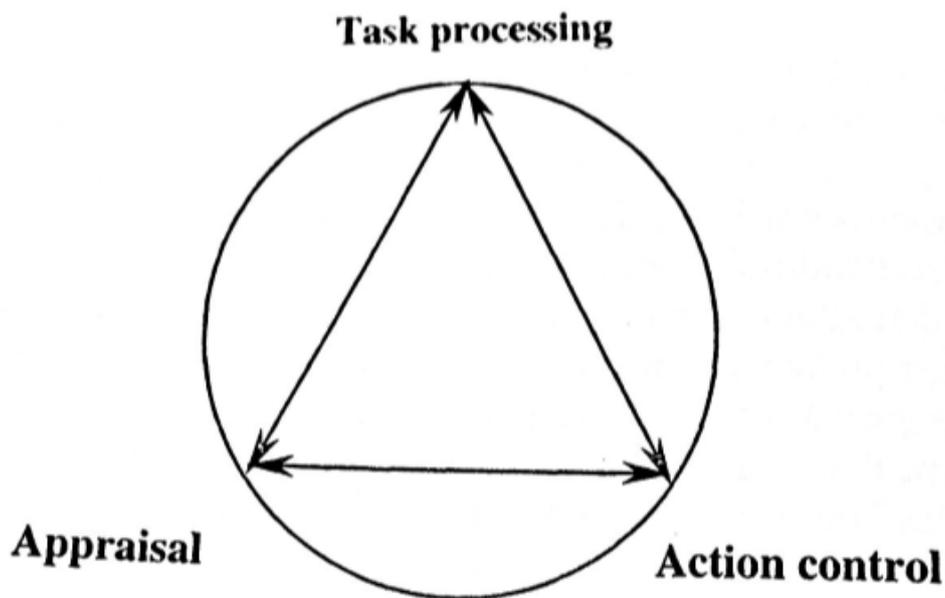
The author noticed that despite analysing a specific task, we cannot omit other contextual variables and their interferences. He proposes a “dynamic task processing system” (p. 81) that shows the interplay of three main mechanisms (see Fig. 2.5):

- 1) Task execution
- 2) Appraisal

3) Action control

Execution refers to student's engagement in a task, following a guiding plan. Appraisal is the process through which learners compare actual and predicted performance and evaluate how they are getting on with the task, whether they progress or maybe halt for some reason; in that case Action control would be in charge of saving, enhancing or scaffolding the action. It follows that when learners are engaged in executing a task they continuously appraise the process, and the action control system saves and enhances the action when the ongoing monitoring reveals slowing or halting in the progress.

Figure 2.5 The three mechanisms making up the Task-Processing System in Dörnyei (2005: 81)



The popular theory of Flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1990, see 2.2.3.2) provides a good insight of what makes a task successful: if the engagement is complete (Execution), we might even not realise that time goes by because we would be completely absorbed in what we are doing.

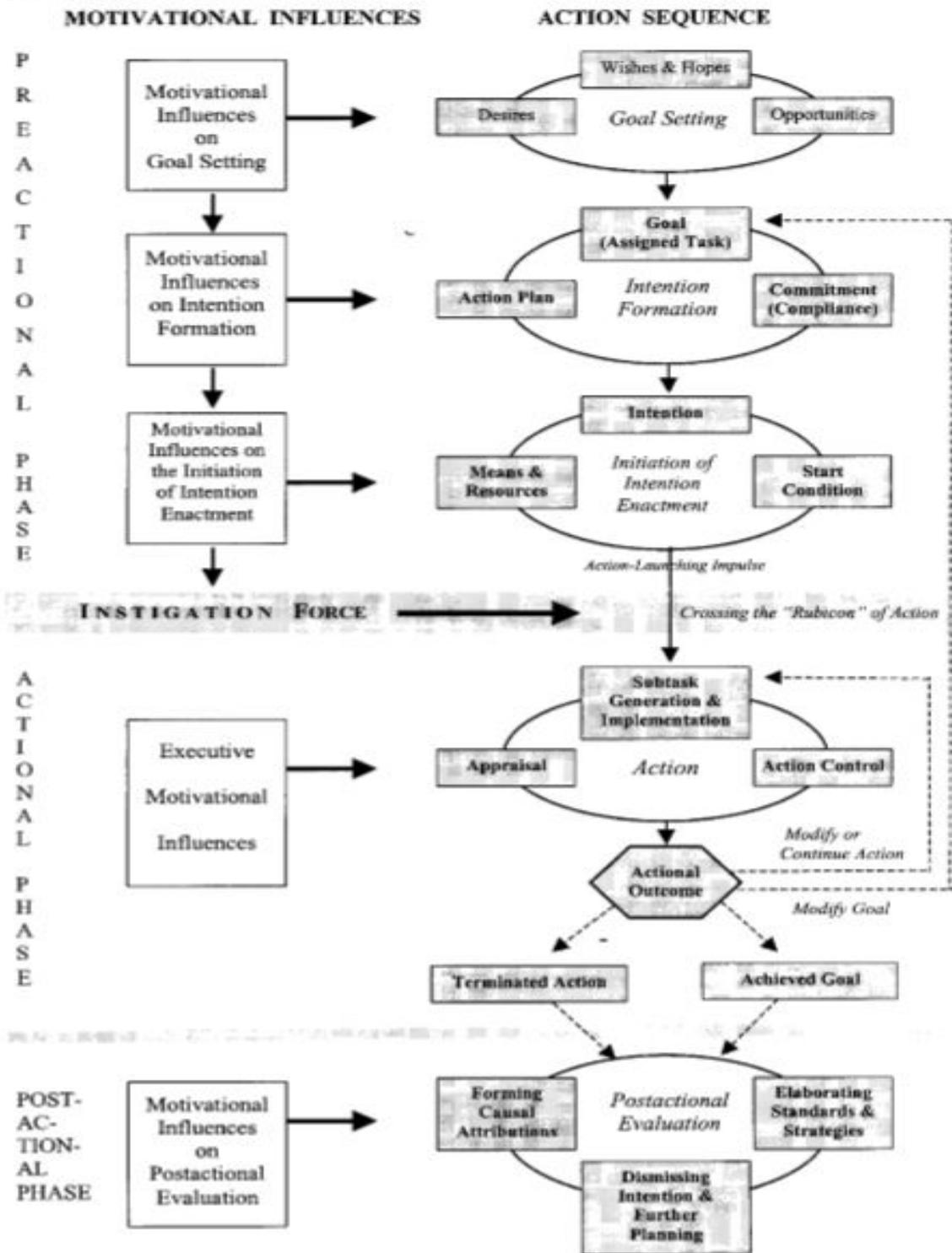
2.3.3 THE PROCESS-ORIENTED PERIOD

The task approach gave rise to the Process-oriented Period. In this section, two interesting models of process-oriented systems will be described: Dörnyei & Ottó's (1998) **Process Model of L2 motivation** and Kormos et al.'s (2011) **Hierarchically Ordered Model of motivation**. These two models stem from the cognitive-situated period observation that motivation is basically a dynamic process affected by temporal variation. Indeed, for such a lengthy process as mastering an L2, motivation is bound to go through ups and downs throughout time.

This continuous fluctuation is captured by Dörnyei & Ottó's (1998: 48) *Process Model of L2 motivation*. It describes how initial wishes are transformed into goals, which become more concrete intentions and are then enacted in the pursuit of the goal. This process is divided into three main stages, on account of the dynamic nature of the process: **Preactional**, **Actional** and **Postactional**. In the **Preactional** stage a choice is made to initiate a task. One may be driven to pursue a learning objective by values associated with the learning experience and with the L2, such as beliefs about the importance of the language or the benefits of learning in general. At the same time, other factors may play a role in decision-making: expectancy of success, attributions, and environmental support or hindrance. In the **Actional** stage the action plan is implemented and continuously appraised by comparison between actual events and predictions. This stage is when motivation must be sustained and protected by other factors, such as quality of the learning experience, autonomy, teachers' and classmates' influence and self-regulatory strategies. The **Postactional** stage occurs after a goal has been attained, or an action completed or else during long pauses (e.g. holidays), i.e. it is not simultaneous to action, unlike the appraisal component of the Actional stage. At this time the learner is engaged in retrospection to evaluate how things have gone from a broader perspective, so attributional factors come into play as well as self-worth beliefs and received feedback (praise, grades etc...).

Figure 2.6 Dörnyei & Ottó's (1998: 48) Process model of L2 motivation

Figure 1. Schematic representation of Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) process model of student motivation



During this process, a number of “motivational transforming episodes” (Dörnyei 2005: 88) take place, which are events in students' lives that may dramatically change their motivational disposition, for instance a growing interest with maturation, standstill points,

internalizing external goals, certain encounters, relationships or experiences abroad. All these life events might be so significant as to have a bearing on L2 learning, demonstrating how dynamic motivation is as a system.

The most remarkable potential of this model, according to its authors, is that it could constitute a potential interface between SLA and social psychology, very often disconnected from each other, in detriment of motivation studies. In my view, Dörnyei & Ottó's attempt to take into account the different phases of the flux is praiseworthy because it encompasses previous models which only covered a portion of the process. For instance, Attribution theories are reflected in the Preactional stage, when past experiences are evaluated in order to decide on the actions to take; in this phase specific goals are also set, in line with the tenet of Goal theories. The Actional stage reminds us of Task execution in Task theories and Self-determination, while Self-regulatory and Self-appraisal components of the above mentioned theories are both embraced in the third stage. Important resemblances may also be found with the three stages of Task motivation theory, except for the inclusion of a Preactional phase, which makes the Process-oriented model more complete. Furthermore, this model tackles the whole process, rather than a small unit (the task).

A further elaboration of the model, the Hierarchically Ordered Model of motivation, is provided by Kormos et al. (2011), based on Dörnyei's (2005) Self-system with the addition of goals, social context factors and, above all, an intersection between the constituents placed in hierarchical order. The authors decided to set this study in Chile because South America had been an unexplored scenario in this field. At the same time it provided an interesting setting, as Spanish is an international L1 and quite widespread in the continent, unlike previous studies carried out in Hungary with a minority language as students' L1, or in different socio-cultural settings like Asia. The respondents' age spanned adolescence and early adulthood with three groups of students respectively at high school, university and young working adults at private language academies, which would allow age comparison; their language level was quite varied too, ranging from beginner to advanced.

The factors analysed were the same as in previously mentioned theories, namely: motivated behaviour (effort and persistence), self-guides (L2 self, ought-to L2 self and Self-efficacy beliefs), attitudes to L2 learning, goals ("knowledge orientation" or motivation to be a better educated and knowledgeable person who gains information through English, a kind of instrumental motivation, and "international posture" or the view of English as a lingua franca

in order to communicate with other people around the world, a kind of integrative motivation), milieu (in this case parental encouragement) and finally the instructional setting (the place where the classes took place and its organizational features).

Figure 2.7 Kormos' et al. (2011: 511) hierchically ordered model of motivation



The results showed the interaction between these factors and their reciprocal influence. For instance, the influence of L2 self on motivated behaviour is very strong especially for high school and university students, which reveals that future goals of becoming a proficient English speaker have been translated into proximal goals, with direct bearing on effort and persistence. Then, attitude to L2 learning, namely the enjoyment of the language experience itself, has strong influence on motivated behaviour and on L2 self.

Regarding milieu and ought-to self, it is interesting to notice the difference between this setting and Japanese or Chinese studies. In Chile (as well as in Hungary) no link has been found between Ought-to self and motivated behaviour, which means that external regulators (parents) do not have a direct influence on actual effort, because external values must be internalized in the L2 self in order to be effective on students' performance. Internalization is progressive in parallel with students' maturation. In fact, Ought-to and Ideal L2 selves are unrelated for teenagers and become linked in older students, showing that external values become more and more part of a student's set of beliefs (see Self-Determination). Whereas for Asian students the Ought-to self does have a direct impact on motivated behaviour, that is, the way a student feels he/she should be will drive their effort and persistence. Another remarkable difference is that milieu in Asian contexts comprises other socio-educational

factors apart from parents, such as pressure for educational requirements (exams) and competition with peers, unlike for Chilean students, which seems to coincide with parental encouragement. This kind of pressure in academic settings in some Asian country is not surprising, as elsewhere documented (Littlewood 2001); on the other hand, it is at least striking that there seems to be so little exam pressure over Western students.

An age-related difference concerning parental encouragement has been found for university students, whose L2 attitudes seem to be influenced by their living at home and belonging to high socio-economic families who value education and transmit their beliefs to their children. Younger students, who also live at home, might be less influenced just because of their stage of life in which they are asserting their identity and independence from their parents; finally young adults are actually living independently, thus they are less influenceable.

As for goals, international posture turned out to be the most important goal for this sample, like in Hungary, which is particularly telling: “regardless of the ethnolinguistic vitality of their L1” (510), EFL students value English as the international language in order to take part in a “borderless and globalized cultural environment” (510). It could be assumed that in Spain the motivation answers might be similar, i.e. that in spite of having a widespread L1, students do not fail to be interested in pertaining to a globalized English speaking community.

In conclusion, in this model learners are situated in a self-system of interacting social, psychological, cultural and instructional constructs, which accounts for as many variables as possible in order to understand the ebbs and flows of their motivation and all possible internal and external factors that may come into play. It seems quite a useful model inasmuch as it includes a wide array of interacting variables, thus providing a comprehensive picture of the motivational phenomenon.

2.4 MOTIVATION AND IDENTITY

In chapter 1 it was made clear that learners must be considered as active agents in the learning process, whose identity at large should be respected and catered for. In chapter 2, their role and participation in the different stages of the process have been presented through several motivational theories. In this section the connection between motivation and identity will be explored by delving more into motivational theories that take the self as a start and by introducing related concepts like Willingness to communicate.

The recent reformulation of motivation put forward by Dörnyei (2009) intersects motivation and identity studies, in line with the purpose of this thesis. I completely agree with Dörnyei's stand that learning a second language goes beyond mere communication to involve a person's identity from a whole-person perspective. For this reason, when dealing with motivation it is important to take into consideration the Self-system. To start with, in order to learn an L2, students need to develop an L2 identity: they need to think in the L2 and become an L2 speaker (Dörnyei 2001). This laconic statement does not refer to nativelikeness - debatable standard of comparison, as explained in Chapter 1- and yet it still entails a sort of identity transformation, which a learner should experience with the objective of becoming a confident speaker of English as a second language.

Without contradicting the whole body of research on L2 motivation, Dörnyei (2005) broadens the frame and takes a step further by elaborating the “**L2 motivational self-system**”, which hinges on the concept of “possible selves”: motivational self-mechanisms that represent what an individual might, would (“ideal selves”) and wouldn't (“feared selves”) like to become. Sometimes an “ideal self” is hard to separate from an “ought-to self”, which is driven by duties and obligations, because we end up interiorizing social norms to such an extent that they partly become integrated in our own self, making us finally wish to conform to a group's ideal. However, what moves motivation is the discrepancy between our ideal/ought-to self, or in other words our “self-guide”, and our actual self-concept. Motivation is seen as a person's striving to achieve what he/she would like to become; in this case, if the ideal self is associated to becoming a proficient L2 user, we are in the presence of integrative disposition. L2 speakers are the closest image we have to our ideal L2 self, so the more positive our attitude towards L2 speakers the more attractive our ideal self. At the same time our ideal L2 self may involve professional aspects, which reflect instrumental motivation. According to Markus & Nurius (1986), these selves are represented through images, thoughts, and senses that seem real to the individual, like actual visions capable of inspiring one to

overcome obstacles. The same authors signal the need to have a developed ideal self in order to be motivated.

As a system, it functions through the interaction of cognitive, emotional, social and environmental factors. Specifically learner-specific motives can be identified (such as self-confidence, self-esteem and self-regulatory control), teacher's motivational influence, curriculum and material attractiveness, among others.

Drawing from self studies, Dörnyei (2005) points out the shortcomings of the term “integrativeness” (willingness to become integrated in the target language community), then proposes to go beyond it and to refer to “identification processes”. In fact, it is necessary to reinterpret integrativeness in the light of a world global identity (see 1.3.1): several studies surveyed by the author demonstrated that an integrative motive per se was not detected, which suggests that students may not be motivated to study a language, namely English, by the wish to belong to the TL group, especially in FL settings. Therefore, integrative and instrumental motivations are revisited in this new light: an integrative disposition is seen as an ideal self associated with mastery of L2, i.e. the ideal self is an L2 user. Regarding instrumental motivation, if the ideal self encompasses having a good job, this motivation will contribute to the efforts towards this goal. In case the aim is internalized (intrinsic motivation) the effect will be on a longer term than if it is not (extrinsic motivation), belonging rather to an ought-to self than to an authentic ideal self. The ideal L2 self view turns out to be broader than integrativeness itself to account for FL situations and World Englishes.

At the crossroads between motivation and identity, we can also find **Willingness to communicate** (WTC). It is defined as a personality trait that determines one's intention to engage in a verbal interaction with a certain person, promoting or avoiding communicative situations. It is based on situated antecedents, namely previous experiences of a specific situation or with a specific person and it leads to taking on a certain communicative behaviour. Linguistic confidence, interpersonal feelings and situational climate in general affect WTC. In a way it recalls Attribution theories for its link to previous positive or negative experiences affecting present motivation.

The notion of confidence is tightly related to “self-esteem”, “self-efficacy” and “anxiety”. A healthy self-concept is essential in order to be a successful L2 learner: like the foundations of a building, if the self is not secure enough, it will be impossible to build solid

walls (Dörnyei 2001). In fact, especially in one's first steps to learn an L2, the fact of speaking in a simpler way and with constant danger of making mistakes, may undermine one's self-confidence and even lead the person to avoid talking or taking unnecessary risks.

Finally, Pavlenko (2002) from the Post-structuralist point of view signals a terminology shift which mirrors this new approach. Instead of “attitudes” she speaks about “ideologies” and instead of “motivation” she uses the term “investment”. The traditionally construed idea of motivation comes to be seen as a set of socially constituted ideologies, including investment, individual and social agency. Investment, in particular, is defined as the effort made by a learner to gain an economical and symbolic return from acquiring an L2. This latter is relevant to our discussion because it reflects the situation of many adults who devote a part of their after-work time to coming to the EOI, whose “investment” needs to be taken into account.

To conclude, some analogies between identity and motivational concepts can be traced. The post-modernist idea that identity is in constant flux (1.3) is in line with the idea that motivation is also a fluctuant process. Identity construction is expected to develop in parallel with the development of motivation throughout life. Indeed, Block's “critical experiences” (3.2) in contact with the L2 and “motivational transforming episodes” in one's life (Dörnyei 2005) both refer to how life events may and do influence a learner's trajectory and experience. Similarly, multiple identities dealt with in 1.2 resemble multiple goals that a learner may pursue at the same time. In fact, one learner may have some goals as a student, but in his/her other identities they will probably be concerned with other commitments, preoccupations and objectives.

2.5 EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Since one of the objectives of this thesis is to provide solutions to any problems that might arise in the learning process when motivation diminishes, it will be worth looking into some practical recommendations offered by motivation scholars. After conducting fieldwork with teachers, Dörnyei & Csizér (1998) elaborated a list of what they call “commandments” for language instructors in order to enact strategies that promote and sustain motivation. The result of their study is as follows:

- 1 Set a personal example with your own behaviour.
- 2 Create a pleasant, relaxed atmosphere in the classroom.
- 3 Present the tasks properly.
- 4 Develop a good relationship with the learners.
- 5 Increase the learners’ linguistic self-confidence.
- 6 Make the language classes interesting.
- 7 Promote learner’s autonomy.
- 8 Personalize the learning process.
- 9 Increase the learners’ goal-orientedness.
- 10 Familiarise learners with the target language culture.

These simple recommendations are built on the theoretical tenets dealt with so far. For instance, n. 1 echoes Conditioning theories, for the role of a model. N. 2, 4, 6 and 8 are aimed at enhancing the Value attached to the learning experience and improving future Attribution, thanks to a positive class atmosphere. N. 3 and 5 are intended to preserve learners’ perceived efficacy, thus relying on Expectancy and Achievement theories. N. 7, with its emphasis on autonomy, hinges on Self-Determination, n. 9 evidently on Goal theories, and n.10 on integrativeness.

More specifically, Dörnyei (2001) provides a practical set of advice and strategies guiding teaching, in order to assure that preactional, actional and postactional motivation are fostered, protected and enhanced. The main suggestion to enact motivation theories into suitable practical application is to adopt an “eclectic” perspective (p. 13), given that one single theory excluding the others would not turn out effective to cater for such varied microcosms as all the different classroom settings around the world. Many of the recommendations already belong to the curriculums of teacher training programmes and they

also guide textbook writers' work, yet it is worth citing some of these observations of particular interest as a reminder for language instructors.

- ✓ First and foremost, when providing instructions, make sure they are clear and simple. Modelling the task will be much more self-explanatory than explaining a set of steps in the L2.
- ✓ Create a pleasant and supportive class atmosphere, based on trust and tolerance.
- ✓ Reinforce bonds and respect among students, so that they will feel at ease and comfortable to take risks in an “anxiety-free zone”.
- ✓ Increase learners' expectancy of worth and success with feasible tasks.
- ✓ Protect learners' self-esteem and self-confidence.
- ✓ Foster goal-orientedness by defining goals, setting steps to reach them and possible difficulties, checking progress and rewarding accomplishment.
- ✓ Provide models, either oneself as a successful language learner (in case of non-native teachers) or some nearer model to their world, such a senior student.
- ✓ Promote motivational attributions.
- ✓ Provide motivational feedback.
- ✓ Humour contributes to a relaxed attitude and to not taking things “too seriously”

As can be seen, these class tips, which expand on the previous set, are imbued with motivation theories as well. After having dealt with them from a theoretical perspective, the practical suggestions acquire a more profound meaning and the theories gain in practicability. Moreover, they will inform the didactic proposals of the empirical study. In fact, while they are useful for a teacher to continuously bear in mind³², they might come across as too generic, just because of their attempt to be applicable to and suitable for as many contexts and types of teaching-learning experiences as possible. Therefore, I feel the need to come up with concrete strategies aimed at putting into practice the “commandments” and then assess whether they

³² It is so even and especially in case of experienced teachers, who might be reproducing some bad habits without realizing it.

result effective and useful. For this reason, part of the empirical work will be based on implementing and observing personally designed class activities informed by the above mentioned suggestions.

2.6 MOTIVATION IN THE SPANISH CONTEXT

The studies with Spanish learners of English are not numerous or conducive to a straightforward conclusion, yet they provide a contextualized background for the empirical part. I will examine research carried out in different contexts (high schools, universities and Official School of Languages³³) in order to gather the data available to date.

In the **high school** context, the link motivation-achievement has prompted research aimed at finding out more about students' failure and drop-out at this stage of education. Sánchez & Vargas (2013) carried out a study in southern Spain with high school students aged 15 to 17 (corresponding to 3rd year of “ESO” and 1st and 2nd year of “Bachiller” in the Spanish educational system). The results yielded quite a high level of interest in and dedication to studying English, with strong reported personal effort. However, student participation in decision-making turned out to be low in terms of curriculum and assessment (external regulation), coupled with low perception of intellectual challenge (expectancy-value). Additionally, extrinsic motivators such as praising/punishing, grades, active participation or negotiation, score quite low in the questionnaires. For this reason, students' expectations are not met, which diminish extrinsic motivation. The other conclusion that the study reaches is the lack of strong correlation between personality and motivation. Nevertheless, the perception of one being particularly extroverted, which outnumbers the answers for the question on shyness, may positively influence motivation. As for integrative-instrumental motivation, the participants responded that they are not envisaging moving abroad, so studying English is not seen at this age as a need, in spite of the current work situation in Spain. As a final remark, the authors recommend reflexive teaching, in which teachers reflect on their own methods and strategies in order to continuously improve their teaching standards.

Uribe, Gutiérrez & Madrid (2008) outline a somewhat promising scenario against a rather bleak panorama of English attitude and use in Spain. On the one hand, they report data about widespread prejudice against English, as a result of the environment or previous bad

³³ See introduction.

experiences (attributions), leading to figures as low as 3% of Spanish people mastering the language and 36% of the population alleging to be able to take part in a conversation in English (against the European average of 50%, according to studies of the European Commission in 2005 and 2006). In addition, upon accessing university, the proficiency level of the students is reportedly below acceptable (Ruiz Garrido 2007). On the other hand, their 14-17-year-old respondents showed a moderately positive attitude towards English, with 85% of the families considering the language as an important asset. Their motivation is predominantly instrumental, but because of their age the benefits are projected to the future. Nevertheless, studying English is not perceived as a primary need for these high-school students, probably due to the lack of real engagement in language interaction outside the class to serve as a stimulus. The authors' conclusion is that, being age of onset the only variable that positively affects attitudes among those analysed (marks, social class, private classes), it is advisable for pupils to start taking up a second language as early as possible.

In the **university** context, an attitude-motivation correlation test was carried out by Saravia & Bernaus (2007) which showed higher instrumental-integrative motivation within future primary teachers than within nurses and physiotherapists. Moreover, the former showed higher language-related anxiety, probably related to the importance of mastering English as a teacher. It follows that the nurses and physiotherapists in the study did not feel the need (yet) for English in their professional development, hence the low instrumental motivation. In addition the study reported higher motivation at higher levels of competence and conversely lower motivation in parallel with lower competence.

Focusing on the population in this study, adults, it is interesting to report the findings of a study carried out among learners in a different setting but with similar characteristics to the ones in the present study, before zooming in on my own target. Alcaraz Andreu (2007) conducted research involving 40- to 70+-year-old learners of Spanish as a foreign language at an Italian university as part of a long-life learning and socialization scheme operated by volunteer teachers. The motivation driving these learners resulted to be the following:

- 1) integrative-cultural (travelling to Spanish-speaking countries and socializing with people)
- 2) intrinsic-affective (interest in studying foreign languages)
- 3) cultural (reading in Spanish)

The least chosen item was related to instrumental motivation (finding or changing jobs), since most respondents were either retired or in a settled work position.

Finally, the most popular skill to work on was found to be oral production (speaking) and comprehension (listening), in line with the motivation preference expressed for communicating with native speakers when travelling. The teacher-researcher confirms that it was coherent with the effort expended in class by the students to express themselves and try to understand the teacher speaking in the foreign language. The author labels this kind of student as success-oriented (following Achievement theory) and particularly appreciating positive feedback.

The study by Pérez Paredes (1996) is the one that best addresses the main issues of this thesis in the same educational setting, the **Official School of Languages**, although the socio-economic and cultural framework of the nineties is quite different from today's scenario. This difference is particularly striking when students were asked about their instrumental motivation; only 35% answered that they needed English for professional reasons and, even more surprisingly, none of them pointed at an obligation or pressure at work to learn the language. Intuitively, these numbers are quite different from the current motivational drives, so that it will be worth exploring this variable in the empirical part of this thesis. Another remarkable result in terms of motivation is that the whole sample of students declared that they were studying English to widen their cultural horizons, in a desire of personal and intellectual development, which corresponds to Rogers' self-actualization (see Humanistic theories). These results demonstrate that intrinsic motivation was much higher than instrumental for these 35 students of 2nd and 3rd year (pre-intermediate and intermediate level). Other motivational reasons for studying English were to socialise with other people in their free time (71%), the same percentage to watch films in the original version, to travel (53%) and finally to understand song lyrics (24%).

Regarding their preferences for class activities and dynamics, most of the respondents liked pair work (88%) and 59% said they liked whole-class work. As for group work, 53% said they liked it and 24% said that they did not. The two percentages do not add up to 100% because there was a third possibility which was "not sure", yet the second one is quite telling, as one fourth of the respondents did not like a class pattern that is often resorted to in communicative language teaching. Hence, a need for explaining the benefits of such pattern seems to arise, as well as further investigating into the reasons for the students not liking it.

Identical figures put forward a similar situation for games, which may be misunderstood by some adult students as “time wasted” with not clear usefulness.

As for students' autonomy, a high percentage says they work at home, either by watching videos or engaging in other revision or consolidation activities. As high as 94% takes notes in class of what they consider relevant, which discloses an active attitude, the ability of selecting information and an effort to make the input comprehensible.

When it comes to stress, 58% reveals that listening activities are felt to be too stressful because of the speed in the recording. Even higher a percentage, 70%, admits to getting nervous in exams. Finally, when enquired about strategies, almost half of the students said they did not know how to study, and almost everyone (88%) felt this methodological inadequacy when it comes to speaking, in spite of having studied English for at least a couple of years.

If we narrow down on a particular skill, oral production, the answers are even more significant. Indeed, 94% declares that they were not satisfied with their oral proficiency. The author interprets the result as due to the high complexity of the oral tasks carried out and to the lack of communicative purpose. I would personally add the possibility of the students being perfectionists (Gregersen & Horwitz 2002) and other psychological factors which receive confirmation in the other items of the same block of questions, namely getting nervous when speaking (70%), fear of speaking (53%), the same percentage for low self-esteem (when they believe that their peers speak better than them) and self-consciousness/shyness (35%). These items reveal beliefs and feelings that damage the development of communicative skills, that is why the author puts forward a specific training in positive attitudes towards communication.

2.7 CONCLUSION

After attempting to define the complex construct of “motivation”, I have provided an overview of most of the existing theories from the educational-psychology perspective, in order to trace the evolution from Behaviourist models, which accounted for how individuals respond to the environment by observing their external behaviour, to a large number of Cognitivist theories, which turned to the brain in order to delve into the mechanisms of motivation, to finish off with Process models, which were concerned with how these mechanisms interact in a system of factors.

Afterwards, some analogies between identity and motivational concepts have been traced. The concept of “ideal self” encompasses the identity transformation a learner goes through within the framework of motivation. Learning is described as a process of identification with a self that one would like to achieve, which drives one's action towards the goal. This transformation process can be understood when identity is seen as fluctuating and multiple. A more concrete expansion of the concept is provided through the section on motivational strategies to carry out in class, followed by the results of some studies contextualized in the Spanish setting, which highlight the need to deal further with motivation in this country.

To conclude, in order to zoom in on the population of this study, of all the above mentioned theories, each of which contributes to some extent to gain a deeper understanding of their motivation mechanisms, I would like to single out a certain number of them in particular for their more direct applicability. In spite of the evident shortcomings of Behaviourism, some class practices are based on its principles and have proven to work quite well, for instance grades, rewards, feedback and reinforcement. Attributions seem to be a key point for adults who have taken on English as a second language long after discontinuing its study, or in some cases, individuals who have never attempted to study it for some reason. Goals and learning strategies of Self-determination are another area where several adult learners are still unfamiliar with, probably because they are used to the traditional grammar-translation method and they struggle to come to terms with the more communicative and task-based methodology used at EOI. Last but not least, Self-actualization seems to be one of the main drives guiding a person to enrol on an EOI course, being a non-compulsory type of language education. Self-actualization is also strongly linked with the human development side of identity, serving as an interface between motivation and identity issues.

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

3. FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY

3.1 WHAT IS FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY?

This thesis is concerned with the socio-psychological factors influencing FL learning; on one end of the continuum stands motivation, with its positive effects described above, and on the opposite end we can find anxiety, with its negative effects. Gardner, Day & MacIntyre (1992) demonstrated that motivation enhances learning and anxiety hampers it. They went on to argue that those students who were integratively motivated had low anxiety, and vice versa, those with low integrative motivation suffered from high anxiety, underlining the correlation of the two factors.

My empirical observation as an English teacher that anxiety is sometimes present in learners' experience has been backed by the literature review on this phenomenon, termed "Foreign Language Anxiety" (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope 1986). Indeed, most theories of SLA have included a reference to anxiety, in particular those that afford importance to affect and the socio-psychological side of learning; to name a few, Krashen's *Monitor Model* and *Affective Filter Hypothesis* (Krashen 1985), Schumann's *Acculturation Model* (Schumann 1986 in Pavlenko 2002), Humanistic approaches such as *Suggestopedia* (Lozanov 1978), and Gardner's *Socio-Educational Model* (Gardner & MacIntyre 1993).

In order to be fully aware of the impact, magnitude and extent of FLA, a review of the main relevant studies is in order. The first step will be to consider anxiety as an emotion; and thus, understand the changing importance of emotions along Western socio-psychological and humanistic scholarship. Secondly, I will provide a definition of general anxiety and narrow down on foreign language anxiety, then outline the history of the concept before and after the 1986 seminal study (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope 1986) up to the main studies to date. Once traced the evolution of the concept at stake, its components, causes and consequences will be described, as well as its pervasiveness in all the language skills and proficiency levels. Clarified FLA per se, it will be necessary to establish its relation with identity processes, i.e. FLA interference in learners' identity construction and representation. Finally, a survey of the pedagogical implications and suggestions to tackle FLA, with a special emphasis on drama, will pave the way to the empirical part.

3.1.1 ANXIETY AS AN EMOTION

Anxiety is composed of both an emotional and a cognitive side and in this section I will deal with the importance of the former and its link with the latter. Emotions had long been looked down on in research until the 21st century. Suffice it to think that in ancient Greek times they were regarded as a lower form of human existence as compared to rationality, up to the point that Greek Rationalists claimed that rationality could be disrupted by emotions, attaching to the latter a damaging power (Cacioppo & Gardner 1999). Nowadays we know that the ability to discern one's and others' emotions and to use this information to guide one's actions, or our Emotional Intelligence, can also be constructive and contribute to one's fulfilling (Goleman 1995). Neuroscientist Damasio (1994) demonstrated that emotions are fundamental for brain functioning and that Cartesian dualism body-mind must be overcome in favour of a reciprocal relationship between brain and emotionality; thus he points out how emotions had been neglected in theories of mind. Dewaele (2005), particularly interested in communication of emotions in multilingual contexts, thinks of cognition and affect as complementary. The author explicitly appeals to researchers in applied linguistics to accord greater importance to affect when dealing with the learning process. His words are particularly clear and emphatic: [we ought to] “get rid of the monolithic view of the prototypical faceless learner, whose identity often disappears in gross group averages” (p. 2).

Indeed, the role of emotions is enormous: even cognitive and metacognitive operations have emotional grounding, such as attention, memory, planning, hypothesis construction and other higher order processes (Damasio 1994). Furthermore, positive assessment of a stimulus encourages future approaches to similar stimulus; whereas negative emotional assessments will lead to avoidance. Emotional reactions depend on novelty, pleasantness and whether the stimulus enhances one's goals and needs, and whether it is compatible with coping mechanisms and is supportive of self and social image (Schumann 1998). Additionally, emotions make the learning experience something unique for each learner, an extremely subjective approach that some describe as “travelling to new places” and others as a “painful medic procedure” (Kramersch 2003: 116).

The advantage of studying emotions over mere cognition is pointed out by Ellis (1994), who notes that affective variables are more malleable than cognitive ones, hence their relevance and possibility to make a difference. This statement leads us to think that while we as teachers are constantly endeavouring to strengthen the cognitive capabilities of our students, it is our duty not to neglect the emotional side; in fact, whatever class practice is

carried out, it is bound to affect their emotionality, as shown by Shimbo (2008) who experimented with music, relaxation and positive messages in order to exert a positive influence on the participants. Therefore, if a teacher is not aware of this influential power, their class practices may be unintentionally detrimental. The present study is motivated by this need for awareness and deep understanding of emotions in SLA.

3.1.2 DEFINITION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY

In order to understand Foreign Language Anxiety, I first need to define the characteristics of general anxiety, and then delve into why the learning context is so unique as to render anxiety such a specific phenomenon. As far as the interdependence between general anxiety and FLA is concerned, studies stating their independence will be shown as well as those claiming a certain relationship. Likewise, studies challenging the validity itself of the concept will be presented as well as their rebuttal, which gives even more strength to the actual prominence and seriousness of the issue at stake.

As for the earliest mentions to FLA, general anxiety was first defined by Darwin (1872) in his theory of evolution as an emotional reaction aroused when an organism feels physically threatened. In the following century, Freud (1920: 343) compares it to fear, specifying that the latter is directed towards an object, whereas anxiety is “connected with a condition regardless of any objective”. Similarly, Spielberger (1976) distinguishes fear as an emotion due to a real danger in the environment, and anxiety as something whose reasons might be unknown. In spite of this, the magnitude of the emotional reaction could be disproportionate in relation to the actual danger. As pointed out by Morris, Davis & Hutchings (1981: 541), the cognitive side of general anxiety is composed of “negative expectations and cognitive concerns about oneself, the situation at hand, and possible consequences” and the emotional one relies on the “indication of the autonomic arousal and unpleasant feeling states such as nervousness and tension”. General anxiety is defined by the main theorists of FLA, Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope (1986: 125)³⁴ as a “subjective feeling of tension, apprehension, nervousness, and worry associated with an arousal of the autonomic nervous system”.

In FL contexts, this feeling is experienced as a mental block, despite the fact that the learner is not lacking motivation and ability in other circumstances (Horwitz et al. 1986). Foreign language anxiety in particular has been defined as “the worry and negative emotional

³⁴ From now on Horwitz et al. (1986).

reaction aroused when learning or using a second language” (MacIntyre 1999: 27). Interesting to notice, FLA does not normally exist upon starting a language course; instead, it is built up progressively as the learner advances in the classes (Gardner & MacIntyre 1989), which underlines once again our central role of teachers as motivators (or demotivators). With more detail, Oh (1990: 56) defined FLA as a “situation-specific anxiety [that] students experience in the classroom which is characterized by self-centred thoughts, feelings of inadequacy, fear of failure, and emotional reactions in the language classroom”.

The **independence** between FLA and general anxiety found in early influential experiments (MacIntyre & Gardner 1989) has been proven by the majority of studies, as confirmed by Dörnyei (2009), regarding the latest research. This means that an individual who suffers from anxiety in a foreign language learning contexts is not necessarily someone who is normally anxious in other contexts, which highlights the peculiar conditions of a FL class, one of the most anxiety-provoking settings (Horwitz et al. 1986). As put by MacIntyre (1999: 33), foreign or second language learning has “more potential for students to embarrass themselves, to frustrate their self-expression, and to challenge their self-esteem and sense of identity than almost any other learning activities”. However, some studies did find a relationship between general and specific anxiety, in particular between FLA and the personality trait “neuroticism”: individuals with low neuroticism also scored low in FLA and vice versa (Dewaele 2002, 2013). Therefore, the complete independence of general and trait anxiety has been called into question. Recently, Cassady (2010: 1) introduced the term *academic anxiety* as “a unifying formulation for the collection of anxieties learners experience while in schools”, which shows that it is worth singling out specific kinds of anxieties according to the context.

The **validity** and role of FLA was challenged by learning disabilities psychologists Sparks & Ganschow (1991). Their “Linguistic Coding Deficit Hypothesis” (LCDH) downplayed the affective variable, attributing to linguistic aptitude most individual differences in language achievement, by claiming that one's L2 difficulties are due to the individual's phonological coding difficulties in their L1. This theory has not been proved suitable to explain the fact that individuals have different levels of anxiety doing a task in L1 and L2 (MacIntyre & Gardner 1993). Horwitz (2000) acknowledges that, for some language learners, poor L1 skills could lead to anxiety, but she points out that anxious language learners outnumber students with first language disabilities. Moreover, even successful language learners with no L1 issues do experience FLA. Furthermore, the critical role of FLA

is supported by several examples of studies which found a significant negative relation between FLA and achievement; thus, the LCDH is not completely incorrect, since ability in a native language does play a role, but it is incomplete, as it lacks reference to affective and other non-linguistic factors.

It is also claimed by Sparks & Ganschow that FLA is the consequence of poor language performance, instead of the cause: a student's poor skills would be responsible for making him/her anxious and they would not be due to students' negative feelings. In response to this, MacIntyre & Gardner (1994a) conducted an experiment inducing FLA with the use of a camera to film students' performance. The presence of the camera proved to be anxiety-provoking, as it increased the levels of FLA significantly as compared to the same task without the camera, which led them to demonstrate that anxiety acts as a causal agent for individual differences leading to impaired performance. However, Sparks and Ganschow's criticism has been useful to raise awareness that FLA could be both the cause and the effect of impaired language performance. Anxious students are then stuck in a double bind because they have learnt less, due to FLA interfering with the cognitive process, and they also demonstrate less knowledge in their performance because of the hurdle of FLA in exams. Additionally, upon experiencing failure, FLA increases even more in a sort of vicious circle.

3.1.3 EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF FLA

Several authors have contributed to the present conceptualization of FLA as previously described. In order to understand how we have arrived at the present construct, let us now delve more into the evolution of FLA and its systematization. For this purpose I will revise the literature at hand in chronological order. The first relevant studies date back to Chastain (1975), which revealed both positive, negative and non-significant relationships between anxiety and achievement. The findings show a sheer lack of coherence and a need for clear definitions and measurements. Scovel (1978) points out the inconsistency of previous studies, so that later approaches to the topic would be more meticulous, that is why this is considered a turning point in the literature. Gardner (1985) hypothesises the specific nature of FLA, as opposed to general anxiety, affording to the concept a distinct position in the realm of social psychology and language learning.

But not sooner than 1986 do we have a generally accepted conceptualization of FLA and a reliable scale to measure it: the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS)

by Horwitz et al. (1986), containing 33 items to be responded to with a 5-point Likert-type scale from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”. In this seminal study, FLA is defined as a unique type of anxiety, or in their words “a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviours related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process” (128). Its importance as a cause for learning difficulties is clearly established as well as its relation with three other constructs³⁵: communication apprehension (CA), fear of negative evaluation (FNE) and test anxiety (TA).

Communication apprehension (CA): it is a kind of anxiety associated with “either real or anticipated communication” (McCroskey 1976: 3 cited in Piechurska 2012). Originally it was limited to speaking in public, now it is extended to any mode, including peer and group work. It consists of an individual's uncomfortable feeling to express him/herself in front of others, which stems from the impossibility to express their mature thoughts with their incomplete FL mastery. In addition, their inability to fully understand what is being said leads them to frustration and self-consciousness, because an apprehensive communicator is aware that communication cannot be as complete and satisfying as they wish. It manifests itself when physiological arousal exceeds control, such as swallowing difficulty, dry mouth, sweating, memory loss and so on. Other causes are inadequacy of communicative skills, when one is unsure that their communicative skills will suit the situation or, even more potent, the self-perception of communicative skills, i.e. when one *feels* that his/her communicative skills are not suitable or sufficient to cope with a given situation. The effects are both internal- feeling of discomfort, and external- communication avoidance, withdrawal from any interaction, tension, and disruption like unnatural verbal behaviour (vocalized pauses, faltering verbal presentation). The greater focus on oneself leads to diminished attention to external cues that might help adapt oneself to the reactions of the audience. CA specific to L2 equals FLA, as FLA is parallel to CA in a different language context that adds an extra amount of difficulty. They are different in the sense that CA is the foundation of FLA and is more stable, whereas FLA decreases with proficiency so it is more of a trait and is less stable.

Fear of negative evaluation (FNE): in spite of natural mechanisms of trial-error, learners are often afraid of making mistakes, which are perceived as obstacles to making a positive social impression (MacIntyre & Gardner 1989). As a consequence, they become apprehensive about the fact that others may evaluate them and sometimes avoid situations in which they would be evaluated, because they expect that the evaluation will be negative. Horwitz et al. (1986)

³⁵ The authors stress that FLA is related to, not composed of or a combination of the three factors.

argues that fear of negative evaluation is provoked by the very nature of FL classes, in which students' performance is continuously evaluated by the only fully confident FL speaker, the teacher. Every utterance is subject to correction and feedback, because most probably partially inaccurate, in addition to the evaluation of the classmates, who might judge their peers' performance negatively.

Test anxiety (TA): as Horwitz et al. (1986) point out, this kind of anxiety is manifested when a learner is afraid of failing, independently of their preparation. Even in non-assessing situations, a learner may feel tested and start being anxious, as in fear of negative evaluation. Apart from exam proper situations, this anxiety can be experienced at a job interview or speaking in class. (Horwitz et al. 1986). It is also linked to perfectionism, when the demand from oneself exceeds realistic expectations (see below Gregersen & Horwitz 2002).

In the same year, 1986, Horwitz tests the reliability of .93 of FLCAS on 75 students of Spanish as a foreign language and submits that FLA is an independent variable having no significant relationship with CA, FNE and TRAIT ANXIETY but it has a moderate one with TA.

To continue our timeline and see how the concept evolved, Steinberg & Horwitz (1986) illustrated that it was not enough to consider general achievement to examine the effects of FLA and proposed an oral task (picture describing) which varied consistently under anxiety-provoking conditions or not. Communication in general may be impaired by stressful conditions: patterns and type of activities as well as teacher factors were found to have a large impact on FLA, as reported by interviewees in Young (1990). The choice of activities is not a simple matter, as shown by Koch & Terrell (1991): after surveying students' reaction to the Natural Approach, they concluded that there was no one single activity that was considered anxiety-free by all students unanimously. This underlines the subjective nature of learning and the fact that there is no one remedial methodology capable of eliminating stressants from the FL classroom. Another contribution in this period suggested in Horwitz's (2010) chronological review is Young (1991), who contributes to the conceptualization by defining sources, manifestations (see below) and proposing ideas to cater for anxiety-provoking situations and to keep the class at a minimum FLA (see pedagogical section).

MacIntyre & Gardner (1994) is one of the many contributions by the authors and it is particularly relevant because they detected negative effects of FLA in all the phases of the

learning process, both at the input, processing and output stage. Input anxiety is experienced when taking in and making internal representations of external information in the FL. When an anxious learner finds a spoken message too quick to take in, they will frequently ask for repetition, if it is a conversation, or they will miss the input if it is an audio recording. In the case of a written text, they will have to read it over and over again to compensate for their anxiety. Processing anxiety arises when learning and thinking in the FL, through manipulating operations such as organising, sorting and assimilating the new information. In this phase, anxiety is manifested when a learner needs more time to understand a message or learn new vocabulary. Finally, output anxiety is provoked by speaking or writing tasks. It is visible when, in spite of having learnt the material, the students cannot demonstrate it in their actual performance and might “freeze” on tests (Horwitz et al. 1986). FLA results, therefore, more pervasive than previously thought, spanning all the phases of the cognitive process.

As for FL level and skills, Saito & Samimy (1996) extended research in FLA to more advanced students and found out that they are also affected by anxiety, a finding later supported by Ewald (2007). Hilleson (1996) expanded the scope to other skills apart from the traditional listening and speaking, finding episodes of anxiety in reading and writing.

Four experts in motivation, MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément & Noels (1998) came up with a theoretical model to account for the concept previously labelled Willingness To Communicate (WTC) by McCroskey & Richmond (1987). Defined as a person's predisposition to start a conversation, when free to do so, it is a personality trait in L1 based on prior positive or negative experiences. This trait in L1 accompanies the students when they engage in L2 learning, but it is so pervasive that Richmond & Roach (1992 in MacIntyre & Baker 2002) word it as an “overwhelming communication personality construct which permeates every facet of an individual's life” (p. 104). In L2 it is influenced more by one's perceived competence, given that actual competence is normally unknown. This means that the power of this cognitive belief about self-efficacy can override actual competence. MacIntyre (1995) theorises WTC as determined by perceived communication competence and communication anxiety and leading to frequency of communication. WTC may be considered an alternative framework in this area.

Another fundamental aspect was added by Gregersen & Horwitz (2002) when they conducted a study on the relationship between FLA and perfectionism, by having students watch their recorded performance and comment on it. Anxious students overestimated the

amount and seriousness of their mistakes. Perfectionism was compared to a form of OCD (obsessive-compulsive disorder) by Mallinger (1984) among others, because perfectionist learners would exhibit an exaggerated form of control over their learning, such as procrastinating or restarting assignments again and again, leading to low productivity, noticing and lamenting their mistakes with an emotional overreaction, and finally, excessively worrying about opinions of others. All these consequences of perfectionism make the learning experience an unpleasant and unsuccessful one and in some cases are conducive to low achievement. Perfectionism turns out to be a counterproductive trait and it has similar manifestations to anxiety: critical self-evaluation, avoidance, and concern with one's communicative attempts. Perfectionists set extremely high standards of performance and, as they cannot achieve them, they experience frustration and anxiety. One may claim that it is important to distinguish when perfectionism is indeed counterproductive and when it is a healthy form of motivation to improve and perfect one's skills. Especially at an advanced level, the risk is sometimes the opposite, i.e. that students get stalled and fail to notice the mere need to improve or in which areas they should do. Consequently, they overlook their own mistakes and are not able to work on them, as they lack appropriate learning strategies. Probably it would be of some help to test perfectionism against actual degree of proficiency, according to the level required, and see whether students' evaluation exceeds actual need for improvement and error correction.

More recently FLA has been linked to eleven other sociobiographical and situational variables by Dewaele et al. (2008): age, gender, education level, trait emotional intelligence, number of foreign languages spoken, frequency of use, socialization in the FL, context of acquisition, age of onset of acquisition, interlocutors and self-perceived proficiency. Some of the results worth pointing out are those which concern age, gender and other situational variable. It was proven that the younger the learner the less emotional intelligence (EI) they exhibit and the higher the FLA. Then, over time and through communication experience one gains EI and is able to counteract the emergence of anxious manifestations. Gender was never referred to in relation to FLA by respondents, nor did it turn out to have a particular effect on it. As for number of languages, polyglots outperform bilinguals in metalinguistic awareness and strategies. Situational differences concerning the frequency of use and number of interlocutors show a correspondence with FLA: the more one uses and socializes in the FL the less anxious they prove to be.

When the FL is learnt in class, FLA is highest. When it is learnt naturalistically, it is medium and when there is a mix of explicit and implicit knowledge FLA still appears but to the minimum degree. This demonstrates that naturalistic learners might sound like native speakers, but may still have some doubts, in particular regarding spelling or grammar rules; whereas if they have also gone through some formal linguistic education, they should have gained more confidence. Moreover, this study is particularly relevant to strengthen the validity of FLA as a widespread phenomenon due to its large sample of respondents (464), of first languages spoken by them (43) and of geographical settings, as respondents were collected online from all around the world, completely controlling for local cultural influences, like teaching methods and intergroup climate.

3.1.4 COMPONENTS OF FLA

Now that FLA has been demarcated, I will look more in depth into this phenomenon, describing the types of anxiety, its sources, symptoms and consequences. As a result, a clearer picture will be gained at the end of the section as for what FLA is and implies.

3.1.4.1 TYPES OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY

A solid typological framework of FLA will enable me to detect and classify references or episodes of anxiety more accurately. For this purpose, in this section trait and state anxiety will be described, as well as facilitative and debilitating anxiety, to conclude with the concept of stability of FLA throughout different contexts.

One of the fundamental distinctions usually made in the literature is between state and trait anxiety. On the one hand, **state** anxiety is basically a reaction to a stimulus, for this reason it is something transitory that does not pertain to the organism. On the other hand, **trait** anxiety is a stable predisposition to be anxious in different non-threatening situations (Spielberger 1983). State anxiety, which is a situation-specific kind of anxiety, could be subdivided for instance according to the situation into test anxiety, maths anxiety or language anxiety (McIntyre & Gardner 1994). Therefore, an individual who is normally not anxious is likely to experience anxiety before sitting an examination. In FL contexts, the situation being the foreign language class, state anxiety is what we have defined as foreign language anxiety.

Another distinction is made between **facilitating** and **debilitating** anxiety (Scovel 1978). The former is described as a certain level of anxiety arousal that activates a learner and would bring some benefits to their learning. Students with facilitative anxiety are ready to accept risks and experience an increase in their drive, so that their performance is boosted; whereas the latter is the better-known kind of anxiety that hinders the learning process and will lead to poor performance or even withdrawal. According to Horwitz & Young (1991), this type affects at least half of the student population. Few studies have supported facilitating anxiety (Alpert & Haber 1960 in MacIntyre 1995 and Spielmann & Radnofsky 2001). The latter elaborates on the “optimal arousal” principle, based on one of the earliest psychological experiments (Yerkes & Dodson 1908). This experiment involved some mice which learnt how to go into some boxes stimulated by different levels of electric shock (weak, medium and high). Moderate arousal was found to be the optimal stimulus in order to get the best results, whereas low and high intensity received the lowest response, resulting in an inverted U-curve relation arousal/performance. The more recent and human-based study addressing facilitative anxiety, Spielmann & Radnofsky (2001), is a challenging one for the bulk of literature supporting debilitating anxiety. Referring to the concept of “flow” (Csikszentmihalyi 1990, see chapter 2), they redefine facilitative anxiety as “euphoric cognitive tension” (p. 273), getting rid of the negative semantic burden of the term “anxiety”. Through a thorough qualitative study aimed at finding out the quality of French tuition on an immersion programme in Canada, they observed that anxiety itself did not emerge in the interviews, disputing the bias of asking directly whether a respondent had felt it. Besides, they submit that an adequate level of tension, meant as cognitive demand, is seen as beneficial in order to stimulate learning and the learners' full-fledged identity construction. Finally, MacIntyre & Gardner (1991: 519) define this kind of anxiety/tension as “energizing and helpful”. However, most studies have demonstrated the opposite, i.e. that anxiety is general debilitating, as shown in Horwitz's (2010) review. I will personally use the term anxiety strictly in the sense of a negative feeling bearing detrimental consequences, whereas the facilitative kind of anxiety will be dealt with as part of motivation, as previously explained in chapter 2.

Apart from the types of anxiety affecting students as a whole, there exists inter-individual and intra-individual variation, depending on which type of individuals and which task or situation are examined. For the purpose of comprehending FLA variation, its stability has been tested in different settings. Some of the studies involving different target languages and teaching methods are reported below.

Saito et al. (1999) and Rodríguez & Abreu (2003) demonstrated that FLA is stable, independently of the target language taken in consideration: learners studying respectively French, Japanese and Russian in the first study and French and English in the second did not differ significantly in terms of FLA. To name a few, other studies supporting cross-linguistic stability are Aida (1994), Kitano (2001) and Yashima (2002), who examined the case of Japanese as a foreign language, Horwitz et al. (1986), Ewald (2007), Marcos-Llinás & Juan-Garau (2009) for Spanish and various studies by MacIntyre & Gardner, for example (1991), analysed French, in particular in bilingual Canada.

As far as different instructional methods are concerned, FLA stability has been tested by Kim (2009) comparing two learning settings, a reading and a conversation classes attended by the same Korean female university students, controlling for the other sociological variables (age, gender, nationality, cultural background). FLA turned out much higher in the conversation course where the method was mainly communicative and the language of interaction was English, as opposed to the reading course, taught mostly in Korean with a predominantly traditional teacher-centred grammar-translation method, where no improvised speech was required. The mere fact of having to speak spontaneously in public without previous preparation engendered FLA, since the self-concept was threatened by the limited ability. Therefore, classroom context and instruction methodology do count as for levels of anxiety.

3.1.4.2 CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF FLA

There are several **sources** of anxiety in FL: fear of being embarrassed and misunderstood, and of making cultural gaffes deriving from low self-esteem, or else poor quality accent and pronunciation. The frequency and quality of the contact with native speakers – or other L2 speakers of the FL- also contributes to different degrees of ease when speaking the language. Additionally, there are some inherent traits like shyness, which, unlike extraversion, would hamper fluency and may give rise to anxiety (Gregersen & MacIntyre 2013).

Young (1991) classifies the sources into six types:

- 1) Personal and interpersonal. Competitiveness and social anxiety may lead to low self-esteem, when someone finds oneself continuously competing with peers or with their ideal self, or when they feel shy, embarrassed and/or evaluated.
- 2) Learner's beliefs. Some learners have false, unrealistic beliefs, for instance they believe that they may be able or may have to speak flawlessly or with a native accent. When these beliefs clash with reality, this mismatch generates anxiety.
- 3) Teacher's beliefs. When teachers believe that some intimidation and authoritativeness is necessary in class, unaware of the danger of provoking or increasing students' anxiety.
- 4) Learner/teacher interaction. Mainly the modality how correction and feedback are provided by teachers could cause anxiety.
- 5) Classroom procedures. Some procedures such as speaking in public (giving a presentation or answering oral questions on the spot when called on) are deemed highly anxiety-provoking.
- 6) Tests. In particular when the format is not a familiar one or does not match expectations, as well as containing ambiguous tasks.

A more situated account of the causes is provided by Liu (2006) referring to Chinese university students. As these students are used to focusing on written English at high school, they enter university with poor fluency and pronunciation in spoken English. They also show deficiencies in vocabulary, fear of making mistakes, low self-esteem, tendency to perfectionism, as well as struggling to understand the input, even teacher's instructions. It will be interesting to find out in the empirical part if the same causes for FLA are experienced and referred to by my sample of Spanish students.

Kozaki & Ross (2011) add fear of being different from the norm in publicly audible activities. As mentioned in chapter 1.1.2 regarding social identity, human beings need to identify themselves with a group in order to build their social identity, accepting their norms even when they do not coincide with their own views, through a phenomenon called “depersonalization”. Here the norm would be what the class-group expects them to do and to be linguistically, so that any deviation is liable to be at least noticed or even mocked or ridiculed. This is often heard as the reason why some Spanish learners resist imitating English

pronunciation and intonation, or speaking English at all, in the presence of other Spanish speakers. This point will be specifically tested in one of the activities of the empirical study.

An additional cause for anxiety is the incompatibility of styles between teacher and students (Gregersen & MacIntyre 2014). When a student expects something different in terms of methodology and teaching practices, the actual teaching method may be seen as suspicious, unsatisfactory or even frustrating and arise negative feelings, among which anxiety. This is a very common scenario, especially when classes are composed of more than twenty students, each of them with their own expectations and learning style. That is why I will pay special attention to the methodological aspect in relation to FLA and finally come up with some teaching suggestions.

As teachers we need to be aware of how to detect FLA by recognising its first signs. The **symptoms** of FLA are the same as those of general anxiety, appreciable on the physiological and behavioural levels. Physiological reactions can be observed as a result of sympathetic nervous system activation, such as sweating, squirming, palpitation, fidgeting, fiddling with objects, with one's hair or clothes, as well as stammering, laughing and avoiding eye contact. These are all signs that the individual is ill at ease and is experiencing anxiety. On the behavioural level, social interaction is reduced; there are fewer initiations in a conversation and less participation in it, with shorter turns and longer pauses. There appear behaviours aimed at protecting one's face, such as smiling and nodding frequently, seldom interrupting and backchannelling signs like “aha”, in order to project the image of a friendly, responsive listener in spite of the communication difficulties. Production may be hindered by distorted sounds, freezing up, forgetting words, or even refusing to talk. All these signs are far too common in exam situations. Besides, unconsciously one might simply resist learning. Rardin (1992) acutely points out that merely talking about the language and the learning process can be a manifestation of FLA, (Leary 1982 in Young 1991 and Rardin in Young 1992), because if the learning process is not stress-provoking, one should not need to refer to it with such an insistence as it is the case among some anxious students. It is my observation that people in Spain tend to talk a lot about their language learning experiences, especially about the negative ones in an emphatic tone, whereas in other countries such as the Netherlands, where learning English is a smoother process, people are less concerned about this topic.

When one experiences FLA, the **consequences** range from overstudying to low course marks: learners might want to compensate for their FLA by studying more than necessary, wasting excessive energy or, conversely, they may give up studying and get poor results, or even drop out of a course. As reported by students, the effects include fear or hatred of speaking in English, inability to do so, reduced interest in the subject/language, inability to think clearly and to remember vocabulary and they end up making more mistakes that they normally would (Liu 2006). As we can see the consequences could be as serious as someone's losing interest in the subject, which is just the opposite of what a teacher as motivator should strive for.

More specifically, on the cognitive level, one generates thoughts that interfere with input, processing and output; Wine 1980 (in MacIntyre 1995: 91) detected: “distracting self-related cognition, expectations of failure, decrease cognitive processing ability”. MacIntyre (1995) concludes that FLA can interfere in cognitive processes such as encoding, storage and retrieval by creating divided attention, split between attention to both the task itself and to how one feels during the task – which is task-irrelevant information. When one experiences worry -a component of anxiety constituted by distressing preoccupations and concerns about impending events (Sarason 1986: 21)- task-irrelevant information competes for space with task-relevant information in the processing system, with detrimental consequences (Eysenck 1979), because, as self-related cognition increases (a student feels self-conscious), task-related cognition decreases, so does performance.

Hence, anxious people may increase their efforts to compensate for the unfavourable effects of anxiety. This can give rise to a cycle involving cognitive and behavioural components. For example, being asked questions in FL may give rise to worry (cognitive level) that results in impaired performance (behavioural level). The social level is also implicated, given that answering a question in class has social implications, as an instance of public speaking (MacIntyre 1995). If the association of anxiety and impaired performance is repeated through time, it may become associated with the FL and the FL class in a solid way (MacIntyre & Gardner 1991) (see Conditioning – unconditional stimulus in chapter 2). An extreme case of interference of FLA with the cognitive processing is that of a student who reported perceiving the teacher's talk as “loud buzz” (Horwitz et al. 1986: 126), completely unintelligible. This quotation is quite eye-opening in terms of the need for monitoring our teacher talk.

This interference of FLA with learning had been explained by Krashen (1985) with his Affective Filter Hypothesis: a filter is an obstacle to learning influenced by emotional variables, something that acts as a screen for the input, preventing it from reaching the language acquisition part of the brain. When the filter is high, it makes students unreceptive to input and hampers language intake. A positive class environment could help keep the filter low, thus promoting learning. Strategies to do so will be discussed in the pedagogical section.

3.2 FLA Pervasiveness

After having described FLA, I will review the studies that corroborate its pervasive nature in the learning process, in view of the fact that it covers all the language skills and levels of proficiency. I will attempt to demonstrate the urgency to deal with this topic in language learning research if we teachers agree that is paramount to facilitate the learners' actual mastering of confident communication in English as a second language.

3.2.1 FLA AND THE FOUR SKILLS³⁶

FLA proves a pervasive element (MacIntyre & Gardner 1994) in students' FL experience, also because its presence has been reported in all the communicative skills: reading, listening, writing and speaking, varying its characteristics according to type of language skill (Horwitz 2001). However, speaking is the skill where it is more common to find episodes of FLA, according to various scholars (Young 1990, Phillips 1992). Speaking seems to be “the single most important source of language anxiety” (MacIntyre 1999: 33). Actually, from my experience as a teacher, the most visible instances of anxious behaviour can be observed when students have to speak in class, either to the class as a whole or when called on to answer a question, their discomfort being maximised to handicapping levels at exams.

Campbell & Larson (2012) go a step deeper analysing the speaking domain and try to compare FLA in two speech delivery modes: face-to-face and via web technology. Unfortunately the discussion and conclusions of their results are not clearly stated, nor is the setting of the study. Nevertheless, they do find a high percentage of respondents who claim to have felt anxious both before and during the speech that they had been asked to make for the experiment. Apparently, face-to-face communication would exert more anxiety before the delivery and web-based speaking during the speech, both results pointing to a need for more emphasis in education on speaking techniques and practice in both modes, so as to prepare future professionals to carry out these tasks in their professional lives.

One of the specific areas of oral production that is particularly affected by FLA is pronunciation, since neuromuscular tension may alter sound articulation (Scovel 1978).

³⁶ According to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages there are five skills, splitting the traditional speaking into Interaction (with other speakers) and Expression (making a speech). For the purposes of this section, this distinction has not been taken into account.

Moreover, the comparison between one's perceived pronunciation and native speakers' accent, and its almost impossible attainability when learning the L2 as an adult may result in embarrassment, frustration and even feeling intimidated. Szyszka (2011) proved that, among a sample of Polish teacher training students, the higher their FLA the worse their pronunciation perception. In turn, having a negative perception of their pronunciation, students might feel self-conscious and avoid communicative situations, thus limiting their chances to practise and improve.

Nonetheless, other studies have demonstrated that FLA can have detrimental effects in other skills as well. Since Hilleson (1996), who identified reference to anxiety in his participants' diaries in all the four skills, other scholars have examined the other areas of communication. Cheng et al. (1999) have found a more specific FLA in writing through a test called SLWAT (Second Language Writing Anxiety Test). Additionally, a specific anxiety in reading tasks has been detected as independent within learners of Japanese, Russian and French by Saito et al. (1999) using FLRAS (Foreign Language Reading Anxiety Test). This construct turned out to be independent also in the study by Matsuda & Gobel (2001), as no correlation was found between FLA and reading FLA, except for the variable "low self-confidence" which was significant for both scales. In their 2004 study a correlation is found between low self-confidence in speaking English and overseas experience, which entails that achievement is influenced by practice and motivation gained in real communication with native speakers and in a natural setting.

However, in spite of keeping in mind that anxiety affects other skills, I will focus my empirical work on oral anxiety, for being the most common, detrimental, observable and possibly offset through the techniques, precautions and adaptations that will be presented in the pedagogical section. Additionally, I will explore listening anxiety, since it has not commonly been examined and it is a likely FLA generator.

3.2.2 FLA AND PROFICIENCY LEVEL

FLA pervasiveness is observable at all proficiency levels. It is a feeling that accompanies learners through their whole linguistic journey, with causes and manifestations which may differ for each level. Few studies have compared FLA in different proficiency levels, as Horwitz (1996) points out when she calls for greater attention to upper levels. This is the reason why in the empirical part I am particularly interested in comparing beginners and

advanced students, not only in their degree of FLA but also in terms of reasons, awareness and possible strategies to tackle these manifestations.

From the scarce literature, I have garnered as few as two studies which attributed higher FLA to beginner students: Gardner et al. (1977) and Liu (2006). Gardner et al. (1977) found that French learners in English-speaking Canada experienced high anxiety, which decreased alongside the increase in exposure and fluency in the TL. Liu's (2006) study, carried out among 547 Chinese undergraduate students of English, showed a clear difference between lower and higher level³⁷ students through quantitative (FLCAS) and qualitative data (interviews, journals and observation). High level students seemed more confident in general and even more supportive with each other in the conversation, showing non-verbal communication such as nodding, smiling or interacting with comments. The higher confidence in upper levels was described as the result of longer exposure and experience with the FL. FLA seemed to be a serious issue in any case, since more than one third of the respondents exhibited FLA and 70% reported in their journals instances of nervousness when speaking. Proficiency affected the FLA level experienced even in the supposedly FLA-safest type of task, pair work (80% claimed they did not feel nervous when talking to one partner). Actually, when a partner was at either a lower or higher proficiency level than the respondent, this difference generated anxiety. The author concludes that if these results come from the capital of China, Beijing, with larger exposure to English input and native speakers, the situation must be much worse in rural areas.

Finally, Arnáiz & Guillén (2012) confirm that the lower the proficiency the lower FLA, but we should notice that their low-proficiency group is composed of Spanish university students taking English at a B1 level of the European Framework, which is an intermediate level, whereas the more advanced students had a B2 and C1 level. These results confirm the above mentioned trend but it cannot be considered a study on beginners like the sample of this thesis.

On the other hand, FLA has been reported higher at upper levels by Saito & Samimy (1996), Kitano (2001), Ewald (2007) and Marcos-Llinás & Juan-Garau (2009). The first is a study on learners of Japanese as a FL, where advanced students had highest levels of FLA, probably due to their curriculum emphasising more the reading and writing components and

³⁷ Students were divided in three bands. Upon entering university half of placement test takers would enter the second level and be moved to the third the next semester. It can be gathered that between lowest and highest level there are at least two semesters.

providing less oral practice. The beginners in the study had not developed any anxiety yet, in line with what MacIntyre and Gardner (1989) suggest that at first motivation and aptitude are best predictors of achievement and it is class experience that initiates anxiety.

Kitano (2001) compared 212 North American university students enrolled on different level courses of Japanese. Instructional level, along with other variables like length of stay in Japan, influenced the relationship between FLA and one of its potential sources: fear of negative evaluation. This means that at higher levels of instruction, when only the TL was spoken in class and in a more sophisticated fashion, students felt higher anxiety. The higher level of FLA among advanced students is explained by Kitano as possibly caused by their noticing mistakes more acutely at this level of metalanguage and being ashamed especially when making basic ones that are supposed to have been already overcome, but in fact might be fossilised. Teachers normally expect more by advanced students and for this reason may provide less encouraging feedback. Finally, if students had lived in Japan, they felt under pressure to show the headway made abroad.

Ewald (2007) did not compare the two proficiency groups like other studies but focused on an upper-level class of 22 students, relying on qualitative methods. She found out that confidence rather than difficulty influenced FLA: only 50% felt confident, in spite of being Spanish minor or major, thus particularly focused on this language; this lack of confidence derived basically from lack of grammatical accuracy and classmates' perceived better performance. Other reasons pointed out by the respondents were the harder material they were dealing with and higher expectations. The latter is relative to the phenomenon of perfectionism, in that learners did not want to make mistakes and, if they did, they felt anxious about them. Expectations are particularly strong predictors of future achievement in FL learning given that our beliefs, as a manifestation of self-efficacy, influence behavioural choices, effort and persistence (Bandura 1997).

In fact, Daley et al. (1999) discovered that 61% of their respondents had biased expectations of their performance, with 47.4% expectations higher than their actual performance (self-enhancement), and 13.6% underestimating their efficacy (self-derogation), the latter experiencing higher FLA. This large number of students overestimating their capabilities points to an unrealistic optimism that might boil down to a need to increase their feeling of self-worth. Inversely, self-derogation may be deployed as a defence mechanism in order not to lose one's self-esteem in unsuccessful events. It is quite telling that as few as 39%

were accurate self-appraisers, drawing attention to the need for self-assessment strategies and suitable counselling for students, in order to be more aware of their learning process.

Marcos-Llinás & Juan-Garau (2009) tested 134 university students in Ohio in relation to their FLA in Spanish as a foreign language (it should be noted that 14% of respondents had Hispanic descendants, which means they could have been exposed to Spanish earlier but it may not be their L1). The advanced students surveyed scored higher in FLA than the beginners, possibly due to the contextual reason that for beginners Spanish is just a subject in their curriculum, whereas advanced students choose to take it as their minor or even major. Hence, they might feel more pressure to fare well at it, with the added pressure that they will need this asset to enter the labour market and to interact with native speakers. These are just hypotheses inferred by the authors, since no qualitative data are available. Interestingly enough, high FLA did not necessarily correlate with poorer achievement at advanced levels, which led the authors to think that some FLA could be even beneficial to motivate to learn more in depth and perfection the language as it keeps motivation high, especially when the ropes of the language have been acquired and extra effort must be expended (in line with previous studies such as Spielmann & Radnofsky 2001).

In the study carried out by Moore (2007) for her Master Thesis on university students of Spanish in the US, although a difference in FLA between intermediate and advanced students was not found³⁸, more advanced level students rated their teachers' effectiveness lower than intermediate ones. The judgement on low effectiveness consisted of the teachers communicating less clearly, being less effective and less helpful, all behaviours which are thought to result in students' anxiety. Whether the teacher was a native or non-native Spanish speaker was also hypothesised to be in relation to FLA, but this hypothesis was not borne out. Instead, being native turned out to have a bearing on teachers' effectiveness, with natives being considered less effective by advanced learners. The author thinks that it might be due to students' ethnocentrism that would lead them to be more critical of someone not belonging to the in-group, evident for their accented English, as found in previous studies (Sebastian & Ryan 1985).

To conclude, more studies have reported quantitatively higher FLA within advanced students than beginners. The reasons purported are linked to classroom procedures, such as

³⁸ Beginners were not available, which makes this study unsuitable for comparison with other FLA-proficiency studies.

the sole use of the TL as vehicle of instruction, more difficult material sometimes focused mainly on written skills, providing limited oral practice. Equally, FLA stems from the pressure exerted on higher level students in terms of expectations about their performance and accuracy. The teacher's role should range from choosing the right material and methods, as well as continuing to provide reinforcement and adopting suitable error correction techniques. As I have noted regarding these individual studies, most reasons have been put forward by the researchers, rather than being gathered from the subjects of the studies themselves. My purpose is to find them out qualitatively from my respondents and obtain a more realistic picture of their expectations and beliefs.

3.3 FLA AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

In the first chapter it was made clear that learning a foreign language has a huge impact on a person's identity. In this chapter on FLA, I have purported that anxiety is provoked by identity conflicts and the self feeling threatened. Thus I have zoomed in from language learning as an identity-threatening process (chapter 1) onto anxiety, as being tightly linked to identity construction processes (chapter 3). It is therefore worth exploring the links between the two concepts, FLA and identity in all its facets (self, culture and gender), by analysing the literature available to date.

3.3.1 FLA, SELF AND PERSONALITY

After some insights on the impact of FLA on identity, examples of positive and negative effects on identity will be provided, and then the link between personality traits and FLA will be explored. I would like to start off by quoting Horwitz's (2000) graphic metaphor that splendidly depicts how learners may feel when speaking a second language that they still do not feel confident with:

When we wear clothing that is unbecoming or have a “bad hair day”, we feel uncomfortable because not only do we not feel like ourselves, we feel we are presenting a less positive version of ourselves to the world than we normally do. (p. 258)

The author goes on to compare this feeling to speaking a second language. This quote implies that one of the functions of speaking a second language is to project an image and present oneself in some way, not just to convey meaning. Secondly, this image may often not be the desired one, because of linguistic limitations. On a “bad hair day” it is often just us who notice the bad state of our hair while others do not even care, likewise, our self-consciousness does not disappear at the rational thought that we are not actually being observed and judged by everyone around us. This image with which we are not comfortable has a profoundly negative impact on the way we feel, because at the same time we feel that it is not fair to come across like this, as it does not do us justice. On the FL level, if in our mother tongue we are able to present ourselves in an intelligent, mature, or funny, witty way, we have to come to terms with the limits of not being able to present the same image in a foreign language. The mismatch between ideal self and actual self generates frustration and, according to Horwitz (2000), it originates FLA.

Guiora et al. (1972/1980) was one of the first authors who cautioned about the heavy impact of the learning experience on one's ego and its permeability. A “language ego” is a maturational construct in which pronunciation would be the core or the most salient part; hence, the hardest to acquire in a FL and to lose in one's L1. In the L2 identity construction process, pronunciation is said to be the last step as it is the most resistant to change, so the most critical to the individual's identity. In the pronunciation realm it is where researchers are more likely to find identity conflicts that are particularly relevant for the purposes of this thesis.

On account of this, particular attention will be paid to any issues or comments raised by respondents regarding pronunciation. The author claims that, as the individual grows up, one's ego would act as a protective mechanism against the embarrassment produced by continually engaging in the trial-and-error process of learning, a typically anxiety-provoking situation. A language ego becomes “part and parcel of self-identity” (Brown 1980: 69). Brown (1980) explains the tight bind between self-identity and language in terms of communicative process of sending and receiving messages, through which identities are shaped and reshaped. An adult has grown up in a comfortable way in his/her identity, which provides them with a feeling of security. In order to protect this comfort zone, the adult builds inhibitions which need to be overcome in order to embark on second language communication. While these inhibitions are still in the way, FLA can easily manifest itself.

On the contrary, successful learners are those able to approach the new language without fear of damaging their language ego.

One of such learners may feel different by reason of the mere fact of attending a language course, which has the potential of enriching their identity. As mentioned in chapter 1.2, multiple identities, composed of several roles, make the self more complete and healthier. By means of social comparison, they may feel better because they are making efforts in order to gain a new asset in their life and they are making use of their time and resources to cultivate themselves. In addition to this dimension of “academicness”, that any other educational course may convey, Sunderland (2000: 215) observes that a language learner might also feel more or less powerful when speaking a FL. They feel less powerful, due to the worse self-image they may happen to convey, or more, when their self-esteem is boosted and they find their new persona an appealing one. The first scenario is breeding ground for FLA, whereas the second a desirable one to attain. The pedagogical proposal will be aiming at this confidence boosting objective.

Carrying on with the positive and negative effects of FL learning on identity and related FLA, the personal experience of learning Portuguese as a foreign language carried out as an experiment by Garrett (Garrett & Young 2009) demonstrates how her affective response impacts on her self-image in a profound way. The initial frustration with the new language makes her think that she is not the “stellar Portuguese student” (p. 221) she thought to be (her ideal self). On top of that, having missed a class increases her level of initial anxiety, due to the comparison she makes with the classmates who must have advanced in the curriculum, leaving her behind. Let us remind that competitiveness has been singled out as one of the possible sources for FLA. Progressively, she feels more and more empowered and describes herself as a “star” at writing and reading. Her identity as a teacher herself does also undergo a change of focus: her previous beliefs that students should start speaking as soon as in the first class are challenged when she herself feels underprepared to speak publicly in the first Portuguese classes. The time she needed to become confident with foreign sounds during her own learning experience led her to allow more time to her students, so as to become familiar with the TL sounds and rules, before being forced to produce them. Through her own experience she also started to deal more with culture and to carry out collaborative activities as a teacher, which she did not use to do, because her ideas on learning have changed considerably.

Dewaele (2002, 2005), a specialist in individual variables and emotions in multilingual settings, deals with identity in terms of personality traits. The author links personality characteristics such as extraversion and introversion with the emotions arising when learning a foreign language. On the one hand, high extraversion is linked to low FLA, because extraverts have a superior short-memory capacity, thanks to a better control of dopamine under critical threshold, which assists them in multitasking and makes them able to maintain good fluency even in stressful situations. Moreover, their optimism and high perception of their skills limit their fear of speaking. On the other hand, introverts tend to experience more anxiety because of their reserved, unassertive nature, besides the fact that, neurologically, their levels of dopamine and norepinephrine (essential in attention and working memory) exceed optimal ones, which produce short-memory overloading and consequent breakdown in fluency. Anxiety as a person's trait is also positively correlated to other personality traits like psychoticism and neuroticism, which are also correlated with foreign language anxiety specifically. These findings strengthen the idea that, apart from the above mentioned effects of FLA on identity, some of the inherent qualities of a person, i.e. their personality, also have a bearing on the probability for this person to experience FLA.

Self-esteem, or a person's assessment of their capabilities, is a component of the self and proved to be related to FLA. Alongside ten more sociobiographical variables, Dewaele et al. (2008) analysed their multilingual respondents' "self-perceived oral competence", i.e. the subjective evaluation of speaking skills, influenced by their failures and successes. This variable turned out to stand in a two-way relationship with FLA, since when the speakers perceived to be good at a FL, their FLA was low and, vice versa, when FLA was low, their perceived proficiency was higher. This result is particularly telling for the identity debate because it shows firstly the power of self-esteem on anxiety, and secondly how insecurity in a FL, due to linguistic and sociocultural deficits, has an impact on the self image. When their confidence was faltering (thus their FLA was high), they had to come to terms with a different L2 persona that lacked confidence and other qualities, like wit and intelligence, as compared to the L1 persona. This might generate frustration and a negative L2 image. Finally, anxiety is as powerful as to be able to bias one's perception of competence, which, in turn is even stronger than actual competence, as discussed in chapter 2. Therefore, high-FLA individuals tend to underestimate their proficiency; conversely, low-FLA learners tend to overestimate it, with repercussions on achievement and performance. In particular at lower levels of proficiency, FLA may inhibit L2 communication, trapping elementary learners in a vicious circle, because no improvement in the TL could result in increased FLA.

Lastly, another personality trait analysed by the same authors in relation to FLA is emotional intelligence (EI). This trait is composed of self-perceptions related to how an individual thinks that they can manage and express their emotions, such as those relevant for FLA. This trait is also labelled “emotional self-efficacy”, echoing Bandura's definition (2.2.3.5). Low trait-EI is thus linked to a low perception of one's ability to cope with emotions. The hypothesis that speakers with low trait-EI were more likely to experience FLA was borne out. Likewise, higher than average trait-EI individuals were less likely to experience FLA, thanks to their confidence to be able to regulate emotions like anxiety and stress, and to their assertiveness.

To conclude, a passage from the book *Lost in translation* by Eva Hoffman (1989) illustrates in a narrative way all the feelings of awkwardness that the author went through when adapting to a second language and, interesting for my purposes, how these feelings affect her way of being, or in other words, her identity:

It takes all my will to impose any control on the sounds that emerge from me. I have to form entire sentences before uttering them; otherwise, I too easily get lost in the middle. My speech, I sense, sounds monotonous, deliberate, heavy—an aural mask that doesn't become or express me at all. (. . .) I don't try to tell jokes too often, I don't know the slang, and I have no cool repartee. I love language too much to maul its beats, and my pride is too quick to risk the incomprehension that greets such forays. I become a very serious young person (. . .). I am enraged at the false persona I'm being stuffed into, as into some clumsy and overblown astronaut suit. I'm enraged at my adolescent friends because they can't see through the guise, can't recognize the light-footed dancer I really am (pp. 118–119).

The feelings of distress are tangible from words like “foray” or “enraged” and they are caused by the impossibility to express her thoughts, and thus show her real self. It is evident how the struggle to express herself affects her personality and makes her unwillingly “serious”, a persona she does not recognize herself in or identify with. This struggle includes feelings of rage and apprehension at risks, symptoms that sound familiar in the FLA literature. Finally, it is interesting to note the use of the words “mask”, “suit” and “guise”, reminding of the subjectivity of the identity construction process and the new persona an L2 requires us to

adopt. The purpose of the drama techniques that will be proposed is actually for students to “reinvent themselves successfully in the TL”, as wittily put by Spielmann & Radnofsky (2001: 273), providing more anxious students with a chance to feel less anxious if they feel as if another person was speaking instead of themselves, a sort of their FL persona. Alongside the above mentioned identity issues, an individual also has to deal with a broader identity as belonging to a group and a culture (or more than one). For this reason the next section will be devoted to explore this relationship.

3.3.2 FLA AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Another issue pointed out by Dewaele (2005) is the conflict that learners' self and face³⁹ may endure when confronted with L2 norms. Some sociocultural norms are so different in two languages-cultures that a learner may struggle to accommodate to them. Some instances are reported on pragmatics, politeness and gender expectations (García Gómez 2010), for example when an English learner of Italian claims that they had to put aside their British politeness rules when making requests and adopt a more straightforward and louder Italian persona in order to get what they wanted. From my personal observation, some Spanish students are particularly resistant to adopt British politeness formulas and would rather use more direct formulations, as probably less ego-threatening. For instance, the use of “I want” instead of “Can I have” seems to be preferable for the function of making a request.

One of the purposes of learning a foreign language should actually be to become aware and familiar with different cultural codes and, in this way, become a more respectful and open-minded individual. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages makes reference to culture as a way to foster a sense of citizenship.

That the rich heritage of diverse languages and cultures in Europe is a valuable common resource to be protected and developed, and that a major educational effort is needed to convert that diversity from a barrier to communication into a source of mutual enrichment and understanding. (p. 2)

In section 5.1.1.3, it explicitly refers to cultural awareness with these words: “Knowledge, awareness and understanding of the relation (similarities and distinctive differences) between the ‘world of origin’ and the ‘world of the target community’ produce an intercultural awareness.” (p. 103).

³⁹ “Face” meant according to Brown and Levinson (1987) terminology as self-image to be protected in social interactions.

The study of culture as part of the curriculum of a foreign language is reported in Garrett & Young (2009) as an extremely useful tool, serving as strategic competence in conversation with native speakers. The learner of this study reports being able to follow a conversation in Portuguese, in spite of her language deficiencies, and even participating in it thanks to her background knowledge of the topic, acquired in the Brazilian music and dance class. The cultural knowledge turns up to be linguistically useful, apart from the intrinsic value of making the language more real and more motivating. The experience was so enlightening that, as a teacher, Garrett decided to include more cultural references in her curriculum. Regarding her own place in the target culture, she mentions: "I think my identity as a learner is starting to shift, and I think the cultural component of our lessons plays a big role in this." (p. 213). In this statement the specific terminology betrays the learner's familiarity with the academic field of research, but at the same time it is interesting to find a reference to the cultural "shift" she underwent throughout her experience as a FL learner.

In my experience as a non-Spanish foreign language teacher in Spain, I have often come across learners' lack of interest and information about the target culture, which has often given rise to stereotypes and resistance to learning. Their integrative motivation (see chapter 2) seemed to be one of the obstacles to their positive learning experience and especially to their construction of an L2 persona. The empirical study may shed some new light on the reasons for this resistance.

3.3.3 FLA AND GENDER

As reviewed in chapter 1, gender is a fundamental part of identity. As individuals construct their identity, they construct their gender as well. Therefore, FLA and gender are bound to have some sort of reciprocal influence. Let us first review some psychological studies which trace the influence of gender on anxiety and other affective disorders, to then narrow down on the learning context and in particular on language learning.

As far as general anxiety is concerned, females have been reported to be remarkably more prone to being affected by this disorder. The US National Comorbidity Survey⁴⁰ found

⁴⁰ The National Comorbidity Survey: Baseline (NCS-1) was carried out in 1990-1992 as the first large-scale field survey of mental health in the USA. The assessment of disorders was based on the diagnostic criteria of the most current DSM manual at that time, the DSM-III-R (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Third Edition, Revised).

that women were 85% more likely to suffer from anxiety than men (Howell, Castle & Yonkers 2006). According to Kessler et al. (1994), 19% of men develop anxiety compared to 31% of women. More specifically, social phobias, including fear to speak to authority or in public, as well as expressing disagreement, were found more in women than in men (Turk et al. 1998). This gender gap would start as early as at age six, when girls of this age already report more episodes of anxiety than boys (Lewinsohn et al. 1998).

Among the possible causes for this divergence, both biological and cultural reasons have been put forward. At a hormonal level, the onset of puberty and the production of testosterone are reported to have a protective effect for boys against anxiety and depression (Seeman 1997). Conversely, typically feminine conditions, such as Premenstrual Dysphoric Disorder, or even sexual traumas, too often undergone by women, are often associated with anxiety (Howell, Castle & Yonkers 2006). The same authors report a connection between shortness of breath and women's higher resting breathing rate and lower carbon dioxide exhalation, which may lead to anxiety. A more phylogenetic stance is taken by Echeburúa (1993), who points out that women are more sensitive to external threats due to their less physical strength and greater need for protection, for example during pregnancy.

Taking a gender perspective rather than a biological one, Obeidallah et al. (1996) and Sheeber et al. (2002) describe adolescence as the period when the imitation of parental roles is maximised, so that girls would have assimilated “feminine” patterns of socialisation from their mothers, prioritising care and domestic spheres rather than public ones. As a consequence, collectivity is emphasized and a lower efficacy and self-esteem derive. Hops (1996) purports that parental influence might increase girls' focus on dependent relations in detriment of instrumentality and assertiveness, which is a risk factor of depressive disorders. Echeburúa (1993) adds that girls are instilled with a pressure to respond with fear to unknown possible dangers, a response which becomes part of their gender expectations.

In the learning realm, McGeown et al. (2012) found that individual differences in reading motivation are better explained by resorting to gender rather than sex: a sex role inventory form was administered along with a motivation questionnaire to see which traits children identified more with. It turned out that feminine traits correlated more closely to intrinsic reading motivation, whereas sex itself did not have a bearing on the results.

Zooming in on research on foreign language anxiety and gender, conflicting results have been obtained. On the one hand, in a few studies males have been reported as having higher FLA than females (Spielberger 1983, Mejías 1991, Kitano 2001, McIntyre et al. 2002). On the other hand, the opposite correlation was found (Machida 2001, Donovan & MacIntyre 2005, MacIntyre 2007 and Dewaele et al. 2008). Female individuals showed higher anxiety, at least in part of the scenarios, for instance, talking on the phone in their L1 in Dewaele et al. (2008), or within the older participants in Donovan & MacIntyre (2005). Matsuda & Gobel (2004) found that gender and self-confidence significantly correlated with performance in first year university female students, whereas gender did not correlate with FLA or confidence in this study.

In order to understand the reasons for this gender differences and FLA, some interesting insights will be reported, taking into account other psychological variable such as motivation (Kitano 2001), or sociobiographical ones such as age (MacIntyre & Baker 2002), or resorting to other cultural and contextual gender explanations such as gender role, sensitivity, emotion management and so on (Hayati & Ostadian 2008, Piechurska-Kuciel 2012 and Arnáiz & Guillén 2012).

Kitano (2001) found that male university students in the US experienced more FLA in their Japanese class when their self-perception of speaking ability⁴¹ was low, whereas for the female students in the study such a correlation was not encountered. The author hypothesizes that this gender difference is due to the fact that male students might be interested in the pragmatic side of the language and might have an extrinsic motivation to master it for their future careers in business, technology or science. This pressure to perform adequately is deemed one of the possible reasons for explaining the gender difference. Nevertheless, this hypothesis is just a conjecture, as it does not rely on any kind of empirical data showing that female students were not driven by the same practical aims and type of motivation for the Japanese language.

MacIntyre & Baker (2002) studied the effect of age and sex on anxiety and other variables such as WTC and motivation within English-speaking adolescents on a late French immersion programme in Canada. It was found that boys' anxiety and WTC remained stable across time (12 to 14 years old), whereas girls' FLA decreased and their WTC increased at the

⁴¹ Relevant parameter for the FLA debate, inasmuch as one of causes for FLA is when a learner feels that his/her self-concept of competence is threatened (Horwitz 1986).

age of 14, compared to the same parameters at the age of 12 and 13. The authors speculate that the explanation is to be found in developmental psychology: at the age of 14, girls have passed the most anxiety-provoking phase of adolescence, since their puberty starts on average at 12-13 years old. Instead, boys would find themselves immersed in this phase at the age of 14, as their puberty starts later (13.5-14 years old). Again, as in Kitano's study, the discussion of the finding is just a matter of speculation.

These conjectures vary according to the cultural setting, as evident in those provided by Hayati & Ostadian (2008) to refer to the Iranian scenario. In their study, listening comprehension was analysed in relation to self-esteem. They proved that students with high self-esteem, being more confident of their ability to understand a FL, make a bigger effort while listening, so that they perform more efficiently; vice versa, low self-esteem students expect not to be able to understand and try less hard to carry out a task. Female respondents showed a higher probability to be affected in their listening comprehension by their level of self-esteem than male students, who in turn are reported as less sensitive to psychological factors. The authors attach cultural-laden explanations for girls' higher sensitivity to their gender role and explain girls' overall higher listening comprehension ability as a matter of having less freedom to do other than studying in their free time. This seems a harsh, but probably realistic picture of the unequal access to opportunities in this country.

A similarly biased interpretation comes from a Polish study (Piechurska-Kuciel 2012). Based on the literature, the author assumed that communicatively apprehensive girls would be more sensitive to anxiety than their male counterparts, hypothesis which was not borne out. However, non-apprehensive girls did experience higher FLA than non-apprehensive boys. The author explains this gender difference by reference to a biological explanation: although girls mature earlier, this biological advantage does not compensate for their propensity to anxiety, due to their hormone levels responsible for affective disorders. Considering gender contextually, the Polish researcher expected boys to feel a FL less of a threat to their ego, given that they would feel more detached from this “girly” subject, and failing it would jeopardise their self-esteem in a lesser degree; which means that in these adolescents' mind, it is not a serious matter to be bad at English since it is “normal” for boys not to be as good at it as for girls. Moreover, the author expected males to manage their negative emotions better; whereas female students should make up for their anxiety through consciousness and hard study. All these explanations, though in some cases documented by the literature, seem to perpetuate stereotypes and expectations that the author herself declares to be willing to dispel.

As a consequence, I perceive hers as a circular argument and no empirical data are provided to sustain the discussion.

Finally to narrow down on the Spanish scenario, one of the few studies at hand is Arnáiz & Guillén (2012) that proves that university female students were more anxious than males, possibly because they tend to be less confident regarding their performance, apart from being more willing to admitting to anxiety, encouraged as they are to express their feelings from an early age, which is considered a “feminine” feature. The authors recognise the need to shed light on the real perceptions of the foreign language process eliciting qualitative data, suggestion that I completely back.

Indeed, as illustrated in this section, the studies available on the relation between gender and FLA are based on conjectural explanations of any gender difference encountered, whose results are in any case contradictory. On top of this lack of reliable studies, the Spanish scenario seems even scarcer in this field, all of which justifies that, in the empirical part of this thesis, particular attention should be paid to gender as part of the identity construction process of language learners.

3.4 FLA WITHIN SPANISH STUDENTS

The studies presented in this chapter come from a variety of settings, from Canada (MacIntyre & Gardner 1989, 1991, 1994) to the Far East (Kitano 2001, Matsuda & Gobel, 2004 Kim 2009) or Chile (Gregersen & Horwitz 2002). Interestingly enough, Northern European countries, where people are said to be quite confident English L2 speakers, have not produced any remarkable study on this matter, implying that FLA is not at the top of the agenda of second language researchers and instructors. In any case, the similarities of the results from the above mentioned countries show certain reliability of the concept of FLA, since many students experience FLA regardless of the place. Yet, at the same time, some cultural specificities emerge: for instance, in Dewaele & Al-Saraj (2013), the translation and adaptation of the FLCAS test for Saudi Arabian students brought to light the existence of new centres of interest not dealt with before, for instance anxiety arising from the fact of having students with different levels in the same class. Similarly, Liu (2003) and Kim (2009) relate their results to the specificities of the instructional context of respectively China and Korea. In particular, Horwitz (2001) observes that FLA is generally higher within Korean students than

within Americans, who in turn experience more anxiety than the Turkish sample, concluding that FLA may vary in different cultural contexts.

For this reason, before presenting the empirical study, it is worth summarising the research conducted in Spain and documenting the previous attempts to delve into FLA in this country. From the scanty literature of studies carried out in Spain, I will outline the main ones, involving students respectively from high school (Morena-Taboada et al. 2011), university (Casado & Dereshiwsky 2004, Ortega-Cebreros 2010, Arnáiz & Guillén 2012⁴²) and EOI (Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez 2000).

Morena-Taboada et al. (2011) undertook research among 564 teenagers (13-18 years old) attending state and private high schools in the Madrid Region. They came to the result that five factors account for 53.38% of total variance, in particular communication apprehension (almost 35%). Comparatively, the reliability of this study is good (.807), although slightly lower than previous studies in different contexts, such as the milestone Horwitz et al. (1983), carried out at the University of Texas among learners of Spanish; Aida (1994) in the same setting but for learners of Japanese; Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez (2000) with EOI students. The table below illustrates the different Cronbach's alpha coefficient in these four studies.

Figure 3.1 Reliability comparison based on Cronbach's alpha

Horwitz et al. (1983)	Aida (1994)	Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez (2000)	Morena-Taboada et al. (2011)
.93	.94	.89	.807

The novelty of Morena-Taboada et al. (2011) resides in splitting the four traditional factors⁴³ into five by dividing up factor 3 into two factors, namely Comfortableness in using English *inside* the classroom and Comfortableness in using English *outside* the classroom.

As far as university settings are concerned, a comparison between North American and Spanish first-semester students in terms of levels of FLA was carried out by Casado &

⁴² Same study mentioned in 3.3.3.

⁴³ 1) CA, 2) Anxiety about the FL learning process and situations, 3) Comfortableness in using English inside and outside the classroom and 4) Negative attitudes.

Dereshiwsky (2004). They aimed to find out whether students in countries like Spain with an L2 'early start' and 'a well-articulated teaching framework' (p. 23) would suffer less from FLA. The study revealed the opposite scenario to be true, i.e. that the Spanish respondents scored higher in FLA than their American counterparts. It may be due to the fact that, although in Spain English as an L2 education does start very early, it is not one of the head countries in Europe in terms of foreign language achievement⁴⁴; consequently another country, such as the Netherlands or a Scandinavian country, which rank first, should have been chosen for the comparison and it might have borne out more significant results.

Ortega-Cebreros (2010) focused on university students aged 19-20 attending the second year of the degree in English Philology in Jaén back in 1998. She found considerable levels of FLA, even higher than the beginners in Horwitz et al. (1986). In particular, almost half of these university students (45%) felt overwhelmed by rules when speaking, lacked confidence and were reticent to volunteering in class. A lower but still significant percentage (39%) of them experienced negative feelings, such as nervousness and confusion when speaking English. The author explains the results as due to higher demands on more advanced students, as well as to the imbalance between their actual skills and those required by the course. In addition, compared to Horwitz's 18/19-student class, the Spanish class taken into account consisted of as many as 90 students, which may partly explain the higher level of fear of evaluation by peers when speaking in public. In fact, in such a large class many peers are unknown and FLA may increase in front of a large audience as compared to a small one.

Another study analysing a university setting was carried out by Arnáiz & Guillén (2012) with university students from three different faculties⁴⁵ at Gran Canaria University with an intermediate to advanced level of English (B1, B2 and C1 in the European Framework). The anxiety mean registered is higher than previous studies in different contexts (Horwitz et al. 1986 and Aida 1994), as well as in Spain (Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez 2001), hence it could be concluded that also in the Spanish university context FLA hinders proficiency of English as a second language. The table below illustrates the means in the four studies mentioned.

⁴⁴ It ranks 19th in the 6th edition of EF ranking <http://www.ef.com.es/epi/>.

⁴⁵ Teacher Training, Computer Science and Translation and Interpreting.

Figure 3.2 Comparison of FLA means

Horwitz et al. (1983)	Aida (1994)	Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez (2000)	Arnáiz & Guillén (2012)
94.5	96.7	89.07	104.12

It is concluded that it is a priority, especially for university students, to tackle this issue in the light of nowadays' importance of having a satisfactory command of oral skills for communication. Indeed, high FLA was found in this sample as directed linked to lower grades⁴⁶, which implies that reducing FLA would lead to higher grades and higher confidence and proficiency.

Finally, the study that is perhaps the most relevant for this thesis, in terms of the population taken into consideration, is Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez (2000), given that it deals with students at EOI. The same main author (Pérez Paredes 1996) had previously published the results of a survey tackling motivation and learning strategies, showing a certain mismatch between students' expectations and class reality (see chapter 2). In the 2000 article, the authors intended to revisit Aida's (1994) factor analysis of the FLCAS in order to shed some light on the concept of FLA itself. They took a sample of one hundred ninety-eight 14-to-65-year-old subjects who turned out to be more homogeneous than in previous studies as for FLA (standard variation and range were smaller). Overall FLA levels were lower too.

This study confirmed that the factor Communication Apprehension, comprising anxiety behaviours and shyness in the speaking domain, is the most outstanding of the FLA construct, the only difference being the number of items included in this factor (greater in Aida 1994). Communication Apprehension includes contexts like meetings or classes, discussions in small groups and in pairs, all typical of EOI classes. Another difference is that Aida's factor 1, Speech Anxiety and Fear of Negative Evaluation, is spread in this study in more than one factor. Another factor in this study worth noticing, though less influential for the FLA construct, is “Anxiety about the Foreign language process and Situations” and it detects what triggers anxiety: the cognitive appraisal of contextual situations perceived as

⁴⁶ As resulting from a test designed by the researchers based on the Common European Framework of Reference.

potentially dangerous, such as not understanding the teacher's talk, performing worse than the others, failing and feeling uncomfortable in the classroom.

In sum, they propose the existence of one main factor, Speech Anxiety or Speech Anxiety and Fear of Negative Evaluation, as the most influential factor to account for FLA. The article, in spite of providing valuable quantitative data directly comparable with other seminal studies, does not deepen into the causes for and strategies to cope with anxiety, as would be interesting to find in the pedagogical implications of this study in the empirical section of this study.

In conclusion, the shortage of research regarding Spanish EFL learners, especially from a qualitative point of view, emphasises the need for the study conducted in this thesis and described in the next chapter. Before that, we ought to examine the pedagogical suggestions put forward by the scholars who have dealt with FLA.

3.5 PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

One of the problems with language learning has been that, as humanistic psychologist Rogers (1975) pointed out, educational institutions have focused on [...] “educating from the neck up” (p. 40), which implies that little attention has been devoted to the affective and socio-psychological specificities of the protagonists of the learning process: learners.

Having demonstrated the pervasiveness and seriousness of FLA in FL learning, I shall now carry out a critical review of the principal suggestions made by FLA specialists, aimed at preventing or tackling anxiety-related issues. The focus of the thesis turns now towards a pedagogical and methodological approach in order to fulfil the objective of dealing with strategies and tools and providing ELT instructors with practical advice (see secondary objectives 4 and 5). Starting off with recommendations from Psychology to deal with general anxiety, I will then focus on FLA, first with general remarks, and then with specific reference to class and group dynamics and methodology. Some more practical suggestions will be presented at the end of the section. This review will set the basis for the pedagogical proposal and experiment presented in chapter 4, which is meant to deepen in the psychological concepts purported in the theoretical part.

3.5.1 HOW TO TACKLE FLA

Firstly, a general recommendation that comes from Psychology is that anxiety cannot be eradicated completely; therefore an anxious individual must learn to deal with it. The techniques generally deployed in psychological therapies are mainly controlled breathing and relaxation. On the cognitive side we can find restructuration, distraction and self-instructions, which respectively consist of dealing with negative thoughts to turn them positive, disconnecting from recurrent threats and negative images, and modifying detrimental internal speech. Finally, behavioural techniques include re-exposing oneself to the anxiety-provoking situations (Echeburúa 1993). A more recent approach is based on acceptance and commitment, which hinges on avoiding escaping from negative stimuli (emotions, thoughts etc.), accepting them and setting goals to change one's behaviour (Orsillo & Batten 2005).

To narrow down on FLA, the suggestions generally put forward in the literature revolve around the role of the teacher and the need to create a friendly, supportive, respectful atmosphere in class. Horwitz et al. (1986) first identified the need for a stress-free environment, which is often jeopardized by the fact that the evaluative nature of a class may stifle students' performance. In particular when dealing with mistakes, several authors stress the importance of treating them tactfully to prevent FLA. Liu (2006b) encourages teachers to accept that errors are part and parcel of students' interlanguage, a belief that should be conveyed to learners themselves. When it comes to feedback, delayed correction is normally preferred, as it is less face-threatening and intimidating than on-the-spot correction. Ewald (2007) summarises the suggestions usually found in FLA literature. She reminds that the teacher's role should be as supportive instructor, as opposed to authoritative evaluator, that the class atmosphere should be relaxed, and finally that the emphasis should be on a process towards improvement, rather than on demanding unconditional, high performance. She concludes that there is a lot that a teacher can do. Indeed the instructor's support has a huge impact on students' FLA, so that teachers have in their hands most of what it takes to deal with anxiety issues (Palacios 1998). The topic of this thesis is evidently driven by the conviction that research can shed light and offer guidance to improve everyday instructors' endeavours.

As for class dynamics, group work seems to be ideal, in that even shyer students find the courage to speak out, unlike whole class dynamics, when those students normally feel less comfortable and hide or keep quiet. Pair work also appears to be a safe environment, whereas impromptu speaking is reported to be the most face-threatening mode. Again, we are faced

with a double bind: on the one hand students benefit from group work for the above mentioned reasons, but on the other, in this setting they cannot be corrected individually all the time by one teacher, which is a frequent complaint made by students⁴⁷.

Additionally, allowing some time for preparation is considered by Liu (2006b) of great help to muster ideas and suitable vocabulary and structures for an oral task. In fact, teachers are sometimes so busy to go through the whole lesson plan by the end of the class time that they do not afford enough importance to thinking time before a task. Furthermore, care should be exercised to avoid forcing a student with low Willingness To Communicate (see 3.1.3) into having to speak at all costs. Positive feedback should be provided to praise good language use with the purpose of boosting self-esteem and self-efficacy (Marcos-Llinás & Juan-Garau 2009), as well as reinforcing accuracy in the context of the task performed.

In this respect, Young (1991) devotes an article to how to create a low-anxiety, non-threatening classroom, where she warns against the detrimental consequences of “unnatural classroom methods” (p.434) and elaborates on the measures to create a low-anxiety class, which can be summarised as follows:

1) Beliefs and fears: students must be helped to recognize their irrational beliefs and fears, approaching rather than avoiding anxiety-provoking situations by verbalizing and sharing them in class or through the use of journals. Self-talk can be either a source of anxiety or a productive device: if one tells oneself “I’ll forget everything” they are likely to fail. If they feed themselves with positive, encouraging messages, they are more likely to perform well. Wrong beliefs must then be challenged with new, realistic information about actual capabilities and attainable goals.

2) Teachers: a teacher should be a facilitator who provides input and positive reinforcement, plus endowed with sense of humour, patience and a relaxed attitude. As for mistake handling, it is proposed to set up a Mistake Panel and vote for the mistakes that are the most amusing, communicatively intelligible and those helpful for learning.

3) Class dynamics: the advantages of group and pair work are complemented by a reference to the group binding effect of working with peers and the contribution of playful activities for motivation and relaxation.

⁴⁷ Personal communication.

4) Tests: pre-test exposure will help overcome test anxiety, as well as administering tests which reflect content, expectations and format of class instructions. Familiarity with tasks will decrease negative reactions that may hamper test performance.

As far as methodology is concerned, Ortega-Cebreros (2010) points out the drawbacks of the communicative method. As learners are more pressured to communicate and improvise, they cannot rely on the repetitive but reassuring routines of drilling. Therefore, their FLA tends to increase and is present at any level, as new, unpredictable tasks will demand new skills. Indeed, teachers and learners find themselves in a double bind: on the one hand, in order to learn to speak, the communicative method is the most widely used, but on the other hand, it seems to be the most face-threatening one.

Another method, Suggestopedia, was promoted by Lozanov in 1978, based on Baroque music to induce relaxation, and on suggestion, including teacher's promotion of students' positive self-image. The results of its effects are controversial. Shimbo (2008) carried out an experiment on Australian tertiary learners of Japanese and managed to prove some effects of suggestions on self-concept, but no strong effect on cognitive variables (memory and learning); moreover, relaxation did not seem to bear out significant results either. The suggestions that did play a role in students' affective side consisted in teacher's messages such as "learning will be easy for you today" (p. 6), which in as few as four sessions made a difference in students' self-concept. Similar positive effects of suggestions had already been found by Noëls (1999 and 2001 in Shimbo 2008), whereas Alcántara (1992) had found no significant results of suggestopedia on FLA in particular. Relaxation is also recommended by Szyszka (2011), after observing the need for reducing FLA within Polish students to benefit their pronunciation. She draws on the recommendations made by Wrembel (2001), who collects various techniques ranging from Neuro-Linguistic Programming⁴⁸ to drama, all aimed at improving pronunciation. Personally, the idea behind Suggestopedia may seem enticing, but its foundations have not been proven particularly sound as to confidently implement the method in class. Nevertheless, positive, encouraging phases do seem to foster self-esteem, which is one of the bases of a full-fledged, healthy L2 persona.

Lastly, dealing with the TL cultural component is also suggested as a way to make the learning experience more real and motivating, thus alleviating negative and anxiety-

⁴⁸ An approach to language in which neurological processes and behavioural patterns should be ideally in a learning mode, with learners mentally calm and alert and willing to break down ego boundaries.

provoking attitudes. Moore (2007) proposes to set up a cultural day or even a cultural week, with the aim of promoting cultural awareness, for instance offering typical food to taste or an exhibit of cultural manifestations. In the case of English, it might be controversial to decide which culture to represent, due to the growing interest in international English or English as a lingua franca (see chapter 1.1.3.1). In my opinion, reference to British or American culture ought to be part of the curriculum, but we also have to bear in mind as teachers that a great number of students study English for other reasons than moving to, or even visit, Britain or the USA (i.e. they are not driven by integrative motivation). An approach to cultural manifestations of the main English-speaking countries would, nonetheless, be of great benefit for them, in terms of positive attitudes towards the language studied and so as to keep an open mind towards other cultures and, ultimately, open up new horizons.

To conclude this section on approaches to FLA, I agree with Ortega-Cebreros (2010) when she claims that the mere fact of being aware of FLA and discussing the topic gives a chance to students to share their worries, realise its detrimental effects and possibly try to deal with it. Indeed, Horwitz et al. (1986) first discovered the existence of this issue and conceptualized it after setting up a support group in 1983 at the University of Texas, where students were able to discuss their concerns related to learning a FL. For severe cases of anxiety, the authors suggested that students should be referred to learning specialists and counsellors for further treatment. However, for general FLA, discussion and support seem to be a feasible and extremely helpful approach.

The characteristics of a non-FLA class having being explained above, some targeted, practical activities will be presented as tools to tackle FLA. Gregersen and MacIntyre propose very targeted, practical activities in their 2013 webinar *Talking in order to learn*, which I found extremely inspirational for the elaboration of the empirical activities.

(a) Identifying and ranking three scenarios linked with anxiety and share them with classmates;

(b) De-sensitising anxiety, i.e. imagining these scenarios and do relaxation thinking of these situations;

(c) Creating a vision of oneself as a proficient L2 user, or choosing among known people, in order to have a concrete model for one's L2 ideal self;

(d) Envisioning oneself travelling to a FL country and engaging with L2 speakers to make the communicative purposes more vivid and real.

This kind of non-orthodox activities is definitely food for thought. Let us now comment on each of them and see their possible relation with the activities proposed in the empirical study. Activity a) deals with the identification of the problem and treatment through talking about it. In most cases, FLA is not even recognised and students and teachers consequently do not even think about having to deal with it. Activity b) provides the next step when one faces the problem by visualising it with the help of relaxation techniques. Obviously, it seems clear that unless a language instructor is familiar and confident with relaxation, this technique should be avoided. Activity c) relies on an ideal self or a third person as a model to imitate or try to achieve. This could be inspired by the media or from the real world and it represents the concrete target a learner tends to address his/her efforts towards. This sounds in line with the very definition of motivation as a drive towards an objective and a way to support these efforts. Finally, d) still embraces visioning, this time moving geographically to a foreign country. Although limited in its scope, this technique could be useful to mentally prepare learners prior to a role-play set in the foreign country. In fact, role-plays provide a more concrete and communicatively effective way to compensate for the fact that a language is learnt in a place far from where it is spoken. This is one of the reasons why role-plays have been chosen in two of the three experimental activities. All in all, these proposals offered an interesting springboard for the drama activities designed for the empirical part, in that they materialised the concept and suggestions theoretically agreed on in the literature.

3.5.2 DRAMA IN ESL/EFL

The previous section has pointed out a wide range of methodological guidelines to prevent FLA from interfering with a positive L2 persona, as is the objective of the thesis. Taking all those suggestions into account, drama seems to me an extremely valuable tool. This idea will be supported by results coming from other experiments in the area. To do so, in this section I will first narrow down on the pedagogical implications of using drama and its multiple benefits in relation to FLA. Then, some case studies will be presented and analysed to reinforce the claim that drama is a powerful tool to overcome and prevent FLA, as gleaned in several worldwide scenarios. The need for an empirical study in Spain in the context of

adult learners will derive from the poverty of studies in this area, especially based on qualitative data, and the lack of a precise methodology.

3.5.2.1 DEFINITION OF DRAMA

To begin with, definitions of drama and its application in ESL/EFL will be provided. There are numerous definitions of what drama is, in general terms, and as applied to English teaching:

- 1) "Active and corporeal mode of making meaning", "always about social encounters" and "an everyday experience in contemporary culture" (Franks 1999: 39, 40).
- 2) "A wide range of oral activities that have an element of creativity present" (Hubbard et al. 1986: 317).
- 3) "Any activity where learners are asked to portray themselves or someone else in an imaginary situation" (Holden 1982:1).
- 4) "Dramatherapy is the therapy that is in drama itself [...] "setting the scene for personal healing without prescribing the treatment for it" (Andersen-Warren & Grainger 2000: 15).

Through these definitions, drama has been defined as something belonging to our everyday's experience and not detached from or relegated to the world of entertainment, as might be thought at first. It is something that carries meaning and has a social facet. In the FL class, it refers to a large set of possible tasks, as long as they have a creative side. There is also a reference to identity, in that when students take on roles, they are asked to "perform"⁴⁹ themselves, or else to re-enact a new persona. Finally, something underlining the extent of the effects of drama is the fact that it is even defined and utilized as a form of therapy. It would contain a sort of treatment leading to a natural improvement of the user's problems. The mere use of drama would therefore bring about a series of changes within a person. Indeed, several benefits have been pointed out by various authors, as will be explained in the next section.

⁴⁹ Both in Butler's terms and in dramatic ones.

The way drama is conceived of in the empirical study hinges on the above mentioned idea that acting is exactly what people do on an everyday basis when engaging in verbal interaction, not what actors/actresses do in their professional lives. The ultimate goal is to encourage learners to bridge theory and practice, what they learn in class in terms of vocabulary and grammar and its actual use in simulated everyday contexts. This leads to the “social” side of the learning experience, where learners’ self-image must be protected and cared about. In the empirical activity they do have to take on a different identity and experiment with it, in order to construct a solid, healthy L2 persona.

Being such an everyday experience, drama may take different forms. Some examples of the types of activities that can be carried out in class are: improvisations, role-plays, sketches, story dramatization, mock interviews, business meetings, debates and full-fledged plays (Sam 1990), as well as miming (Davies 1990) and hot seat (Ashton-Hay 2005). The main characteristics of some of the above mentioned drama activities are described below.

Improvisation sets off both the linguistic and paralinguistic resources (gestures, movement, tone of voice and so on) available to respond spontaneously to unexpected stimuli. Because of this unpredictability, improvisation carries the maximum sense of novelty, thus motivation is at the highest degree. In fact, in a study conducted at the University of Magdeburg, Germany, individuals exposed to unfamiliar images exhibited greater brain activity in a region responsible for motivation⁵⁰ (Bunzeck & Düzel 2006) than those exposed to familiar ones.

On the opposite end, rehearsed drama activities provide a sense of familiarity with the language, which allows learners to be in their comfort-zone and reduces anxiety and self-consciousness (Dodson 2002). However, the pressure to perform and remember the lines accurately might be a burden and still generate FLA, especially at the beginning of a play. In terms of feedback, similarly to actors accepting the director's interventions during a rehearsal, learners take the teacher's corrections as part and parcel of the rehearsing experience, feeling less self-conscious when interrupted (Smith, 1984 in Gill, 2013b). Linguistically, line-memorisation leads to internalise the language and to have it ready for automatic use in the future. Following Tognini et al. (2010: 28.3), “fluency develops as language knowledge becomes more automatized” (p. 28.3). In parallel to fluency, pronunciation and intonation improve. As learners are working on a finite text, teachers can focus their feedback on pre-

⁵⁰ Novelty exploration can enhance hippocampal plasticity in animals through dopaminergic neuromodulation arising in the substantia nigra/ventral tegmental area (SN/VTA) (2006: 369).

determined phonetic features, rather than the larger, uncontrolled stream of spontaneous talk, in which errors must be detected on the spot or we might miss the chance. Focus on form is then done in a meaningful context.

Finally, hot seat is an activity in which one person sits in a chair and “becomes” one of the characters - preferably one of a play being studied - and the rest of the class ask him/her questions in order to gain a deeper insight into the feelings and thoughts of the character. It offers an opportunity to get to know the character better, or its interpretation according to what the student wants to convey. At the same time it is a good way to enhance empathy (Ashton-Hay 2005).

The experimental activities of this thesis are based mainly on improvisation but with some rehearsal involved. This compromise has been opted for with the aim of protecting learners’ comfort zone, allowing them enough preparation, but at the same time without losing the excitement and usefulness of reproducing a quasi-spontaneous communicative encounter.

3.5.2.2 BENEFITS OF DRAMA

According to teacher and actor Via (1985), the pioneer in applying drama to teaching, drama techniques have been used for language teaching for centuries. He refers to Kelly’s (1969) overview of the history of language teaching, which dates them back to the Middle Ages, followed by revered examples like Montaigne, Erasmus and Comenius who found a didactic merit in games. In recent times, drama techniques have been used in as diverse fields as military and governmental training, including NASA astronauts, as well as in business and education. A review of the main benefits of drama in ESL/EFL will follow, beginning with those regarding language learning in general, then moving on to the psychological issues relevant to this thesis: identity construction, FLA and motivation.

3.5.2.2.1 LINGUISTIC BENEFITS

To begin with, as Hegman (1990) suggests, drama succeeds in fusing cognitive and affective learning mechanisms, leading to enhanced learning. Indeed, most multiple intelligences get involved: the most evident would be verbal intelligence (through the use of scripts and verbal communication), then interpersonal (being a collaborative activity), intrapersonal (referring to individual feelings and emotions), spatial (as movements and directions are part of the scene), kinesthetic (by performing physical actions), and even logic

(following believable patterns like cause-effect); optionally musical, if the play is accompanied by music or dances (Ashton-Hay 2005).

Zooming in on language learning methodologies, a drama-based methodology is in line with the commonly used Communicative Approach, given that they both aim at helping learners to attain communicative competence (Sam 1990). For this purpose, they both rely on tasks in which meaning, context and communicative appropriacy are afforded a more prominent role than language form per se. Drama activities provide a real life, contextualised scenario for students to experiment with the foreign language and try it out. In this experiential process the oral output is enhanced, as students' talking time increases (Gill 2013a).

At the same time, drama is in line with Constructivist learning, which involves social, active learning based on cooperation. It hinges on the group as well as on the individual's self-control, to work towards a goal and it also draws on emotional intelligence. Through Constructivist learning, students gain confidence while developing new skills (Ashton-Hay 2005).

Gill (2013b) sees drama as a blend of Behaviourism and Constructivism, inasmuch as memorised chunks of language may be used cognitively in different contexts in the future, with an enhanced speed of access to the interaction. This assumption is backed by Jong & Perfetti (2011, in Gill 2013b), who demonstrated that repetitive speech-giving improves fluency, even when dealing with new topics. Furthermore, Maley & Duff (1978 in Sam 1990) argue that drama reactivates some forgotten emotional content into language, which means that it brings back new meanings and emotions to language otherwise sterile if unused on a daily basis.

As well as meeting the requirements of widespread methodologies in use, drama activities as a learning tool qualify as intensive and extensive oral practice, with a high component of motivation attached. The participants' feedback on their usefulness will confirm this assumption.

3.5.2.2.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL BENEFITS AND POSSIBLE DRAWBACKS

Given that the main objective of this thesis is to shed light on how drama may contribute to tackle psychological constraints interfering with language learning, this section will deal with the relationship between drama and namely identity construction, FLA and motivation.

In reference to the psychological facet, several studies point out that, through drama, identity necessarily undergoes some changes. In fact, when interpreting a character, a learner must project him/herself into an imaginary situation, into the skin and persona of another person (Holden 1982: 1). By stepping into a character's shoes, learners have the chance to compare their own emotions with the character's, becoming more aware of these emotions and able to recognise and manage them (Ashton-Hay 2005). This is an exercise of empathy and emotion control. In fact, by the end of Miccoli's (2003) drama project, most participants had learnt trust and acceptance of their limits and of others', what the author calls "transformative learning". From the participants' very diaries, the author draws some relevant findings: "I learned... to be another person... to be me", "... to be more human", and "I found out my own way of saying the lines" (126-127).

The effect of drama on identity are analysed in depth by Brash & Warnecke (2009). They argue that learners experiment with identity either by taking on a role already experienced in the past or a completely different one, as they connect with their own identity in the former case, or try out a different one in the latter. The authors make the constructionist statement that we create our identity through the stories we tell about ourselves: Therefore, language and identity appear to be interlinked in a subjective, fluid reality.

Empirically, students' reactions regarding this "shedding the ego"⁵¹ have been reported both as positive and negative. Some of them responded positively about safely playing out a different role and were relieved to shed their identity. Some others instead felt anxious and alienated, as will be dealt with in the next paragraph. In order to protect this identity construction process, the authors encourage teachers to allocate roles sensibly, according to students' personalities, and to allow students freedom to choose how far they are willing to identify with the role. Students' agency is in fact essential: if a learner is proficient enough in English, they will have more choices to construct their identity, so drama will be a form of

⁵¹ Title of Brash and Warnecke's (2009) article.

empowerment for them; whereas, if their linguistic skills are insufficient, their choices will be more limited, and so will be their new self construction.

As a last note on identity, even a paralinguistic feature such as silence has been reported to have a link with identity construction in drama. It is defined by Granger (2004: 6) as a “manifestation of identity-formation processes”, a space in which learners are engaged in an internal struggle, while they organise their ideas. They fight against feelings of loss of their L1 secure persona and the uncertainty of their L2 future self.

As far as FLA is concerned, drama may have a twofold effect on it. On the one hand, drama activities risk creating embarrassment, especially if not appropriately carried out, or when students do not feel ready or motivated enough. But on the other hand, drama is said to have a therapeutic effect for shy or low-self-esteem individuals, in that they could become more expressive (Schneier & Welkowitz, 1996) and participative (Stern 1980). Eventually, by gaining confidence, their communicative skills can improve.

As mentioned above, special care should be exercised when planning and carrying out this type of activities since, as put by Gilbert (2005), “a few humiliating experiences ... may make learners so discouraged that they give up trying” (p. viii). This reminds us of Attribution Theory (chapter 2), which stresses the relevance of past experiences as a justification of present, often, unpleasant situations. In this case a learner may have been traumatized by a pushy teacher who insisted on them doing a drama activity against their will. As was pointed out in chapter 3, negative past experiences may even be the cause of FLA, which is just the opposite function of the one that drama is meant to pursue according to this thesis. This fine line between beneficial and damaging effects raises awareness about the correct implementation of the experimental activities.

In fact, as Cockett (2007) cautions, not any role-play activity works. The indispensable element to maximise motivation is the tension between surface level (speech and action) and inner level (thoughts and feelings), also referred to as the “hook” for students to get fully involved (Neelands 1990: 68 in Cockett 2007). More precisely, there must be a gap between reality and the characters' purposes, so that the role-play would not simply reproduce reality but create certain “disturbance” of it (Bentley 1965: 229 in Cockett 2007). If the characters agree on the resolution of the conflict, the conversation will not last long. Instead, if they have opposing motives, they will have a reason for sustaining the dialogue, until they come to a resolution. Paradoxically, according to O'Toole (1992), this resolution is voluntarily delayed,

as learners are engaged in the drama and continue to elaborate on the problem. In practical terms, Cockett (2007) proposes to start with a class discussion about the possible conflicts in a given context (for example in a poor-quality hotel), in order to equip each character of the role-play with adequate motives coming from the students' own ideas (the hotel manager will want to defend the hotel, whereas the client will try to get value for money). There could be subsequent scenes, provided that a new hook is given. The main "hooks" are: mistaken identities, misunderstandings, alternative points of view, cover-ups, coincidences, competition, cheating, secrets, obsessions, and so on.

The scenes must be acted out in a safe environment, where negative emotions as well as linguistic and social constraints could be overcome, including FLA. Moreover, most scenes will tend to be amusing, due to the irony underlying the situation, with humour lubricating the learning process and protecting from embarrassment and fear; actually, as per Andersen-Warren & Grainger (2005: 24), with humour "we take revenge on fear itself, by controlling it with laughter". According to Carr (2005), laughing even strengthens the bonds within a group. In order not to deflate humour and also to protect students' self-esteem, error correction should be at least delayed at the end of the scene, or even in a subsequent session.

Indeed, drama can contribute to alleviate anxiety, by creating a relaxed, carefree atmosphere (Gill 2013a). For a shy student, taking on an alter ego or persona should build a protection from their reserved self (Ashton-Hay 2005). Several authors (Davies, 1990; Kao & O'Neil, 1998; Brash & Warnecke, 2009) point out that the kind of language behaviour fostered by drama leads to increased learner's confidence in oral communication. They refer to the spontaneity promoted in role-plays, which relieves learners of the pressure of being constantly interrupted and corrected, resulting in a smoother and more fluent speech. While performing, Mordecai (1985) contends that teachers have the chance to understand students' thoughts and feelings, as expressed in the activities. In the case of FLA, drama would have the additional benefit of singling out potential anxious students and dealing with them.

Closely related to FLA, emotional intelligence (EI) has a bearing on students' learning process (see Dewaele et al. 2008 in chapter 2). Early studies, before the term EI became popular, already hint at a development of sensitivity and of personal and sensory awareness. By taking on different roles, learners also develop empathy, since they have a chance to go beyond their own perspective, through a temporary suspension of their ego (Scharenghivel, 1970; Early & Tarlington, 1982; Fernández & Coil, 1986; Dougill, 1987 in Sam 1990).

Finally, as far as motivation is concerned, drama may serve as a booster. One of the tenets of the Communicative Approach being meaningful communication, instructors and material creators have endeavoured to provide learners with contextualised, purposeful activities, to accomplish which they would feel the real need to communicate. This sense of need and purpose favours participation even from the most withdrawn learner, stimulated by the mere sense of belonging to the group. In case a final play is going to be performed, students are also required to learn their lines, which implies hard work, concentration, self-discipline and team work, with a high responsibility towards the other members of the team. Moreover, the real-life element adds an authentic component to the learning experience, which, as seen in chapter 2, is a catalyst of motivation (Scharengnival, 1970; Mordecai, 1985; Sam, 1990; Hegman, 1990). Student-centred activities are reported to be another catalyst of motivation and hence of learning (Felder 1995). As per Kao & O'Neill (1998), drama provides students with a sense of ownership over an activity, which encourages them to carry on talking. For instance, when improvising, they are the authors of their own texts and they are not simply given one to reproduce.

As demonstrated in this section, drama has been used successfully in several domains and in particular in language learning. Apart from the linguistic utility, some psychological benefits have been elucidated, in particular since emotions are mobilised through drama, the participants' identity becomes a territory to explore and experiment with. If accurately cried out, drama activities may eventually help reduce FLA and increase motivation.

3.5.2.3 CASE STUDIES

Before planning my empirical study, it seemed necessary to take into account similar previous studies and their results, though conducted in different settings. This section provides an excursus through different scenarios following a historic and geographic criterion: recent sources have been chosen and presented according to their location.

Some early explorations were undergone by Via (1976, 1985), then Stern (1980), Holden (1982), Smith (1984), Mordecai (1985) to name a few. However, up to 1998 little research had been conducted, as Kao & O'Neills (1998) observe. Since then, some experiments have been carried out in different world scenarios, in parallel with the wider and wider application of the Communicative Approach. International studies that show the extent to which drama works are for instance: Miccoli (2003), Ashton-Hay, (2005), Stinson &

Freebody (2006), Stinson (2007), Gill, (2007), Brash & Warnecke (2009). In what follows, I will report some interesting and recent findings, in particular a drama project for refugees in the UK (Shepherd 2014), a university experiment with Asian students in Australia (Gill 2013a), a drama-based conversation course in Brazil (Miccoli 2003), the use of drama in ESP⁵² (Dinapoli 2001) and in distance-learning (Brash & Warnecke 2009), and, finally, its application to strengthen verb tenses acquisition in an Italian elementary school (O'Gara 2008).

Lisa Shepherd (2014) carried out an 8-month project among adolescent refugees about their double transition experience into the UK and into adulthood, with the aim of boosting the participants' skills and confidence in their spoken English. At first, their investment was jeopardised by the fear of failure and of not being accepted by the audience. This fear stemmed from the pressure of making the audience laugh solely through verbal communication, due to their not completely mastered language abilities. Nonetheless, slapstick tricks relieved part of this pressure. As a consequence, the outcome of the experiment was described as satisfactory, in that participants seemed to connect with the audience and with themselves, conveying the message that “language is not too big an obstacle to overcome” (p. 175). This study is quite encouraging, because it shows that even very vulnerable individuals, such as teenage refugees, managed to overcome their initial fear and to rediscover English as a means of communication, which is exactly what sometimes lacks in traditional EFL classes.

Moving to Australia, Gill⁵³ (2013a) tackled the hurdle that impedes Asian students to succeed academically. These students had previously been noticed as reluctant to participate in class, expecting teacher-centred tuition, with anxiety-related behaviour. Blocks of sessions, with and without the use of drama activities, were taught and assessed in terms of communicative skills, degree of participation, confidence and anxiety. The results were that participants became gradually more confident and participative, even in non drama-based activities such as debates, in which they normally would not have felt confident to take part. They demonstrated more assertiveness, autonomy and being less worried about “losing their face”. Their reported psychological limits (low self-esteem, anxiety, fear of rejection, lack of empathy for English) were partially overcome. Even their body language had improved. These students share many common features with Spanish ones, such as reluctance and lack

⁵² English for Special Purposes.

⁵³ Chamkaur Gill is one of the major figures in the Malaysian theatre, aside his academic career.

of confidence; therefore it represents a valid model of successful implementation of drama activities which may also apply to Spain.

Similarly positive benefits were reaped in a Brazilian university, where Miccoli (2003) resorted to drama in order to cater for a numerous mixed-ability conversation class. The course was structured in three parts. The preliminary part consisted of activities aimed at promoting trust and risk-taking, reducing inhibitions and letting emotions flow. The activities gave students the chance to look silly, be wrong and try again. It was followed by a series of classes in which they learnt more about acting, and finally they received their roles and rehearsed the play they would put on. In the last part participants were highly autonomous and chose a director in each group, with teacher becoming a reference figure for doubts and updates on the progress. They also wrote portfolios, gathering reflections on how they felt dealing with this new way to practise a foreign language. Their reactions were overall enthusiastic, encompassing language and real-life improvements. When teaching the population in the empirical study, the idea of these preliminary activities was embraced all through the school year (see Appendix II). Portfolios also seemed helpful but less practical than a post-activity survey, which is what was opted for.

Coming back to Spain, scholar and theatre director Dinapoli (2001) advocates the use of role-plays for ESP learners. Already adopted by the Harvard School of Business, this language learning methodology is particularly useful to prepare university students for the “world out there”, given that for a role-play they need to empathise with the characters' circumstances, build relationships with the other members of the scene and reach a plausible, feasible solution to the conflict. These are all skills that will be required in the labour market and which are not usually taught in conventional university subjects. For the role-play to be authentic and really useful, the author recommends not to stick to book situations but to have learners reflect on their role and identify with it. In this way both their creative and logical thinking are at work. Dinapoli (2001: 1) describes the experience in this dramatic tone: “the room is charged with the electricity of the conflict”, and the language previously learnt is “brought out by urgencies of the dramatic situation”, while actors/students are “caught up in the human dimension of a living problem”. It certainly sounds like a promising outcome involving students from the same country of the empirical study, though with some different socio-demographic characteristics.

Even in online tuition, role-plays may be used successfully. Following some mixed feedback received in classes using this methodology, Brash & Warnecke (2009) conducted a more focused survey on how students enrolled at UK Open University really felt during telephone or video-conferencing role-plays. On the one hand, some students expressed their anxiety, embarrassment and alienation, saying that they felt unable to cope with the language demands. Some others considered roleplaying too childish and did not see the point and the actual benefits. On the other hand, the lack of visual contact in telephone communication stimulated some students to “shed their ego” (p. 99). Such anonymity would indeed allow them to play out a role safely and, according to one respondent, even more at ease than in his/her own L1, since the aim in FL is more genuine (practising the foreign language itself).

From the survey, the authors drew some conclusions to orientate online teachers dealing with role-plays. First of all, they should clarify the purpose of such activity, highlighting its benefits. Then, preparation should be conducted carefully, as well as allocating roles with a certain margin of freedom and the possibility of negotiation. During the role-play they should act unobtrusively or as motivators, avoiding direct correction, thus letting learners sustain communication as long as possible and leaving them with a sense of accomplishment. Follow-up may consist of replaying one scene, retelling what happened, writing tasks, discussions and also error correction at this stage. When it comes to implementing the experimental activities, this study will be a warning about the importance of students’ attitudes towards and reaction to drama, as well as about how to handle drama techniques carefully.

Finally, another experience was conducted and empirically tested in an international elementary school in Italy by O’Gara (2008). Pupils were divided into two groups, one taught using drama techniques and the other with traditional teaching, as a control group. The comparison between pre-experiment and post-experiment tests bore out that the intervention group improved in the use of verb tenses. Additionally, the researcher observed an infectious excitement caused by the use of drama activities, a more attentive attitude of the pupils, higher awareness of correct and incorrect verb forms, which had a long lasting effect, as pupils were reported to correct each other even in classes after the experiment; all crowned by a general sense of achievement. In this context too drama proved to be particularly effective both on the linguistic and motivational levels.

3.6 CONCLUSION OF THE THEORETICAL PART

In the first and second research questions, I purported that I intended to explore identity construction of L2 users and their motivational sides. In these theoretical chapters the language learning process has been described as an unsettling experience, capable of threatening one's self-concept and making the individual feel at least different, and sometimes worse off than with their L1 persona. In chapter 2, various theories were described underlining the central role of the self in learning. Learners were defined as agents empowered to set their own goals, or in other words, to construct their L2 self, within the restrictions of the learning situation. Some of these limits are set by a host of negative feelings and thoughts, bound under the term of Foreign Language Anxiety. FLA has been defined as a situation-specific, unique, complex form of anxiety, comprising negative emotions, fear, beliefs, self-perceptions and behaviours. Hence, it is evident how FLA relates to identity and motivation.

The third set of research questions was just about the characteristics and extent of these psychological barriers. In this chapter, causes and consequences of FLA have been described, in order to thoroughly understand this phenomenon. The sources identified turned out to be multiple, spanning from damaging beliefs, low self-esteem, low contact with L2 speakers, fear of negative evaluation and situational ones, such as the relationship with teachers and incompatibility of learning procedures. The symptoms are also varied, encompassing physical reactions like stammering or sweating and behavioural ones, such as unwillingness to communicate and impaired oral proficiency, leading to negative consequences, including rejection towards the FL and giving up learning it.

All these negative scenarios paint a clear picture of how serious this phenomenon is and how pervasive it may become, if we just take into account all the communication areas and all the proficiency levels it involves. Studies from diverse language and cultural contexts have proven its pervasiveness and the fact that it affects an extremely large portion of the student population worldwide. The clear damage of FLA over identity has been dealt with, in line with research questions 3. The mismatch between L1 and L2 persona has turned out to be one of the causes of FLA, with self-esteem and self-perceived competence being two influential factors in the L2 identity construction process.

I concluded that FLA hinders learning and performance to a great extent and, in parallel, I stated that the situation becomes even more serious because of the lack of proper studies on Spanish students and of adequate guidelines for teachers and learners. From the

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

literature review, drama seems to be an effective tool to tackle FLA, and to foster motivation at the same time. As a consequence, three drama activities have been designed and will be presented in the next chapter, where the empirical study will shed more light on how drama may affect FLA and motivation.

4. EMPIRICAL STUDY

The objective of the theoretical part has been to delve into the socio-psychological aspects of adult foreign language learning, in particular into how motivation works, and when and how foreign language anxiety (FLA) may take place. Motivation and FLA have been demonstrated to be interlinked and to correlate with achievement. It has also been shown that FLA can seriously jeopardize learning, whereas motivation can dramatically enhance it, which stresses the importance of studies in this realm. However, conclusive studies, especially in the Spanish context, are scarce and not updated. As a consequence, it proves paramount to carry out further studies into how to tackle FLA in foreign language classes and simultaneously foster motivation, in the attempt to improve students' learning experience and promote their successful mastering of the language. In the empirical study, drama has been chosen for its high potential as a methodology to explore and test, in terms of suitability and efficacy.

For the purpose of shedding some light on the potential of drama, some experimental activities have been designed and empirically tested (see 4.2.4). They were inspired by the teacher training course called "*New drama techniques applied to foreign language teaching*", held in March 2014 in Madrid headquarters of the Official Language School "Jesús Maestro", and directed by actors and teacher trainers Sandra Jiménez and Luis Miguel Lucas. This highly practical, experience-based course offered me the opportunity to reflect on the learning process from a new perspective, as well as to acquire first-hand experience of the value and usefulness of the drama activities, so as to gain confidence when proposing the same tasks to my students.

Other instruments have been deployed (see 4.2), such as the FLCAS questionnaire often mentioned in chapter 3, in order to obtain a clearer picture of the extent of this issue within the participants. Some items have been added regarding motivation and listening anxiety, which made it possible to gather some qualitative data, as well as qualitative on the same concepts..

As a reminder, the research questions on which I will focus are as follows:

- 1a. Which identity-related aspects (namely Age, Gender, Stay abroad, Frequency of use) and emotions have an impact on adult EOI learners' FLA?
- 1b. Does the learning experience at EOI bring about any transformation in adult learners' self-concept?

2. Which motivational components (namely extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, self-efficacy) intervene in adults' learning experience at EOI?

3a. Which factors in the FLCAS account for FLA in the EOI sample? Does "Listening Anxiety" contribute to account for FLA?

3b. Does FLA hinder achievement in speaking and listening?

3c. Does the manifestation of FLA differ in EOI elementary and advanced learners of English?

4a. Are drama techniques useful to reduce FLA in adult learners?

4b. Are other strategies deployed to cope with FLA?

4c. Does drama bring about any changes in their self concept?

4.1 PARTICIPANTS

There are two sets of participants: three in a pilot study and ninety-four in the empirical study proper, carried out with the instruments as in 4.2. The preliminary study is based on three case studies of students who demonstrated a particularly high degree of anxiety and resistance to English as well as negative feelings towards learning.

The sociobiographical characteristics of the three interviewees are the following:

- 1) Interviewee Jade⁵⁴ is 48 years old, a primary school teacher, unmarried, into theatre and travelling. Studying English at an A2 level. Refuses to speak English at all in class but never refrains from expressing herself loudly in Spanish.
- 2) Interviewee Mary is 42 years old, unemployed at the moment of the interview and looking for a job, previously a secretary, unmarried, not particular interests known. Studying English at an A2 level. Struggles and feels uncomfortable in class. Often expresses her frustration publicly.
- 3) Interviewee Jude is 30 years old, working part-time in the social field, in a relationship, into theatre, cinema and social relations. Had previously studied English at an A1 level and spent a semester as an Erasmus student in Holland. Often complains about his low proficiency in English and the stress it causes him.

The participants of the empirical study proper are students aged 16-64, enrolled in 2014-2015 on an English course at four different Official Schools of Languages (EOI) around the Madrid's Region⁵⁵, including Guadalajara⁵⁶. They are divided into 5 groups, which will be described in this section in terms of main features and then as for age, gender and proficiency levels.

⁵⁴ Fictional names.

⁵⁵ Madrid's Region: translation of "Comunidad de Madrid", geo-political area with autonomous competency to make national education laws more specific.

⁵⁶ Which belongs to the autonomous region "Castilla la Mancha" but for its close proximity it can be compared with other towns around the Madrid's Region.

Figure 4.1 Participants' socio-demographic data per group

Group name	Student number	Age mean	Age median	Gender		CEF ⁵⁷ level	School(s)
				F	M		
A1	18	32.9	30.5	10	8	A1 (1 st year)	Vallecas
B2	20	33.6	37	13	7	B2 (6 th year)	Vallecas
A1c	21	32	31	15	6	A1 (1 st year)	Getafe, Guadalajara and Pozuelo
B2c	25	36.5	36	16	9	B2 (6 th year)	Getafe, Guadalajara and Pozuelo
D (drama)	10	40.3	43	7	3	A1-A2-B1 (1 st to 4 th year)	Getafe
Total	94	35.1	35.5	60	34		

The two main groups (A1 and B2) are the elementary and advanced groups taught by me at EOI Vallecas, taking into consideration the pedagogical recommendations for an anxiety-free environment made by FLA experts (see 3.5 and Appendix II). These students are those who did the experimental activities in class (see below).

Two control groups (A1c and B2c) are composed of students of the same levels from other EOI's. The purpose of having these two groups is to be able to detect any positive results in terms of anxiety control within students of groups A1 and B2, who have been taught with the above mentioned recommendations (see Appendix II), as well as the drama-like techniques implemented. The hypothesis is that the latter groups have benefited from the drama methodology and thus show a lower FLA than the students taught by other teachers, without an explicit anxiety reduction agenda. Although FLA may be lower in A1 and B2, these students might be biased by the Hawthorne Effect (Porte 2010: 103), which takes place when respondents provide ungenune answers in order to be good contributors to the research. Hence, to avoid that they might want to make a "good impression" on the researcher-teacher, i.e. by pretending that they have a positive attitude to English, they were reminded that the

⁵⁷ Common European Framework.

questionnaires had nothing to do with their academic results and were only meant to gather information for the study, thus any information would be treated with complete confidentiality. In this way, anxiety was not mentioned as the topic of research. A more generic reference to a study into foreign language learning was made to participants of the five groups.

Finally, group D is composed of students from different elementary and intermediate classes who took part in a non-curricular drama project at EOI Getafe. This theatre group was directed by teacher, actor and theatre director Richard Hunter on a voluntary basis for any students who wished to improve their spoken English through drama. The group met weekly all through the school year and performed a play at the end of it at several EOI's in the Madrid Region. Because of the very nature of the group, I considered it a valuable inclusion in order to see whether drama training which was more sustained in time may have given rise to the changes expected at FLA and identity levels.

Regarding age, the average is quite similar in groups A1 and A1c (between 32 and 33 years old, median of 30.5 and 31), slightly higher in B2 (considering the median of 37, the average being just scarcely above 33) and B2c (36 years old), and considerably higher in D (around 40 and the median as high as 43). But the interesting thing in terms of age is that EOI classes are often composed of students with a wide range of ages sitting next to each other, the sociological trait they share being their presumed proficiency level. For instance, in group B2 the students' ages span from 18 to 64. As explained in chapter 1.2.2, there are major differences in the learning characteristics of young and older adults, not only from a biological point of view, but also, and more importantly for the purpose of this thesis, as for motivation and life experiences. Nonetheless, younger and older learners quite surprisingly do seem to get along in class and collaborate effectively.

The gender gap, with more female students than males, seems quite characteristic of language learning classes, with female learners doubling the number of male learners, except for group A1 with a less stark difference. Thus, the proportions do reflect a standard class of the same characteristics and no significant deviance is foreseen.

As mentioned above, the proficiency level is just indicative, since students with varied backgrounds are inevitably joined together, also due to the large number of students per class⁵⁸. In particular, mixed-ability classes are common in the A1 level. Many false beginners who cannot access the public system according to their real level of proficiency often opt for

⁵⁸ The number of participants shown above is lower than the actual number of students who would normally attend a class, which soars 25 or even 30.

starting from the first year for the sake of accessing EOI at all. Generally speaking, it is highly competitive to be placed in intermediate and advanced levels of English and, as a result, first year classes are normally composed of false beginners who could not enter a higher class. This setting many times gives rise to a mismatch between students' abilities and learning material, the latter being either too difficult or too easy, and seldom perfectly tuned, which would be the ideal scenario according to flow theory (2.2.3.2). Normally, communicative, task-based activities help cater for mixed level classes, together with group or pair class arrangements.

4.2 METHODOLOGY AND INSTRUMENTS

In this section, I will argue in favour of a mixed qualitative and quantitative approach to data analysis, first in general terms, as per gleaned from the literature, then in the specific case of my study. Among the different, often contrasting views on whether to use qualitative or quantitative research methods, I agree with Angouri (2010), who cites Tashakkori & Teddlie (2003) among others, who uphold a mixed approach. Such a combination of both methods allows for diversity of views and corroboration of results, leading to more confident interpretations and stronger conclusions. This method is particularly useful to tackle complex phenomena, as it sheds light on “different layers of meaning” (Holmes 2007:5 in Angouri 2010: 30); for this reason it is currently gathering momentum in contemporary research. It should be noted that a mixed approach does not equal “anything goes”, as warned by Dörnyei (2007: 166), whereas each method should be utilized in order to obtain a specific type of data: quantitative methods provide data that form an essential background against which to carry out the detailed interpretation of qualitative data. Quantitative results are useful to generalize, whilst qualitative data allow for more in-depth interpretations. Interviews and focus groups⁵⁹ are more and more widespread as a way to access interviewees' minds. However, some opponents of the use of interviews, such as Silverman (2001), claim that data gathered in this way end up being “manufactured” (in Edley and Litoselliti 2010: 161), because they are influenced by the researcher's agenda and because the interviewee might speak on behalf of a group that they feel they must represent or, simply, they may be misled by the formulation and reformulation of questions. For these reasons, this kind of data is deemed unreliable and biased by some authors.

⁵⁹ Differing from group interviews in that the role of the researcher is more like a moderator, with participants interacting among each other more freely, so that their issues and concerns are more likely to arise.

Nonetheless, Edley & Litoselliti (2010) demonstrate the multiple advantages of interviews and the reasons why they are so widely used in latest research. First and foremost, they admit that discourse stemming from interviews could be “contaminated” (165), but so is any other contextualised interaction, there existing no neuter domain. In fact, we must be aware that a context is always present and will tend to influence and shape discourse. Similarly, a researcher cannot be absolutely neuter: he/she is just another participant in the social interaction of the interview and their possible biases and roles need to be taken into account. Responses are not to be taken as the absolute truth about what people think, but as what they *say* that they think, i.e. their beliefs. These are particularly interesting for the sake of exploring motivation and anxiety, as they inform about learners' self-concept. It is then important not to generalise respondents' answers and to take them as valuable individual insights, which come to frame a diverse picture.

Additionally, on the operational level, interviews allow complex questions to be explained, more data can be collected as more information is provided while speaking rather than writing. Moreover, non-verbal clues add extra information and, finally, the interviewer can redirect and expand on questions as considered relevant. In this way, connections, nuances and deeper levels of understanding can be attained. Another positive aspect of interviews is that participants may feel empowered for the mere fact of taking part in the project, as well as being encouraged to reflect on their own learning experiences. In sum, a mixed approach will avoid limitations of a mono-dimensional analysis and will help elaborate on the findings.

In FLA research, both quantitative, qualitative and mixed approaches have been followed. As far as quantitative instruments are concerned, the FLCAS (Foreign Language Class Anxiety Scale, see 3.1.3) has been the main instrument used in most FLA studies (Horwitz et al. 1986, Cheng et al. 1999, Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez 2000, Kitano 2001, Ortega Cebreros 2010 to name a few), on account of its validity and reliability, ranging from .94 (Aida 1994), and .93 (Horwitz et al. 1986), to .89 (Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez 2000), using Cronbach's alpha coefficient.

There have also been valuable studies based on interviews, deployed “not just to strengthen statistics but also to clarify the extreme complexity of the language learning experience” (Ewald 2007: 126). For this reason, Matsuda & Gobel (2004) warn against the limitations of the sole use of questionnaires without interviews in FLA. Indeed, Spielmann & Radnofsky (2001) used a wide range of qualitative techniques to carry out their extensive

research on tension at French-immersion schools, including interviews and focus groups, observation and diaries.

Zooming in on the objectives of this study, I will demonstrate why a mixed approach will benefit the analysis. First of all, due to the reported pervasiveness of FLA, my aim is to unveil its scope within the learning community under scrutiny and its link to achievement (research question 3b). To do so, I will avail myself of quantitative data about the extent of FLA, together with exam marks for the achievement correlation. In particular, I will use the above mentioned FLCAS that has proven effective in other numerous scenarios. Ultimately, I intend to draw the teaching community's attention on this widespread issue based on numerical figures. Equally, our students' needs and motivations are changing and it is something teachers should be aware of when planning their classes. For this reason the questionnaire will also shed light on motivation (research question 2). Finally, the original contribution of this thesis is to demonstrate that drama techniques are useful and effective to reduce FLA. The questionnaire again will tell to what extent this hypothesis is true.

Other main objectives are delving into the reasons why some learners suffer from FLA, how they deal with it on a daily basis, what they feel and what their beliefs are, their past experiences that may account for their FLA and any possible consequences (research questions 3a, 3b and 3c). All these fine-grained explanations are possible to gather only through a qualitative approach, using instruments such as interviews and surveys. These data will support my analysis from a wider perspective, leading to more confident conclusions, as opposed to previous studies based on the author's mere cogitations. Aware of a non-neuter role as an interviewer, I will treat the data accordingly. However, the quantity and quality of the information itself, gathered by interviewing selected participants, justifies the use of this method of research. It is clear that both sets of data complement each other and are used to look into different areas, to finally provide a more comprehensive account of such complex phenomena.

To sum up, the quantitative instruments used are as follows:

1. Questionnaires
2. Listening and Speaking final exam marks

The qualitative instruments used are:

3. Interviews
4. Post-activity surveys
5. Participant observation

The following table contains the instruments adopted for each group.

Figure 4.2 Instruments as applied to each group

Group	Questionnaire	Exam mark	Interview	Post-activity survey	Observation
A1	√	√	√ (3 participants)	√	√
B2	√	√	√ (2 participants)	√	√
A1c	√				
B2c	√				
D	√		√ (whole group)		√

As we can see from the table above, the two main groups (A1 and B2), from EOI Vallecas, are the ones who underwent all the measurements. They carried out the experimental activities in class and related post-activity surveys, as well as the questionnaire and some interviews. The control groups A1c and B2c responded electronically on a voluntary basis only to the questionnaire and were not interviewed. And group D was interviewed in a focus group session and completed the questionnaire. They did not do the designed drama activities because their year-long workshop was assumed to provide them with extensive and sustained drama practice.

The following table contains the instruments in relation with each research question: a tick (√) signals that the instrument provides data to answer the corresponding research question.

Figure 4.3 Instruments as applied to each research question

Research question	Questionnaire	Exam mark	Interview	Survey
Q1a	√		√	
Q1b			√	
Q2	√		√	
Q3a	√	√	√	
Q3b	√	√	√	
Q3c	√		√	
Q4a	√		√	√
Q4b			√	
Q4c			√	√

As will be explained with more details in the next sections, which present each instrument individually, the instruments adopted cover different areas of the research questions. The questionnaire tackles FLA comprehensively and motivation. Exam marks are used to be correlated with FLA. The interviews are devised to cover all the five questions, directly or indirectly. Finally, the survey is designed to test the efficiency of the drama activities, thus is directly linked to the corresponding question (question 5). Let us now see the characteristics of each instrument.

4.2.1 QUESTIONNAIRES

A questionnaire has been used in this study because of its main advantage of allowing straightforward comparison between respondents and groups of respondents, as well as for the higher number of respondents reachable, as compared to interviews. The questionnaire replicates the original FLCAS Spanish version (Rodríguez & Abreu 2003) with some clarifying language adaptation. In addition, items on demographic details (name, age, gender) were required and other items on concepts relevant to the thesis: length of stay in an English-speaking country, frequency of L2 use, L2 proficiency self-evaluation and motivation.

Firstly, length of stay was included to contrast Matsuda & Gobel's (2004) correlation between extended overseas experience in TL country and increase in self-confidence, with parallel decrease in FLA (*Have you ever lived in an English-speaking country?*).

Secondly, frequency of use of English outside the class has also been reported as a sociobiographical variable related to FLA (Dewaele et al. 2008) (*How often do you speak English outside the class?*).

Thirdly, students' beliefs on their proficiency in English were meant to provide an insight into their self-efficacy as a component of self-concept (see 2.2.3.5), and would allow a comparison with Daley et al. (1999). (*How well do you speak English?*).

Finally, three motivation items were added in order to compare contemporary data to those collected in 1998 by Pérez-Paredes in the same institutional setting (EOI): two on general motivations (*Are you studying English because you are obliged by your company?* And *Are you studying English to widen your cultural horizons?*), and another more specific one. In fact, in that study it turned out that 0% of respondents studied English because they were obliged by their firms and 100% did it for cultural reasons, which is quite striking in the current economic context. In order to look deeper into the relation job market-need for

English, a third item has been added: *Are you studying English to get a job?*. This was meant to reflect societal changes between pre-economic crisis and nowadays.

To summarise, the questions devised to look into the above mentioned sociobiographical, self-concept and motivational variables are the following:

- 1) *¿Has vivido en un país de habla inglesa?*
(Have you ever lived in an English-speaking country?)
- 2) *¿Con qué frecuencia hablas inglés fuera de clase?*
(How often do you speak English outside the class?)
- 3) *¿Cómo hablas inglés?*
(How well do you speak English?)
- 4) *¿Estudias inglés porque tu empresa te lo exige?*
(Are you studying English because you are obliged by your company?)
- 5) *¿Estudias inglés para ampliar tu cultura?*
(Are you studying English to widen your cultural horizons?)
- 6) *¿Estudias inglés para conseguir trabajo?*
(Are you studying English to get a job?)

Moreover, in addition to the original FLCAS, which includes only some items on the reaction to not understanding the teacher's talk, this study is complemented by four items related to listening comprehension tasks proper. I deem it necessary on the account of the observation that this skill causes high levels of anxiety within adult Spanish students, up to the point that some of them block out any sound and cannot complete any questions of a listening comprehension test, as they claim to be under the impression of not making out anything at all of the recording. This turns out to be an evident gap in FLA studies, which have been mainly focused on speaking and partly on reading (Saito et al. 1999) and writing (Cheng et al. 1999) (see 3.2.1). To elaborate the questions on listening, I bore in mind the comments I have very frequently heard from students about their listening problems, as well as consulted Saito's et al. (1999) Foreign Language Reading Anxiety Scale (FLRAS), a 20-item adapted version of the FLCAS, specially targeted to elicit reading anxiety, which is the other receptive skill and the written counterpart of listening. The FLRAS contains questions about whether students felt nervous, upset, intimidated, worried, uncomfortable and other negative feelings when they had to read a foreign language text (in Russian, Japanese or French), apart from their self-perception about the degree of difficulty of this skill as compared to others.

The questions related to listening devised for the questionnaire of this study are the following:

20. *El “listening” es la más difícil de todas las destrezas.*

(Listening is the most difficult skill).

26. *Me siento seguro cuando hago un “listening”.*

(I feel confident when I do a listening task).

32. *Cuando hago un “listening” me parece que no entiendo nada.*

(When I am doing a listening task I feel I don't understand anything).

37. *Cuando hago un “listening” me pongo nervioso/a.*

(When I am doing a listening task I get nervous)

4.2.2 EOI FINAL EXAM

Achievement has been measured through the mark obtained in the speaking and listening parts of the EOI final exam, levels A1 and B2, because they are the two skills covered in the FLA questionnaire. In the case of A1, the exam is elaborated by the English department of each school, given that it does not lead to an official certificate, unlike the B2 exam which is sent in by the *Consejería de Educación*⁶⁰ to all Madrid Region's schools and has official value.

The speaking exam consists of two oral tasks which differ according to the level. A1 students are asked first to interact with a peer about a given everyday topic (the weather, their family, hobbies, house, neighbourhood, eating habits, how they spent the weekend and their holiday plans). Then they interact with the teacher/assessor role-playing a simple hotel/bar/shop/restaurant conversation. Altogether an oral exam takes approximately 5 to 10 minutes.

B2 students have to talk for 15 minutes in total, with some minutes of preparation in which they are allowed to take some schematic notes. The first task is a monologue tackling more complex issues such as education, health, the media, arts and entertainment, internet communication, ecology, work and other social or abstract issues. The second task consists of an interaction with a peer to discuss a controversial or problematic topic, such as problems with neighbours, at work, in the community, or considering pros and cons of life choices and broader social issues. In this case, candidates are assessed by both their own teacher and an external assessor belonging to the English department.

⁶⁰ It is the branch of the Regional Government in charge of all educational matters.

Assessment for elementary students hinges on the three components of the language system (vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation), plus communication properties like fluency and interaction (see Appendix V). Candidates should demonstrate a minimum degree of confidence and intelligibility doing the task in order to pass this part. Advanced students are assessed according to a more complex template, common to EOI's throughout the whole Madrid's Region, which includes parameters such as effective communication, discourse organization, range of vocabulary and structures, accuracy, as well as fluency, intelligibility, pronunciation and intonation (see Appendix V). In both cases the mark is numerical and a pass corresponds to 15 points out of 25 (60%), "Notable" (=Good) corresponds to 19/25 and "Sobresaliente" (=Excellent) from "3/25 upwards.

As far as listening is concerned, the elementary test is composed of two parts with a multiple choice and a fill-in-the-gap type of questions related to two recordings of a couple of minutes long. The advanced test is composed of three much more lengthy tasks (approximately 25 minutes altogether) with true/false, multiple choice and a fill-in-the-gap type of questions. Speed, language range and degree of difficulty mirror the level they are aimed at. Assessment in both cases equals the number of correct answers out of 25, and a pass corresponds to 15 correct answers (60%) and the other marks follow the range of the speaking exam above.

4.2.3 INTERVIEWS

The very concern of this thesis being feelings and beliefs, a **qualitative** method of research does seem to be appropriate and suitable. Moreover, it parallels the shift to qualitative methodology in academia, partly due to the "disenchantment with positivistic, laboratory-style experiments" (Edley and Litoselliti 2010: 156). The use of interviews therefore adds qualitative information that helps understand the reasons for some results, which is another main difference from the study by Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez (2000), which is purely quantitative.

Interviews can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured. The first type, consisting of pre-scripted questions with identical order and wording, minimises the interviewer's possible bias and ensures neutrality. Yet as argued above, this scenario is not realistic and may not even be desirable. Semi- or unstructured questions consist of a freer guide for the researcher to follow, allowing the interview to take its natural course. In this way, the interviewer avoids being too focused on what they expect to hear as an answer, and are likely

to be more receptive to valuable hints and new angles of the topic that may arise (Edley and Litoselliti 2010).

The interviews undertaken in this study are **semi-structured**, in order not to miss the nuances of the social interaction created in an interview, but at the same time to try and gather similar and comparable information from all interviewees. Standardising (the pre-wording of the questions) is partial, and scheduling (the order of the questions) is not predicted and does not necessarily need to be the same for all the interviews, since it would restrain the flow of the interaction. Questions are open-ended to allow respondents to express their thoughts, feelings and worries and expand on them as much as possible.

Regarding the choice of the subjects to interview, I tried to explore the reasons for anxiety and any possible coping strategies in those learners that showed typical FLA attitudes and behaviour in class, similarly to Gregersen & Horwitz (2002), who chose to interview those students who had appeared more anxious about and critical of their video-recorded oral performance. In addition, three previous interviews with highly anxious students have been taken into consideration, which were carried out at the beginning of the research project in 2013. They offered valuable empirical information in terms of issues brought up and personal experiences, so as to guide the following interviews.

General questions for every interviewee revolve around their age, length of exposure to English and their actual and perceived level. Below is the guideline of questions for the NON-drama students (see those for drama students below):

- ✓ Why did you decide to join the EOI? Which were your purposes? (elicits motivation)
- ✓ How do you feel when you speak in class? Why? (elicits emotions and reasons for them)
- ✓ Do you feel different when you speak in English or in Spanish? How? (elicits identity construction in L2)
- ✓ How do you prepare before an exam? (elicits coping strategies)
- ✓ How do you control your nerves? (elicits coping strategies)

As mentioned in brackets for every interview question, each of them taps into some areas of the research questions. The first explores other possible motivations and interests behind the choice of enrolling at EOI that may go beyond the three options provided in the questionnaire. The second allows respondent to share their feelings in a thorough way, adding some possible explanations, which would be impossible to glean from the mere answer in the

questionnaire. The third tries to obtain some hints on the complex process of language learning from an identity point of view. Questions 4 and 5 both look into the coping strategies deployed in potentially anxiety-provoking situations (exams), which is an insight that goes beyond the measurement of the presence of FLA possible via questionnaires.

The guideline of questions for the drama students is similar to the previous one but focuses on the drama workshop experience:

- 1) Why did you decide to join the group? Which were your purposes? (elicits motivation)
- 2) How do you feel when you act? Do you feel anxious/self-conscious? (elicits emotions)
- 3) Have you ever acted in Spanish? How does it compare? (elicits identity construction in L2)
- 4) Do you feel different when you act as compared to when you speak in class? (elicits different personas in L2 acting vs. speaking in class)
- 5) Has the drama group helped you with your English? And with your self-confidence or self-esteem? With your anxiety? (elicits both language and identity-related changes due to drama)
- 6) How do you prepare before a show/an exam? Does this preparation help you? How do both experiences compare? (elicits and compares coping strategies)
- 7) How do you control your nerves? (elicits coping strategies)

These questions allow for a comparison between acting and doing an exam as possible sources of FLA. This may possibly challenge the hypothesis that drama is a tool to overcome FLA, as it may actually generate it, at least in the short run. Acting in English is contrasted with doing so in the participants' mother tongue, Spanish, as a useful hint to identity construction processes. Finally, the benefits of drama are explicitly elicited on a wide range of aspects (not just linguistically but also in terms of FLA and self-confidence).

Altogether, 2h 21' 15" of interviews have been recorded, adding up the preliminary study and the present study (respectively 73' 45" and 67' 30"). In terms of **analysis**, the interviews have been transcribed shortly after being conducted so as to guarantee a fresh memory of the non-linguistic features observable in the face-to-face interaction, such as gestures and contextual clues and references. The transcription process has been aided by the software Transcribe, which allows a transcriber to listen to, pause, forward and slow down the recording by pressing keyboards at the same time that users transcribe what they hear. The

interviews have then been analysed both with a holistic perspective and with the software QDA Mine Lite, which provides graphic and statistic support.

Appraisal Theory (Marin & White 2005) has been used for its potentiality to enable the analyser to discover the interviewees' representation of their thoughts, emotions and beliefs. It has been an excellent tool to systematise the answers into those related to AFFECT (emotional evaluations), APPRECIATIONS (ethical evaluations) and JUDGEMENTS (aesthetic or functional evaluations). Likes and dislikes can be ascribed to AFFECT, as well as other reactions to things and processes, such as (un)happiness, (in)security or (dis)satisfaction. APPRECIATIONS may be reactions to things, states of affairs or even appearance that we can label as beautiful/ugly, useful/useless, complex, worthwhile, and so on. Finally, JUDGEMENTS are qualities that can be divided in those related to social esteem (how unusual, capable, resolute someone is) and social sanction (how truthful or ethical).

In addition, conversation analysis and discourse techniques have been deployed: the interviews have been regarded as social interactions with their internal architecture and norms, as texts rather than utterances in isolation, which make sense only if considered in their contexts. Only a fine-grained look into the data could reveal precious information about the subjects and the topics under scrutiny.

4.2.4 DRAMA ACTIVITIES AND POST-ACTIVITY SURVEYS

During the course "*New drama techniques applied to foreign language teaching*" mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the idea of acting that was conveyed had more to do with a form of living and re-enacting reality, rather than declaiming or reciting a text, as many teacher participants including me would have thought in the beginning. In a Stanislavskian vein, the main objective was to be authentic and believable, using one's own feelings and experiences. Transferring this idea to language learning and teaching, it refers to a way of treating the foreign language as something occurring on an everyday basis, adopting a naturalistic approach, in spite of the constraints and artificiality of the classroom context. For instance, the difference between reading a sentence from the book and uttering it while performing the action at the same time was striking: the effectiveness and acquisition were neatly more powerful when we performed the action and said the related sentence, as opposed to a neuter, impersonal reading. By experiencing it with and through the body, we interpret the language and make it ours. For example, if we just say a simple sentence such as "I'm waiting for the bus" in a FL, we might not be able to say it appropriately when the occasion arrives, whereas if we use props (bus stop) and say it with different intentions (expressing irritation

because the bus is not coming, or expectation because we are going to meet a dear friend, and so on), the utterance will become more ingrained into our experience. It was evident that whenever our tone, gestures and movements suitably accompany a sentence, they make it come alive.

Moreover, other guidelines received during the course were treasured and put into practice when thinking out the empirical activities. As far as improvisation is concerned, when improvising we were reminded that if we expected to make people laugh, it could have been counterproductive, since expectation may give rise to anxiety. The improvisations were partly pre-prepared, but unexpected elements always arose. In particular, elements of conflict (something going against our expectations or purposes) would lead us to make on-the-spot decisions that should be followed by suitable verbal messages. Props had a crucial importance as means to trigger real and more detailed communication; for this reason, handling an object should be as realistic as possible, as its presence may motivate other actors to contribute to the interaction.

Regarding possible anxiety, emphasis was made on concentrating on action per se: if we do something without pre-worrying, there is no time for our discomfort to grow; in fact, we just focus on what is happening and let our mind do the job of covering the communication gap. Debilitative worries are thus hopefully overcome. Also from the teacher's position, worries about the effectiveness of drama activities should be overcome, based on one's conviction that they are highly helpful, thus conveying confidence and clear directions to the students. Indeed, when dealing with adult learners it is likely that a teacher may hesitate to propose certain activities with a less traditional approach, for fear of negative reactions. Yet, experience has taught me that once the objectives and procedures are made clear from the beginning, these alternative activities do work out remarkably well.

Following these lines and bearing in mind the research questions, three activities have been designed with the main purpose of enhancing oral production in realistic contexts, by creating semi-authentic social interaction with the use of props and other dramatic effects. Upon concentrating on the action and interaction, students were supposed to be less worried about any possible accuracy mistakes and freer to use the language for the sake of communication. The mere fact of acting implies taking on a different identity, which may help them decline responsibilities for their own actions, speech and accent, and feel uninhibited. In order to prevent students from generating extra anxiety specifically related to performing, they were reminded that they were not expected to act skilfully or to make the

audience laugh. The emphasis on fluency was made clear and they were encouraged to “let go” and just try to communicate.

Related purposes were to see English as a real means of communication, especially for students who hardly ever actually use the language for communicative purposes outside the class. Additionally, to be prepared to react to unexpected turns of speech, as they could not foresee what their classmates may come up with. This skill is particularly valuable for the kind of exam that they take at EOI, in which one of the assessment criteria is interaction (see Appendix V). In parallel, in real life, these activities enable them to face the possibility of interacting for real with English-speaking people and see themselves in such a circumstance. Finally, it will help them feel the language as “theirs”, which they are entitled to use (see section 1.3) and which comes from inside. In the following section, a description of the three activities is provided, with their specific goals and procedures.

After the experimental activities were carried out in class, a survey was given out for the participants to complete. In the case of activity 1, which was the first to be introduced chronologically, participants were asked a generic open-ended question about their feelings during the activity. In the case of the drama proper activities (activities 2 and 3), three structured, open-ended questions made up the survey, enquiring into learners' feelings during the activity, any difference compared to other activities and how useful they deemed it (Appendix IV). For a detailed description of the activities, see the next section.

4.2.4.1 ACTIVITY 1 – ENGLISH/SPANISH PERSONA

This activity explores the relationship between students' identities as Spanish speakers and as English users. In fact, it lets them experiment with their English- and Spanish-speaking persona, and to reflect on how they felt in each circumstance.

CONTEXT

Level: Advanced (B2 of CEF)

Student number: 20

Age: 16-65 (mostly between 30-40 years old, median 37, average 34.5)

Timing: 25'

GOALS

- ✓ Notice phonological and prosodic differences between English and Spanish.
- ✓ Detect common mispronunciations to avoid and prosodic traits to imitate.
- ✓ Raise awareness of the social effects that a certain accent may bring about in a foreign language.
- ✓ Experience how different one feels taking on a certain accent.
- ✓ Find a target accent to aspire to.
- ✓ Experiment with the sounds of the language and personalise them.
- ✓ Feel more comfortable with one's accent, while trying to improve it.

STEPS

- Class discussion about one's target accent in English and the perception of a heavily accented pronunciation.
- Listen to the teacher read a Spanish text (see Appendix I) with an exaggerated English accent.
- Read the Spanish text in pairs putting on an exaggerated English (British or American, at student's choice) accent.
- Read an English text (see Appendix I) in pairs putting on an exaggerated Spanish accent.
- Class discussion about what phonological and prosodic features make the first text sound “so English”, which would be features to try and adopt when speaking English.

- Class discussion about what phonological and prosodic features make the second text sound “too Spanish”, which would be features to try and avoid when speaking English.
- Students' written feedback on how they felt in both readings.

4.2.4.2 ACTIVITY 2 – IMPROVISING

The improvising activity for advanced students allows only minimum preparation in order to foster a greater speed of reaction and use of all possible resources to go about the role-play. The situations proposed all hinge on Cockett's (2007) principle of a “hook” (see 3.5.2.2.2).

CONTEXT

Level: Advanced (B2 of CEF)

Student number: 10

Age: 16-65 (mostly between 30-40 years old, median 37, average 34.5)

Timing: 50'

GOALS

- 4) Draw on any verbal and non-verbal communicative resources to cope with unexpected events.
- 5) Interacting with the classmates effectively, being active listeners and reacting to unexpected utterances.
- 6) Improve fluency and confidence, overcoming debilitating worries about accuracy.
- 7) Overcome in the long run self-consciousness and anxiety.

STEPS

1. Instructions and explanation are given of the goals of the activity. 5'
2. Cards are given out with potentially conflict-generating situations (see Appendix I). Roles are assigned and students imagine themselves in the given situation. They prepare setting but have deliberately no time to think of a dialogue. 5'
3. Each group acts out the scene. 5' x 5 pairs/groups = 25'
4. Communicative feedback is provided with special focus on communicative breakdowns or successful interactions and problem-solving. 10'

5. Students' written feedback in terms of benefits and goals achievement (see Appendix IV). 5'

4.2.4.3 ACTIVITY 3 – ACTING OUT

For the elementary group, complete improvisation would be beyond their language skills and even counterproductive, in that students might want to express a great deal more than what they can actually do spontaneously. Nevertheless, a “pinch” of unexpectedness would provide students with a sense of realism, that is what they are really expected to do in real life, e.g. to start a conversation and react spontaneously, without books or notes. However, in order to assure a certain level of ease and comfort (and not to arouse even more anxiety), this activity is based on familiar dialogues, on which they work first at a grammatical level by doing a traditional fill-in-the-gap task with past tense verbs.

CONTEXT

Level: Beginners (A1 of CEF)

Student number: 16

Age: 17-55 (mostly between 20-30 years old, median 30.5, average 32.9)

Timing: 65'

GOALS

- ✓ Read a dialogue with a natural intonation.
- ✓ Act out a realistic situation to achieve certain communicative purposes.
- ✓ Improvise a reaction in everyday situations.
- ✓ Overcome self-consciousness and anxiety during the activity.

STEPS

- 1) Students become familiar with one dialogue per pair, working on it from a grammar point of view by filling in the gaps with the correct form of the future tense for plans (*to be going to*), and phonologically, making sure they can pronounce the words clearly (see Appendix I). 15'
- 2) Preparation of a setting for a real situation to take place starting off from the dialogue. Props, positioning and movements must be decided at this stage. 5'
- 3) Students read out the dialogues as if they were real conversations in the setting created.

3' x 8 groups = 24'

- 4) At the end of each dialogue the teacher introduces an extra character to interact with the present ones in the given setting in a more spontaneous way. 1.5' x 8 = 12'
- 5) Language and acting feedback 4'
- 6) Students' written feedback in terms of benefits and goals achievement (see Appendix IV). 5'

4.3 TIMING AND PROCEDURES

In 2012- 2013, a preliminary study was carried out, as a result of the observation that several students in a pre-intermediate class (A2) were experiencing great difficulty speaking in class, which was not entirely due to lack of proficiency, as their written production demonstrated a fairly decent command of the language at that level. In fact, these students were interviewed outside the class and they referred to psychological barriers as the main reason for their impediment.

In 2013-2014, the drama activities were tested with elementary and upper intermediate students of an EOI and some minor modifications were made based on the results, in terms of timing, preparation, dynamics and feedback. (see Appendix I).

In 2014-2015, particular attention was paid in terms of class activities, student pairing and grouping, error correction and feedback, to ensure that anxiety should not arise, or that already anxious individuals could tackle their anxiety in the classes where the empirical study would be carried out (see Appendix II).

In April 2015 a preliminary FLCAS was administered to elementary and advanced groups of EOI students and as a result some changes were made: the new questions about listening were randomized and the option “Do you study English to get a job?” was added to the motivation item.

In May 2015, the adapted FLCAS questionnaire (see Appendix III) was administered to the five groups. At the same time, five personal interviews were conducted with three elementary and two advanced students (group A1 and B2), as well as a focus group with the drama participants (group D). Moreover, the drama activities were carried out in class with groups A1 and B2 and the ensuing survey was administered. (see Appendix I and IV).

5. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS: PRELIMINARY STUDY

The preliminary study consists of interviews carried out with three targeted students of an A2 class who exhibited particularly anxious behaviour and resistance to English. As Fernández Núñez (2006) proposes, the samples could be chosen either at random, or among extreme or deviant cases, or those that are considered typical of a phenomenon. In this case, the interviewees were chosen on the basis of their “anxious” behaviour, as emerged from their class attitude or relevant remarks, for instance nervous body movements when at grips with the FL and negative comments against the FLA and/or its speakers. This included complaining, emphatically showing discomfort and disconcert, freezing or even deliberately refusing to speak. In the next section, the interviews will be analysed and the results presented, based on recurrent themes in them, or categories.

5.1 INTERVIEWS ANALYSIS

The three interviews were carried out in 2012 with two A2 female students and one ex A1 male student. The interviews have then been analysed both with a holistic perspective and with the software QDA Mine Lite, which provides graphic and statistic support. The sociobiographical characteristics of the three interviewees are mentioned in 4.1. As a reminder, they will be briefly sketched :

- 4) Jade⁶¹, 48-year-old primary school teacher who refuses to speak English at all in class, but never refrains from expressing herself loudly in Spanish.
- 5) Mary, 42 years old, unemployed, previously a secretary, struggling a lot with English and feeling uncomfortable in class. Often expresses her frustration publicly.
- 6) Jude, 30-year-old part-time social worker, previously studied English at an A1 level and spent a semester as an Erasmus student in Holland. Often complains about his low proficiency in English and the stress it causes him.

Upon completing the transcription, an “inductive coding” was carried out, based on the emergence of the categories during the careful reading of the interviews, and not, conversely, relying on pre-existing codes to fit the data in. The advantage of the inductive method is that the codes match with the data, and not vice versa (Fernández Núñez 2006).

The following four categories emerged, which are shown with the subcategories that they encompass below them:

⁶¹ Fictional names.

Figure 5.1 Categories emerged from the analysis of preliminary interviews

SELF-CONCEPT			
Self		Confidence	
MOTIVATION			
Motivations		Motivated behaviour	
FLA			
Suffering and frustration	Understanding	Self-consciousness	Resistance
PROFICIENCY			
Self-efficacy		Strategies	

The category SELF-CONCEPT comprises references to confidence and to the self per se. Both dimensions are linked to identity: how a learner sees him/herself, how they perceive that others see them, and how they value themselves and their self-efficacy (see chapter 1).

MOTIVATION includes instances of motivated and unmotivated attitudes and behaviour, as well as which motivations lead to studying English, including external obligation. (see chapter 2).

FLA comprises suffering and frustration experienced by the respondents, due to lack of understanding and/or self-consciousness and may lead to resistance (chapter 3).

PROFICIENCY (self-efficacy and learning strategies) focuses on the cognitive side of the learning experience, being related both to motivation and to self-regulation (chapter 2), and also to methodology and learning strategies (chapter 3).

5.1.1 SELF-CONCEPT

Several references to self-concept (13.7% of all codes) picture a hopeless, deficient image of the interviewees as language learners. It is evident that they underestimate themselves through their frequent JUDGEMENT. As expected, these negative thoughts and emotions related to FLA and low self-esteem, together with their fear of others' negative evaluation, are detrimental for the students' self image, and ultimately for their development as proficient L2 users. In the following subsections, results of SELF will be presented, as well as CONFIDENCE in which the participants see themselves as functional learners.

5.1.1.1 SELF

The following examples will show how participants regard themselves and others in terms of foreign language users, including qualities involved in their self concept. The analysis will demonstrate how their self is indeed affected by the negative emotions arisen in the learning process.

Figure 5.2 Preliminary SELF

SELF ⁶²	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cuando me escuchome doy pena [risa] cuando hablo así alguna vez en voz alta digo "joe qué mal" .. nunca me he grabado porque sé- y ahora que me he grabado en francés digo uy madre mía digo si esto es en francés no te digo nada de como tiene que ser en inglés .. horrible 2. No .. cuando he ido [de viaje] siempre había alguien que lo hablaba mejor entonces allí te quedas tú .. te anulas ya 	M
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Me siento ridícula es que me veo ridícula yo es que a veces como no los entiendo no sé cómo la gente pone las caras tan raras digo [riendo] "para hablar un idioma hay que poner esas caras tan raras?" (()) unas expresiones no te asusta la gente cuando intenta hablar contigo es que los miro... 2. (me grabo) no sé primero lo que estoy diciendo y luego el soniquete ni pongo el acento en su sitio y es una sensación de- 	Ja

⁶² The interview quotations have been divided by category and with an indication of the interviewee (M for Mary, Ja for Jade, and Ju for Jude in the right column). Related excerpts of interviewees' speech have been put in (round brackets) and more general comments of the observer's, useful to understand the quotation are in [square brackets].

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. (utilizar el inglés fuera del aula) parece exhibicionismo 4. No me da igual pero no me es satisfactorio 5. Voy la más lenta de todos 	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. El profesor dijo que yo era extrovertido 2. También está el tema que yo soy muy impaciente 3. Porque en mi lengua me gusta mucho indagar en las emociones ... analizar 4. Fíjate yo soy una persona que suele ver el vaso muy medio lleno y con el inglés lo veo medio vacío. 5. Yo ya me siento la oveja negra 6. Es que no tengo memoria... Creo que soy un caso perdido. 	Ju

Recording one's voice is a good predictor of how a person judges oneself as an L2 speaker, since listening to oneself allows for detachment and makes self-judgement possible. This is the reflexive quality of the self referred to in 1.1.2. When two interviewees record themselves performing an oral task as a homework activity, their feedback is rather negative: their APPRECIATION of their accent is “horrible”. One interviewee literally says that she feels sorry for herself (“me doy pena”, M1), which translates that she finds herself an extremely poor speaker; the other does not even recognise herself and her voice: she cannot understand what she herself said, her accent sounds awkward, creating a strange feeling that she cannot define (“una sensación de-”, Ja2). This transformation is even more concrete when Jade talks about “poner caras raras” (pull strange faces, Ja1): she describes as “strange” the face expressions that some peers seem to need in order to pronounce different sounds from their mother tongue. Their efforts are considered as “ridiculous” by Jade, who prefers to mispronounce words rather than looking ridiculous. Consequently, she labels speaking English outside the class as an act of “exhibitionism” (Ja3). This interviewee is often involved in social sanction criticising her classmates. Her continuous comparison with them is worded when she says that she is the slowest of all (Ja5), or when she voices their possible reactions at an older student being so poor at English (CONSC Ja1 below).

In terms of self, Jude provides interesting perspectives on how he perceives and judges himself as an English learner. Indeed, he says that he likes exploring people's feelings, which is one of the characteristics of his L1 persona, but this quality is frustrated when using English because he cannot do the same in the FL. Thus his L2 persona ends up being deficient in this aspect (Ju3).

He finds some of his own personality qualities being related to learning English: first his extraversion, which should help him blend in a higher level group (Ju1), according to a teacher and also in line with Dewaele (2002). His second quality is impatience, which is said not to be suitable for his pace of learning (Ju2). Persistence being one of the components of motivation (see 2.1), impatience might represent an obstacle to maintaining learning motivation high for this individual. Another quality mentioned is optimism, through the metaphor of seeing the glass half full. However, when dealing with the L2, he judges himself unable to use this quality. What he sees is the glass half empty, which means that he does not acknowledge his proficiency, though partial. The most extreme APPRECIATIONS of self are “black sheep” (Ju5) and “a lost cause” (Ju6), bleak metaphors of someone who considers himself inferior and hopeless when it comes to English. Evidently, the contrast with other areas in which he claims to be more self-confident backs the case of FLA as a situation-specific phenomenon reported in chapter 3. A similar nihilist remark is made by Mary, who admits that when she travels and someone else does the speaking instead of her, she feels nullified (“te anulas”, M1).

5.1.1.2 CONFIDENCE

The subcategory CONFIDENCE gathers positive remarks referring to scenarios where self-consciousness typical of FLA is not present, i.e. when the interviewees maintain that they feel self-assured and capable in the learning situation. Episodes of confidence within these learners are present but still the minority (2.6% of total remarks), as there are more instances of lack of confidence (see FLA section below). However, they are worth exploring to see under which circumstances confidence appears and the link to proficiency (self-efficacy).

Figure 5.3 Preliminary CONFIDENCE

<p>CONFIDENCE (CONF)</p>	<p>1. (con los chicos bien a ver) con ellos yo era una situación que <u>dominaba</u> (yo les podía <u>ayudar</u> a algunos a hacer matemáticas) yo era alumna pero me sentía más segura a nivel personal [...]]yo no iba a hacer exámenes</p> <p>2. I: ¿Te resultó útil?</p> <p>Ja: sí porque aprendí “cómo te llamas”, “dónde estás” y sobre todo lo que me sirvió a quitarme el miedo, si no, no hubiera venido a la escuela.</p>	<p>Ja</p>
	<p>1. La experiencia en la EOI fue buena porque yo era de los que más nivel tenía [...] En clases al revés yo sentía que yo podía <u>ayudarles</u> a ellos me motivaba aunque veía que aprendía poco pero me centraba más en lo que aprendía que en lo que no sabía porque estaba en un nivel muy-</p>	<p>Ju</p>

As can be garnered in Ja1 and Ju1, a confident situation is one in which learners feel that they are in control (“dominaba”, I was in control/I knew my stuff, Ja1) and that their proficiency level suits or even exceeds their classmates' (“yo era de los que más nivel tenía”, I was one of the best, Ju1). In other words, they are confident when their self-efficacy is high, above all if compared to a group. This sense of mastery may stem from being able to help the classmates (Ju1), even in different subjects like mathematics (Ja1). Basic knowledge - such as questions like “what's your name?”- seems to grant some confidence, to overcome fears and eventually come to actions, namely enrolling at EOI (Ja2). Jude is ready to learn less than he might have done in a more challenging level, as long as he is able to keep a positive attitude

and be optimistic about his progress. This shows the high importance afforded to protecting and boosting one's confidence, which many times is underestimated by teachers and students alike.

5.1.2 MOTIVATION

In terms of what motivates learners to study English, age has proven a decisive factor justifying opposite attitudes: the youngest, unemployed respondent highlights a utilitaristic motivation for his future job and studies, as well as integrative motives. Whereas the oldest, working respondent does not rate communication as a primary goal, nor does she need English for professional reasons, but she takes it as a personal challenge. Yet, English represents a gate-keeper in the labour and academic fields for the three respondents, as can be observed in their references to obligation, missed opportunities and other-regulated behaviour (as opposed to self-regulated, see 2.2.3.4).

Their motivated behaviour, more common than unmotivated, is attributed to capability and confidence. When they perceive themselves as capable, they enjoy learning; conversely, lack of perceived capability leads to amotivation and eventually FLA.

Let's first explore which motivations are referred to for learning English, then the scenarios characterised by motivated behaviour.

5.1.2.1 MOTIVATIONS

The subcategory MOTIVATIONS (MOTS) gathers the specific reasons for studying English that drive learners to embark on and endure the learning experience. They span from integrative to extrinsic motivation, depending on learner's sociobiographical specificities, namely age and occupation.

Figure 5.4 Preliminary MOTIVATIONS

<p>MOTIVATIONS (MOTS)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yo mi vida laboral la tengo encaminada 2. Tampoco mi objetivo es aprend- hablar inglés 3. Ahora mismo para leer.. ya por curiosidad .. por los textos que te viene en el ordenador por la información normal que viene en inglés .. ya no la bibliografía ..algún artículo puede pero un libro ya de pedagogía.. 4. I: En cuanto al inglés oral ¿cuál es tu objetivo? 	<p>Ja</p>
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	<p>J: ahora mismo nada (porque sé que cuando voy fuera hay alguien que me va a sacar de la situación) me da más miedo si me pongo enferma .. porque lo otro la comida si me ponen la comida pues la dejo y no la como pero si te pasa algo que me duele el bazo que me duele no sé qué.</p>	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pero después si yo conocía a gente que me parecía que era maja yo no podía conocerlos entonces ya se despertó también no sólo la obligación sino también ese interés es decir esto me va a ser útil si quiero llegar a personas. 2. Luego vi que si quieres leer alguna investigación mucho está publicado en inglés 3. Esto [la pronunciación] no me va a servir para aprobar el examen 4. Indagar en el objetivo de comunicarme de poder comunicarme en inglés 5. El tema del inglés lo tengo que hacer para <u>integrarme</u> para conocer gente realmente si pudiera relacionarme con esas personas [sin hablar inglés] yo no estudiaría inglés porque no es algo que me guste 6. No sólo por sentirme <u>excluido</u> sino también por querer estar <u>incluido</u>. 	<p>Ju</p>

The motivations underlying the need for English are varied and sometimes opposite. For instance, Jade claims that she does not want to learn to communicate in English orally (Ja2 and Ja4), and she would rather learn how to read (Ja3) and out of curiosity. On the contrary, Jude's main objective, and thus source of frustration when he fails, is to communicate with people and getting to know them through English (Ju1 and Ju4), out of the APPRECIATION of its usefulness (Ju1). Integrative motivation (2.3.1) is expressed through words such as “integrarme” (getting integrated, Ju5), “sentirme excluido” and “querer estar incluido” (feeling excluded⁶³ and wanting to be included, Ju6). The contrast is stark between

⁶³ He feels excluded because he claims that he cannot speak English when he deals with English-speaking people.

Jude's willingness to belong to an English-speaking community (Gardner's 2005, in 2.3.1) and Jade's adamant avoidance.

An age gap could be noticed in the different purposes related to education and work: Jade asserts her work stability⁶⁴, whereas Jude needs English to further his studies and carry out research (Ju2), and eventually look for a job. English is explicitly conceived of by him as a basic requirement in today's labour market.

A final remark on Jade's negative attitude towards using English can be inferred from her motivations statement Ja4: not sooner would she use English than an extreme life-death situation may occur, when she might be in health danger and need to explain her physical conditions to non-Spanish speaking health staff. It is the emotion of fear that would trigger her motivation to be able to communicate orally in English and would turn her into an agent.

One of the motivations to learn English that may result in resistance or FLA is obligation, or extrinsic motivation with external regulation (2.2.3.4). Because of the prevalence of these references (7.2%), obligation will be shown in a separate table for the sake of clarity. The interviewees admit to being driven by an extrinsic motivation that may exert pressure on them. The outcome is bound to be a negative attitude to learning, as it is not something deliberately chosen and desired.

Figure 5.5 Preliminary OBLIGATION

OBLIGATION	1. El inglés es necesario para todo prácticamente... ya está en todos los sitios es que vas por la calle y ves un anuncio ves un anuncio en la tele o en el trabajo prácticamente ya casi casi- I: como lo dices no te hace mucha gracia no?! M: a ver no me hace gracia porque no se me da bien	M
	1. ...mira no pierdo yo tiempo y tampoco era algo que me obsesionara hacer la tesis. [describe el contenido de la tesis] Además siempre me ha frenado mucho el inglés.	Ja
	1. El inglés forma parte de las asignaturas obligatorias entonces el inglés desde el principio no es algo elegido sino algo dado [...] el primer acercamiento es una imposición, no un deseo. 2. A los 23 empecé a estudiarlo porque tenía que prepararme el	Ju

⁶⁴ She is a civil servant on a permanent contract.

	<p>acceso a la universidad empecé a estudiarlo.</p> <p>3. cuando estás pendiente de una evaluación de que depende de ese examen que sigas el camino de tus sueños o que te pares allí pues es difícil disfrutar con una espada de Damocles.</p> <p>4. Sentía esa presión por el examen te restaba el disfrutar.</p>	
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Mary and Jade share the experience of missing opportunities in their lives due to English. Mary complains that English is practically anywhere, as a sort of nuisance. Actually, when asked if she does not like this situation, she expresses a lack of the AFFECT variable, which she puts down to her lack of proficiency (M1). On her part, Jade renounced pursuing her thesis because she should have translated some texts from English; she says that this was not a big issue for her (“tampoco era algo que me obsesionara”, I wasn't obsessed by it, Ja1), but soon after it she acknowledges that English has prevented her from achieving her goals on many occasions.

The interviewee who most often complains about the obligation of learning English is Jude. Obligation in his case equals the prerequisite of passing an English test, among others, to enter university, which creates negative feelings of pressure, anxiety and obsession, visually described by the metaphor “sword of Damocles” (Ju3). He contrasts imposition with desire, pressure with enjoyment, and English stands in the first term of these binomials. The APPRECIATION of its compulsory nature at school strives with a lack of the AFFECT variable. His academic and future professional self-fulfilment, thus, depends on English. Evidently, mastering the language represents a gate-keeper in the academic domain and in our society in general, a means and at the same time an obstacle for self-realization (2.2.2).

5.1.2.2 MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR

In this section I will deal with what these learners claim that motivates them and what does not, in search of a better understanding of students' reaction to teaching practices. Several references (9.2%) were made to their level of MOTIVATION (MOT) that emerges in some circumstances, in spite of the predominant sense of doom typical of FLA students. The learning modality that triggers higher motivation is the written one because it ensures

confidence and self-efficacy, in particular in older learners. These students are also characterised by high persistence, which does not necessarily lead to better performance though. The younger respondent emphasises the social dimension and again external motivation.

Figure 5.6 Preliminary MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR

MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR (MOT)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A ver, sigo, con lo cual me motiva pero vamos tampoco.. 2. Yo creo que sí hombre no es que la lleve bien del todo [la gramática] pero no tan mal como lo otro ... eso quizás motiva un poquito más porque por lo menos leo algo y- 3. Sí tener el texto [de la transcripción] me motiva mucho 	M
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Me suena menos a chino 2. No lo voy a abandonar ahora ya es el reto [...] Mantenerme aquí [...] no me va a echar el sist- 	Ja
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. [en el colegio] no te despiertan la motivación por aprenderlo 2. También allí conocí a una persona que me despertó el interés porque si quería meterme en su mundo necesitaba aprender inglés 3. indirectamente algo servía [el inglés escrito] 4. Me iba motivando de decir de esto algo se irá quedando y cada día podré ir entendiendo más hablando con más personas. 5. Empecé otra vez a estimularme pero no porque el inglés me guste sino porque otra vez lo veía útil. 6. Me sentía muy bien a un ritmo muy bueno porque aprendía sin frustrarme. 7. En clases al revés yo sentía que yo podía ayudarles a ellos me motivaba. 	Ju

In the Expectancy-Value theory (2.2.3.1) when one feels that they are able to do something (high expectancy) their motivation increases. The medium referred to as the one that motivates the most is written texts. Driven by the confidence which she draws from written English, Mary maintains that when she does grammar exercises (M2), or when she can see the transcription of an audio recording (M3), she feels motivated. This is due to a

higher sense of efficacy, as she is able to understand more than merely through the aural channel. Jude also admits that written English could “indirectly” support his goal of communicating (Ju3).

The second motivation drive is persistence. As in 2.1, persistence is one of the components of motivation, defined as continuous effort in spite of possible obstacles. Both Mary and Jade acknowledge their persistence in the EOI system, probably referring to obstacles such as high academic demands and student's obligations. A sort of personal challenge not to give up seems more important an aim than the actual language learning, and allows the students to carry on and overcome difficulties. According to Bandura (2.2.3.5), persistence is characteristic of high self-efficacy students, although in these cases the students do not consider themselves efficient language learners, rather the opposite. Their persistence is clearly more in line with a desire to avoid personal failure.

The third motive is a social one, and it is interviewee Jude who emphasises it. He first recalls a relevant person in his life who led him to become interested in English, especially because of the friend's English-speaking social circle (Social Cognition Theory 2.2.3.5). Then, an internal voice tells him to carry on in order to be able to meet and communicate with more and more people, with the words that he reproduces “de esto algo se irá quedando y cada día podré ir entendiendo más hablando con más personas” (some of this will stick to my mind and every day I'll be able to understand more and more and speak to more people, Ju4). It is interesting to notice how motivation functions in the mind of a learner, in this case through encouraging phrases, similarly to what was indicated as a possible treatment for FLA in chapter 3.5, as part of “suggestopedia” procedures.

Finally, the dialectic between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is present in Ju5: “empecé otra vez a estimularme pero no porque el inglés me guste sino porque otra vez lo veía útil.” (I started again to be motivated, not because I like English, but because I realised again that it was useful). He opposes a lack of intrinsic motivation (he does not like the language) to utilitarianism. There is an attribution (2.2.3.3) to the school imposition to justify why he did not like the language in the beginning. He also feels motivated and at ease when he feels confident, namely when the pace of the class appeals to his level and when he feels no frustration. A social dimension appears again when his English is better than his classmates' so that he can help them (Ju5).

The instances of AMOTIVATION (UNMOT) are the least in number (2%), and, in fact, I daresay that EOI students do not in general lack motivation, whereas they suffer from other types of psychological issues. In fact, in the answers amotivation appears linked to, or even originated from negative psychological feelings such as frustration, anger and denial.

Figure 5.7 Preliminary UNMOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR

UNMOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR (UNMOT)	1. I: En cuanto al inglés oral ¿cuál es tu objetivo? J: Ahora mismo nada	Ja
	1. ... utilidad en el inglés? J: No, ninguna, ninguna porque mis padres “inglés ¿para qué es eso? ¡Anda!” Además es que recuerdo que si suspendíamos el inglés no le daban tanta importancia 2. Realmente es que yo NO quiero, es que no me gusta	Ju

The only example that clearly represents unwillingness to learning is Ju2, mainly linked to frustration and lack of strategies. In Expectancy-Value theory (2.2.3.1), Value is attributed to something when the person answers positively to the question “Do I want to do it?”. The answer in this case is roundly negative, accordingly it can be said that in this statement the value attached by Jude to learning English is none. The learner is not interested in or in need of learning English, which contradicts other of his statements in the interview. Rather, this may be regarded as an emphatic expression of anger and denial.

The example Ja1 should be catalogued more precisely as lack of a specific objective, specifically regarding spoken English, or might be interpreted as a protective barrier to not achieving the objective. In Achievement Theory (2.2.3.2) this could be a clear case of a failure avoiding student, whose motives to approach success are low, while those to avoid failure are high. Hence, Jade may prefer to state that she does not have any objective, rather than admitting that she does but she is not able to achieve them.

The other example (Ju1) is an indirect one, as it comes from the interviewee’s environment, not from Jude himself. His parents' beliefs about the uselessness of English are echoed by Jude in a way that highlights how backward these ideas are, especially in contrast with today's parents' preoccupation for providing their children with the best English tuition, or even with bilingual education (see introduction). It may be argued that parental and

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

environmental influence has played a role in Jude's aversion for English (Social Cognition Theory 2.2.3.5).

5.1.3 FLA

The interviewees, who had been chosen for their observed FLA behaviour, not surprisingly admit to many FLA symptoms described in chapter 3. Altogether, 46 references are made (35.4% of the whole transcription) to symptoms such as SUFFERING AND FRUSTRATION and consequences of FLA, namely RESISTANCE. This figure means that they spontaneously and frequently account for their unsuccessful learning by resorting to factors related to FLA: emotional explanations such as SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS and fear of failure, as well as cognitive factors like lack of UNDERSTANDING and low PROFICIENCY. These scenarios lead to stress and suffering and ultimately to frustration or avoidance.

In the following subsections I will analyse the link between causes and consequences of FLA as referred to by the interviewees. Then I will take a closer look at the communicative means deployed to convey their feelings.

5.1.3.1 SUFFERING AND FRUSTRATION

The subcategory SUFF encompasses symptoms related to suffering and frustration in the FL context, therefore the variable AFFECT is massively referred to. Many answers underlie a representation of reality laden with mostly negative emotional evaluations. In fact, the learners become recipient experiencers, not just empty vessels to be filled with information. The suffering they experience is fed by cognitive processes of inadequacy and lack of understanding. Therefore, the learning experience of these students is predominantly a distressing one, characterised by doom and hopelessness, in which their efforts are frustrated.

Figure 5.8 Preliminary SUFFERING AND FRUSTRATION

<p>SUFFERING AND FRUSTRATION (SUFF)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. (me cuesta mucho) entonces <u>sufro sufro</u> mucho 3. (cuando tengo que hablar) me mosqueo mucho <u>me deprim</u>o mucho y me bloqueo no soy capaz 4. En clase por ejemplo cada vez que teníamos un speaking yo <u>lo paso fatal</u> 5. En clase me siento fatal porque no te entiendo cuando hablas muchas veces entonces estoy muy perdida .. también sufro en clase porque ... tú estás oyendo una persona y no sabes lo que está diciendo la mitad de las veces 	<p>M</p>
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	<p>2. [hablando de un curso en la casa de la cultura en el que pensaba empezar de cero y en realidad los demás ya tenían cierto nivel] Una sensación voy la más lenta de todos, la más no sé qué y es que era una angustia</p> <p>3. Mira no voy a <u>sufrir</u> más por... [hacer una traducción del inglés]</p>	Ja
	<p>2. Sentí yo mi gran limitación al no hablar inglés o sea me vi que me quedaba fuera.</p> <p>3. I: ¿Cómo viviste ese momento (de estar excluido de un grupo)? Mal, mal mal (...) Con la rabia de no saber algo cuando ves que es algo muy importante.</p> <p>4. I: Cómo llevabas el estudio del inglés sin oral? Pues mal porque decía jooooo estoy aprendiendo algo pero que realmente me va a servir para el examen pero no me va a servir para integrarme en el grupo nuevo de gente que estaba conociendo</p> <p>5. Luego he visto que lo que entiendes es tan tan poco la diferencia entre lo que sabes y lo que escuchas es tan abismal que no sé no creo que haya-</p> <p>6. Luego venía a Madrid y hablaba con gente nativa o con un dominio del inglés y venía otra vez no tengo ni idea esto no lo voy a aprender nunca.</p> <p>7. En cambio en Brighton todo lo contrario, <u>horroroso</u> .. no puedo con ello..saca lo peor de mí, lo peor, me pone <u>rabioso</u> .. <u>enfadado</u>, el <u>cabreo</u>, el <u>odiarlo</u> [...] y una frustración y un <u>ODIO</u> es que yo <u>odié</u> lo <u>odiaba</u> estaba allí pffff qué <u>asco</u></p> <p>8. Con una chica de Erasmus con la que congeniaba mucho, he ido dejando de escribir que era escrito que es lo que supuestamente piloto, me he ido distanciando porque no te puedo contar la mitad de lo que te quiero contar “Lo que te diría y no te puedo decir” I: Podrías decir que estabas satisfecho de la comunicación con ella?</p>	Ju

No, no porque hablábamos de cosas íntimas muy personales era una chica de Eslovenia que había vivido una guerra que si hubiéramos la misma lengua hubiera extraído de ella como millones de veces más.

The answers confirm what are known as the causes and symptoms of FLA (see chapter 3), namely causes like lack of understanding and perceived low proficiency, peer pressure and competitiveness; consequences such as frustration, distress and mental block.

Both interviewees Mary and Jade explicitly use the verb “suffer” (“sufro”, M1 and “sufrir”, Ja2). Mary alludes to suffering to account for her feelings in class, which lead her to freeze up (M2), a typical symptom of FLA. As signalled by the causative connectors underlined in the extract, the reasons are the lack of command in the oral expression (“me cuesta mucho entonces sufro”, it is really difficult for me that's why I suffer) and difficulty in understanding the teacher (“porque no te entiendo”, because I don't understand you, M4).

Jade mentions another similar emotion-laden state, “anguish/distress” (“angustia” Ja1), when she compares herself to the rest of the class and feels she is the slowest. Peer pressure demonstrates here to lead to such a distressing feeling, as often referred to also by interviewee Jude. He feels frustrated whenever he talks to native speakers or proficient L2 users and realizes that his English is not good enough to keep up with them (Ju5). Competitiveness is indeed one of the main sources of FLA. He also claims that not being able to communicate in English has often made him feel excluded from a group, with its related frustration (“vi que me quedaba fuera”, I noticed that I was excluded, Ju1).

Frustration also arises when what Jude learned at school (written English) does not help him communicate orally (Ju3), as well as when he watches a film in the original version and he realises that what he understands is by far less than what he needs in order to follow the film (Ju4). This remark echoes a mismatch between class learning and actual language use that is commonly heard among L2 learners in Spain.

From a semantic point of view, it is quite striking to note the frequency of negations and negative emotional terms: “no tengo ni idea esto no lo voy a aprender nunca” (I have no clue, I will never learn this, Ju5); “horroroso” (horrible), “lo peor” (dreadful, the worst thing), “rabioso” (furious, enraged), “asco” (disgust), (Ju6); “me depimo” (I get depressed, M2), “lo paso fatal”, “me siento fatal” (I feel terrible, M3 and M4). These negative evaluations are

accompanied by boosters and reiterations, which amplify their magnitude: “mucho” (a lot, M1 and M2), “tan” (so, Ju4); *sufro sufro* (I suffer, I suffer, M1), “mal mal mal” (bad bad bad, Ju2), “tan tan” (so so, Ju4), “odio odié odiaba” (I hate, I hated, I used to hate) (Ju6).

At a finer-grained look, an escalation of growing pain is reflected in this passage:

“No puedo con ello... saca lo peor de mí, lo peor, me pone rabioso... enfadado, el cabreo, el odiarlo [...] y una frustración y un odio es que yo odié lo odiaba estaba allí pffff qué asco”.⁶⁵

Jude’s frustration becomes rage when he is placed in a higher level class on an English course in England. It is worded via emphatic emotional evaluations like horrible, furious, angry (“horroroso”, “rabioso”, “cabreo”), to escalate with a reiteration of words in the semantic field of hatred (“el odiarlo”, “ODIO⁶⁶”, “odié”, “odiaba”), which reinforce the emphasis. This crescendo culminates with utter disgust (“asco”, Ju6).

To conclude the linguistic analysis, taking a discursive look allows noticing various instances of self-discourse.

-“Decía joooo” [...] (I used to say What the hell, Ju3),

-“[...] y venía otra vez no tengo ni idea esto no lo voy a aprender nunca” (and then I came back I have no clue I will never learn this, Ju5),

-“Lo que te diría y no te puedo decir” (What I would like to tell you and I can't, Ju7).

These instances hint at a sort of mental monologue through which the learner articulates his frustration. It may be considered as an internal dialogue between the learner as experiencer of a frustrating reality and the learner as the agent that decides that he/she will not learn.

5.1.3.2 UNDERSTANDING

One of the causes of FLA, which emerges quite evidently in the interviews, is the lack of understanding of what is being said, or the anticipated fear of not understanding (UND) (or “communication apprehension”, McCroskey 1976, see 3.1.3). FLA appears to be brought about by miscommunication that provokes a sense of loss of control over the communicative situation, which leads anxious learners to give in to rage and frustration. Let us see how lack of understanding relates to other negative emotions in this process.

⁶⁵ “I can’t stand it... it brings out the worst part of me, the worst, it makes me furious... angry, rage, hatred [...] such frustration and hatred, I really hated it, did hate it, I was there and pfff disgusting”.

⁶⁶ Pronounced with a higher pitch and emphasis.

Figure 5.9 Preliminary UNDERSTANDING

<p>UNDERSTANDING (UND)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. (En clase me siento fatal) .. porque no te entiendo cuando hablas muchas veces entonces estoy muy perdida .. (también sufro en clase porque) ... tú estás oyendo una persona y no sabes lo que está diciendo la mitad de las veces. 2. Yo es que cuando oigo hablar a alguien no me entero de nada entonces tiene que ir muy despacito hablando y claro no vais muy despacito hablando entonces no pillo 3. Yo me pongo a escuchar y .. es que me cabreo me mosqueo y al final en vez de seguir que es lo que tendría que hacer pues lo aparco y empiezo en otro momento me pasa lo mismo y lo vuelvo a aparcar entonces a lo mejor debería ser más insistente en ese momento y no dejarlo. 4. Yo lo digo de una manera pero cuando lo escucho como la gente no lo dice como lo digo yo claro tampoco lo asocio entonces me cuesta más porque yo lo digo mal pero lo digo a mi manera 5. Pero es que como no me entero de nada pues todavía no lo puedo ... a lo mejor cuando pille algo diré pues mira tiene buena entonación pero de momento como pillo alguna palabrita suelta no disfruto todavía del idioma [risa] 	<p>M</p>
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. El profesor hablaba todo el rato en español así que me enteraba [...] era una situación que dominaba 2. Hay gente que no los entiendo nada es que no entiendo lo que están diciendo 	<p>Ja</p>
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ese esfuerzo de intentar entender, lo que digo como sé lo que digo no me cuesta tanto, pero la réplica pfff a ver de lo que me entero... enlazando. 	<p>Ju</p>

The three interviewees report a sense of unease and mental block whenever they cannot understand English. They all mention the sense of loss of control as the triggering

factor for FLA. As Mary says, this sense of loss (“estoy perdida”, M1) arises when she is not able to understand what her interlocutor is saying, as well as a feeling of frustration (“lo paso fatal”, M1). She depicts an awkward and uncomfortable situation in which two people are meant to communicate, but a large amount of the message is lost in one direction. This interlocutor is generally the teacher but it could also be a peer, as in the case of Jade (Ja2). In the former case, an additional drawback is that part of the instructions and metalinguistic explanations provided by the teacher in class are lost too. The alternative, teaching a class in students' L1, is mentioned in reference to a class in which Jade felt comfortable (“dominaba”, I felt in control, Ja1). This is a delicate decision for a teacher to make at elementary levels, whether to favour thorough understanding by speaking mostly in L1 or to provide a greater amount of L2 input, by speaking in the target language as much as possible. The intermediate position is the one demanded by Mary, who would like to be spoken to as slowly as possible, which is not always the case (M2). Also Jude affords great importance to control. He comments on struggling more with listening than speaking (Ju1), because he has some control on what he says, but cannot anticipate what he may hear in reply.

References to the category AFFECT can be read as a consequence of this loss of control. Mary feels irritation and even rage, highlighted by the emphasiser “es que” (M2 and M3), which culminate in extreme behaviour: she asserts that she does not understand absolutely anything and gives up listening at all. Jade also uses the emphasiser “es que” for the same reason, and employs reiteration of “no entiendo” (I don't understand) to reinforce her annoyance and frustration (Ja2).

Otherwise, the effort to understand an L2 becomes so big as to overwhelm a learner (Ju1) and may lead to amotivation (see 2.2.3.4). In cognitive terms, when the amount of information overloads short-term memory, it cannot be processed and gets lost, as well as provoking a feeling of frustration (M3) (Dewaele 2002, 2005 in 3.3.1). That is why, when asked an aesthetic APPRECIATION (whether she likes how English sounds), Mary does not have an answer, because when she listens, she is too engrossed in trying to decipher the message, which she normally fails to do. She is then assailed by negative feelings, so she is not able to appreciate other prosodic features (M5).

Evidently, the difficulty in listening and the correlated anxiety and frustration reported by the three learners justify the need for listening-specific items in the questionnaire of this study, in addition to the speaking-based ones of the original FLCAS.

5.1.3.3 SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

Another cause of FLA has been contended to be self-consciousness: “feeling ridiculous” (or “self-conscious”) is one of the reasons often put forward to explain the poor English proficiency in Spain. In fact, self-consciousness turns out to be extremely harmful for foreign language learning, because the self feels threatened in its development.

Figure 5.10 Preliminary SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

<p>SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS (CONSC)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I. Por qué .. ¿qué miedos tenías? J: Al miedo como sensación de <u>ridículo</u> .. de ir la más torpe .. fíjate que mayor y no sé q no sé cuantos muchas de esas historias vine a la Escuela pues eso podía haber venido más pronto ... 2. No voy a hacer "yo quiero comer" como los indios "yo comer quiere" [risa] [...] me siento <u>ridícula</u> 3. “No sienten sentido del <u>ridículo</u>” me parece genial pero a mí me parece que es gente que habla y lo que está haciendo es un uso horroroso de la lengua [...] pero es que tú les oyes hablar .. en español y dices qué es lo que están diciendo esta gente se está dando cuenta de lo que está diciendo? 4. [entre risas] me siento <u>ridícula</u> es que me veo <u>ridícula</u> yo es que a veces como no los entiendo no sé cómo la gente pone las caras tan raras digo [riendo] para hablar un idioma hay que poner esas caras tan raras?" (()) unas expresiones no te asusta la gente cuando intenta hablar contigo es que los miro ... 	<p>Ja</p>
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Out of the three interviewees, only Jade admits to self-consciousness, but it is worth noting her abundant use of the word “ridiculous” (5 tokens in 4 extracts), as it reveals her concern with feeling or appearing so to whoever may hear her. This concern is reflected in the intertextuality of the sentence reported in Ja3: by reporting others' words, she is telling us that “ridiculousness” in L2 is a topic that she has already talked about with other people, who have probably tried to convince her that, if foreigners in Spain speak broken Spanish and do not feel ridiculous, she should not feel so herself with her English.

This feeling is linked to other negative ones such as fear (Ja1) and is so powerful as to have prevented her from enrolling at the EOI before: self-consciousness is a clear obstacle for her with decisional consequences. She feels ridiculous in comparison with peers (“más torpe”, the most awkward/hopeless/the dumbest), partly due to her older age, which on another occasion, when asked directly, she denies being a disadvantage.

Apart from fearing to be ridiculous herself, she criticises other people trying to speak an L2 as such. From her negative JUDGEMENTS on how people speak in English, it can be gleaned that speaking an L2 is considered not just a form of communication, but rather an identity statement liable to critique and social sanction. The following extracts will illustrate her bitter despising appraisals: “uso horroroso” (horrible use), “pero es que [...] esta gente se están dando cuenta [...]” (but actually are these folks aware?) (Ja3). Moreover, this is reinforced by non-verbal clues, namely the frequent laughter, which is a symptom of FLA or, at least, of feeling ill at ease with the topic.

5.1.3.4 RESISTANCE

Resistance (RES) defines here the attitude of a student to show certain opposition to learning, creating a sort of protection barrier (“affective filter” in Krashen’s terms) between themselves and the learning situation. This is due to a possible threat posed by exposing oneself in unfamiliar territory and it is a consequence of FLA. Resistance has been observed both at an implicit and explicit level. Implicit resistance is noticeable through actions and decisions, and explicit resistance is verbalised by the very subject. In any case, it is the opposite attitude and drive to motivation. Interestingly, in the respondents’ statements, a struggle between motivation and resistance can be seen because, in spite of their motivation, the learning situation and related FLA bring about certain resistance (7.9% of references).

Figure 5.11 Preliminary RESISTANCE

RESISTANCE (RES)	<p>1. Yo me ponía la última en la puerta porque si se le hubiera ocurrido ponerme a hablar me hubiera ido.</p> <p>2. I: ¿Ves un progreso? J: Mínimo I: y eso cómo te sienta a nivel personal? J: me da- a ver no me da igual pero no me es satisfactorio</p>	Ja
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	<p>porque tampoco mi objetivo es aprend- hablar inglés</p> <p>3. En cuanto al inglés oral cuál es tu objetivo?</p> <p>J: ahora mismo nada porque sé que cuando voy fuera hay alguien que me va a sacar de la situación</p> <p>4. Y relación con gente que no hable español ¿has conocido a alguien?</p> <p>J: No cuando voy con los lugareños no hablo o si no hablo en español</p> <p>5. I: Con alguien que no sepa español no hablas porque no te interesa conocerlos o no te ves suficientemente</p> <p>J: no porque no me sé lo suficientemente inglés y lo que no voy a hacer "yo quiero comer" como los indios "yo comer quiere" [risa]</p> <p>6. (el auxiliar de conversación de mi colegio) me habla inglés a través de alguien cuando estamos tomando café están hablando en inglés [...] yo se lo digo en español perfectamente [...] o no meto baza simplemente</p> <p>7. a ver "la gente viene y se lanza hablar" no la gente viene y mezcla palabras</p> <p>8. I: ¿te gusta saber decir una frase en otro idioma .. es algo placentero agradable?</p> <p>J: no</p>	
	<p>1. Yo recuerdo que tenía mi resistencia que no me ense- que yo lo que quiero .. que tengo que aprobar el examen (escrito) no me hables ahora de pronunciación</p> <p>2. (iba a ver películas en versión original) Aunque yo siempre mi postura era de “no, no, es que no me entero, es que esto no pfuuu” tengo mucha resistencia al inglés porque realmente es que yo NO quiero es que no me gusta</p>	<p>Ju</p>

Jade has the highest number of items in this category (8 entries, four times more than Jude), which does not come as a surprise, given that she had shown serious episodes of stubborn resistance in class. On many occasions she would refuse to speak in English at all, but would do so in Spanish all through the class, even though at an A2 levels all the students are used to and convinced of the importance of trying to communicate in the target language. When asked to turn to English, she would complain or express frustration and go on in Spanish, to everyone's disbelief.

This class attitude is echoed by what she reports doing in other scenarios. In fact, she always finds alternatives to speaking English, which equals to saying that she never accepts a situation in which she would do so. The alternatives to speaking English are the following:

- speaking in Spanish (Ja4 and Ja6);
- being quiet and not taking part in a conversation (Ja6);
- running out of a class (Ja1).

In any of these settings she absolutely does not envisage the use of her interlanguage in order to accomplish communicative tasks or to practise and try to improve it. She actually sounds critical of interlanguages (as said in 5.1.3.3), both of fellow Spanish speakers learning English and of non-Spanish people speaking Spanish, which she labels “como los indios” (like Native Americans⁶⁷).

She is explicit about her unwillingness to learn to speak English (Ja2 and Ja3). She asserts it with so much confidence that it makes one wonder why she should be enrolled at EOI, where the method is predominantly communicative and most students' purpose is to become fluent in a FL. When asked about her motivation, she frequently answers negatively with a sharp “no” or “nada” (meaning “nothing” or “absolutely not”) (Ja8 as an example). These semantic clues strengthen her position of rejection to learning, at least on an explicit, declarative level.

However, some false starts reveal her internal struggle. In Ja2 she is about to say that she does not care about making progress, but then softens it by correcting herself saying that she does care though it is not a source of satisfaction. Similarly, her reluctance to speaking initially encompasses learning in general, as can be seen in her false start “*tampoco mi*

⁶⁷ It refers to the broken language spoken in western films by native Americans. It is an idiomatic set phrase, not wanting to be deliberately discriminatory.

objetivo es aprend- hablar inglés” (my objective is not to learn to speak English). But then she zooms in on speaking, as a sort of justification for her lack of success in this skill.

Another linguistic hint of her intentions is the word “*perfectamente*” in Ja6, which makes it clear how comfortable she is in her mother tongue and how unwilling she is to give up that comfort, even on a temporary basis. The adverb, not referring in this case to how proficient she is in her mother tongue, hints at the fact that she speaks with no qualms in Spanish even to people who she already knows do not speak the language, rather than feeling insecure in a language of which she does not have sufficient command.

Jude explicitly uses the word “resistance” when he talks about his unwillingness to take in any information about how to pronounce a word, being purely and heavily focused on preparing a written test (Ju1). In Ju2, the repetition of negations (“no”) makes it clear that he does not want to learn, or at least it is what he explicitly states, although in other parts of the interview he reveals his efforts and wishes to do so.

From a textual point of view, Jude also reveals a struggle due to the gap between what he understands and what he is demanded to understand when he watches a film. This is worded through the internal discourse (“*No, no, es que no me entero*”, No, no, I really don't understand, Ju2).

Both students, at a different degree, show that their attitude is rather counterproductive and will probably interfere with harmonious learning and fluent communication.

5.1.4 PROFICIENCY

In this section I shall present the link between low proficiency and FLA. In 3.2.2 it was argued that the lower students' proficiency, the higher FLA. Therefore, comments on how students perceive their proficiency in English will be analysed, as well as those on their beliefs on studying methods, in order to find out whether their efforts are made in the right direction. References to self-efficacy (EFFIC) and strategies (STRAT) account for 27.5% altogether of the remarks, meaning that, although it was not the main focus of the pilot study, respondents often make reference to them to account for their FLA. Let us first analyse respondents' beliefs and perception of their English level and then the strategies they are capable of adopting and those they fail to implement.

5.1.4.1 SELF-EFFICACY

Tightly linked to self-concept, self-efficacy encompasses learners' beliefs and perceptions of their English proficiency level. In line with the inadequacy and negative self evaluations experienced by FLA subjects, the three interviewees generally emphasise how poor their English is, in spite of admitting a slight improvement especially in written English. They form negative beliefs of themselves that feed in a system of low self-esteem and poor performance.

Figure 5.12 Preliminary SELF-EFFICACY

<p>SELF-EFFICACY (EFFIC)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He llegado muy mal, a rastras 2. No se me da bien, no lo llevo bien, me cuesta mucho. 3. I: ¿No ves resultados? M: Pues la verdad que no 4. Lo de escuchar fatal y de hablar menos todavía, me cuesta muchísimo hacer una frase muy simple muy básica 5. I: ¿No te sientes segura? <u>No no para nada, vamos, para nada</u> 6. Lo paso fatal <u>porque</u> no soy capaz de decir una frase de lo más simple, puedo decirla pero necesito mi tiempo y cuando necesito mi tiempo la gente ya está por allí que ya me ha dicho cuatro o cinco frases entre medias 7. Voy lenta .. muy lenta 8. Hacerla [tarea oral] la hago pero malamente 9. Claro es que como tampoco yo sé pronunciarlo 10. Yo creo que <u>sí</u> hombre no es que la lleve bien (la gramática) del todo <u>pero</u> no tan mal como lo otro [las destrezas orales] 11. Todo no <u>pero</u> algo entiendo [del inglés escrito] 12. I: desde el año pasado .. notas (progreso)? M: noto diferencia desde que empecé en la Escuela estos dos año a antes lógicamente ya sé bastante más que 	<p>M</p>
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I: ¿Te sientes más cómoda con ese método de la traducción? 	<p>Ja</p>

	<p>J: sí a mí lo que me tambalea es el oral ..lo otro lo puedo hacer mal o bien</p> <p>2. no quiero comunicarme con gente que no hable español porque] no me sé lo suficientemente inglés.</p>	
	<p>1. Realmente no creo que se evaluara realmente nunca mi nivel de inglés, si fuera así hubiera suspendido.</p> <p>2. En otros ámbitos me siento más capaz .. el inglés lo veo tan utópico.</p> <p>3. (también el entorno) en la EOI veía el vaso casi lleno, porque la gente sabía tan poco que me decían "madre mía cómo pilotas".</p> <p>4. I: Y para alcanzar ese nivel [comunicarse] ¿cuánto te queda?</p> <p>Ju: Unas tres vidas [risa] en serio me motivo escucho veo que no avanzo me quedo ayer por ejemplo aprendí tres palabras pero es que no tengo memoria... Creo que soy un caso perdido... creo que podré ir un poquito un poquito pero que nunca podré tener una conversación fluida en inglés [...]</p> <p>Eso lo podría alcanzar si mi vida girara entorno al inglés.</p>	<p>Ju</p>

Most answers point to a very low concept of one's ability to learn English. Mary's positive replies (M10, M11 and M12) should not mislead from her overall negative feeling of low proficiency, as the hedging pattern "yes but" demonstrates (underlined in M10 and M11): "I think so, I'm not so good at grammar but not so bad as at other skills", not everything but I understand something". It should be noticed as well that the interviewer's questions are quite conducive to a positive appraisal of at least written skills, as can be seen in the excerpt.

I: Y la gramática la llevas bien porque eso no te produce=

M: = yo creo que sí hombre no es que la lleve bien del todo pero no tan mal como lo otro... eso quizás motiva un poquito más porque por lo menos leo algo y

I: y lo entiendes todo

M: Hombre todo no pero algo entiendo [risa]⁶⁸

The remaining answers are more clear-cut and emphatic. Her self JUDGEMENT is of someone incapable (“no se me da bien”, I’m not good at it, M2), carrying a counterproductive belief. Low proficiency is said to be the cause of suffering, as marked by the causal linking word in the sentence “lo paso fatal porque no soy capaz de...” (I feel terrible because I am not capable of..., M6). In Halliday’s (1994) terms she identifies herself as a doer who is incapable of carrying out actions, namely speak English. She is also a carrier of the attribute “slow”. Slowness is particularly handicapping in the oral expression. Mary demands more time to be able to put together even a simple sentence, unlike her classmates who overwhelm her as they talk faster; by the time she makes one sentence, they have already said four or five in between (M6). The judgements are quite emphatic. For instance she words them via metaphoric expressions such as “a rastras” (with difficulty, as if one is being dragged, M1), which implies extreme effort through hardships, even against one's will⁶⁹.

Jude claims that he passed his English exams at school because his proficiency was not really tested (Ju1), which is quite telling about certain assessment methods, or at least the impression they make on the student being assessed. This way learners form beliefs about what is important to be able to do in English (speaking versus filling in an exam), which could be another obstacle to learning. However, this approach seems far from the current emphasis on self-assessment, progress evaluation and competence achievement.

He also goes on to compare his skills in English to other fields (Ju2). The result is that he feels less proficient in English, which leads him to conclude drastically that he will never be able to have a fluent conversation in English (Ju3). Foreign language learning turns out once more as a specific domain where someone’s self-efficacy is put to test and may be undermined.

⁶⁸ I: And at grammar you're good because it doesn't make you feel=
M: = well I think so, I'm not too good but not
as bad as the rest .. this maybe motivates me a little bit more because at least I can read something and
I: And you understand everything
M: well not everything but I understand some of it [laughter]

⁶⁹ <http://lema.rae.es/dpd/srv/search?id=fDEChkxJRD64IeHiPZ> rastra. *a rastras*. ‘Arrastrando’ y ‘a la fuerza o de mala gana’. (= dragging, by force or unwillingly).

5.1.4.2 STRATEGIES

Lack of proficiency, or to be more exact, students' beliefs and feelings of low efficacy, make me as a teacher wonder whether students are familiar with and utilize suitable studying and coping strategies. Although the interviews were not directed to elicit this aspect of learning, several references (11.2%) were made by interviewees themselves on which strategies (STRAT) they deploy, their usefulness or whether they take advantage of opportunity to practise the foreign language. The result is that students often fail to study properly, thus wasting their study time. The effort involved does not actually pay off. Therefore, students end up thinking that the ability needed exceeds their potential, with negative consequences for their self-efficacy and self-esteem.

Let us first analyse the answers strictly related to strategies and then those with a specific reference to effort.

Figure 5.13 Preliminary STRATEGIES

<p>STRATEGIES (STRAT)</p>	<p>2. Yo me pongo a escuchar y .. es que me cabreo me mosqueo y al final en vez de seguir que es lo que tendría que hacer pues lo aparco y empiezo en otro momento me pasa lo mismo y lo vuelvo a aparcar entonces mejor debería ser más insistente en ese momento y no dejarlo.</p> <p>3. <u>No</u> como te dije lo de las canciones que <u>no</u> leía pero las películas en inglés <u>tampoco</u> porque como <u>no</u> pillo <u>nada</u> <u>no</u></p> <p>4. No .. cuando he ido [de viaje] siempre había alguien que lo hablaba mejor entonces allí te quedas tú .. te anulas ya.</p>	<p>M</p>
	<p>2. ¿Y relación con gente que no hable español, has conocido a alguien?</p> <p>J: <u>No</u> cuando voy con los lugareños <u>no</u> hablo o si no hablo en español</p> <p>3. I: ¿Te sientes más cómoda con ese método de la traducción?</p> <p>J: Sí.</p> <p>4. Yo creo que es un fallo que necesito el soporte físico el verlo</p> <p>5. Tengo una prima bilingüe pero <u>no</u> he hablado <u>nada</u></p> <p>[...] <u>nada</u>! En el instituto hay un chaval un lector que puedo</p>	<p>Ja</p>

	<p>aprovechar en los recreos pero nada.</p> <p>6. Ja: el miércoles cierro la carpeta y la puedo abrir el domingo .. este es mi contacto con el inglés.</p> <p>I: ¿No buscas otras ocasiones?</p> <p>Ja: No.</p> <p>7. claro es que quiero quitarme ruedines de la bici y ponerme en la bici de montaña.</p>	
	<p>2. Pues a veces la profesora o mi entorno me decían también algo pero yo tenía ese bloqueo es decir no me confundas porque lo voy a escribir por ejemplo lo de “ojo” /ai/ no me confundas con /ai/ si es “eye” pues es /eye/ si no luego no me voy a acordar.</p> <p>3. Sí, claro, en el examen no hablan contigo en inglés</p> <p>4. Yo creo que utilizo mal los métodos, lo que aprendes debes aplicarlo .. no lo hago. Creo que el fallo está en mí que no incorporaba las palabras nuevas.</p> <p>5. por falta de método</p>	Ju

These answers show a wide range of non-effective strategies and attached counterproductive beliefs. The above mentioned references to how written English seems more feasible than oral communication reveal certain comfort with traditional methods, such as translation (Ja2 and Ja3), which acquire high functional APPRECIATION for them. Conversely, homework practice through listening produces irritation, which finally leads to giving up the listening exercise (M1). Similarly, authentic input material such as songs and films are avoided (M2) because completely incomprehensible. When Jude makes the effort to watch a film, he feels frustrated (SUFF Ju6), for he realises the gap between what he should be able to understand and what he actually understands (actual self and ideal self as in 2.4).

When the interviewees travel abroad, they also rely on a companion who is more confident with his/her English (M3 and Ja1). Consequently, they renounce again the opportunity to practise one's FL and, especially, to break the ice and gain confidence, getting trapped in a sort of vicious circle. Other occasions are also eschewed (Ja4), such as

conversation with a family member proficient in English or with the school's native language assistant (Ja3).

It is interesting to observe the beliefs underlying some answers. Jude, for instance, is so obsessed with the written exam that he thinks that learning pronunciation at the same time would not only make him waste time, but also distract and confuse him (Ju1 and Ju2), attaching low functional value to phonetics. He refers to the sometimes big difference between written and spoken English that might confuse a learner, as in the example of “eye” /ai/. This deliberate unfamiliarity with spoken English, though, would lead the learner to further disappointment when he intends to make use of the language he has learnt.

Another strong belief is that a learner may skip learning stages and start speaking when they are already proficient, without having to go through the previous stages. Indeed, Jade refuses to speak in English, both in class and outside, because she does not want to make mistakes like non-native Spanish speakers, and she expects to start speaking perfectly one day. Her metaphor that she wants to learn how to ride a bike without the small helping wheels (Ja5) implies that she is aware that this is not feasible, also considering her background as an educator. And yet, her refusal is categorical. She definitely lacks the strategy of exposure in order to overcome FLA. Jude also seems aware of his poor methodology, as explicitly stated in Ju3 and Ju4, especially when he admits that he does not put new words into practice.

The failure of the learning strategies, partly due to learners’ beliefs, results in big expenditure of effort in the wrong direction, as the answers below show.

Figure 5.14 Preliminary EFFORT

EFFORT (EFF)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> [That's English] también me suponía <u>mucho</u> esfuerzo, <u>mucho...</u> y lo dejé. No le estoy sacando el provecho que debería. 	Ja
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Pues como es muy <u>difícil</u> luchar contra algo [el inglés oral] muy <u>difícil</u>. Allí [cuando empecé a trabajar el inglés oral] me encontré con una <u>dificultad</u> enorme que era que no- Qué mal, porque es un esfuerzo tan enorme, me agota tanto, creo que si voy a correr 5 horas no me cansa tanto como escuchar inglés. 	Ju

	<p>4. I: ¿Por qué no pones en práctica lo que aprendes? J: Por el esfuerzo, por vaguería.</p> <p>5. Dos avanzadas tres retiradas, venga si esto me sirve pero tan complicado, tan .. no puedo.</p>	
--	--	--

The answers point to an excess of effort that may lead to rejection (Ja1). Emphatic repetitions (“mucho”) add to the sense of overwhelming exhaustion.

Jude also uses repetitions in the semantic field of difficulty: “difícil, “difícilísimo”, “dificultad (enorme)”, (Ju1 and Ju3), together with “complicaaado” (FLA Ju1), all suggesting a sense of insurmountable difficulty to learn the language. He even compares it to running five kilometres (Ju3): listening to English is for him more exhausting than intense physical exercise (“Me agota tanto”, it exhausts me so much, Ju3). As a consequence, Jude does not put it in practice what he learns (Ju4), or, in other words, avoids its use. He sometimes acknowledges his progress, but the latter is overtaken by surrender because of the level of perceived difficulty.

Ja2 might be interpreted as a self-criticism for lacking sufficient effort, or to a lack of benefit in spite of the efforts. Probably for the context (the right to occupy a post at the highly-demanded EOI), it might be taken as a self-criticism for not attaining the goals, especially in spoken English. In any case, a reflection should be made firstly about assessing the suitable level of difficulty of class material, in order not to create this sense of extreme effort which hampers self-efficacy. Secondly, teachers ought to plan classes bearing in mind that learners might easily feel overwhelmed and exhausted, which may lead them to switch off and stop learning, or even to start experiencing FLA and rejection for the learning process.

Figure 5.15 Word cloud of subcategories according to their frequency

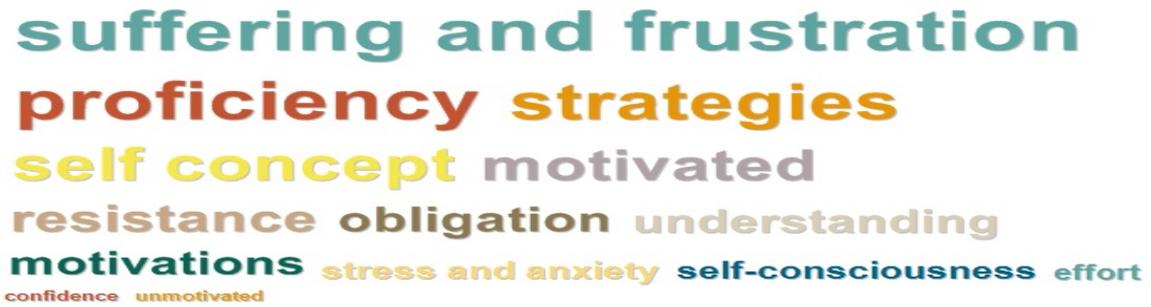
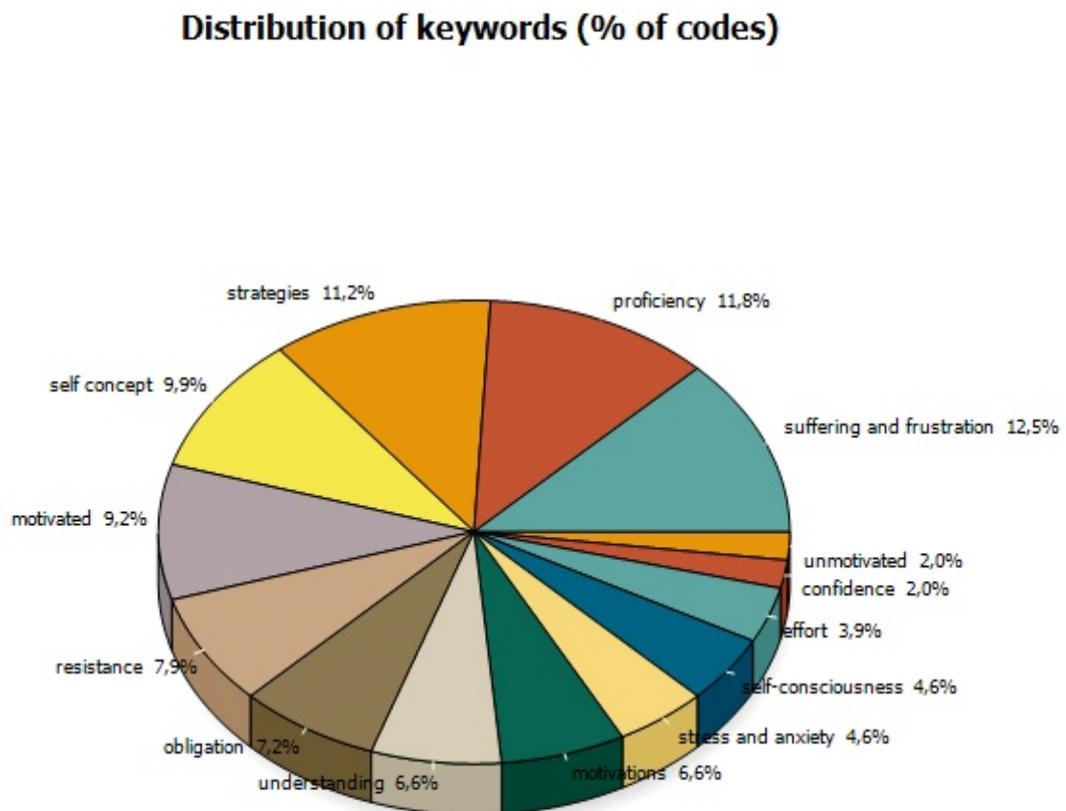


Figure 5.16 Pie chart of subcategories according to their frequency



Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

6. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

For the sake of clarity, the results of the empirical study have been divided into quantitative analysis (chapter 6) and qualitative analysis (chapter 7).

In this chapter, I will present the results of the quantitative data gathered in 2015 from 94 questionnaires, consisting of two main sections (see Appendix III): the first was meant to elicit socio-demographic information, as well as data related to the participants' English use and experience; the second contained the Spanish version of Horwitz's et al. (1986) FLCAS, with four added items devoted to delve into anxiety in listening.

The respondents were EOI students divided into five groups: elementary (A1), elementary control group (A1c), advanced (B2), advanced control group (B2c)⁷⁰, and a drama group (D) composed of students from level A1 to B1. The level of the B2/*Avanzado 2* at EOI⁷¹ has been up to the date higher than an actual B2, given that B2/*Avanzado 2* was the last year at EOI up to 2016, before an actual C1 level was introduced. That is why I will use "advanced" in the analysis. The control groups have been used to detect any difference in FLA, on the account that they had not carried out any drama-related activity, as opposed to the main groups A1 and B2 who did the experiments, and D that took drama classes in English (Appendix I and II).

The results have been compared to previous seminal studies, namely Horwitz et al. (1983) and Aida (1994), who conducted the first researches within university students in Texas of, respectively, Spanish and Japanese as foreign languages. Because of geographic and cultural proximity, other FLA studies carried out in Spain will also be compared: mainly the other study on EOI post-beginner⁷² students in Cartagena, Murcia (Pérez Paredes 1996 and Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez 2000), as well as on secondary school students in Jaén (Morena-Taboada et al. 2011), and on university students in the Canary Islands (Arnáiz & Guillén 2012).

The quantitative results will shed light on the following parts of the research questions:

- 1a. Which identity-related aspects (namely Age, Gender, Stay abroad, Frequency of use) have an impact on adult EOI learners' FLA?
2. Which motivational components (namely extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, self-efficacy) intervene in adults' learning experience at EOI?

⁷⁰ A1 and B2 refer to the CEFR level and "c" stands for "control".

⁷¹ *Avanzado 2* is how this level is officially labelled at EOI in Madrid.

⁷² At the time of the study, EOI levels were not labelled according to the CEFR, thus this level corresponds roughly to A2/B1.

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

3a. Which factors in the FLCAS account for FLA in the EOI sample? Does “Listening Anxiety” contribute to account for FLA?

3b. Does FLA hinder achievement in speaking and listening?

3c. Does the manifestation of FLA differ in EOI elementary and advanced learners of English?

4a. Are drama techniques useful to reduce FLA in adult learners?

6.1 RESULTS

The following tables (Fig. 6.1 and 6.2) show the descriptives for the adapted FLCAS questionnaire and the reliability analysis (Fig. 6.3, next page).

Figure 6.1 Descriptive Statistics based on total scores (min. 37- max. 185)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	FLA (tot)	Std. Deviation
tot	94	62,00	159,00	104,95	22,59
Valid N (listwise)	94				

Figure 6.2 Descriptive Statistics based on Likert scale (min. 1- max. 5) per each item

	N	Minimum	Maximum	FLA (mean)	Std. Deviation
FLA	94	1,68	4,30	2,84	,61
Valid N (listwise)	94				

The mean of responses of all the participants belonging to the five groups is 104.95 (Fig. 6.1), being 37 the minimum and 185 the maximum: if someone marked “I strongly disagree” (=1 on the Likert scale) in all the 37 items, their total score would be 37 (37 x 1); if someone marked “I strongly agree” (=5) in all the 37 items, their total score would be 185 (37 x 5). Since “I strongly disagree” means that the respondent does not admit to FLA symptoms, a score of 37 is considered the lowest level of FLA. Conversely, “I strongly agree” means that the respondent does admit to FLA symptoms, thus a score of 185 is considered the highest level of FLA. The mean obtained in this study signifies that the respondents’ average answer per item is 2.84 (Fig. 6.2), with 3 being “neither agree nor disagree” and 2 “I don’t agree”. Hence, the average FLA of the sample is slightly lower than the neuter level (3), on the non-FLA side. The standard deviation is 22.59 on the total scores (min. 37- max.185), and 0.61 on the mean per item (min.1- max.5), i.e. lower than the means, so there is a normal variability in the answers.

Figure 6.3 Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.925	37

The reliability of this version of FLCAS is .925 using Cronbach's alpha coefficient. It almost coincides with the original study by Horwitz et al. (1983) and with Arnáiz & Guillén (2012), who both got .93. It means that the internal consistency is high, that is to say, the questionnaire discriminated among item types and individuals, even after including the four new items.

6.1.1 FLA AND IDENTITY

In order to answer question 1a about *Which identity-related aspects (namely Age, Gender, Stay abroad, Frequency of use) have an impact on adult EOI learners' FLA*, I conducted a Regression with optimal scaling⁷³ with FLA, the dependent variable, and the identity-related independent variables: *Age, Gender, Stay abroad* and *Frequency of use*. Before I present this analysis, I will report the descriptives for the predictor variables.

The respondents' ages range from 16 (minimum age to enter EOI) to 64, with a mean of 34.69 years old and a S.D. of 11.97 (Fig. 6.4).

Figure 6.4 Descriptive Statistics for Identity-related variables

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age	94	16	64	34,69	11,97
Gender	94	1	2	1,64	,48
Stay	94	0	3	0,30	,65
Frequency	94	0	4	1,74	1,29
Valid N (listwise)	94				

As for *Gender*, there were 34 male respondents and 60 females: women almost double men in number, as not uncommon in foreign language classes. The FLA mean for female respondents is higher (2.93) than for males (2.67), as in Fig. 6.5.

Figure 6.5 FLA mean according to Gender

	Gender	N	FLA	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
FLA	Male	34	2,67	,47	,08
	Female	60	2,93	,66	,08

An Independent Samples t-test was carried out (Fig. 6.6) between the nominal variable of *Gender* and the scale variable of *FLA* in order to assess whether female respondents had a significant higher FLA than males. The test was statistically significant ($p = .031$). Therefore, it can be concluded that the female respondents in the sample do have a significantly higher FLA

⁷³ Or Categorical Regression (CATREG).

Figure 6.6 Independent Samples t-test for Gender

		Levene's t for Equality Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2- tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
FLA	Equal variances assumed	5,723	,019	-2,003	92	,048	-,26	,13	-,51	-,00213
	Equal variances not assumed			-2,193	87,0 1	,031	-,26	,12	-,49	-,02418

As for length of *Stay abroad*, the students' responses seem to suggest that, in general terms, the majority of the respondents have not had a long experience of living in an English-speaking country: the mean is 0.3/3⁷⁴ (Fig. 6.4 above), i.e. closer to "never" than to "less than 6 months". Four groups out of five score between 0.125 (A1c) and 0.45 (B2), which corresponds to 79.4% of people answering "never" and 20.6% of people "less than 6 months" (Fig. 6.7). The only exception is group B2c, scoring 1.8, i.e. close to the value "between 6 months and one year". In fact, this group has only three respondents who have never lived abroad, 19 who spent a few months, and 3 who have spent more than one year in an English-speaking country.

Figure 6.7 Mean per group for Stay abroad from min. to max.

Group	A1c	A1	D	B2	B2c
Mean	0.125	0.2	0.4	0.45	1.8

As shown in Fig. 6.4, the mean for *Frequency of use* is 1.74/4, i.e. less than once or twice a month⁷⁵. Fig. 6.8 shows the mean for each group: between 1.1 (A1) and 2.4 (D) out of 4, meaning that group A1 use English outside the class on average once or twice a year (probably on the occasion of some trip abroad), whereas group D once or twice a week (possibly corresponding to their weekly rehearsal). The other elementary group surprisingly has a higher mean than A1: they use English approximately once/twice a month - only three respondents never use it and two on a daily basis. The same frequency is found for B2c, while B2 is slightly lower, but still quite close to the general average of once or twice a month. Overall, the drama group is the only one that tries to find opportunities to practise the foreign

⁷⁴ 0 = never, 1 = less than 6 months, 2 = between 6 months and 1 year, 3 = more than 1 year.

⁷⁵ 0 = never, 1 = once/twice a year, 2 = once/twice a month, 3 = once/twice a week, 4 = daily.

language on a weekly basis, whereas the other ones rely on occasional chances that occur not even on a monthly basis.

Figure 6.8 Frequency of use mean per group from min. to max.

Group	A1	B2	B2c	A1c	D
Mean	1.17	1.7	1.8	1.83	2.4

After reporting the descriptives for each of the identity-related predictors, I will now focus on the Regression with optimal scaling, which, as mentioned above, was used to examine the influence of the following factors on FLA: *Age*, *Gender*, *Stay abroad* and *Frequency of use*.

As tables 6.9 and 6.10 show, CATREG yielded an R square of .173, indicating 17.3% of variance in the transformed *FLA* is explained by the 4 transformed predictors. The model performs well ($p < 0.05$).

Figure 6.9 Model Summary for CATREG-Identity

Multiple R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Apparent Prediction Error
,416	,173	,106	,827

Figure 6.10 ANOVA for CATREG-Identity

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	16,266	7	2,324	2,571	,019
Residual	77,734	86	,904		
Total	94,000	93			

The results in Table 6.11 show that both *Age* and *Gender* turn out to be significant, whereas *Stay abroad* and *Frequency of use* were not found to be significant. This may be explained by the fact that the former are inherent identity aspects, thus more stable, whilst *Stay abroad* and *Frequency of use*, as proper of an individual's language learning experience, may be subjected to students' accurate recollection and willingness to report the truth.

Figure 6.11 Coefficients for CATREG-Identity

	Standardized Coefficients				
	Beta	Bootstrap (1000) Estimate of Std. Error	df	F	Sig.
Age	,307	,148	2	4,31	,016
Gender	,245	,129	2	3,63	,031
Stay	-,191	,148	2	1,66	,196
Frequency	-,083	,216	1	,149	,701

As shown in the transformation plot displayed in Figure 6.12, these findings suggest that the older the learner the higher FLA, and conversely, the younger the lower FLA. Transformation plot 6.13 shows that female respondents have higher FLA.

Figure 6.12 Transformation plot Age/FLA

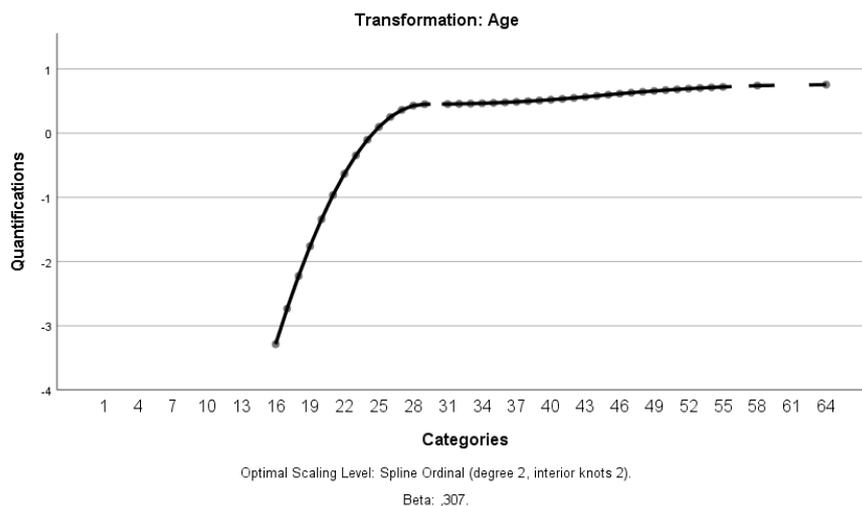
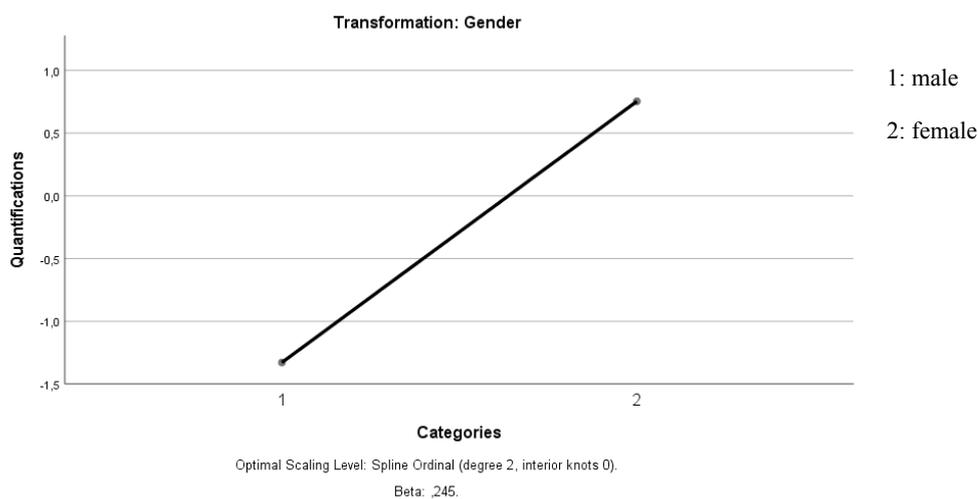


Figure 6.13 Transformation plot Gender/FLA



The high tolerance values for each of the predictors displayed in Fig. 6.14 indicate that their value cannot be predicted well from the other independent variables and therefore they are needed in the model. *Age* has a partial correlation of .318 so it explains 10%⁷⁶ of the variation in FLA and *Gender* has a partial correlation of .259 so it explains 6%⁷⁷.

Figure 6.14 Correlations and Tolerance for CATREG-Identity

	Correlations				Tolerance	
	Zero-Order	Partial	Part	Importance	After Transformation	Before Transformation
Age	,274	,318	,305	,487	,983	,954
Gender	,215	,259	,244	,305	,991	,987
Stay	-,148	-,203	-,188	,164	,970	,975
Frequency	-,093	-,090	-,083	,045	,986	,956

⁷⁶ Squared Partial Tolerance = .10

⁷⁷ Squared Partial Tolerance = .06

6.1.2 FLA AND MOTIVATION

In order to answer question 2 about *which motivational components (namely extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, self-efficacy) intervene in adults' learning experience at EOI*, I conducted a Categorical Regression between FLA and the three motivation items, namely extrinsic motivation as a work requirement (*Mot1*), intrinsic motivation (*Mot2*), extrinsic motivation for job perspectives (*Mot3*), as well as self-efficacy, as a construct involved in the motivational system (see 2.2.3). Let us first have a general overview of the data.

Two of the three items about motivation replicate Pérez-Paredes (1996): as in the previous study, *Mot1* (extrinsic motivation) and *Mot2* (intrinsic motivation), respectively enquire whether a respondent studies English because they are obliged by their company, and/or whether they do it for cultural reasons⁷⁸. As already explained in 4.2.1, a third item was included to account for extrinsic motivation within those individuals who are not obliged by a company, but are still driven by extrinsic obligation in order to access the labour market. The reason for this addition was that, since the previous study in 1998, the Spanish economy has undergone a profound transformation and the unemployment rate has risen dramatically. In fact, more and more students at EOI are unemployed and enrol as part of their job-seeking strategies. In view of this new scenario, the original item 1 did not seem completely fit to capture extrinsic motivation in the present situation, thus I deemed necessary to add *Mot3* about whether a respondent needed English as an asset to be more competitive in their search for a job.

The results in Fig. 6.15 show low extrinsic motivation in terms of work requirements: only between 5% and 10% answered positively, with the exception of a slightly higher percentage for group A1c (25%). This latter result appears to reflect a work scenario in which companies are starting to demand more and more that their employees have at least a basic command of English, which leads them to enrol in first years of EOI.

Figure 6.15 Answers to Motivation-Question 1 (Are you studying English because you are obliged by your company?)

<i>Mot1</i>	A1	A1c	B2	B2c	D
YES	5.55%	25%	5%	8%	10%
NO	88.9%	75%	95%	92%	90%
MISSING	5.55%				

⁷⁸ Although traditionally “intrinsic” motivation was linked to enjoyment of the learning experience per se, this item will be used to reflect this kind of motivation as it shares the emphasis on the individual’s own will (see integrated motivation 2.2.3.4).

The second question enquiring about cultural reasons for studying English yields a conspicuous result, as shown in Fig. 6.16. Four groups out of five answered “yes” unanimously. In group A1c, 90% gave a positive answer, which means that only 2 respondents out of the whole sample of 94 - only 2.13%- responded that they are not interested in learning English as a way to widen their cultural horizons. Therefore, the intrinsic motivation at EOI turns out to be overwhelming.

Figure 6.16 Answers to Motivation-Question 2 (Are you studying English to widen your culture?)

<i>Mot2</i>	A1	A1c	B2	B2c	D
YES	100%	90%	100%	100%	100%
NO	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%

Finally, the third question whether the current economic crisis has shifted motivation to learn English towards a more instrumental type yielded interesting results too, for it reveals a growing number of job-seekers within English learners at EOI (Fig. 6.17). Three groups (B2, B2c and D) have mixed answers with around 50% saying that they are studying English to access the labour market and 50% saying that they are not. The two elementary groups have instead a higher number of job-seekers (approximately 70%), which is not surprising in the first year of EOI, where people with no previous knowledge of the language enrol in order not to be cut out of the labour market.

Figure 6.17 Answers to Motivation-Question 3 (Are you studying English to get a job?)

<i>Mot3</i>	A1	A1c	B2	B2c	D
YES	66.7%	70%	45%	52%	50%
NO	22.2%	30%	50%	48%	50%
MISSING	11.1%		5%		

As for *Self-efficacy* (how well students think they speak English), Fig. 6.18 shows that the means range from 2.39/7 (A1) to 3.96/7 (B2c)⁷⁹, i.e. between “not very well” and “reasonably well”; interestingly enough, none of the respondents in any group chose “excellent” (7/7).

Figure 6.18 Oral proficiency *Self-efficacy* per group from min. to max.

Group	A1	D	A1c	B2	B2c
Mean	2.39	3	3.4	3.65	3.96

A1 students think that their English is closer to “not very good” than to “ok”, which is quite consistent with the level they are in, unlike group A1c with an outstanding 3.4 (almost halfway between “ok” and “reasonably well”), which contrasts with what expected at a beginner level. This result could be explained in two ways: either because their self-confidence exceeds their real capacity (see “self-enhancement” in 3.2.2), or because they have enrolled in a lower level than their actual one for strategic reasons (see 4.1). Additionally, respondents who marked “good” or even “very good” are between 17 and 25 years old, with the exception of one 40 year-old. School and university requirements at that age might empower students as to feel capable of communicating in the foreign language.

Advanced students claim that their English is slightly close to “reasonably good” than to “ok” (B2), and almost “reasonably good” (B2c), which points to a rather low self-esteem. If after six years dealing with C1 material and preparing for C1 exams⁸⁰ they still cannot feel that their English is at least “good”, that means that their self-efficacy perception has not progressed at the same pace as the language input they have been receiving and the mastery demands for each level.

Finally, the drama group has an “ok” average, which is halfway between A1 and B2, thus roughly reflecting their actual level of proficiency (ranging from A1 to B1, on average it can be considered a B1.1 group, i.e. 3rd year at EOI). Consequently, these means do not seem to show any remarkable difference concerning *Self-efficacy* due to the use of drama.

⁷⁹ 0 = very badly, 1 = badly, 2 = not very well, 3 = ok, 4 = reasonably well, 5 = well, 6 = very well, 7 = excellently.

⁸⁰ As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the level of the final B2-advanced exam at EOI has been up to the date higher than an actual B2, given that it was the last year at EOI until 2015-2016, before an actual C1 level was introduced.

Let us now consider the four variables in relation with *FLA*. The CATREG yielded an R square of .305, indicating that 30.5% of variance can be explained by motivation predictors (Fig. 6.19). The ANOVA in Fig. 6.20 shows that the model performs well ($p < 0.05$).

Figure 6.19 Model Summary for CATREG-Motivation

Multiple R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Apparent Prediction Error
,552	,305	,218	,695

Figure 6.20 ANOVA for CATREG-Motivation

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	27,753	10	2,775	3,510	,001
Residual	63,247	80	,791		
Total	91,000	90			

As shown in Fig. 6.21, *Self-efficacy* has a strong, negative correlation with *FLA* (-.548), which implies that the lower *Self-efficacy* the higher *FLA* (Fig. 6.22). Hence, those learners who feel that their English level is low will feel much more anxious when using the language.

Figure 6.21 Coefficients for Motivation and FLA

	Standardized Coefficients		df	F	Sig.
	Beta	Bootstrap (1000) Estimate of Std. Error			
Self-efficacy	-,548	,323	4	2,874	,028
Mot 1	,113	,096	2	1,381	,257
Mot 2	,006	,451	2	,000	1,000
Mot 3	-,013	,094	2	,020	,980

Figure 6.22 Transformation plot for Self-efficacy

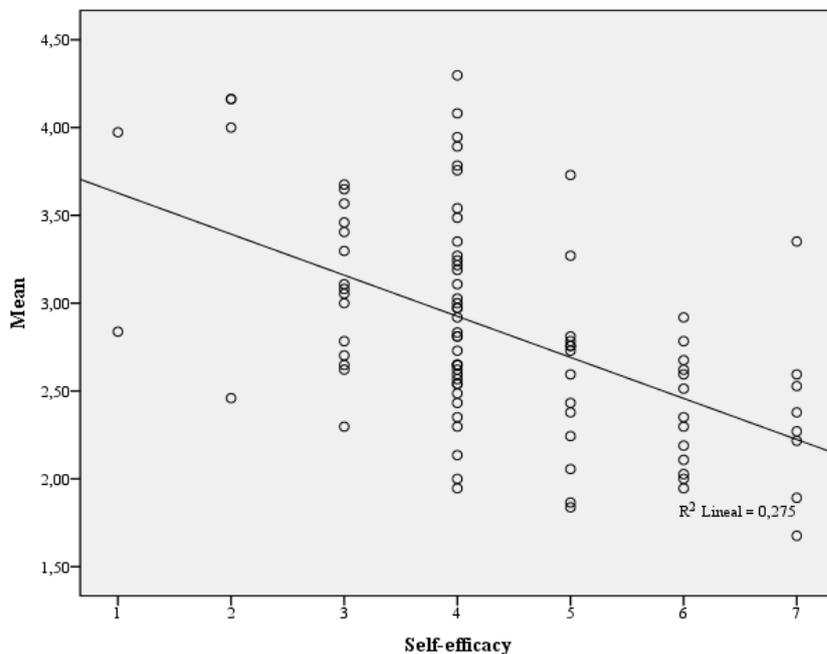


Fig. 6.23 shows the relationship between *FLA* and *Self-efficacy* of some of the most prominent participants (with highest and lowest *Self-efficacy* values).

Figure 6.23 *FLA* and *Self-efficacy* for some highest and lowest self-efficacy participants

Student's name	Level	FLA mean/5	Self-efficacy/7
Miriam	B2	1.68	6
Antonio	A1	1.89	6
Juan	A1	2.22	6
Ana	A1	3.97	0
Cristina	A1	2.84	0
Raúl	A1	4.16	1

The high tolerance values for each of the predictors (Fig. 6.24) indicate that their values cannot be predicted well from the other independent variables and therefore they are needed in the model. *Self-efficacy* has a partial correlation of $-.527$, thus this variable explains 27.7% of the variation in *FLA*⁸¹, almost the whole amount explained by motivational

⁸¹ Squared Partial Correlation .277

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components (30.5%, see R square in Fig. 6.19), whereas the other three components contribute altogether only to around 2.8%.

Figure 6.24 Correlations and Tolerance for motivation and FLA

	Correlations			Importance	Tolerance	
	Zero-Order	Partial	Part		After Transformation	Before Transformation
Self-efficacy	-,541	-,527	-,517	,972	,888	,896
Mot 1	,085	,133	,112	,032	,972	,972
Mot 2	-,168	,007	,006	-,004	,872	,880
Mot 3	,005	-,016	-,013	,000	,960	,959

6.1.3 FACTOR ANALYSIS

In order to answer question 3a, namely *Which factors in the FLCAS account for FLA in the EOI sample? Does “Listening Anxiety” contribute to account for FLA?* I conducted a Factor analysis, in particular an exploratory Principal Components Analysis. The following results have been found:

- The dataset is suitable for data analysis (KMO⁸²: .798, it should be $\geq .6$)
- The dataset is statistically significant (Barlett’s test: .000, it should be ≤ 0.05)

To determine the number of components to take into account, four tests have been run: 1) Kaiser-Meyer-Okin, 2) Scree plot 3) Parallel analysis and 4) Component Matrix.

1) In the first test, 10 components have been found with an eigenvalue > 1 . In particular, component number 1, with an eigenvalue of 11.69, explains as much as 31.6% of all variance, followed by component 2 and 3, both with an eigenvalue above 2, which explain around 6% of variance each. Component 4, with an eigenvalue below 2, accounts for 4.7%. The cumulative percentage up to component 3 explains 44.53% of variance, up to 4 explains 49.22%, and up to component 10 it is 70.7% (Fig. 6.25).

Figure 6.25 Principal Component Analysis, Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	11,693	31,602	31,602	11,693	31,602	31,602
2	2,502	6,763	38,365	2,502	6,763	38,365
3	2,279	6,159	44,523	2,279	6,159	44,523
4	1,739	4,700	49,223	1,739	4,700	49,223
5	1,648	4,454	53,677	1,648	4,454	53,677
6	1,417	3,830	57,507	1,417	3,830	57,507
7	1,374	3,715	61,222	1,374	3,715	61,222
8	1,261	3,409	64,631	1,261	3,409	64,631
9	1,138	3,076	67,707	1,138	3,076	67,707
10	1,107	2,992	70,699	1,107	2,992	70,699
11	,939	2,538	73,237			
12	,878	2,373	75,610			
13	,788	2,131	77,741			

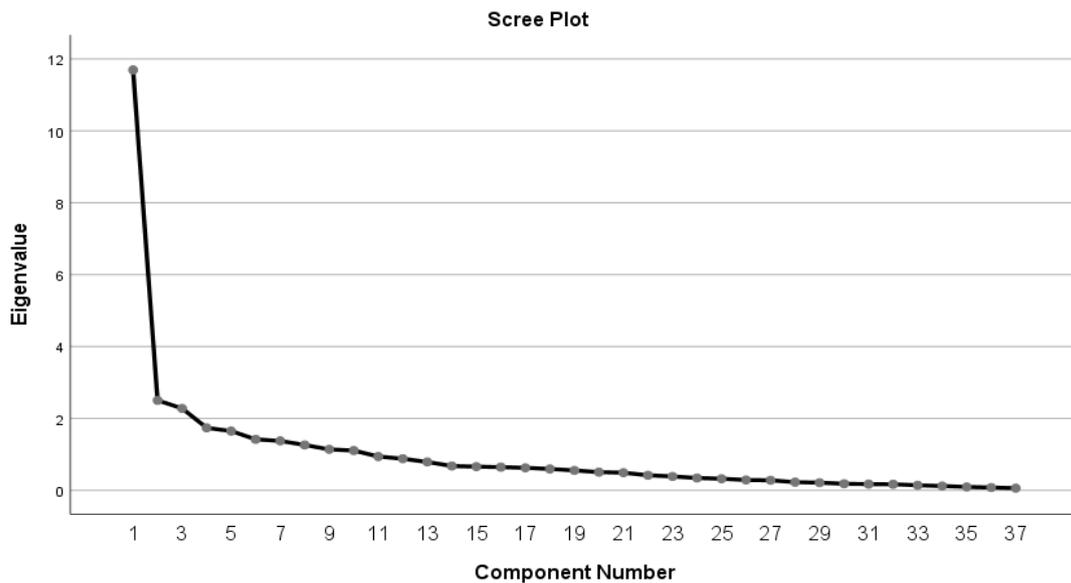
⁸² Kaiser Meyer Olkin.

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14	,676	1,826	79,568		
15	,658	1,779	81,346		
16	,644	1,741	83,087		
17	,625	1,689	84,777		
18	,594	1,606	86,382		
19	,554	1,496	87,878		
20	,505	1,364	89,243		
21	,490	1,325	90,568		
22	,419	1,133	91,700		
23	,386	1,043	92,743		
24	,344	,929	93,673		
25	,323	,872	94,544		
26	,287	,776	95,321		
27	,280	,758	96,078		
28	,226	,612	96,690		
29	,213	,575	97,264		
30	,183	,494	97,759		
31	,172	,465	98,224		
32	,167	,453	98,677		
33	,140	,379	99,055		
34	,118	,320	99,375		
35	,095	,256	99,631		
36	,076	,207	99,838		
37	,060	,162	100,000		

2) In the Scree plot 6.26 it is visually evident that the only component high above the change in the line is component 1; then the slope decreases gently between components 2 and 3 and more abruptly between 3 and 4, after which the line almost levels out. This test shows that component 1 is definitely the most interesting to take into account and 2 and 3 are secondary but still worth considering, whereas 4 is less significant.

Figure 6.26 Scree plot for Principal Components



3) For Parallel analysis, which is said not to overestimate the number of components as the previous tests, Monte Carlo PCA test has been used with the aim of comparing a) the average eigenvalues of a random dataset with similar characteristics as my sample with b) the eigenvalues of the sample of the study itself. The result is that only components 1, 2 and 3 have an eigenvalue above their Monte Carlo counterparts, component 4 and the following ones being below (1.74 in this questionnaire and 1.97 in Monte Carlo's). Hence, the first three components should be retained and components from the 4th onward should be discarded.

4) The Component Correlation Matrix 6.27 shows that the strength of correlation of the first two components is reasonable (.305, it should be $> .3$), whereas the strength between components 1 and 3 is low (-.239). This result indicates that component 1 and 2 have stronger correlation than the rest.

Figure 6.27 Component Correlation Matrix Rotation. Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization

Component	1	2	3	4
1	1,000	,305	-,239	-,364
2	,305	1,000	-,198	-,203
3	-,239	-,198	1,000	,076
4	-,364	-,203	,076	1,000

To sum up, Component 1 is the only one that scores by far the highest in all the four tests performed (KMO, Scree plot, Monte Carlo and Oblimin with Kaiser rotation), hence it is the one that should be taken into account the most. Component 2 passes the four tests too -

although with more modest values- thus it will be considered as significant as well. Component 3 passes three tests out of four, so it might be retained with some caution; whereas Component 4 emerges as valuable only in the first test so it should be discarded.

Let us now look at the items belonging to each Principal Component. As displayed in the Component Matrix (Fig. 6.28), the highlighted items are the ones with the highest values, thus more characteristic of their component.

Figure 6.28 Component Matrix

	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Q21	,749	-,249	-,014	,144
Q3	,747	-,359	-,001	,215
Q29	,741	,008	,007	-,033
Q25	,738	-,248	,210	,111
Q24	,730	,245	,172	,141
Q1	,713	-,194	-,066	,255
Q9	,712	-,217	,090	,238
Q27	,704	,095	-,006	-,157
Q36	,692	-,121	,014	,090
Q7	,689	,220	,128	,144
Q28	,671	,106	,039	-,276
Q12	,642	,051	,026	,093
Q34	,632	-,168	,374	-,096
Q4	,623	,010	,121	,026
Q31	,614	,146	,181	-,049
Q32	,614	,457	-,121	,140
Q16	,607	,248	-,078	-,303
Q37	,604	,467	-,217	,061
Q8	,586	-,266	-,193	-,165
Q15	,566	,208	,125	-,182
Q33	,552	,174	,108	-,440
Q26	,547	,295	-,392	,057
Q35	,522	,167	-,135	,036
Q13	,454	-,302	,388	,380
Q11	,451	-,285	-,289	,239
Q23	,449	-,032	-,173	-,379
Q22	,442	,168	,369	-,310
Q14	,418	,011	-,405	,204

Q19	,405	-,203	,321	,048
Q2	,353	-,204	-,102	-,094
Q20	,433	,570	-,276	,205
Q18	,395	-,530	-,297	-,107
Q30	,210	-,480	,033	-,442
Q6	-,197	,256	,550	,174
Q17	-,201	,127	,471	,342
Q10	,232	,038	,406	-,321
Q5	,124	-,128	-,386	,020

As indicated in the table below (Fig. 6.29), Component 1 clearly describes negative feelings and symptoms associated with FLA (i.e. fast heart-beating, trembling, panic, embarrassment) when speaking in English in class in front of other classmates. It reflects “Communication Apprehension” (3.1.3), which corresponds to factor 1 in both Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez (2000) and Aida (1994). Items 1, 3, 9, 21, 25, 29 and 36 of this questionnaire⁸³ are indeed included in their factor 1. It also accounted for 53% of variance in Morena-Taboada et al. (2011).

Component 2 (items 20, 37, 32 and 36) is definitely about FLA related to listening, the novelty of this study, inasmuch as it contains the four added items as the most representative for the component. This new construct could be called “Listening Anxiety”. This finding confirms that listening is a significant stressor for adult learners.

Component 3 has two items related to lack of attention and motivation in the English class (6 and 17), whereas 10 and 22 are related to worry about exams. All in all, this component may be called “Distracting Thoughts” and it includes Attitudes towards learning English as well as Test Anxiety, which were present in factor 2 and 3 of the previous studies mentioned.

⁸³ Item 21, 25, 29 and 36 in this questionnaire correspond respectively to items 20, 24, 27 and 33 of the original FLCAS, due to the addition of the four listening items in this.

Figure 6.29 Main items per each Principal Component

COMPONENT 1	21 Se me acelera el corazón cuando se me va pedir hablar en la clase de inglés
	3 Tiemblo cuando sé que se me va a pedir hablar en la clase de inglés
	29. Me pongo nervioso/a y me confundo cuando hablo en clase de inglés
	25 Me da mucha vergüenza cuando hablo inglés enfrente de mis compañeros
	24 Siempre tengo la sensación de que mis compañeros hablan inglés mejor que yo
	1 Nunca me siento muy seguro/a de mí mismo/a cuando hablo en la clase de inglés
	9 Me entra pánico cuando tengo que hablar en la clase de inglés sin haberme preparado antes
	27 La clase de inglés va tan deprisa que me preocupa quedarme atrás
	36 Me pongo nervioso cuando el profesor de inglés me hace preguntas que no he preparado de antemano
COMPONENT 2	20 El “listening” es la más difícil de todas las destrezas
	37 Cuando hago un “listening” me pongo nervioso/a
	32 Cuando hago un “listening” me parece que no entiendo nada
	26 Me siento seguro/a cuando hago un “listening” ⁸⁴
COMPONENT 3	6 Durante la clase de inglés me doy cuenta de que pienso en cosas que no tienen nada que ver con la clase
	17 A menudo me apetece no asistir a clase
	10 Me preocupan las consecuencias de suspender los exámenes de inglés
	22 Cuanto más estudio para un examen de inglés, más me confundo

After all these tests, the main factor that explains FLA has been found to be Communication Apprehension, which is in line with previous studies. It is followed by the new construct “Listening Anxiety”, which turns out to be a significant addition to the original FLCAS. To a lesser extent, component 3 accounts for distracting thoughts deriving from Test Anxiety and Negative Attitudes.

⁸⁴ This item is one of those inversely worded that had to be recoded in order to calculate the level of FLA. Thus, it has been analysed as “NO me siento seguro/a...”.

6.1.4 FLA AND ACHIEVEMENT

In order to answer question 3c, namely *whether FLA correlates with achievement in speaking and listening*, I conducted a Pearson correlation between FLA and the marks obtained by students of groups A1 and B2 in their final speaking and listening exams.

As can be seen in Fig. 6.30 and 6.31, both correlations are negative, respectively for group A1: -.156 (weak) FLA-listening and -.355 (moderate) FLA-speaking; for group B2: -.231 (weak) and -.253 (weak), which means that generally speaking the lower the mark, the higher FLA. However, these results are not statistically significant as $p = .537$ and $.149$ (A1), and $p = .327$ and $.282$ (B2).

Figure 6.30 Pearson Correlation FLA-marks for A1

		FLA	Listening	Speaking
FLA	Pearson Correlation	1	-,156	-,355
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,537	,149
	N	18	18	18
Listening	Pearson Correlation	-,156	1	,530*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,537		,024
	N	18	18	18
Speaking	Pearson Correlation	-,355	,530*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,149	,024	
	N	18	18	18

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 6.31 Pearson Correlation FLA- marks for B2

		Mean	Listening	Speaking
FLA	Pearson Correlation	1	-,231	-,253
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,327	,282
	N	20	20	20
Listening	Pearson Correlation	-,231	1	,596**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,327		,006
	N	20	20	20
Speaking	Pearson Correlation	-,253	,596**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,282	,006	
	N	20	20	20

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

As seen in 6.1.2, *Self-efficacy*, i.e. the perception of the learner about their proficiency, has a stronger correlation with *FLA* than the actual achievement as measured in the EOI exams. In fact, there are cases of highly proficient students with low self-efficacy who may suffer from serious FLA (see Myrtha in the table below). Fig. 6.32 shows the relationship between *FLA*, *Achievement* and *Self-efficacy* of some of the most prominent participants (with highest and lowest marks).

Figure 6.32 FLA, exam marks and self-efficacy for some participants with highest and lowest marks

Student's name	Level	FLA mean	Listening mark/25	Speaking mark/25	Self-efficacy/7
Fran	B2	2.78	24	24	<u>5</u>
Gonzalo	B2	2.49	21	23	3
Delia	B2	<u>3.46</u>	14	12	<u>2</u>
Susana	B2	2.81	10	13	3
Myrtha	A1	<u>3.97</u>	23	22	<u>0</u>
Marta	A1	<u>1.89</u>	24	21	<u>6</u>
Leo	A1	2.62	6	14	<u>2</u>
Juan	A1	2.65	13	17	<u>2</u>

6.1.5 FLA IN ELEMENTARY AND ADVANCED LEVELS

In order to answer question 3d, namely *whether the manifestation of FLA differs in EOI elementary and advanced learners of English*, I compared Means and Ranges and I conducted an Independent Samples t-test between *Level* and *FLA*.

Figure 6.33 FLA Mean per group, from highest to lowest

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
D	10	2,11	4,16	3,18	,73
A1	18	1,89	4,16	2,95	,62
B2c	25	1,68	3,95	2,79	,57
B2	20	1,84	4,30	2,74	,61
A1c	21	1,95	4,00	2,73	,56
Valid N (listwise)	0				

As can be seen in Fig. 6.33, the mean per group shows that the most anxious groups are D (the highest mean, 3.18) and A1 (2.95), the former slightly above and the latter slightly below the neuter 3 “neither agree nor disagree”. Both advanced groups and the elementary control group are below this threshold on the non-FLA side (respectively 2.79 for B2c, 2.74 for B2, and 2.73 for A1c). Thus, the advanced groups have lower anxiety than elementary group A1 but roughly the same as A1c, or even slightly more.

In order to assess if there was a statistically significant difference between the elementary and advanced participants, an Independent Samples t-test was conducted. As table 6.34 and 6.35 show, the former have a higher mean (2.85) than the latter (2.77), but the difference was not statically significant (.555).

Figure 6.34 Group Statistics for Level

	Level	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
FLA	A1	41	2,85	,62	,09
	B2	45	2,77	,58	,08

Figure 6.35 Independent Samples Test for Level

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
FLA	Equal variances assumed	,382	,538	,593	84	,555	,077	,13	-,18	,33
	Equal variances not assumed			,591	82,23	,556	,077	,13	-,18	,33

The participants' total scores in the FLCAS encompass a range from 62 to 159, both belonging to the advanced groups (respectively B2c and B2). It should be reminded that 37 is the minimum score and 185 the maximum. In brackets in Fig. 6.36 the mean per item on the 1-5 Likert scale can be found. A brief profile of the outstanding participants in each level group will be sketched, so as to attempt to explain their results.

6.36 Range per group: FLA total score and mean per item in brackets

	A1	A1c	B2	B2c
Lowest mean (per item)	70 (1.89) Juan ⁸⁵	72 (1.95)	68 (1.84) Willie	62 (1.68)
Highest (per item)	154 (4.16) Nuria	148 (4)	159 (4.3) Carmen	146 (3.95)

Starting off with the elementary students, the lowest FLA participant in this level, Juan, is definitely a false-beginner, rather an intermediate level student. He is an 18-year-old who has enrolled on the elementary level course in order to have a less demanding year combining English with other academic commitments⁸⁶, or perhaps, as mentioned in 6.1.2, to make sure to access EOI even at a lower level. In spite of not having lived abroad and not using English outside the class (he marked “never” in the questionnaire), his *self-efficacy* is the highest in this group (6/7, “very well”), which is only equalled by one respondent in the elementary control group and 4 more among all groups. His exam marks are equally

⁸⁵ Like in the interviews, the participants' names have been changed.

⁸⁶ Information gathered through personal communication unrelated to this study.

successful: 24/25 (*Sobresaliente/Excellent*⁸⁷) in the listening test and 21/25 (*Notable/Good*) in the speaking part. Therefore, *proficiency* and *self-efficacy* correlate with low FLA for this student.

The highest FLA participant in the A1, Nuria, has never lived abroad and uses English very infrequently, as well as having a very low *self-efficacy* 1/6 (“I speak English badly”). In spite of having relatively good marks in the exams (19/25, *Notable/Good*), she constantly expressed her worries about not passing them. It all portrays a picture of a low self-esteem student who has a lower opinion of her English than what her marks reflect. Thus, *self-efficacy* does not match actual *proficiency* and provokes anxiety.

As for the elementary control group (A1c), the lowest FLA student is a 25-year male student who has lived abroad for less than six months, speaks English outside the class once or twice a week and considers his language skills as good. Altogether, the low FLA result is consistent with a short period abroad, an extensive use of the language and high self-efficacy. The most anxious in this group is a 28-year-old female student who has never lived abroad and never speaks English outside the class, as well as considering her English as “bad” (1/7). In this opposite profile as compared to the above, non-existent exposure to English and low *self-efficacy* are linked to high FLA.

Zooming in on the advanced students, the least anxious of the 94 participants according to the FLCAS is a 17-year-old female learner, who has never lived abroad but who uses English on a daily basis (4/4) and scores high in *self-efficacy* (6/7, “very well” the highest level for this item, chosen only by 5 other people apart from her among all the participants). *Frequency of use* and *Self-efficacy* are clearly related to the lowest FLA score of the sample. A score of 62 means that her average answer per item is 1.68, below 2 (“I don’t agree”), towards 1 (“strongly disagree”). On the other end of the range, the most anxious learner according to the questionnaire is another advanced student, our interviewee Carmen, whose result (159) matches with the FLA symptoms and patterns described in chapter 7. A score of 159 means that her average answer per item is 4.3, i.e. above 4 (I agree) towards the “strongly agree” end (5).

As the least anxious in the B2 group we find Willie, a very proficient student who self-assesses as a “reasonably good speaker” (4/7) and claims to have learnt most of what he knows through songs and because he likes the language⁸⁸, i.e. thanks to intrinsic motivation.

⁸⁷ See 4.2.2.

⁸⁸ Information gathered through personal communication unrelated to this study.

Apart from his positive attitude, this result also matches with his exam marks (21/25 in the listening exam and 20/25 in the speaking exam, both in the *Notable/Good* range).

The highest FLA level in the B2c group belongs to a 53-year old female student who has never lived abroad but speaks English once or twice a week and thinks she is OK at it. The fairly positive results in *Frequency of use* (3/4) and *Self-efficacy* (3/7) are not typical of FLA subjects. It should be noted though that among the highest FLA levels this is the least high (146), which still corresponds to almost a 4 (I agree) on the Likert scale (3.95).

To sum up, the range of FLA means has shown that within each proficiency group, more than the actual level, other variables seem to have a bearing on FLA, first and foremost *Self-efficacy*, followed by *Age*, *Frequency of use* and *Proficiency*. Indeed, the same variables seem to characterize high versus low FLA students in both proficiency groups.

6.1.6 FLA AND DRAMA

In order to answer question 4a, namely whether *drama techniques are useful to reduce FLA in adult learners*, I compared Means and Ranges as well as conducting an ANOVA test.

Figure 6.37 FLA mean per group from highest to lowest

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
D	10	2,11	4,16	3,18	,73
A1	18	1,89	4,16	2,95	,62
B2c	25	1,68	3,95	2,79	,57
B2	20	1,84	4,30	2,74	,61
A1c	21	1,95	4,00	2,73	,56
Valid N (listwise)	0				

As the descriptive statistics in Fig 6.37 show, the most anxious group (D) has an average answer of 3.18 per item which is slightly above the neutral 3 “neither agree nor disagree” on the FLA side. The fact that the drama groups scores so high in the FLCAS test, higher than any of the other non-drama groups, does not seem to support my initial hypothesis that this group would be less affected by FLA. One explanation might be found in the moment of administering the test, which was just before the beginning of one of their performances, when their stage fright might have biased the results. Otherwise, it could be accounted for by the fact that the drama course may have long-term benefits, still not so evident at the moment of the questionnaire.

Having divided the sample in three groups, respectively 1) respondents with no drama exposure (i.e. A1c and B2c) 2) respondents who carried out the drama experiments and other drama-related activities throughout the year (i.e. A1 and B2) and 3) the drama group per se (i.e. D), I conducted a one-way ANOVA in order to determine whether the differences reflected in the means are significant.

Figure 6.38 Descriptives for Drama

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
1	46	2,76	,56	,08	2,60	2,93	1,68	4,00
2	38	2,83	,62	,10	2,63	3,04	1,84	4,30
3	10	3,18	,73	,23	2,65	3,70	2,11	4,16
Total	94	2,84	,61	,06	2,71	2,96	1,68	4,30

Being groups of fewer than 30 members, I previously carried out a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, whose result was that the distribution of the three groups was normal: $p > .05$, thus the null hypothesis is rejected (Fig. 6.39, 6.40 and 6.41). A Levene test of Homogeneity confirms this result (Fig. 6.42).

Figure 6.39 Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test for Drama group 1

		Mean
N		46
Normal Parameters ^{b,c}	Mean	2,7664
	Std. Deviation	,56185
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	,123
	Positive	,123
	Negative	-,065
Test Statistic		,123
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		,077 ^d

b. Test distribution is Normal.

Figure 6.40 Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test^a for Drama group 2

		Mean
N		38
Normal Parameters ^{b,c}	Mean	2,8364
	Std. Deviation	,61714
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	,122
	Positive	,122
	Negative	-,074
Test Statistic		,122
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		,167 ^d

b. Test distribution is Normal.

Figure 6.41 Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test^a for Drama group 3

		Mean
N		10
Normal Parameters ^{b,c}	Mean	3,1784
	Std. Deviation	,73402
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	,170
	Positive	,170
	Negative	-,106
Test Statistic		,170
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		,200 ^{d,e}

Figure 6.42 Test of Homogeneity of Variances for Drama

		Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Mean	Based on Mean	,758	2	91	,472
	Based on Median	,731	2	91	,484
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	,731	2	90,767	,484
	Based on trimmed mean	,748	2	91	,476

The ANOVA yielded $p = .153$, thus there is no statistically significant difference between the three groups in terms of FLA (Fig. 6.43). Therefore, though the drama group seems to experience more anxiety than the others, this is not a significant difference.

Figure 6.43 ANOVA for Drama
Mean

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1,394	2	,697	1,914	,153
Within Groups	33,146	91	,364		
Total	34,541	93			

Another comparison is to be established between the two elementary groups (A1 which undertook the drama experiment and A1c, the control group, which did not) and the two advanced groups (B2 which undertook the drama experiment and B2c, the control group, which did not). The difference between the two groups is not so big, especially in the first case: 0.22 for the elementary groups and 0.06 for the advanced out of 5 (maximum possible score). In fact, in the t-test the difference does not turn out to be statistically significant (Fig. 6.45 and 6.47). However, in the first case the non-drama group scores lower in anxiety, whereas in the second pair the opposite is the case (Fig. 6.44 and 6.46). It could be argued that the B2 group benefited from the anti-FLA training and the A1 did not so much, or that the factor proficiency level overrode the exposure to drama in terms of FLA. Moreover, it should be reminded that the A1c group scored significantly higher in *self-efficacy*, which seems to explain most variance.

Figure 6.44 Group statistics for A1-A1c

	drama	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
FLA	A1	18	2,95	,62	,14
	A1c	21	2,73	,56	,12

Figure 6.45 T-test A1-A1c

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
Mean									Lower	Upper
	Equal variances assumed	,216	,645	1,15	37	,256	,22	,18	-,16	,59
	Equal variances not assumed			1,14	34,63	,261	,22	,19	-,17	,60

Figure 6.46 Group statistics for B2-B2c

		drama	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
FLA	B2		20	2,74	,61	,14
	B2c		25	2,79	,57	,11

Figure 6.47 T-test B2-B2c

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
Mean									Lower	Upper
	Equal variances assumed	,016	,900	-,340	43	,735	-,06	,18	-,41	,29
	Equal variances not assumed			-,338	39,577	,737	-,06	,18	-,42	,30

A brief profile of the outstanding participants in the drama group will be sketched, so as to attempt to explain their results.

Ana shows the lowest FLA in the questionnaire. Indeed, she has lived abroad for more than one year and has a high self-efficacy (5/7). Additionally, from the interviews she emerges as someone who has succeeded in believing that she is someone else on stage in order to perform leisurely (7.3.1.1). The positive results of this transformation have been

noticed even by her teacher at EOI (7.3.3.2). She finally claims that her strategy against FLA is performing several times in front of an audience (7.3.4). Ana seems to be an example of the fact that the drama experience has provided her with confidence and low FLA.

On the other hand, Sara never lived abroad and her self-efficacy is low (1/7), although she practises her English outside the class on a weekly basis, probably in the drama group. In the interviews she often makes reference to her low self-efficacy and great self-consciousness: she has accordingly the highest FLA score in her group.

All in all, the comparison between drama and non-drama groups has not yielded a clear-cut result. If between the two advanced groups there seems to be a slight difference with drama benefiting FLA moderately, the quantitative data do not allow any statistically significant conclusions.

6.2 DISCUSSION

In the discussion section the results reported above will be further analysed and compared to those garnered from the literature.

First of all, in order to compare the mean of this study to the ones of previous studies, it must be reminded that the present questionnaire contains four extra items on listening, not present in the others. Therefore, for the sake of an accurate comparison with previous studies based on 33 items, the mean without these four items has been calculated as well: 93.34. This figure compares as follows:

Figure 6.48 Comparison of FLA mean with four previous studies

Horwitz et al. (1983)	Aida (1994)	Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez (2000)	Arnáiz & Guillén (2012)	THIS STUDY
94.5	96.7	89.07	104.12	93.34

The mean in the present study turns out to be slightly lower than Horwitz et al. (1983) and Aida (1994), and between Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez (2000) and Arnáiz & Guillén (2012). The minimum FLA mean in this 33-item questionnaire is 33 and the highest 165. Since 99 is the neuter mean, it turns out that Arnáiz & Guillén (2012) is the only mean which is slightly above toward the FLA end, whereas all the rest are below. According to these means, the participants in the present study suffer less from lower FLA than their American counterparts (Horwitz et al. 1983 and Aida 1994), and considerably less than the university students' sample (Arnáiz & Guillén 2012). Compared to the same population (EOI students) in the 2000's study, the result is quite similar, although the past sample suffered slightly less from FLA (with a difference of 1.6 out of 165, or 0.05 out of 5 on the Likert scale).

Moving on to the identity-related data, the results for *Gender* in the literature are mixed and sometimes biased, as revealed in the critical review (3.3.3). Studies such as Dewaele et al. (2008) and Arnáiz & Guillén (2012) do show higher FLA within female respondents like in this study, but the reasons put forward by the authors do not always treat Gender as a culturally constructed concept, but rather as a binary, deterministic variable. Based purely on the present quantitative data, I temporarily account for the higher level of FLA among female participants with the argument provided by the latter study, i.e. that

women tend to admit more to anxiety (and other emotions) because culturally brought up to do so, rather than being necessarily intrinsically more prone to it. The qualitative data will shed more light on other factors behind this complex correlation.

As for *Age*, the reason why older students of this sample suffer from FLA more than younger learners might be related to the later age at which they started learning a foreign language in a communicative way, having to deal with the pressure of a methodology they might not be familiar with (see 3.5.1 for the drawbacks of this method). In the few previous studies on adults, inconsistent results have been found (Arnáiz & Guillén 2012), thus they could not be compared. More research is needed into the impact of methodology on older students.

The non-significant result for *Stay abroad* in this study does not back Matsuda & Gobel (2004) and Gardner (1985), who found a connection between length of stay overseas and self-confidence and FLA (the longer the stay the higher the self-confidence and the lower FLA). The results this study yielded may be due to the fact that very few respondents in this sample have lived abroad at all, and for those who have, it was not for remarkably long periods. Thus, their stays abroad may not be sufficient as to have gone through “critical experiences”, which could have brought about changes in their language attitude and related socio-psychological variables.

Similarly, the result for *Frequency of use* is not as convincing as the one found by Dewaele et al. (2008), who highlighted how frequency of use affects not only L2 proficiency but also some more subtle components, such as sociopragmatic, sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspects. Higher frequency of use corresponds to significantly lower FLA in their study, as previously found by Baker & MacIntyre (2000) for youngsters on immersion programmes, and confirmed by Dewaele et al.'s (2008) study among multilingual adults. Students in this study practice English on scarce occasions, which can hardly help them with their FLA. Indeed, students often refer to this lack of practice outside the class as an attribution⁸⁹ for their lack of naturalness in their speaking performance, in spite of the multiple opportunities on offer in Madrid.

As far as *motivation* is concerned, this study exhibited a high intrinsic motivation and a growing extrinsic one. Intrinsic motivation (*Mot2*) was practically as overwhelming as in Pérez-Paredes (1996). A possible bias about this question may be that a learner might not want to sound uncultivated by answering “no” to such a question, although this interpretation could have been applied to the previous sample too. As a consequence, the comparison with

⁸⁹ See Attribution Theory (2.2.3.3).

the previous study is valid as the phrasing of the question has not been changed, and the result for intrinsic motivation is overwhelmingly positive.

On the other hand, extrinsic motivation (*Mot1* and *Mot3*) is still much lower than intrinsic motivation, but on the rise as compared to the previous study. In particular, *Mot 1* turned out to be low although not as stark as in Pérez-Paredes (1996) where 0% admitted to studying English because obliged by their company. Moreover, the new item, *Mot3*, showed higher percentages of unemployed people learning English as an asset for the labour market than those who are already employed.

As for *Self-efficacy*, which does not always correspond to the actual level of proficiency, it turned out to be by far the best predictor of FLA. This finding agrees with those of some other previous studies: Donovan & MacIntyre (2005) and Dewaele (2007, 2008) found a strong relationship between self-perceived competence and FLA, and Daley et al. (1999) proved the key role of expectations of performance as a predictor of future achievement and low FLA. In fact, FLA students tend to underestimate their ability, thus perform worse, independently of their actual level of proficiency.

The factor analysis carried out in order to identify the principal components accounting for FLA yielded similar results as previous studies (Pérez-Paredes & Martínez-Sánchez, 2000; Aida, 1994; Morena-Taboada et al., 2011), especially regarding Factor 1, i.e. Communication Apprehension. The new construct “Listening Anxiety” has some relationship with what Hayati & Ostadian (2008) found about self-esteem correlating with achievement in listening comprehension. The other link would be Ortega-Cebreros (2010): although the scholar previously analysed separately two items of the FLCAS referring to when students do not understand the teacher (items 4 and 31), which she labels “Listening Anxiety”, her analysis does not bear significant results. But, above all, she does not treat this construct as the anxiety generated when students have to listen to a recorded audio and answer comprehension questions, which here is analysed through the 4 specific items and have provided interesting results.

Nonetheless, the correlation between FLA and achievement in listening and speaking exam has not turned out to be statistically significant. In fact, although high FLA may lead to poorer results, having detrimental effect on the examinee, it is not always the case. Interestingly enough, the opposite is not always true either: low achievers are not necessarily more anxious because they may not be worried about their academic results (“failure accepters”, 2.2.3.2), and conversely, the most proficient students might be highly anxious, due to their perfectionism (“overstrivers”, 2.2.3.2).

Moving on to the comparison between elementary and advanced students in terms of FLA, the study has shown a slight higher anxiety within the former, although the difference is not statistically significant. It could be explained by the fact that elementary students have not developed suitable strategies to deal with FLA yet. Furthermore, their lower proficiency level is another reason for feeling more anxious when it comes to using the language. In addition, the single profiles of participants at the highest and lowest end of the range for each level have suggested that other variables may explain high and low FLA, first and foremost again *Self-efficacy*. Other studies did not compare different proficiency levels but looked into one at a time, with more studies suggesting that low proficiency level students are particularly affected by FLA. The high FLA also found in advanced classes has been explained by more complex syllabi, and higher pressure and expectations on the students. All in all, FLA is pervasive irrespective of proficiency level.

Finally, the comparison between drama and non-drama groups yielded modest results as far as FLA is concerned according to the questionnaire. The qualitative results will provide some additional insights which will hopefully shed light on the effects of drama on FLA.

6.3 SUMMARY

The sample showed on average a mild FLA, slightly higher in the drama and elementary groups rather than in the advanced ones, though not reaching significance. *Age* and *Gender* stood out as the best predictors of FLA on the identity level. In fact, the older learners showed more anxiety and females turned out to suffer moderately more than males from FLA. The factor that explains this FLA is mainly Communication Apprehension, as in previous studies, followed by construct introduced “Listening Anxiety”, a novelty of this thesis, besides Distracting Thoughts related to Test Anxiety and Negative Attitudes.

The main motivation drive of these subjects is intrinsic, with a growing extrinsic component, albeit much lower. Yet, it is another motivational component, *Self-efficacy*, which correlates the most with FLA among all other variables. Thus, the findings of this study seem to reveal that for adult learners studying English at EOI, like the ones in this study, the way one perceives one’s proficiency is either more damaging or boosting than the actual level of proficiency and their achievement as measured in exam performance.

The drama groups did not show a statistically significant difference in terms of FLA from the non-drama groups. The qualitative data will shed light on the reasons for this result.

7. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I shall present the qualitative data from the interviews and the post-activity survey. The interviews have been coded and analysed in a similar fashion as the pilot study (5.1), according to the methodology in 4.2.3, in particular making use of discourse and conversation analysis and Appraisal Theory. After taking stock of some lines of thought originated in the pilot study, some categories have been conflated, shifted or dropped, on the account of the different data gathered, for which some categories resulted irrelevant. In other words, I have followed the inductive approach to coding, which consists in establishing categories upon their emergence during data examination, and not conversely, i.e. relying on pre-existing codes to fit the data in. The advantage of the inductive method is that the codes match with the data, and not vice versa (Fernández Núñez 2006).

The category SELF-CONCEPT and MOTIVATION have been left unaltered. Thus, like in the pilot study, the first category includes subcategories SELF and SELF-CONFIDENCE; the second category includes MOTIVATIONS (and OBLIGATION) and MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR (and UNMOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR).

As far as FLA is concerned, given that for the subcategory SUFFERING AND FRUSTRATION there were not as many references as in the pilot study, this has been conflated into ANXIETY. In fact, the former may be considered as comprising feelings and symptoms related to anxiety itself. Thus, a new subcategory emerges, ANXIETY, and one is dropped, SUFFERING AND FRUSTRATION. Owing to its irrelevancy in these interviews, the subcategory RESISTANCE is also dropped. Therefore, the category FLA now comprises ANXIETY as the main subcategory, then UNDERSTANDING, SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS, as the two main explanations for FLA, in addition to SELF-EFFICACY, which has been analysed as another subcomponent of FLA rather than in the category PROFICIENCY, unlike in the pilot study.

This latter category has been transformed into STRATEGIES to account for the tools learners are able to utilize in order to overcome or prevent FLA and maintain motivation. The table below summarises the new categories and subcategories.

Figure 7.1 Categories emerged from the interview analysis

SELF-CONCEPT			
Self		Confidence	
MOTIVATION			
Motivations (Obligation)		Motivated behaviour (unmotivated behaviour)	
FLA			
Anxiety	Understanding	Self-consciousness	Self-efficacy
STRATEGIES			

In a similar vein, the post-activity surveys, collected after performing the three experimental drama activities, have been analysed according to the categories that emerged in each answer and commented on with reference to the theoretical constructs of the thesis.

In what follows, sections 7.1, 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4 will be devoted to the presentation and analysis of the interviews divided into category and subcategory, providing the corresponding examples. In 7.5 the results for the post-activity surveys will be presented.

7.1 RESULTS FOR INTERVIEWS OF GROUP A1

7.1.1 SELF-CONCEPT

7.1.1.1 SELF

The examples involving the self indicate certain identity fluidity, since at least two respondents report experiencing a different L2 identity. The school year spent together has been a “critical experience” in Block’s terms (see 3.2), during which, apart from learning the foreign language, students also experience a transformation within their identity concept.

Figure 7.2 Group A1 SELF

SELF	
M1	Los compañeros van un <u>poquito</u> más sueltos y tú te ves yo por lo menos me veo <u>un poquito</u> inferior en cuanto a aprendizaje
M2	I: Y la Miriam que habla inglés ¿cómo es? es distinta? M: No, yo creo que no ... que yo creo que <u>intento</u> ser igual .. con mi mismo carácter con mi mismo entusiasmo mi mismo algunas veces pequeñas frustraciones pero más o menos igual
N1	.. y luego luego me pasa mucho que a lo mejor me veo como muy muy exagerada no hablando inglés o sea como muuuy exagerada en plan
N2	me siento un pocoooo aunque me encanta y me encantaría fijate el otro día que se lo dije a mi madre que soñé hasta en inglés y todo ((risa ligera)) soñé hasta que hablaba inglés y todo y me encantaría pero me encantaría y ya no en el extranjero que muchas veces yo he ido con mis amigos por la calle y te preguntAican te pregunta gente extranjera [...] y me encantaría me encantaría que me preguntaran un día por la calle y saber decir “esto lo otro y no sé qué”
L1	Yo siento que estoy en <u>otra</u> parte ((risa general)) sabes que no estoy ni en Perú ni en España porque al ser <u>otro</u> idioma como que te <u>transporta</u> ... quizás en esa película que has visto y todo el mundo está hablando en inglés eso me <u>transporta</u> en <u>otro</u> lugar
L2	I: ¿Te sientes distinto en ese sentido? L: Sí por eso es que también decidí eso tratar de aprender el inglés para poder comunicarme ... <u>lo que tú sientes tus emociones</u> y tal y bueno era uno de los motivos porque claro es que tú ves las pelis en inglés subtituladas y claro vas pensando qué se- no? Alguna vez me he puesto a pensar y digo “ <u>y qué sería que yo esté allí hablando inglés y tal y como si fuese en castellano?</u> ” y claro en el momento que estoy aquí en clase me transporto allí claro es una película y estamos allí todos hablando y claro como sólo se habla inglés ((risa))

I: ¿Cómo te sentirías en esa película?
L: Pueees el negro? [risa larga] no como que .. el extranjero? sabes .. el extranjero y ya está porque claro al no hablar bien pues así me sentiría ?
I: Pero en la película?
L: Claro hombre ((risa))

The three interviewees have questioned their L2 identity in different ways. Miriam (M2⁹⁰) strives to keep her authenticity (in the process called audibility, as in 1.1.3.1), so her L2 self attempts to be as enthusiastic, in spite of the odd frustrations, as her L1 counterpart (“*Intento*”, I try). Noelia produces a JUDGEMENT on her own authenticity, expressing a sort of unease with the way she sounds, which she defines as exaggerated (N1). But then she reports having dreamt that she was speaking English. The night dream corresponds to an actual wish to be able to interact in English in an everyday situation, as when she is asked for information in the street. It sounds like an intense wish, given that “*me encantaría*” (I’d love to) is repeated three times in a short string. Her ideal self would be equipped with enough language ability as to respond confidently to someone speaking English to her. Such a strong ideal self could be a source of motivation for Noelia.

Finally, the most radical example of L2 identity construction is presented by Leo: he claims that he is transported to a different place during the English class, just by hearing everybody speaking in the TL. This might be a metaphorical place or a film of those he has watched in the original version, in which the classmates would be actors and actresses and he himself plays a role which he describes as “the black man” because of his broken English. Albeit this experience of “otherness”, his laughing tone denotes enjoyment with this projection provided by the full linguistic immersion. The visualization of his ideal self is quite vivid and powerful, reminding us of the anti-FLA suggestions in 3.5.1 and confirming their validity for this learner. This transposition also hints at how drama would play a similar motivating and learning-enhancing role for learners such as Leo.

A deeper linguistic analysis of segments L1 and L2 corroborates Leo’s desire to be “other”. In L1 alone, there are two repetitions of the verb “transport” (“*te/me transporta*”, it carries you/me) and three of “other” (“*en otra parte*”, “*otro idioma*”, “*otro lugar*”, somewhere else, another language, another place) in just 49 words, which add to the idea of shifting selves and visualizing oneself as another being. This visualization becomes more concrete in segment L2, where Leo reports a question to himself “how would it be if I were there

⁹⁰ Specific extracts of the interviews are labelled with the initial of the interviewee, with the sequence number.

speaking English just as if it were Spanish?”. The use of the conditional clauses is proper of a wish, a desire to be elsewhere and to use the second language with the same ease as his first language. The learner seems to have strong motivation drives based on visualization and an ideal self model.

The AFFECT component is referred to explicitly, depicting an L2 learner holistically, not just in terms of cognition but, above all, in terms of affection. On the one hand, in segment L2, Leo mentions learning English as a vehicle of expressing his feelings and emotions (“*lo que tú sientes, tus emociones*”). On the other hand, a feeling of inferiority is felt by Miriam in M1 where she regrets lagging behind the rest of the class. Her feelings do not reach the intensity of a complaint or reproach though, as she uses the hedge “*un poquito*” (a little bit) twice in the same sentence in order to mitigate her statement. This comparison with the rest of the class, and the subsequent desire of being equal to them, is what is called self-verification in social psychology (Stets & Burke 2000)⁹¹.

The analysis makes it possible to argue that the foreign language learning experience represents an experience that goes beyond a purely cognitive enterprise, and encompasses the self as a whole in a state of transition and evolution towards a goal. This identity construction may occur not without estrangement and frustrations.

7.1.1.2 CONFIDENCE

The only two references to confidence are either in negative terms (N1) or subjected to a thorough exam preparation (M1).

Figure 7.3 Group A1 CONFIDENCE

CONFIDENCE	
N1	Poca- seguridad en mí misma con el inglés como veo que es una cosa que me cuesta y no me veo suelta me trabo mucho y me da mucha vergüenza
N2	I: Y la Nuria que habla inglés ¿es distinta? N: Pues a lo mejor lo que te he dicho antes menos segura más vergonzosa no es lo mismo .. porque te sientes .. te cuesta más .. tú en español sabes expresar lo que quieres decir pero en inglés a lo mejor hay veces que no .. hay veces que por más que buscas palabras es como ¡madre mía

⁹¹ See section 1.1.2.

M1	<p>I: Y a nivel de nervios cómo controláis los nervios por ejemplo en vistas al examen?</p> <p>M: yo trabajar <u>lo más que puedo</u> dedicarle <u>todo el tiempo posible</u> a escuchar y a aprender inglés y <u>todo el tiempo disponible</u> se lo dedico al inglés</p> <p>I: O sea tener seguridad en la materia [te ayuda también a</p> <p>M: [claro estudiando y escuchando es la forma que yo veo para tirar para 'lante</p> <p>I: eso también te ayuda a nivel de nervios, no?</p> <p>M: sí sí cuanto más ves que controlas pues la gramática un poco listening un poco todo en general el Reading más segura va claro es que si no</p>
M2	<p>I: eso también te ayuda a nivel de nervios, ¿no?</p> <p>M: sí sí cuanto más ves que controlas pues la gramática un poco listening un poco todo en general el Reading más segura va claro es que si no</p>

Nuria (N1) feels unconfident because she realizes that she struggles with English and is not fluent, and consequently she gets tongue-tied and feels self-conscious (“*y no me veo suelta me trabo mucho*”, N1). Her L2 self differs from her L1 on the account of this lack of confidence and bigger self-consciousness. When trying to express herself in English, she sometimes fails to communicate what she wants, as she would normally do in her mother tongue. This linguistic inability brings about frustration, whenever an adult tends to downgrade his/her thoughts in an L2 to those of a child who cannot fully communicate yet (N2). Her lack of confidence is directly linked to FLA in terms of symptoms (i.e. hesitation) and causes (i.e. self-consciousness).

As for Miriam (M1 and M2), the more prepared for the exam the more confident and less nervous she feels. This preparation might seem slightly obsessive if we take into account the three repetitions of expressions meaning “as much time as possible” in the same sentence (“*lo más que puedo*”, “*todo el tiempo posible*” -repeated twice-, as much as possible, all the possible time, M1), which relates to one of the consequence of FLA for students: overstudying.

These data mainly show limited confidence about their English. Additionally, the lack of other direct instances to confidence is a data in itself, since it points to a lack of this component within beginner students. This faltering confidence may stem from their actual

level of proficiency: being at A1 level, a student might realize that they still have a long way to go until they become autonomous L2 users. Consequently, their limited use of the foreign language in genuine communicative contexts is likely to result in a deficient construction of their L2 persona. More extensive contact with the language will provide them with empowering experiences of language use, with a positive impact on their L2 identity.

7.1.2 MOTIVATION

7.1.2.1 MOTIVATIONS

The motivations put forward by the elementary students range from intrinsic to instrumental and integrative. In particular, their goals revolve around travelling and, to a lesser extent, finding a potential job.

Figure 7.4 Group A1 MOTIVATIONS

MOTIVATIONS	
M	Lo primero porque a mí siempre me han encantado los idiomas
L	También una de mis pasiones es viajar ? y conocer lugares y hoy en día si no sabes inglés no te puedes comunicar hombre en español también pero eh siempre me ha llamado la atención aprender el inglés
N1	Mi meta era o sea es aprender inglés para poder viajar entender y comunicarme con la gente
N2	<p>Pues a mí un poco lo mismo me apunté porque veo que es el idioma .. vamos de los más importantes para comunicarse .. el que más se usa y .. y ... y claro a mí me gustaría ir un día al extranjero pero <u>no me atrevo</u> por eso porque <u>me ve- me vería perdida</u></p> <p>I: ¿De turismo o para trabajar?</p> <p>N: No , me gustaría trabajar allí entonces claro si me voy sería teniendo ya un trabajo allí, porque no me puedo permitir estar allí meses sin trabajar .. y lo veo esencial .. el idioma .. y luego por ... pues por formarme también un poquito porque yo el inglés que di [resopla] vamos lo di en el colegio el inglés que se daba que era muy .. [muy bajo</p> <p>I: [mm para actualizarte</p> <p>N claro</p>

Miriam claims that her main reason for learning English is intrinsic. She does not just like languages, she loves them (“*siempre me han encantado*”, I've always loved them, M). Equally emphatic is Leo's “*una de mis pasiones*” (one of my passions, L) when he brings up travelling. Besides, Leo and Nuria have both instrumental and integrative motivations: travelling to a non Spanish-speaking country or finding a job (instrumental), but also communicate with foreign people when abroad (integrative). This latter motivation stems, among other factors, also from the APPRECIATION about the functionality of English as the World Language (“*de los más importantes para comunicarse .. el que más se usa*”, one of the most important languages for communication ... the most widely used, N2). The preeminent role of Spanish is acknowledged along with English, but it is somehow subordinate to it (“*hombre en español también*”, well in Spanish as well, L). However, more interestingly, the instrumental motivation is lessened in Leo's experience by the fact that learning English has always appealed to him, or in other words his intrinsic motivation overrides the instrumental objectives (“*pero eh siempre me ha llamado la atención aprender el inglés*”, but erm learning English has always attracted my attention, L). These results reflect those in Alcaraz Andreu (2006) within adult learners of Spanish who massively showed intrinsic and integrative motivation to learn the language⁹².

The most long-term goal is announced by Nuria (N2) who says that one day she would like to work abroad, as opposed to going on holiday, as clarified after the interviewer's question (“*¿De turismo o para trabajar?*”). This project is not carried out because of some fears hampering action (“*no me atrevo*”, I do not dare, N2). The cause of this paralysing situation is linked to the lack of mastery of English, considered essential, without which she would feel lost (“*a mí me gustaría ir un día al extranjero pero no me atrevo por eso porque me ve- me vería perdida*”, I would like to go abroad one day but I don't dare for that reason because I find- I would find myself lost⁹³, N2). “*Por eso*” (for that reason) is a cataphoric reference to the real cause that is the feeling which she envisages that she would experience once in an English-speaking country. The false start “*me ve-*” (I see myself, although the suffix for the first person singular is not uttered) denotes a sense of loss at present, an AFFECT variable which is then projected to the hypothetical future situation “*me vería*” (I would feel). An L2 self at the moment is seen as a feared self to avoid (she does not want to feel lost), which may function as a motivation drive like an ideal self.

⁹² See section 2.6

⁹³ Literal translation, the meaning being “I would feel lost”.

7.1.2.2 OBLIGATION

The three interviewees have put forward varied motivations, whereas they all share investment in self-actualization. Nonetheless, there are some not numerous references to obligation, as listed in the table below.

Figure 7.5 Group A1 OBLIGATION

OBLIGATION	
N	Y <u>luego</u> por ... pues por formarme también un poquito porque yo el inglés que di [resopla] vamos lo di en el colegio el inglés que se daba que era muy .. [muy bajo]
M	Y <u>luego</u> pues de cara un poco a [resopla] al mundo laboral no? Que es que el inglés lo demandan en todos los la(d)os
L	Mi objetivo es ... este ..hoy en día como se lleva mucho el inglés en cuanto al trabajo pues entonces uno

The fact that obligation is a secondary motivation to the ones previously outlined is clear in both Noelia's and Miriam's connector "*y luego*" (and then, N and M), which they use to introduce life-long learning in the case of Noelia and the labour market for Miriam. Noelia realizes the gap between the English she acquired at school and the level she is supposed to have in today's world, which sets off an urge, if not a real obligation, to update. The puffing after "*el inglés que di*" (the English I learnt) is a non-linguistic cue expressing frustration for an opportunity that the educational system failed to provide her. As for Miriam, who is unemployed, the demand for English in the labour market poses a burden, conveyed again by the puffing after "*de cara un poco a*" (a bit with regard to), together with some distancing from the statement given by another discourse marker, "*no?*" (isn't it?). Leo expresses a similar concern by stating the importance of English nowadays, though in a less forceful way than for Miriam "*como se lleva mucho el inglés*" (as English is so common, L). In fact, he had a job at the time of the interview, but was willing to go for a promotion, for this reason his sense of obligation may be less intense than for someone who is unemployed and has been looking for a job for a long time.

7.1.2.3 MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR

Two interviewees out of three display intrinsic motivation with a strong AFFECT component, by referring to different components of the Motivation System which interact to create a state of “flow”, which reinforces the idea of intrinsic motivation.

Figure 7.6 Group A1 MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR

MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR	
M1	<p>Estuvo un chaval muy majete y me metió mucha caña hacía exámenes (.) el primer año fue mejor pero al año siguiente [...]</p> <p>Los profesores volaban se iban volvíamos a dar la misma material los listening eran unos ... o sea no se escuchaban</p>
M2	<p>Lo primero porque a mí siempre me han <u>encantado</u> los idiomas [...] Lo que sí me <u>enCAnta</u> pero me da mucha vergüenza [...] pero <u>me encanta</u> .. <u>me apasiona</u> .. el francés ya me <u>gustó mucho</u> cuando lo di lo poco que di que tampoco di mucho y ahora con el inglés igual</p>
L	<p>I: eso es bonito [refers to the metaphor of the film]</p> <p>L: sí sí sí sí por eso que yo en ese momento yo quiero expresarme como .. como mi compañero no? bien hablarlo bien y de corrido .. claro pero me gusta me gusta cuando están hablando y estoy allí atento tratando de escuchar</p>
M/L	<p>I: Y tú [a Luis] has dicho que te sientes como en una película</p> <p>M: como en una burbuja</p> <p>[...]</p> <p>M: Las dos horas a mí se me pasan rápido</p> <p>L: Sí a mí también a mí también</p> <p>M: Se te olvida el mu:ndo no hay nada más que el inglés</p> <p>L: Yo prefiero estar aquí que en casa ((risa general))</p>

The examples of motivated behaviour can be accounted for by Kormos’s et al. Hierchically Ordered Model (2011) (2.3.3). In M1, Miriam refers to a previous course she took which met her expectations due to the instruction setting: teacher and materials. She particularly liked a teacher: “*estuvo un chaval muy majete*” (the teacher was very nice, M1). On the contrary, what she did not like was the instability of the teaching staff and the fact that the material was unsuitable (“*los profesores volaban se iban volvíamos a dar la misma*

material los listening eran unos ... o sea no se escuchaban”, the teachers came and went, we did the same topics again, the listening were... we didn’t listen to them). What is highlighted about the nice teacher to be considered good by Miriam is that he made her work hard (“*me metió mucha caña*”) and set exams (“*hacía exámenes*”). According to Achievement Theory (Atkinson 1957, 1964), this student would be a success-oriented learner, since she is motivated when she is made to work hard towards a clear goal.

Another element in Kormos et al.'s (2011) model, milieu, is referred to by Leo when he describes his feeling of motivation when surrounded by the other students speaking English. In such milieu he focuses on listening to them, trying to understand and wishing to be as fluent as the rest of the class. His enthusiasm is expressed by the four repetitions in a row of “*sí*” (yes) and two of “*me gusta*” (I like it). In his striving to be a confident and competent English user, Leo identifies his self guides in more fluent peers around him, i.e. they are models towards which he wants to direct his efforts. Having self guides to aspire to is a powerful drive in the motivation system.

Finally, the component attitudes, pointed out prior to Dörnyei (2005) by Gardner & Lamberts (1959)⁹⁴ as a main force driving motivation, is evident in Miriam's repetition of “*me encanta*” (I love it, 3 times), once emphasized through a higher pitch on the stressed syllable, and accompanied by the equally intensifying synonymous verbs “*me apasiona*” (it fascinates me) and “*me gustó mucho*” (I liked it a lot). She expresses AFFECT towards language learning, not just English, as she mentions learning French in the past. This extreme enthusiasm lives on in spite of two negative circumstances: first and foremost high self-consciousness (“*mucha vergüenza*”) and then the little exposure to French (“*lo poco que di que tampoco di mucho*”, the little I did, as I did not do much either). The contrast with self-consciousness, although in this fragment it does not have a detrimental effect on the learner, is stated as a possible detractor of the AFFECT variable towards learning.

The optimal state for motivation is what is termed “Flow” (2.2.3.2), which is spelt out by both interviewees in M/L. They describe the English class as a metaphorical bubble (“*burbuja*”), wherein you may forget anything external (“*se te olvida el mundo*”, you forget about the world; with elongation of the stressed syllable) and where the two-hour class time goes by quickly (“*se me pasan rápido*”, the two hours go by quickly for me). The personal pronoun “me” embodies the subjectivity of the time perception, which is however co-constructed by Leo through a collaborative double “*a mí también*” (me too) in his adjacent turn. The engrossment in the language is so deep and complete that Miriam claims “*no hay*

⁹⁴ In Ellis (2008).

nada más que el inglés” (there is nothing else but English). The escalation culminates with what may be taken as a hyperbolic statements, when Leo states his preference to be in class rather than at home. The general laughter marks this framework as hyperbolic. The whole passage might sound an overstatement or even an attempt to impress the interviewer/teacher. However, the motivation, punctuality, endeavour and positive attitude demonstrated during the year by these students was so overwhelming that their emphasis might be taken as reasonable and real. Furthermore, the fact that there are no instances of amotivation/unmotivated behaviour makes it possible to suggest that their intrinsic motivation is genuine.

The ideas purported and the vocabulary used with a strong affective component depict two intrinsically motivated language learners who have invested a great amount in the learning process, consequently having high expectations from it which the teacher ought to be informed about and somehow do his/her possible best to accomplish.

7.1.3 FLA

7.1.3.1 ANXIETY

The three interviewees report feelings, thoughts and behaviour related to FLA, especially Noelia with 6 medium-long stretches. They suffer from the three components of FLA, namely Communication Apprehension, Fear of Evaluation and Test Anxiety (3.1.3), with negative consequences both on their oral and written performance, but in particular on the former. Perfectionism is also mentioned as a cause of FLA. The following fragments explain when FLA takes place, how and why.

Figure 7.7 Group A1 ANXIETY

ANXIETY	
M1	Yo la verdad que a mí me afecta <u>un poco</u> a los nervios ((risa nerviosa)) me pongo <u>un poquito</u> nerviosa .. y me salen <u>algunas veces</u> burradas
M2	Yo <u>ya</u> estoy con los nervios yo <u>ya</u> estoy que tengo que estar todo el tiempo
L1	... pues ahora nervios nervios no yo creo que de cara al examen un día antes ..ya estoy .. que me salgo ((risa))
L2	Esta semana estoy a un 20% de los nervios ((risa)) ya de cara al examen estoy ya
L3	Sí .. lo mismo me pasa .. me pongo muy nervioso .. pero es porque empiezo a pensar lo que voy a decir y .. quizás me veo tan presionado de- yo mismo de poder cometer algún error y decir cualquier ..alguna otra palabra que no guarde relación y .. claro y

	eso me pone más de los nervios
L4	Y quizás cuando yo respondo en inglés alargo .. alargo la respuesta .. entonces .. también es un motivo de que .. pueda cometer (()) sienta yo que estoy cometiendo errores cuando tendría que sólo concentrarme en una respuesta
N1	N: yo creo que los nervios me vienen más vamos a la hora de hacer el examen ((risa)) I: Y luego se te van N: Sí yo creo que no tengo así- a ver nervios de decir pues a lo mejor tengo eso tengo un poco <u>más de miedo al oral</u> porque estoy pensando que me voy a trabar que me voy a <u>bloquear</u> que tal y que no sé que luego siempre sales y dices madre mía es que lo tenía que haber dicho así así así sabes o yo qué sé que muchas veces es el <u>bloqueo</u> más lo que tengo y mira que- y tampoco es que esté ahora súper nerviosa me vienen más esos nervios y esos <u>bloqueos</u> me vienen a la hora de entrar
N2	Sí pero son los nervios no sé por qué pero <u>son nervios</u> yo es que el oral es lo que más temo ((risa))porque
N3	No sé no tengo esa soltura <u>o sea</u> yo digo una frase <u>y a lo mejor</u> estoy pensando lo que estoy diciendo cuando <u>a lo mejor</u> no debería pensarlo tanto decirlo y ya está .. no es que yo lo estoy pensando estoy diciendo “voy a decir esto (no sé qué) lo voy a decir mal” porque no sé si es así o así .. no sé .. <u>que es mucho mucha</u> (())
N4	Sí es interior más contigo mismo no? Porque tú quieres hacerlo bien y claro lo haces mal dices <u>jo</u> pero sí claro luego lo piensas y ya te das cuentas de que del error que has cometido
N5	Empiezo a pensar <u>pues a ver</u> como no tengo <u>o sea</u> fluidez me falta ((chasquido de lengua)) que me equivoque y sigo pues no .. <u>es que</u> me paro y ya me <u>quedo en blanco</u> y ya se me va todo y
N6	Claro y el oral y el writing /ritin/ no me cuesta tanto pero le tengo más miedo a la hora del tiempo porque me falta siempre tiempo porque lo miro <u>todo mucho</u> lo <u>remiro me</u> lo pienso o sea en vez de hacerlo y luego mirármelo que es lo que la mayoría de la gente hace yo no .. yo es que mmm <u>me leo me leo</u> los ejercicios me lo <u>releo</u> lo hago <u>digo</u> esto no a lo mejor lo hago a lápiz luego lo paso bueno es que sabes como que lo quiero hacer todo bien y I: perfeccionista ¿no?= N: =sí soy muy perfeccionista

Miriam's answer itself reveals an anxious state conveyed by the hedges "*un poco... un poquito...a veces*" (a bit, a little bit, sometimes, M1) and by the nervous laughter. This could signify trait anxiety (a permanent feature, 3.1.4.1) or it might be state anxiety (a reaction to a stimulus) activated by just talking about the language learning experience. In any case, her state of nervousness is overwhelming and pervasive ("ya...ya", already; "todo el tiempo", all the time, M2), unlike Leo and Noelia who report becoming nervous on approaching the exam date (L1 and L2), or even just upon entering the exam classroom (N1).

The exam situation is felt as a stressor, whose scope encompasses the learning experience even before the exam itself, as pointed out about test anxiety in the literature. A higher level of FLA is attached, in particular, to the oral exam (N1 and N2). However, after stating the opposite, Noelia provides a clear picture of writing anxiety too: she starts off by saying that writing is not really a problem for her, but then her behaviour contradicts her words when describes her continuously going through what she has written during the exam. This anxious behaviour is mirrored by the thorough way she checks her paper ("*lo miro todo mucho lo remiro*", I check it all a lot I check it again, N6), by the repetitions of "*leo*" ("*me leo me leo los ejercicios me lo releo*", I read I read the exercises I read them again, N1), and by the reiterative forms of both verbs (*remiro, releo*). These hesitations include writing the exam in pencil first and then in pen. As a result, she wastes time and cannot manage it effectively as to devote a fair amount to each part of the exam. Noelia's is a clear case of FLA hampering performance: her anxious state leads her to low productivity.

What seems to go on in their heads in those moments is an internal detrimental speech, made of self-centred thoughts which interfere with the task performance. Leo starts to think about what he is going to say, which brings about pressure on not making mistakes, resulting in greater FLA (L3). Noelia also thinks about what she is saying, which slows her down and finally blocks her. She also thinks that she is going to halt, an anticipatory fear that results in a self-fulfilling prophecy: she does halt, or literally she gets tongue-tied (N3). The internal nature of these cognitive processes concerns both interviewees: Leo says "*presionado de- yo mismo*" (pressured to... by myself, L3), and "*sienta yo que estoy cometiendo errores*" (I myself feel that I am making mistakes, L4), and Noelia "*es interior, más contigo mismo*" (it is interior, more with yourself, N4). As noted in 3.1.4.2, these distracting thoughts end up decreasing cognitive processes, due to split attention between the language itself and these thoughts about the language and the performance. Noelia clearly reports one of these negative messages: "*lo voy a decir mal*" (I'm going to say it wrongly, N3). Instead of sending positive,

empowering messages to the brain, they do just the opposite, they send counterproductive negative ones (3.5).

Although Noelia is dismissive at a point about the origin of her FLA, as this tautology shows: “*son los nervios no sé por qué pero son nervios*” (it is nerves I don’t know why but it is nerves⁹⁵, N4), she does seem to have reflected on it and to know possible solutions, even if she cannot put them in practice. First of all, she admits to experiencing FLA (“*me quedo en blanco*”, I go blank, N1, and the repetition of “block” in N1). Moreover, she is actually aware that she should not think likewise but cannot help it (“*...cuando a lo mejor no debería pensarlo tanto decirlo y ya está*”, whereas maybe I shouldn’t think it over so much, say it and that’s all, N3). She also knows that when she makes a mistake she should carry on, whereas she is incapable of doing so and ends up freezing (N5).

One of the reasons for the onset of these detrimental thoughts is to be found in fear of negative evaluation, specifically in fear of making mistakes. Leo feels self-pressured by the possibility of incurring in a mistake or coming up with an unrelated word (L3). When he produces a longer string of speech, he feels that the chances of making mistakes increase and this perception leads him to decide that he should cut short his answers (“*sienta yo que estoy cometiendo errores*”, whenever I feel I am making mistakes, L4). On the one hand, he is aware that short, ready-made chunks of language are sometimes strategic resources to get by in a conversation. On the other hand, he might be constrained by his fear and refrain from attempting at longer strings of output in order to express himself more freely.

Noelia expresses the same fear with a piece of speech which is quite confusing in her own L1 as she overuses discourse fillers (“*pues a ver*”, “*o sea*”, “*pues no*”, “*es que*”, N5) and hesitation signals (tongue clicking). In N3 she relies twice on another filler, “*a lo mejor*” (maybe) and concludes with an incomprehensible tag: “*que es mucho mucha*” (which is a lot, much). These utterances seem to be connected to Sparks & Ganschow’s (1991, 1993) Linguistic Coding Deficit Hypothesis (3.1.2), according to which problems in a learners’ L1 would be transferred into the L2, which would explain FLA. Indeed, Noelia’s utterances may point to her low linguistic aptitude, so as to be sometimes very hesitant and unable to produce clear, confident speech even in Spanish. Moreover, the lack of fluency pointed out by Noelia is another cause of FLA, as well as a more general lack of proficiency, or even more so the learner’s perception of it, as will be illustrated in 7.2.3.4.

The last cause of FLA mentioned in these extracts is perfectionism. In N4, Noelia introduces her wish to fare well and the gap between her intentions and reality (“*quieres*

⁹⁵ Literal translation, meaning “it is due to my nervous state”.

hacerlo bien y claro lo haces mal”, you want to do well and inevitably⁹⁶ you do poorly). This mismatch between ideal self and actual self brings about frustration, verbalized in the form of an exclamation “*¡jo*” that the learner says to herself in an interior dialogue (“*dices*”, you say). In N6, she explicitly justifies her anxious attitude to tests with a will to do everything properly, leaving no room for mistakes. The interviewer’s overlapping turn provides the technical definition of this attitude, perfectionism, which is registered and acknowledged in its lay terms by the interviewee. The little tolerance to mistakes highlighted above regarding fear of evaluation strengthens the idea that the trait “perfectionism” is a debilitating one for the learners affected.

The negative consequences range from freezing or going blank to coming up with unwanted mistakes (“*y me salen algunas veces burradas*”, and I may come up with some nonsense, M1). The latter is an example of a harsh JUDGEMENT on one’s proficiency which may provoke similar negative consequences as the afore-mentioned detrimental speech.

7.1.3.2 SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

Three comments on self-consciousness will be isolated in order to highlight its presence within two of the respondents of this group, although its relationship with FLA is not made explicit here.

Figure 7.8 Group A1 SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS	
M	Lo que sí me enCanta pero me da <u>mucha</u> vergüenza como no es un tema que controles y te gustaría hablar mejor
N1	Vergüenza porque pues no sé a lo mejor me preguntas tú y sé que estoy hablando con personas que entienden y que saben hablar y <u>es como si es que</u> no sé contestar
N2	Claro sí porque digo <u>jolín</u> tú oyes a una persona hablar inglés y la oyes como si hablara en español pues igual claro un idioma normal y punto .. yo me veo como que estoy <u>haciendo el ridículo</u> [riendo] sabes una cosa muy rara

The reasons for feeling self-conscious are a lack of mastery of the language or a power relation with more proficient speakers. For Miriam, in spite of her positive APPRECIATION

⁹⁶ The Spanish “*y claro*” would be partially translated by “and of course”but in this context, it has more to do with an inevitable result (do poorly) of a habitual condition (trying to do it well), hence the choice of “inevitably”.

of the language (“*me enCanta*”, I love it, with an emphatic stress, M), the fact of not mastering English as well as she would like to brings about “*mucha vergüenza*”, the cliché topic this thesis is looking into, among others, which can be rendered as “self-consciousness/embarrassment”, here enhanced by the quantifier “*mucha*” (a lot).

Noelia underlines a power relation between the teacher, as a proficient speaker who asks questions, and herself as a non-proficient student who has to answer these questions. The phrasing “*y es como si es que no sé contestar*” (and it is as if I don’t know how to reply, N1), denotes a feeling rather than the fact itself. Being the non-proficient party in the conversation, an inferiority complex seems to be felt as an additional hindrance to self-confidence. Another cliché emerges when Noelia points out making a fool of herself (“*haciendo el ridículo*”, N2) while trying to speak English with an English-like accent. She compares English as spoken by a native speaker, which sounds as natural and legitimate as her own L1 (“*un idioma normal y punto*”, a normal language and that’s it, N2), and when she attempts to speak it. This clash shows a conflict in audibility (1.1.3.1), which was reported indeed as a possible cause of self-consciousness. In fact, she fears a possible JUDGEMENT as a not legitimate L2 user on the part of the users of the dominant discourse. As far as the AFFECT category is concerned, this envisaged positioning is experienced as something unsettling “*una cosa muy rara*” (something very strange, N2) and marked by the exclamation “*jolín*”. In terms of identity, it exhibits a struggling L2 persona. Furthermore, the lack of audibility relates to the power conflict expressed in N1 between teacher and student, completing a portrait of a disempowered learner.

7.1.3.3 SELF-EFFICACY

Strictly related to perfectionism, perceived low SELF-EFFICACY has been reported in conjunction with FLA by the three respondents.

Figure 7.9 Group A1 SELF-EFFICACY

SELF-EFFICACY	
M	[...] que luego a lo mejor escribiendo lo hago un poco mejor
L1	[...] aunque .. me cuesta mucho aprender los idiomas porque .. estuve estudiando francés y también me costaba un montón. y francés nunca lo había escuchado el inglés en la escuela tal
L2	A cada uno nos va costando lo suyo y a mí me cuesta mucho ((risa))
N1	Veo que es una cosa que me cuesta y no me veo suelta me trabo mucho
N2	No sé y que es eso que ya me equivoco y a lo mejor digo una palabra que no digo bien

	pues ya
N3	[...] sí pero- presionada no por ti ni por nadie sino por lo que dice Leo un poco contigo mismo un poco como decir .. es que no avanzo sabes es que no-

Miriam only mentions being better at writing, which implies that she feels worse at speaking. Even if she admits to faring fairly well in written English, this comment co-occurs in the same string as hers in the SELF-CONSCIOUS subcategory. This entails that her perceived low proficiency is directly linked to her feeling awkward and unconfident.

The other two interviewees agree that English is something they struggle with (“*me cuesta*”, L1, L2, N1), i.e. they admit to their low aptitude and the effort they need in order to cope. As a consequence, Noelia does not feel confident and gets stuck (N1), which may bring about anxiety and self-consciousness: N1 co-occurs with N1 in CONFIDENCE in which she claims she feels insecure, and N2 co-occurs with N5 in ANXIETY where she reports experiencing FLA in such circumstances. In the long term, she also feels frustration at seeing no progress in her performance (N3), which means that perceived low self-efficacy has an even wider scope on the self.

7.1.4 STRATEGIES

The strategies that elementary students pursue in order to deal with FLA coincide with their studying strategies at large. It means that there are no specific measures available to tackle FLA, probably because FLA develops alongside learning, thus they are not so aware of its detrimental effects, being their first year at EOI.

Figure 7.10 Group A1 STRATEGIES

STRATEGIES	
L1	Pero será porque no::: no: como te digo no escucho . no escucho bien me falta escuchar más para poder .. responder y también mucho más vocabulario <u>quizás</u> muchísimo más
L2	Sí dedicarle más horas eh ... más esfuerzo <u>en el</u> reading <u>en el</u> listening <u>en el</u> writ- <u>en la</u> gramática y-
M	I: O sea tener seguridad en la materia [te ayuda también a M: [claro estudiando y <u>escuchando</u> es la forma que yo veo para tirar para 'lante I: Eso también te ayuda a nivel de nervios, ¿no? M: Sí sí cuanto más ves que controlas <u>pues</u> la gramática <u>un poco</u> listening <u>un poco</u> todo en

	general (.) el reading (.) más seguro vas claro es que si no
M/N	M: a mí no me importa que me corrijas eh me encanta= N: =ay a mí también M: que es la forma que más .. como que .. me fijo más todavía
N1	...¿y cómo digo esto? Y a veces es verdad lo hablábamos en clase en plan de .. chorradas a lo mejor sabemos lo más difícil y pues encadenar las palabras pues nos cuesta más
N2	I: Y ¿qué haces tú? N: Pues claro qué vas a hacer espanEnglish este y.. dar gritos y=

In Leo's two extracts, the language areas listed are practically all: three of the four skills (all except for speaking) and all the language components except for pronunciation (i.e. grammar and vocabulary). Indeed, in L1 he mentions he would need to improve in listening and vocabulary, emphasising the need for vocabulary (*"muchísimo más"*), although this emphatic comparative is preceded by *"quizás"* (maybe), which hedges its strength and hints at some improvisation in the way that language areas are occurring to him. In L2 he goes on to mention listening, reading, writing and grammar. He makes use of a parallel structure (*"en el"* preceding each element) typical of an enumeration ending with a dangling *"y-"* (and-), which means that the list might possibly carry on. There is a false start on *"writing"*, perhaps because of hesitation about the correct pronunciation, but the reference is clear because of the context. All these cues point to concluding that his learning strategies turn out to be insufficient. In fact, it is doubtful whether he has a clear idea of what he really needs to focus on in order to improve his English and become a confident L2 user.

Miriam also lists several areas: grammar, listening, reading, but she particularly stresses listening. She mentions it independently, along with a generic *"studying"* (*"estudiando y escuchando"*, M), which evinces certain priority of this skill, probably due to the fact that oral comprehension is usually one of the most problematic skills to develop at beginner levels. The rest seems to be equally important if we carry out textual analysis in *"controlas pues la gramática un poco listening un poco todo en general (.) el reading"*, (you are confident about well grammar a bit of listening a bit of everything in general (.) reading, M). These textual devices (*"pues"*... *"un poco"* ... *"un poco"*) signal equal distribution among the areas and little focus on one in particular. The non-verbal cue (.) before adding *"reading"* also points to an enumeration that may go on further, lacking specificity. The result of this studying all aspects of English is *"tirar para lante"*, i.e. get by and go ahead.

Other answers (M/N, N1 and N2) inform us of the strategies adopted to cope both in class and in real life. In M/N, Miriam and Noelia co-construct the APPRECIATION that being corrected in class is useful by means of these latched contributions:

M: a mí no me importa que me corrijas eh me encanta=

N: =ay a mí también

M: =que es la forma que más .. como que .. me fijo más todavía

Miriam starts off by saying that she does not mind being corrected, but then adds some AFFECT remark by saying that she actually loves it. The interjection “eh” in this utterance sounds like a reassurance that if the teacher thought otherwise he can go ahead with his correction. Noelia chimes in through a turn entry device, “ay”, meant to confirm that she also partakes in this idea. Miriam retakes the floor to add an explanation for her appreciation, which is her belief that being corrected is one of the most effective strategies that enable her to focus on language form.

In N1, Noelia expresses certain frustration at not finding the way to connect words in a sentence. She reports a piece of internal monologue (“¿Cómo digo esto?”), which confirms this learner’s tendency to internal thoughts on how to go about speaking or writing in English. It also signals her impossibility to express something in this language, in spite of knowing more difficult concepts or vocabulary on a theoretical level (“a lo mejor sabemos lo más difícil”, maybe we know the most difficult stuff, N1). The use of “sabemos” in the 1st person plural reflects a widespread difficulty to express oneself, confirmed by “lo hablábamos en clase” (we talked about it in class). Once again, learning English is a topic of conversation itself for students who try to share their difficulties and, hopefully, some effective strategies to overcome them.

Finally, in real life Noelia reports her way to make herself understood when asked something in the street in English, which is shouting and mixing Spanish and English. They are both described as commonplace strategies, as can be noticed by the introductory “pues claro qué vas a hacer” (well of course, what should you do?, N2). However, a mix of Spanish and English (dismissively defined as “espanEnglish este”, this sort of Spanglish, N2) might as well be an effective strategy in a conversation with a non-Spanish speaker in order not to freeze or withdraw and try to engage in the interaction at this low level of proficiency.

7.2 RESULTS FOR INTERVIEWS OF GROUP B2

7.2.1 SELF-CONCEPT

7.2.1.1 SELF

The interviewees seem to be quite aware of their personality traits with a bearing on their learning performance, and also of their agency in this realm. Given that they may have been experiencing FLA all through their long learning process, they evince consciousness of any possible limits deriving from traits like shyness or perfectionism.

Figure 7.11 Group B2 SELF

SELF	
C1	I: ¿Te sientes distinta cuando hablas inglés y cuando hablas español? ... cuando tienes que dar una charla en español? C: También me pongo <u>muy</u> nerviosa sí también me siento <u>bastante</u> nerviosa cuando he dado alguna conferencia lo he soltado así todo como tatata sin poder (()) tratar de mirar a la gente y eso pero me cuesta mucho o sea también soy muy tímida entonces me cuesta mucho hablar español y <u>más</u> en inglés
C2o sea porque lo demás no puedo controlarlo mucho o sea que yo sea una persona tímida- <u>no voy a poder</u> ... a no ser que me vaya a terapia de grupo <u>o yo qué sé</u> a cualquier otra cosa pero esto sí lo puedo controlar
D1 lo intente o no lo intente <u>que soy así</u> que soy como muy crítica con conmigo

In terms of personality traits, Carmen highlights shyness and Delia self-criticism (or perfectionism). Both traits have been pointed out as possible causes of FLA (respectively in 3.1.4.2 and 3.1.3), and the fact that the respondents admit to them spontaneously is a case in point drawing attention to the connection with FLA. As well as holding strong beliefs about their traits (notice the emphasis in D1 “*lo intente o no lo intente, que soy así*”, whether I try it or not, I am just like that), they are also aware of how inherent and inalterable the traits are: Carmen’s false start in C2 “*no voy a poder*” (I won’t be able to) underlies that she will not be able to change this trait, unless she undergoes group therapy or other treatment deemed unlikely (“*o yo qué sé*”, or whatever, C2). On the other hand, she seems conscious of her agency on controllable and uncontrollable factors: in C2 English appears as a variable under her control, unlike her shyness. As in 2.2.3.3, stable attributions strengthen the expectancy or recurrence: her shyness will be singled out as the cause of FLA again and again. On the other hand, according to Weiner (1986, in 2.2.3.3), her English proficiency, which is more controllable -thus unstable-, will be less strong an attribution for her failure.

L1 and L2 selves are compared by Carmen, who equals her anxious character in both languages (“*me pongo muy nerviosa*”, I get very nervous), which she then repairs with “*bastante nerviosa*”, (quite nervous). When giving a speech in her L1, Spanish, she talks unnaturally fast (reproduced by the onomatopoeia “*tatata*”), without interruptions and without being able to hold the gaze of the audience: clear FLA symptoms. However, in the end she admits that in English she struggles more to talk in public. Therefore, the lack of mastery of the foreign language exacerbates her anxiety and insecurity.

7.2.1.2 CONFIDENCE

The few instances of confidence are activated in connection with satisfactory listening comprehension and comparison with others with a worse command of English.

Figure 7.12 Group B2 CONFIDENCE

CONFIDENCE	
C1	Estaba muy contenta [...] estoy muy animada este año
C2	I: o sea que te sientes por ejemplo cuando entiendes Lonely planet te da ánimo C: sí sí y ahora que nos vamos a ir a Oslo y voy a ir yo porque mi cuñado estará trabajando que es quien más controla el inglés <u>pero tendré</u> que defenderme yo y <u>no me importa</u>
C3	Por ejemplo en Bruselas cuando fuimos esta vez hubo un chico que preguntó que cuántas personas éramos y dijo "how many person" y nosotros "person? person? people!" entonces con esa persona me sentí ya un poco mejor y dije sé yo más ((risa))
D1	I: ¿Qué más te gustaría saber del inglés? Construir mejor las frases.. D: Sí claro construir mejor las frases sentirme yo más segura de mí misma
D2	<u>Aunque con todo y con eso</u> el otro día [se refiere a la actividad de acting out a sitcom scene] o sea fue muy bien no? El sitcom que hicimos

Carmen claims to be happy with her English in the current year (C1) and in particular she reports an example of her confidence once she realized that she could understand a Lonely Planet video: self-efficacy gives rise to more general confidence. Moreover, processes of self verification and audibility are enacted when she feels more confident upon observing that a foreigner's English is worse than hers (C3). The other example of language use when travelling (C2) depicts an autonomous learner able to use her communicative resources for international communication. The formulation though is quite cautious, either due to the student's modest personality or to her actual limited confidence. She claims that she would

normally rely on her brother-in-law to do the speaking, as he is more proficient, but as he will be busy working she will have to be in charge, which she does not mind (“*y ahora que nos vamos a ir a Oslo y voy a ir yo porque mi cuñado estará trabajando que es quien más controla el inglés pero tendré que defenderme yo y no me importa*”, C2). The discursive clues are the contrasting connector “*pero*” (but), the modal verb “*tener que*” expressing obligation and the non-emphatic form “no me importa” (I don't mind). The syntactic link of “*pero*” with the rest is worth exploring. There are two possibilities: either that it depends on the main clause “*y voy a ir yo*” (and I am going to go myself), or more probably, on the closer dependent clause “*quien más controla el inglés*” (the one with the best command of English). In the former case, the fact of going to Oslo, intuitively an appealing idea, is contrasted by the obligation to fend herself (“*defenderme*” C2) using the foreign language. In the latter case, her having to speak English contrasts with the brother-in-law's supposed superiority, hence the speaker declares her inferiority in this realm. Finally, the use of “*no me importa*” (I don't mind) expresses the variable AFFECT but at the bottom of the scale of liking. It prompts that she will enjoy this assignment (do the speaking while in Oslo on behalf of her family) but with limited enthusiasm.

In a similar vein, Delia refers to her desire to be more confident (not the actual feeling), which would be possible if she had a better command of the language (D1). She reports one episode in which she did feel some confidence: it is the successful experience of the acting out activity carried out in class, which was meant as part of the class dynamics to reduce anxiety and foster motivation implemented in this class (see Appendix II, Projects). The positive APPRECIATION of the task outcome “*fue bien*” (it went well, D2) is introduced by a double connector of contrast “*aunque con todo y con eso*” (although in spite of all), which links to the previously mentioned belief that her difficulty to speak in public will remain, albeit role play practice in English

I: Y crees que el inglés te puede ayudar a hablar en público... como tienes que hacer role-plays y esas cosas

D: No ((risa)) si no me pasa en español lo veo más difícil en inglés).

Altogether, some incipient confidence seems to have arisen after many years of practice, but still it cannot be conceived of as an inherent quality of their L2 selves.

7.2.2 MOTIVATION

7.2.2.1 MOTIVATIONS

The B2 respondents single out both instrumental and integrated motivations (2.2.3.4): they need English for professional reasons and above all for travelling, which is something they enjoy a lot. However, there are no instances of intrinsic motivation, i.e. of enjoyment of the learning experience itself.

Figure 7.13 Group B2 MOTIVATIONS

MOTIVATIONS	
C1	Y bueno también <u>quiero</u> estudiar inglés por el hecho de <u>poder</u> comunicarme con la gente cuando viajo como viajamos mucho pues la verdad que me encanta me gusta mucho y el <u>poder</u> comunicarme con la gente y <u>poder</u> - .. porque la verdad que es la .. lo que da la vida al viajar eh pues es un fundamental
C2	Pues principalmente porque lo <u>necesito</u> en el trabajo .. porque toda mi .. la información que leo está en inglés y- también anualmente acudimos a congresos o vienen a darnos charlas al laboratorio en las que hablan inglés y ocasionalmente tenemos eh .. personas que vienen a visitarnos al laboratorio y <u>tenemos que</u> hablar con ellos en inglés y .. dialogar
D1	Pero sobre todo porque el inglés es .. el medio de comunicación que es más usado entonces <u>al fin y al cabo</u> tanto negocios como cuando por turismo <u>al fin y al cabo</u> es lo que más se habla
D2	Pues sobre todo para viajar .. me gusta mucho viajar entonces pues ir a un sitio claro <u>no siempre</u> vas a ir a un sitio de habla hispana y <u>y bueno</u> sobre todo para entenderte con la gente

Whereas neither interviewee claims to enjoy studying English, they both refer to the positive feeling deriving from travelling (“*me encanta me gusta mucho*”, I love it, I like it a lot, C1; “*me gusta mucho*”, I like it a lot, D2). Therefore, there is no intrinsic motivation per se but the AFFECT variable is set off as a result of travelling, which gains extra value if one is able to communicate with the locals (“*poder comunicarme con la gente... es... lo que da la vida al viajar*”, being able to communicate with the peopleis... what gives life to travelling, C1). English becomes an instrument to achieve something pleasurable which upgrades and enriches the experience, so that the value of studying this language is introjected

and becomes integrated (“*quiero estudiar*”, I want to study, C1), although it is still an extrinsic kind of motivation (2.2.3.4). The empowering effect provided by English is expressed through the three repetitions of the verb “*poder*” (to be able to), the third of which being left open; thus, acquiring a wider scope (“*poder comunicarme con la gente y poder-*”, being able to communicate with people and being able to-, C1).

International communication is deemed fundamental (C1), not only for leisure but also for work. Instrumental motivations are pointed out by Carmen, whose job as a veterinary hinges on scientific information and academic interaction in English (“*lo necesito en el trabajo*”, I need it for work; “*tenemos que hablar*” we have to talk, C2). Delia also makes a functional APPRECIATION about the international spread of the language and its use in business as reasons for the relevance of acquiring it (D1). Her use of some fillers let slip a mild discomfort with the state of affairs according to which English enjoys this predominance: “*al fin y al cabo*” (at the end of the day, D1) is repeated twice in the same sentence, giving away a certain resignation; through “*no siempre ... y bueno*” (not always ... so well, D2), it is implied that Delia would prefer to travel to Spanish-speaking countries, but that is not always possible, so she ends up needing English to get by and make herself understood.

7.2.2.2 OBLIGATION

The different kinds of motivation underlying the learning process stand on the extrinsic side of the continuum with both instrumental and integrated instances. The obligation pattern that seems to be present will be better analysed in the following section.

Figure 7.14 Group B2 OBLIGATION

OBLIGATION	
C1	Lo necesito en el trabajo .. porque toda mi .. la información que leo está en inglés y- también anualmente acudimos a congresos o vienen a darnos charlas al laboratorio en las que hablan inglés y ocasionalmente tenemos eh .. personas que vienen a visitarnos al laboratorio y tenemos que hablar con ellos en inglés y .. dialogar
C2	<u>Obligatoriamente</u> hay pocas cosas en español y las demás cosas <u>siempre</u> están traducidas al inglés entonces <u>siempre</u> <u>he tenido que</u> leer <u>mucho</u> y escribir también porque <u>todas</u> las presentaciones que hemos <u>tenido que</u> exponer en los congresos y demás <u>han tenido que ser</u>

	en inglés
C3	<p>Es que hubo muchas complicaciones en el trabajo porque la directora del laboratorio no quería que estuviese yo en el puesto en que estaba antes por el hecho de que no sabía mucho inglés y como teníamos tantas visitas y tal y cual pero mi jefe me apoyó bastante y dijo que bueno pues me defendía y que podía hacerlo</p> <p>[cuenta trato discriminatorio debido a idiomas]</p> <p>la jefa me dijo "que sepas que tú no eres la que vas a aprobar esta oposición ya sabes que tenemos a alguien más preparado con más idiomas que tú y entonces pues no" "ya pero yo llevo seis años aquí y lo he hecho bien" " y en el caso hipotético que tuvieses que hablar en televisión o antes algún medio de comunicación, como eres tan nerviosa y eso tampoco puedes hacerlo" "bueno esos casos hipotéticos es que nunca ha pasado ... hablaría ella o hablaría el director" ha sido una carga un poco- fuerte</p>
C4	Sí porque quería terminarlo .. necesito poner esto en el currículum para presentarlo cuando me digan algo del idioma
D1	Y luego pues también el tema laboral o sea yo hoy en día no lo necesito pero en un futuro tal vez sí lo necesite
D2	Claro porque llevo <u>un montón</u> de años y necesito <u>sacármelo ya pero ya</u> básicamente entonces claro eso me tensa mucho [...] al fin y al cabo claro yo llevo aquí OCHO años necesito <u>ya</u> .. sacarme esto

The need to master English introduced in the previous section (C2 above-C1 here) is expanded by further information on the publications and congresses for which the English language is mandatory (C2), and by a personal story involving language proficiency as a prerequisite to obtain a work position (C3 and C4). The use of adverbs such as “*obligatoriamente*” (obligatorily) and “*siempre*” used twice (always), as well as quantifiers “*mucho*” and “*todas*” (a lot, all) in C2 reinforce that all the written and oral documents and activities must be carried out in English, whether Carmen likes it or not. Likewise, the verb “*tener*” is also used three times in a short string to stress the compulsory use of this international language in her field. Her feelings of imposition stem from the fact that her position in the laboratory was jeopardized by her lack of mastery of English. Her boss threatened her to give this position to someone else on the account of the fact that this person

was more proficient in English than her (*“alguien más preparado con más idiomas que tú”*, someone more qualified, who is more language proficient than you). English is clearly used as a gatekeeper to prevent someone from being promoted or even maintained in one’s job, even in a supposedly transparent selection process as an *“oposición”* (public job offer based on a strict selection process). This confrontation is experienced by Carmen as *“una carga un poco fuerte”* (quite a heavy burden), not surprisingly giving rise to FLA as will be seen in the corresponding section. In C4 she claims that she needs to obtain the EOI certificate as soon as possible as a way to demonstrate her fitness for the post, in case anyone might insinuate anything about her language competence.

In the case of Delia, the obligation has less to do with professional reasons and more with a personal challenge. The fact that her need is secondary in terms of an asset for the labour market is marked by *“y luego pues también”* (and then well also). In fact, nowadays she does not need English for her job as a receptionist, but one day may do. The procrastination of this necessity weakens the urge to master English for work, although due to her personal learning experience she does express impatience to come to an end at EOI. Her eight years spent to accomplish a six-year itinerary provoke an emotional reaction related to this urge. This time is experienced as an extremely long period of her life (*“un montón de años”*, loads of years), for this reason she wants to get the final certificate as soon as possible (*“ya pero ya”*, *“ya”*, right now, now). The dative pronoun *“me”* in *“sacármelo”* stresses how important it is for her to get the certificate, which is also dismissively referred to as *“esto”* (that thing), and the insecurity she feels whether she will get it or not results into tension (*“me tensa”*, it stresses me), i.e. an expression of FLA.

7.2.2.3 MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR

Interestingly enough, there are scanty references to motivated behaviour made by the B2 students, meaning either that they are not particularly motivated or that they do not express it easily.

Figure 7.15 Group B2 MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR

MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR	
C	Aquí pues el primer año fantástico, pero luego .. al segundo bien también porque la profesora se preparaba las clases súper bien .. entonces bastante bien
D	D: el otro día o sea fue muy bien no? el sitcom que hicimos .. sí porque además yo tengo que evadirme estar aquí con mis compañeros a lo que nos hemos preparado y no quiero ni ver al resto de la gente ((risa)) I: Y funcionó N: Funcionó sí. I: Lo pasaste bien incluso D: Sí muy bien

The circumstances wherein they are actually motivated are linked to the teacher's thorough class planning (C), and to the sitcom acting task carried out a few days earlier by Delia. The reasons why the first year is described as “*fantástico*” (fantastic) are not expanded on, maybe because the teacher that year was the same interviewer/teacher at the moment of the interview and Carmen did not want to be more specific. My own memory of Carmen in her first year at the beginner level is one of a motivated, hard-working and quite successful learner, but beyond this impressionistic observation there are no other elements provided by the interviewee. From her own words it can be garnered that she realizes and appreciates whether a teacher does take pains in planning the classes and how well-structured a class is delivered. This commitment has a direct bearing on students' motivation, as confirmed in the UNMOTIVATED BEHAVIOR section below. Other reasons for motivation for these learners must be found in the self-efficacy section. In terms of class activities, Delia, who had feared acting out in front of the class because of her shyness, deems the experience successful and even entertaining. Once a FLA student goes through a drama activity such as the sitcom one, the benefit seems to be perceivable and acknowledged by the learner herself.

The example of unmotivated behaviour does not depend on the student's lack of motivation, but on the instruction setting, namely the teacher's lack of interest and fore-planning.

Figure 7.16 Group B2 UNMOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR

UNMOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR	
C1	En tercero ya decayó mucho la cosa porque la profesora no se preocupaba mucho de preparar las clases
C2	Pero luego fue un <u>desastre</u> luego ya los dos quintos que hice y el sexto anterior los profesores o no se implicaban no querían implicarse y no se preparaban las clases era muy aburrido venir a clase .. era bastante tedioso y luego no te motivaban no sé fue bastante <u>fatal</u> .

Carmen accuses some of the teachers of not preparing their classes properly, showing a lack of involvement. As a result, their classes come across as boring and tedious and the JUDGEMENT on them is extremely poor: “*desastre*”, “*fatal*” (disastrous, hideous, C2). These strong feelings and subsequent loss of motivation should caution teachers of the importance of planning stimulating, hands-on classes, in particular in the context of an EOI, where the public to cater for are mainly adults who come to class after long hours at work or other family burdens. Otherwise, as clearly illustrated by Kormo's et al.'s (2011) Hierchically Ordered Model (2.3.3), the teacher's lack of commitment may possibly interfere with learners' motivation system with detrimental consequences.

	D: Que no lo domino entonces que temo fallar mucho meter mucho la pata en el idioma
D1	Pero claro un examen pues a mí me tensa muchísimo.
D2	No me veo tampoco suelta me quedo como muy encasquillada cuando me quedo encasquillada me pongo más nerviosa con lo cual
D3	Mal eh porque me da la <u>impresión</u> de que no construyo bien las frases o que voy a cometer una patada de estas tremendas <u>gramaticalmente</u> o .. pues eso yo tengo muchos es que ves ahora ((risa)) me sale basic mistakes y cosas así cosas muy básicas también tiene mucho que ver que ((chasquido de lengua)) yo tiendo a la <u>perfección</u> , me gusta soy muy <u>perfeccionista</u> para eso y yo creo que también viene de allí no me veo capaz
D4	Sí a la inseguridad de decir pues a lo mejor lo voy a decir mal ... me voy a bloquear y no voy saber continuar o sea que puedo continuar pero a lo mejor me atasco eso pues le crea a la marcha de la clase le puede crear un <u>parón</u> como que no quiero no me apetece ser <u>responsable</u> de eso que la gente a lo mejor esté allí esperando "venga"
D5	D: Sí pero ya se me va la cabeza .. se me va mucho la cabeza porque digo madre mía aquí ya la he cagado totalmente eso <u>yo misma</u> pues .. mm me produce más inseguridad y que me bloquee y que ya no tenga una idea clara que no esté estructurada y pensar a lo mejor en las consecuencias .. no voy a aprobar pues otro año más sabes
D6	<u>Intento</u> no pensarlo pero aún así claro te viene la idea decir al fin y al cabo esto <u>es</u> un examen y lo <u>tengo que pasar</u> .. <u>que sé</u> que hay vida después de la Escuela Oficial <u>si ya lo sé</u> lo típico que te dice todo el mundo
D7	I: Y ¿en clase cómo te sientes a la hora de hablar? D: Pues claro pues un poco por la inseguridad que te crea el no s- el no ser fluido .. pensar que te vas a bloquear pues al final te retraes .. de hablar .. a mí por lo menos me pasa eso
D8	Bueno sí ya lo has visto que yo por mí misma normalmente no .. no soy de mostrar muchas opiniones

According to how Carmen constructs herself and is constructed by her boss, she is described as a nervous person, independently of her relationship with learning English (C1). The use of the verb “eres” (you are) indicates an inherent trait, in her boss’s words, which is later confirmed by Carmen herself with the addition of “muy” (very) before “nervous”. Both

subjective visions coincide on this trait. Therefore, her FLA is deemed to be both state and trait anxiety, at least in the working and studying contexts.

Carmen's and Noelia's anxieties increase when the exam draws closer and during the exam itself (C2, D1 and D6). Carmen marks a future time reference "*luego*" (later, C2) as opposed to a present, quieter time "*pero bueno ya-*". The dangling "*ya*" (entonces, C2) presupposes that when the exam gets closer she will take care of her anxiety, not now. Noelia appraises the exam event as a stressor, i.e. with a negative evaluation in terms of AFFECT ("*me tensa muchísimo*", it stresses me out a lot, D1). In D6 her appraisal of the exam situation is compared through intertextuality with other people's opinions, which come in the form of a piece of advice that does not seem to convince the person concerned. In fact, in her view an exam is by definition something to pass ("*al fin y al cabo esto es un examen y lo tengo que pasar*", at the end of the day this is an exam and I have to pass⁹⁸ it, D6), whereas she reports the voice of other people who downplay its importance ("*hay vida después de la Escuela Oficial*", there is life after the Official School, D6). Noelia shows some irritation at this advice, which she labels as "*lo típico*" (typical stuff). This negative AFFECT appraisal is manifested by her initial "*que*"⁹⁹ and her reported reply to the advice "*sí ya lo sé*" (yes, I already know). Evidently, test anxiety affects both advanced learners, in spite of their long experience with this kind of tests.

Fear of negative evaluation is revealed in several extracts. Carmen describes two different settings, work and exams, in which this fear brings about FLA ("*me pongo muy nerviosa*", I get very nervous, C3 and C4). In the former, she mentions when some foreign visitors go to her laboratory and start asking questions that she usually fails to understand and thus answer. The latter (during exams) she starts worrying about not passing them and starts a detrimental internal speech. She thinks that she is not going to understand anything and gets frozen. Her false start "*que no voy a poder ap-*" (that I am not going to pa-, C4) suggests that she first worries about not passing the exam, but then substitutes this thought with a more general reference to not understanding, maybe to refrain the interviewer from thinking that she is just worried about the exam itself.

This train of thoughts is more thoroughly presented by Delia. Her insecurity sets off a series of negative thoughts such as "*lo voy a decir mal*" (I am going to say it wrongly, D4), "*me voy a bloquear y no voy a saber continuar*" (I am going to block and I won't be able to continue, D4), all leading to an actual block ("*me atasco*", D4). Her internal speech is

⁹⁸ The Spanish verb "*pasar*" both means pass an exam but also overcome an obstacle.

⁹⁹ "Que" has a highly pragmatic meaning, difficult to translate in English in this utterance.

described as a cognitive diversion from here and now: she says “*se me va la cabeza*” (my head begins to wander, D5). Her anticipatory worry is twofold, on the one hand she worries about making a mistake or not being able to express her ideas clearly and in a structured manner, thus failing the exam, and on the other hand she worries about getting frozen, which she finally ends up doing (D5).

Her fear of making mistakes relies on a commonly held belief that grammar is the base of communication. She makes a JUDGEMENT on how big a grammar mistake might be “*una patada de estas tremendas gramaticalmente*” and does not contemplate lexical or phonetic mistakes as possibly even more serious than a grammar one. In particular, the more basic the mistakes are, the greater her failure. By “basic mistakes” it is again meant some grammar points dealt with in the first years, which are expected to be consolidated by the last year, although they might not correspond to the communicatively worst ones. At most, she envisages syntax as a possible source of misunderstanding “*no construyo bien las frases*” (I don’t construct sentences well enough, D3). The result might also affect the rest of the class, by whom she feels negatively assessed due to a possible “*parón*” (block in the flow of the class), which she may be responsible for (D4). All this flux is blatantly internal, as she states it is an impression (D3) and is due to herself (“*yo misma*” D5).

The consequences, apart from the above mentioned block, known in the literature as freezing up¹⁰⁰, include another previously presented phenomenon, withdrawal. The idea that she is not fluent and the worry that she is going to freeze up lead her to withdraw from speaking and from providing her point of view voluntarily if not called upon (D7 and D8). This reluctance to speak reduces the chances to speak in class, at least at a whole group level, and consequently her oral practice, which fortunately can be made up for in pairs and group activities. But from the psychological point of view, this attitude evinces a renouncement of the right to speak, which should be claimed by any L2 learner, independent of the degree of proficiency¹⁰¹ (Cook 2002, 1.1.3).

The root of this fear is to be found on the one hand in perfectionism and on the other in lack of proficiency. Delia seems to be aware of the link between perfectionism and anxiety¹⁰² (Gregersen & Horwitz 2002): “*también tiene mucho que ver que ((chasquido de lengua)) yo tiendo a la perfección, me gusta soy muy perfeccionista para eso y yo creo que también viene de allí*” (it also has a lot to do with the fact that [tongue clicking] I tend to do things perfectly, I like it I am very perfectionist about it and I think it is another reason, D3).

¹⁰⁰ See section 3.1.4.2.

¹⁰¹ See section 1.1.3.

¹⁰² See section 3.1.3.

Indeed, when there is excessive control over one's performance, strict judgement and emotional overreaction to mistakes, performance may be negatively affected. In this case, perfectionism is coupled with low perceived proficiency, which is another reason that emerges in particular as for fluency. In C5 not mastering the language brings about fear of making mistakes and in D2 lack of fluency provokes anxiety (*"me quedo como muy encasquillada"*, I get like really stuck, D2).

The other FLA-provoking scenario presents itself when they do not understand an oral message and they get stuck. This phenomenon is illustrated in the table below.

7.2.3.2 UNDERSTANDING

Some cases of FLA deriving from lack of understanding in class or real life are worth exploring through the following examples, which highlight the link between listening and FLA.

Figure 7.18 Group B2 UNDERSTANDING

UNDERSTANDING	
C1	= lo malo es cuando viene el turno de preguntas y cuando a mitad de la explicación te paran y te preguntan algo... entonces si no son ingleses generalmente suelo estar más tranquila porque creo que los voy a entender bastante mejor ... mmm grupos que han venido de Australia oooo americanos de Tejas o de zonas así muy profundas ... mmm casi no he sido capaz de entenderles en algunas cosas entonces ...((chasquido de lengua)) me da un poco de
C2	I: ¿Normalmente eres nerviosa? C: Sí, sí normalmente soy muy nerviosa y me asusta mucho me da miedo no entender a la gente cuando habla .. a ti en clase te entendía el .. la mayor parte del tiempo pero había otras veces que no- o a Fran había veces que no le podía seguir porque tiene un vocabulario muy amplio y había palabras en las que ya me perdía
C3	I: porque temes a lo mejor el acento distinto o C: sí y temo no entenderles aunque sé que puedo decirles cómo y por qué y eso.
C4	Sí y me pasa lo mismo con el listening o sea con el listening me pasa igual estoy tratando de entender y no comprendo y empiezo a entrar (()) a ponerme muy nerviosa ponerme muy nerviosa y me bloqueo

Carmen uses numerous AFFECT terms when it comes to understanding people speaking in English, in particular if they are native. At first she says “English” (C1), but what she means is English-speaking, as she later refers to Australian and American guests to her laboratory. A native accent poses an even bigger challenge for her to understand. Her JUDGEMENT on their variety of English is that it is an accent from very deep areas (“*zonas muy profundas*”, C1), as opposed to a more standard variety she is used to hearing in class. In case the speakers are non-native, the AFFECT variable reflects a positive view, in that she feels more confident of the fact that she is going to understand them.

Otherwise, utter scare is what describes her feelings (“*me asusta mucho me da miedo*”, it really frightens me, it scares me C2). This tension is made even bigger by the unpredictability of the moment when the question may be posed: it might be during the question time but also in the middle of the explanation (C1), so that a continuous insecurity may be lingering throughout the talk. Even in class, she understands the teacher and her classmates most of the times, but there are times when she does not (C2). However, even when she cannot follow the conversation, she does not interrupt to ask, although she seems aware of her right to do so (C3).

The feeling of not fully understanding the interlocutor has been reported in the literature as an extreme case of interference of FLA with the cognitive processing: the teacher’s talk is perceived as “loud buzz”¹⁰³ (Horwitz et al., 1986). In this case, not understanding could be both the cause and the consequence: the less she understands due to her deficient listening skills, the more anxious she gets. The more anxious she gets, she louder this buzz becomes. It is a case of vicious circle.

This feeling of lack of confidence is obviously experienced in listening-proper tasks, when her ability to understand spoken English is at test. When she realizes she cannot understand the recording she gets nervous and freezes up (C4). Clearly, listening turns out to be a FLA-provoking area of EFL.

¹⁰³ See section 3.1.4.2.

7.2.3.3 SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

Self-consciousness, one of the main factors giving rise to anxiety, stems from the feeling of being watched and judged negatively. In the following table several scenarios can be found where students feel judged by other peers in class or interlocutors in real life. An analysis of the following examples will highlight self-consciousness as linked to social comparison and group norms, as well as the deep awareness of this issue on the part of the respondents.

Figure 7.19 Group B2 SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS	
C1	Casi no he sido capaz de entenderles <u>en algunas cosas</u> entonces ...((chasquido de lengua)) me da <u>un poco de vergüenza</u> porque- aparte de eso están en el laboratorio con mis jefes y con todo el personal del laboratorio .-. y claro pues el no entenderles .. pues siempre es <u>un poco .. duro</u> ((risa floja))
C2	Luego que le digo que llevo ocho años estudiando aquí inglés entonces ya se presupone que tienes que saber mucho más
C3	I: por qué ¿cómo los oyes a ellos? C: los oigo que controlan bastante más que tienen como.. más dominio del idioma en cuanto a expresividad y en cuanto a a vocabulario entonces pues <u>me coarta</u> un poco
D1	A lo mejor me atasco eso pues le crea a la marcha de la clase le puede crear un parón como que <u>no quiero no me apetece</u> ser responsable de eso que la gente a lo mejor esté allí esperando "venga"
D2	I: ¿Piensas en la reacción que puedan tener los demás? D: Sí I: Porque te ha pasado alguna vez o simplemente una idea D: sí claro alguna vez sí que ha pasado [claro que I: [que sintieras ..algunas caras..de D: No si ya es por m- ya no por- a lo mejor el sentir ese malestar de los compañeros pero o sea por .. por mí misma
D3	[...] tengo que evadirme estar aquí con mis compañeros a lo que nos hemos preparado y no quiero ni ver al resto de la gente ((risa))

This feeling of “*vergüenza*” (embarrassment/self-consciousness) is admitted to by Carmen when her bosses and other staff are present at her interactions with foreign visitors.

Although she first softens it with hedges (“*en algunas casos*”, “*un poco de*”, “*un poco*”, in some cases, a bit of, a bit, C1), she finally claims that she perceives it as hard (“*duro*”, C1). Her APPRECIATION discloses a bit of suffering, yet masked with the final soft laugh. Her expectations of becoming proficient in English have not been met, as demonstrated by the fact that in practical circumstances she still feels insecure. In fact, she deems that her eight years studying English at the EOI should have yielded more results (C2), especially when she compares herself to the rest of the class and she notices that other classmates in the same level can express themselves better and rely on a wider vocabulary (C3). This comparison triggers AFFECT when she admits she feels inhibited (“*me coarta*”, C3). According to social identity theory¹⁰⁴ (Leyens et al. 1994), a class can be considered as a social category in which individuals share a common identification. Their social identity is formed by identification as well as by comparison with the members of the same group. The outcome is a set of norms that must be accepted by the whole group. Thus, Carmen’s identity is forged by comparing herself to more proficient peers, resulting in a deficient, self-conscious image of a language learner.

Similarly, Delia is restricted by the norms of the group she belongs to, that is why she worries about the reaction of the rest of the class when she gets stuck or speaks slowly, as she notices the class’s discomfort. She strongly rejects the idea of disrupting the class by repeating with two similar verbs that she does not want to be responsible for a general halt (“*no quiero no me apetece ser responsable*”, I don’t want, I don’t feel like being responsible, D1). However, when asked to expand on this sense of embarrassment in D2, she is slightly more reluctant to provide details, as the ensuing conversation analysis evidences.

1) I: ¿Piensas en la reacción que puedan tener los demás?

2) D: Sí

3) I: Porque te ha pasado alguna vez o simplemente una idea

4) D: sí claro alguna vez sí que ha pasado [claro que

5) I: [que sintieras ..algunas caras..de

6) D: No si ya es por m- ya no por- a lo mejor el sentir ese malestar de los compañeros pero o sea por .. por mí misma

In 1) a yes-no question is asked, answered by a simple “yes” in 2), without adding any further details. The two-option question in 3) is answered by admitting that it has been the case before when she perceived an adverse reaction from the class. The repetition of “*claro*”

¹⁰⁴ See section 1.1.2.

(of course) may denote some irritation at recalling a concrete episode. Alternatively, it may express surprise at the interviewer's doubt that such a scenario may have not unfolded. This surprise could hint at the fact that this interruption actually occurred on several occasions, with annoying consequences. But when the interviewer insinuates more concrete details in 5), Delia rejects them with a clear no, followed by some hesitation (*"si ya es por m- ya no por- a lo mejor"*, well not for m- not for- maybe, D2) and a final steering the responsibility to herself.

For such a self-conscious learner, the acting out activity she has rehearsed with her group to show in class becomes a potential stressor. For this reason, she tries to abstract herself and ignore the rest of the people around her. Her abstraction is intensified by the negation *"ni"* in *"no quiero ni ver al resto de la gente"* (I don't even want to look at the rest of the people, D3). It is one of the strategies she puts in place to overcome FLA (see 7.2.4).

In conclusion, the advanced students interviewed are highly affected by FLA, of which they seem quite aware and against which they might even have tried to fight. The circumstances they single out (i.e. exams, peer comparison, interaction with native people) reflect the general FLA scenarios described in chapter 3, as well as the most common causes (i.e. fear of negative evaluation, low perceived proficiency, perfectionism) and consequences (i.e. freezing up, withdrawing). The emphasis on lack of understanding of spoken English justifies once more the special interest devoted in this thesis to listening and its inclusion in the FLA questionnaire. Similarly, the references to self-consciousness highlight how identity processes like group identification and comparison are involved in FLA cases. Therefore, the self is constantly liable to attacks when learning a foreign language, especially in some class dynamics as drama activities.

7.2.3.4 SELF-EFFICACY

In spite of their FLA, the advanced learners also admit to sometimes feeling capable of using their English. These moments of perceived self-efficacy are related to certain language modalities (i.e. written English or pre-planned speeches), or to certain circumstances (i.e. travelling or with an equally proficient interlocutor).

Figure 7.20 Group B2 SELF-EFFICACY

SELF-EFFICACY	
C1	<p>I: Y a la hora de leer ¿cómo lo llevas?</p> <p>C: <u>Muy bien ya</u> y más en estos últimos años que me he dedicado más a leer y a preparar estos proyectos el primer punto siempre que se empieza un proyecto es leer <u>todo</u> lo que hay publicado y entonces <u>todo</u> lo que hay publicado es en inglés y escribir también todas las presentaciones que hemos tenido que exponer en los congresos y demás han tenido que ser en inglés entonces eso se me da <u>más o menos bien</u></p>
C2	<p>Si yo tengo que explicarles algo .. lo explico bien porque me lo preparo <u>antes</u> o sea lo tengo preparado <u>de antemano</u> y se lo explico y pues bien</p>
C3	<p>I: Como una dificultada añadida por ejemplo en qué aspecto?</p> <p>C: Sobre todo en los verbos o sea noooo en no utilizar el verbo adecuado oooo no encontrar la palabra adecuada que eso es uno de los principales problemas porque cuando te pones a hablar la verdad es que ya van saliendo solas las palabras pero lo que no va saliendo solo son los verbos entonces sí que tienes que pensar dejar un poco que el vocabulario que salga más libre y pensar un poco más en cómo estructurar la frase</p>
C4	<p>Depende también del interlocutor si veo que el interlocutor está como <u>yo más o menos a mi mismo nivel</u> de inglés pues ya más o menos bien si no pues un poco mal y si vienen amigos que saben inglés que tengo un par de ellos que saben bastante inglés y alemán idiomas casi siempre hablan ellos pero si no viajes que hemos ido solos me he tenido he tenido que <u>valerme yo yo sola y bueno bien</u></p>
C5	<p>I: Pero cuando estás sola que no tienes esta presión ¿te sale mejor?</p> <p>C: Sí</p> <p>I: ¿Te sientes más segura?</p> <p>C: Sí sí el otro día por ejemplo estaba sola en casa y había un documental de Lonely Planet y es que lo entendía casi todo o sea que</p>

	I: wow C: Sí sí y bastante bien y estaba muy contenta también es que la chica era inglesa hablaba despacito entonces pues no sé que estoy muy animada este año también por el hecho de que he aprendido mucho he aprendido mucho vocabulario y que ya cojo muchísimas más cosas de las que podía coger antes
D1	Depende mucho de de en qué situación sea .. si es una situación pues eso con la gente que estás de turismo pues al fin y al cabo es algo que tú haces porque te apetece hacer no? entonces al final vas saliendo del paso y y te haces entender pero claro un examen pues a mí me tensa muchísimo.
D2	Yo tiendo a la perfección me gusta soy muy perfeccionista para eso y yo creo que también viene de allí no me veo capaz.

Carmen expresses positive APPRECIATION of her written English: she feels proficient when reading and writing documents and articles related to her professional field. The habit of having all these documents available only in English has boosted her ability to deal with them over the last few years (“*muy bien ya*”, very well by now, C1). Nonetheless, she does not keep the same confidence throughout her turn, as she concludes it with a milder positive appraisal: “*se me da más o menos bien*” (I am more or less good). When it comes to oral English, her self-efficacy derives from having pre-planned the speech or explanation beforehand (C2). Improvisation, apart from triggering FLA, seems to make the learner doubt about her communicative efficacy. This ought to be a warning for class activities in which students are asked to produce oral English on the spot without previous planning. Their performance is bound to be poorer and less confident than if some thinking time were allowed. Verbs are reported to be the main obstacle for fluent speaking, because, unlike other words, they do not come out so spontaneously (C3). Some pre-planning for a speaking activity would allow for some verb tense selection, as well as sorting out other structural complexities. On the other hand, advanced students should also be used to speaking on the spur of the moment. For this reason, a balance between pre-planned and spontaneous speaking activities is in order.

The interlocutor’s English proficiency may pose a limit on their self-efficacy. Conversely, if the interlocutor has the same proficiency level, the interviewees feel more empowered and their self-esteem is enhanced. Carmen still labels her feeling in such circumstances as “more or less well”, without utter conviction of her self-efficacy, but still better than in the opposite case, which is appraised as “*un poco mal*” (a bit bad, C4). For

Delia this carefree environment is provided by a travelling situation, in which one chooses to be involved in, rather than an exam with its normative nature (D1).

Social comparison is in place to assess one’s self-efficacy. When travelling with friends who are considered good language speakers, Carmen withdraws. Her Willingness to Communicate (3.1.3) decreases because she feels overwhelmed by someone who is going to outperform her (C4). However, when she is the only person able to speak English, she does the talking without major problems (“*y bueno bien*”, and well ok, C4). In this extract, the use of “*valerme*” (fend for myself) and the reiteration of “*yo yo sola*” (me myself alone) conjure up a struggle in which the individual is able to resist and cope by herself. The result is, a half-hearted declaration of self-efficacy (“*bueno bien*”, well ok). On the contrary, when she is alone and can focus on a documentary, she feels she is able to understand most of it and her self-efficacy is boosted (C5).

In the case of Delia, her self-efficacy seriously falters when her perfectionist side springs up. It hampers the learning process and, as a result, it leads the learner to view herself as unable (“*no me veo capaz*”, D2). In the literature, perfectionism is also linked to low productivity and thus low performance; that is why, her view of herself as a proficient L2 speaker is so utterly poor.

7.2.4 STRATEGIES

The advanced learners exhibit a wide range of strategies to prepare for exams and also to cope with FLA. Being aware of their difficulties has made them develop specific strategies paired to a considerable investment in the learning process (1.1.3 and 2.4).

Figure 7.21 Group B2 STRATEGIES

STRATEGIES	
C1	... pero vamos que <u>hay que</u> hacerlo que <u>es lo que hay que</u> hacer en clase: hablar y <u>esas cosas</u> y fallar que nos corrija y <u>eso</u>
C2	Estoy tratando de hacer <u>muchos</u> en casa <u>todos los días</u> hago uno <u>todos los que tengo</u> .. estoy con una profesora de apoyo que estamos hablando y ella también me busca listening y estoy haciendo <u>un montón</u> pero es que ((chasquido de lengua)) o mi mejora es muy leve o no mejoro nada, o sea a lo mejor sí que mejoro pero- .. en el trabajo me pongo la B2CC cuando estoy en mi despacho para ir cogiendo cosas y eso y en casa trato de ver <u>todo lo que puedo</u> cuando no está nadie porque luego los niños se quejan .. el otro días les puse Bob Esponja en inglés y se quejaron ((risa))

C3	Necesitaría más vocabulario pero lo que estoy haciendo es eso que nos dijiste tú que me ha venido <u>muy bien</u> lo de estudiarme por cada página dos palabras entonces eso me ha venido este año <u>fenomenal</u> porque esas palabras me he centrado en ellas y <u>muy bien</u>
C4	I: Y antes de un examen ¿cómo te preparas? A nivel de nervios sobre todo C: Pues lo que trato de hacer me cojo el día en el trabajo y hablo mucho por ejemplo me siento delante del espejo y lo que trato de hacer es hablar mucho y eso me tranquiliza bastante porque el speaking es de las cosas que más <u>me asustan</u> y entonces .. junto con el listening claro y trato de hacer todo lo que <u>me asusta</u> más entonces trato de prepararme más el listening y speaking y con eso pues
D1	Yo no utilizo el inglés nunca con lo cual si yo practicara más pues tendría pues me sentiría más segura y - pues eso al hablar supongo que vas cogiendo soltura
D2	D: ... yo tengo que <u>evadirme</u> estar aquí con mis compañeros a lo que nos hemos preparado y no quiero <u>ni ver</u> al resto de la gente ((risa)) I: Y funcionó D: Funcionó sí.
D3	I: Y cómo haces para superar los nervios? D: Pues nada intento pararme .. respirar intentar continuar y tratar de organizar un poco allí lo que me ha producido el bloqueo e intentar salir

In terms of strategies adopted to cope with the study-load the two participants' attitudes turn out to be different. Carmen seems to have developed a sound set of measures, whereas Delia argues she does not engage in practice outside the class, although she is aware that it would be necessary for her fluency (D1).

Carmen's involvement hinges on firm beliefs of what should be done in class, which can be garnered from her JUDGEMENT on what is the most appropriate attitude: be ready to speak and overcome one's fears of making mistakes, and at the same time accept the teacher's corrections. These introjected norms are clearly conveyed by the introductory "*pero vamos*" (but anyway), and, above all, by the idea of duty expressed by "*hay que hacerlo*", "*es lo que hay que hacer*" (it must be done, it is what must be done, C1). The routine of the things to be done is expressed by vague references such as "*y esas cosas*" and "*y eso*" (and this sort of things, and stuff, C1). What ought to be done in order to learn seems quite clear in her mind, that is why she does not feel the need to specify any further.

Indeed, what she does in order to keep up with her English and in preparation to the exam adds up to a major learning investment. In particular, she works hard on listening, which is one of her acknowledged weak points. In C2, the tokens related to large amounts and frequency soar to 5 in one extract: “*muchos*”, “*todos los días*”, “*todos los que tengo*”, “*un montón*”, “*todo lo que puedo*” (a lot, every day, all the ones I have, loads, as much as possible, C2). Her practice embraces different realms, from work to her household, where her interest in watching “everything” in English collides with her children’s different agenda. This huge effort is complemented by the external help of a private teacher, as well as taking a day off work before the exam (C4). Both efforts entail an economic investment, apart from a time and psychological one. Nevertheless, she hesitates to admit to a clear improvement in her listening skills: “*o mi mejora es muy leve o no mejoro nada, o sea a lo mejor sí que mejoro pero-*” (either my improvement is little or I am not improving at all, I mean, maybe I am improving but-). Her appraised improvement ranges from little to none to “maybe yes but”, the dangling but- suggesting something like “but I do not notice it”.

Instead, when it comes to vocabulary, her efforts have been paid off and her strategy is deemed successful. In C3 she starts off by claiming that she would need to know more vocabulary, but then goes on to positively appraise a tip recommended by the teacher. It consists in selecting a couple of items of vocabulary per topic and focus on them, instead of trying to span the whole vocabulary in the textbook. The positive APPRECIATION is given by “*muy bien*” (very well) repeated twice and “*fenomenal*” (brilliant). This example highlights that it takes on the same importance to convey notions as to provide studying techniques to students, even at advanced levels. Adequate studying strategies, as well as helping them set realistic goals, will ensure a better use of the time devoted to studying.

As far as strategies to deal with FLA are concerned, both advanced students prove to be fully aware of some techniques dealt with in 3.5.1, namely exposure to anxiety provoking situations, controlled breathing, distraction and self-instructions. Carmen reports that when she takes a day off work to prepare for the exam she speaks all day even in front of the mirror, which is effective to calm her down. Additionally, she does plenty of listening practice, so that she exposes herself to both parts of the exams that most worry her. The AFFECT term used is “scare” (“*me asustan*”, “*me asusta*”, they scare me, it scares me, C4) to refer to listening and speaking. What Carmen does is exposing herself to anxiety provoking situations in order to get used to them for the day of the exam.

Delia lists a thorough array of strategies she employs in order to prevent FLA from hampering her performance: she stops and start breathing (controlled breathing), she carries

on and tries to disconnect from detrimental thoughts (distraction), and to establish what produced the block, modifying these wrong ideas (self-instructions), to finally try and get over the block (D2 and D3). All these steps reflect a thorough self-training against FLA.

Both learners seem to be deeply affected by FLA but at the same time they have found their way to try and prevent it, not without big efforts and investment. These strategies may prove successful in the case of Carmen, or not, as shown by the low speaking mark in the case of Noelia.

7.3 RESULTS FOR INTERVIEWS OF GROUP D¹⁰⁵

7.3.1 SELF-CONCEPT

7.3.1.1 SELF

The hypothesis that English drama classes may alter the self-concept of those involved is backed by direct reference to such transformation and to being completely engrossed in the character. Most members of the drama group (but not all) appeal to this transposition in order to be able to overcome self-consciousness and go on stage.

Figure 7.22 Group D SELF

SELF	
G1 ¹⁰⁶	<p>B: <u>Una cosita</u> (.) yo lo voy a ver desde fuera porque yo dentro del grupo que hay aquí (.) a nivel corporal creo que soy la que (..) más controlo entonces yo les he visto (.) desde que iniciamos hace tres años este grupo de teatro eh un cambio <u>abismal</u> que a lo mejor ellos no lo han visto pero yo como ya te digo:</p> <p>I: = externa</p> <p>B: =sí entonces les he visto las he visto <u>madre mía</u></p> <p>A: =hemos evolucionado</p> <p>B: = evolucionado <u>pero vamos</u> (.) a unos niveles</p> <p>I: = niveles dices de soltura corporal</p> <p>B: Corporal (.) corporal y a nivel de dicción de interrelacionarse entre unos y otros y demás yo les he visto (.) una <u>transformación</u> (.)↑ que ellas no se dan cuenta pero ya te digo que en ese sentido soy (.) capto más porque estoy acostumbrada a ello</p> <p>M: Y bailarines que ya nos atrevemos con cualquier cosa ((risa)) [weste:rn</p> <p>B: [te digo a nivel corporal pero en ↑ todo (.) a nivel de interpretación, de sacar ↑ más de lo que t- de ellos mismos sabes que antes estaban un poco más ↓ así y ya salen con <u>otra corporalidad diferente</u>.</p>
G2	<p>I: ¿Os sentís, cuando estáis en el personaje, como otra persona distinta?</p> <p>[sí sí claro (())</p> <p>[otras opiniones ¿tú?</p> <p>A: Yo sí porque aquí hago la ligerita</p> <p>M: [vamos a empezar a cobrar y todo ((risa))</p>

¹⁰⁵ These interviews present longer strings of talk than in the previous groups, including interviewer's turn allocations and peer's acknowledgement, due to the larger number of simultaneous speakers.

¹⁰⁶ Given the number of participants in each example, I opted for calling each extract G as for group, and then referring to individual speakers in the analysis.

	<p>A: [entonces claro me tengo que sentir otra persona <u>si no</u> no lo haría</p> <p>B: <u>Si no</u>- si no nos metemos en otra persona no haríamos ninguno esto eh porque todos nosotros tenemos (.) v- vergüenza tenemos miedo al ridículo entonces no-</p>
G3	<p>I: O sea que el personaje es como que os</p> <p>B: nos absorbe</p> <p>M: nos invade nos absorbe</p> <p>F: Yo <u>no</u> me noto que sea: <u>no</u></p> <p>A: [porque a ella no le gusta</p> <p>F: [yo actúo: eh <u>no</u> tengo <u>ningún</u> papel tan (.) característico es que claro pero <u>no</u> sé yo <u>no</u> sé meterme en un papel</p> <p>M: Yo soy Sonsoles for ever o sea que [tono irónico]</p> <p>I: ¿A ti qué te pasa?</p> <p>F: <u>Que no</u>: que yo actúo: pero <u>no</u>: me imagino que soy otra persona soy [yo.</p> <p>B: [Te pasará cuando lleves mucho tiempo (.) yo si no no soy capaz de salir ((()))</p> <p>M: Te ayuda el caracterizarte <u>en cuanto</u> me pongo la peluca <u>en cuanto</u> me pongo el vestido ya soy otra (.) eso te ayuda (.) si estás de calle pues no te metes si no tenéis el pacharán en la mano</p>

As we can see, this transformation is mentioned by Bea talking about the whole group first (G1), and then about herself (G3), as well as by Marta and Ana on their own behalf (G3). This opinion is echoed by a chorus of “*sí, sí, claro*” (yes, yes, for sure, G2) when asked if they felt different when performing. The only person who speaks out against the common feeling is Flor (G3). Let us look into the different stances more in depth.

Bea’s turn in G1 is quite lengthy and shows a crescendo. It starts off with a timid turn entry device to gain talking floor “*una cosita*” (just one little thing), with some hesitation given by four short pauses (.) in ten seconds (from “*una cosita*” to “*digo*”), and the hedge “*yo creo*” (I think), yet it soon develops into a clear statement about how the group has progressed as observed from outside through expert eyes, and the turn culminates in “*transformación*” (transformation). This statement is characterised by a hyperbolic “*cambio abismal*¹⁰⁷” (huge, abyss-like change), emphatic fillers and interjections, such as “*pero vamos*” (but, indeed), “*a unos niveles*” (to such a point), and “*¡madre mía!*” (my goodness). It is then specified by an enumeration of realms in which the

¹⁰⁷ The Spanish “*abismal*” is a false friend as it does not translate “abysmal”, it rather refers to an intensified synonym of “big”.

progress has been observed: elocution, interaction with one another, body movements, performance, and getting the most out of oneself. They are all components of live communication that have been worked on thanks to drama. The last one, getting the most out of oneself, reflects continuous motivation and self-actualization (2.2.2).

Emphasis on the scope of the change is conveyed by a rising tone before two keywords (“*todo*”, all, and “*sacar más*”, get more out of), and by the redundancy “*otra corporalidad diferente*” (another different way of moving and using the body). At the same time, the starting point of this evolution is expressed by a generic “*antes estaban un poco más ↓ así*” (before they used to be more ↓ like this), with a falling intonation, probably as the speaker does not consider it socially appropriate to be explicit about possible initial insecurities of her partners’. All in all, the observation depicts a thorough transformation from different angles.

Marta chimes in Bea’s talking turn (G1) in order to provide legitimacy to the point being made. She claims the floor by a simple “y” (and), then goes on to point out their progress in dance, especially in terms of confidence “*ya nos atrevemos con cualquier cosa*” (we already dare to do any kind of things), such as a western dance and so on. She accompanies her remark by laughter, indicating amusement and ease, or even pride. The same laughter appears in G2, when she jokes about a transposition of the character (a prostitute) into real life: she jests about starting to charge clients like prostitutes (“*vamos a empezar a cobrar y todo*”, we are going to start charging and everything), which, again reinforces her partner’s previous idea of taking up such a role. In G3 she expands on Bea’s remark that the character becomes so real as to possess them “*nos absorbe*” (we get engrossed) by adding “*nos invade nos absorbe*” (we get possessed, we get engrossed). Once again she uses a mocking tone to refer to her character “*Sonsoles*” and how the character will possess her “for ever”¹⁰⁸. Finally, she gives her own contribution by referring to the wig, costume and other props (“*pacharán*”, a glass of a Spanish spirit) that help her to become someone else; it must be noticed the repetition of “*en cuanto*”, as soon as, to emphasise how quickly the transformation occurs for her. This is a case in point confirming how essential props are, as claimed by the drama teachers in 4.2.4 and maintained with regards to how to carry out the drama activities. Handling props properly would trigger real identification with the character, as underlined by Marta, and consequently would bring about more genuine use of the foreign language for communicative purposes.

The third and last participant who voices this idea, albeit briefly, is Ana in G2. She feels different from her ordinary self because in the show she plays the role of a prostitute (“*hago la ligerita*”). The stark contrast with her L1 self is evident in the use of connectors “*entonces*” (so) and

¹⁰⁸ In English also in the original Spanish extract.

“*si no*” (otherwise), reinforced by “*claro*” (of course) and the modal verb “*tengo*” (I have to). It can be gathered that feeling different by taking on a role is a prerequisite to be able to act. Bea, with a recycled turn beginning (i.e. repeating Ana’s “*si no*”, otherwise, in her utterance), acknowledges the need for identifying with another person in order to go about acting. She justifies this need by reporting the commonly held belief of feeling self-conscious and embarrassed, an AFFECT variable that partly motivates this thesis. Her use of the 1st person plural (“*tenemos*”, we have), seems not only to refer to the group in question but to a larger JUDGEMENT on Spanish learners in general, as it sounds like the cliché explanation why Spanish people consider themselves poor at English that is often heard.

Finally, it is worth considering the opposite thought, the one put forward by Flor about her not identifying with the character and not feeling different at all. The contrast with the rest of the group is strikingly marked by the 8 negative tokens (7 “*no*” and 1 “*ningún*”, one of them being even more emphasised by “*que no*”, not at all) in her three short utterances. What she asserts is that she does act but she does not imagine being anyone else, because of her self-admitted limit of not being able to identify with the character: “*no sé meterme en un papel*” (I can’t get into a part, G3). She concludes by asserting her right to be herself “*soy yo*” (I am myself), in line with the concept of audibility, as in 1.1.3.1. Her partners Ana and Bea overlap her turn in order to provide an explanation for her refusal or inability of identification. Ana suggests that it is due to the lack of the AFFECT variable towards drama (“*porque a ella no le gusta*”, because she does not like it, G3). Bea assures that she will manage when she is more expert (“*te pasará cuando lleves mucho tiempo*” G3), putting it down to the JUDGEMENT of (in)capability or inexperience of transposition at the moment.

To conclude, a critical experience seems to be occurring for this group, as they point to a new L2 self that protects and allows them to go on stage and act. This experience is described as such by the fact that they gain confidence when they manage to get engrossed in the character, so much so that they need props and costumes in order to identify completely. This change is observed in a wide range of realms related to real life communication and language use, providing confirmation to drama as an effective tool for language learning. This idea is supported by conversation analysis which has pointed out that participants reinforce each other to portray a common view that drama does provide an ideal scenario to develop their L2 persona. The only disagreeing voice is accounted for as due to inability to or dislike of acting. It suggests that were both requisites met (i.e. ability and liking), drama would not fail to provide such an experience.

7.3.1.2 CONFIDENCE

The main condition which drama students evince for confidence to arise is thorough preparation, both for their English exams and for their shows. Improvisation and hesitation would act against self-assurance. An example of how this newly gained confidence spreads over into other realms will also be pointed out.

Figure 7.23 Group D CONFIDENCE

CONFIDENCE	
B1	Yo me encuentro <u>muy cómoda</u> en el escenario me da igual que sea en inglés o en español ((risa))el estar en el escenario otra cosa ya es el idioma yo soy la que menos controla el inglés una vez que me he aprendido el papel y sé lo que significa entonces es cuando puedo darle- pero me encuentro <u>cómoda</u>
B2	Sobre todo al principio te quedas así (.) y con la voz muy <u>bajita</u> (.) y ahora gaa: sacas un <u>vozarrón</u> que al principio no lo sacabas lo que pasa ahora te da una seguridad (.) la experiencia
R1	Sí a la hora de soltarte más yo me he soltado mucho más en otros ámbitos fuera del teatro por ejemplo no sé a soltarme con mi grupo de amigos a lo mejor que me presentan a otros amigos ... me suelto más (..) antes no <u>era</u> así
R2	Sobre la preparación de los exámenes de inglés? Cuanto más estudio menos nervioso estoy y <u>lo que decía Neus</u> la preparación para el teatro a la final no estás tan seguro porque no sabes si te van a dar pie tu compañero o no entonces una vez cuando ya has estado haciendo varias y varias ya vas a estar mucho más seguro y ya vas más suelto
H1	H: También estoy en cuarto (..) llevo ya <u>un montón</u> de exámenes además en cuarto nos pone Alba <u>un montón</u> de pruebas <u>continuamente</u> porque nos está preparando para el examen este año es prácticamente una preparación para el examen I: Estás familiarizada H: Sí es eso además una cosa que me he quitado una mochila de encima ((como se entere)) la profesora <u>he decidido</u> repetir entonces el hecho porque si paso voy a pasar un poco con pinzas o sea quinto- yo me he apuntado porque me apetece (.) no lo necesito para nada entonces yo no quiero pasar a quinto porque he tenido una moña que te c* un examen con moña y luego quinto flipe en colores sabes pues estoy contenta con la profesora que tengo pues <u>quiero</u> repetir cuarto y asentar más las= I: = bases

H2	Si te preparas todos los posibles topics todo el vocabulario que nadie lo va a hacer, en primero quizás sí porque te apuntas con 40 años y te apetece estudiar pero la vida da muchas vueltas se va complicando la cosa y llegas a un punto que parece que estás estudiando veterinaria en vez de- porque te tienes que saber no sé cuantos mil animales que no sabes ni que existen en castellano llega un punto que el vocabulario no lo tienes todo controlado
F	Yo me da más res- nervios el teatro por eso mismo pero es es como cuando tú llegas a un examen que te lo sabes (.) no te pones tan nerviosa como si no te lo sabes que dices ah madre mía lo de la primera representación es los nervios de cómo nos va a salir una vez que lo hagamos que nos salga bien el día que sabes que te lo sabes y los demás también .. yo pierdo ya los nervios porque es (.) ya me lo sé ya no hay improvisación ya me lo sé entonces pierdo los nervios yo creo que los nervios son ante la duda de (.) no me lo sé bien
V/H	V: Los exámenes si vas preparado no tienes nervios (.) sólo tienes nervios cuando lo llevas a medias .. si te lo sabes de pm* vas relajao= H: =Eso cuando llevas ya varios exámenes al primer examen vas acojonao

Several interviewees (R2, F, V/H) share the idea that the more prepared for either a show or an exam the more confident. Apart from expressing his own thought, Rafa backs Neus's opinion through intertextuality (“*que decía Neus*” as Neus said, R2). Similarly, Helena backs Valerio's comment (V/H) through a cooperative latched contribution, in which she states that the relationship preparation-confidence applies only when you have previous experience of taking exams, whereas on the first you take you cannot help feeling really scared. Hence, through conversation analysis, the number of supporters of this idea amounts from three (R, F, V) to five (previous + N and H), making it predominant in the group.

In relation to how to prepare and exam, Helena refers to the impossibility to be prepared on every single topic (H2), since the vocabulary you need becomes endless. Her hyperbolic comparison with the L1 makes it quite clear: she says that you need to know more words describing animals than you know the existence of in Spanish, as if you were doing a degree in veterinary. This ironic comment may also be read as a criticism against the sometimes little relevance of certain topics for some students; yet, because of the heterogeneity of EOI classes, it seems unavoidable to try to cover a wide range of topics, as to cater for as many learners' interests as possible. This vocabulary expansion may lead to students feeling overwhelmed and not able to make a selection of what to study, i.e. being agent of the learning process.

Interestingly, the same interviewee reveals that she has decided to repeat the year (H1) in order to improve her self-confidence and mastery of the contents of the current year. The teacher factor also counts, since she seems to know that if she repeats she will be taught again by the same teacher). Moreover, she will avoid embarking on a more challenging year, which might hamper her confidence. Her determination (*“he decidido”, “quiero”,* I have decided, I want) denotes that this adult learner is in charge of her future decision and her agency is aimed at increasing her confidence. The parenthetical comment (*“como se entere”,* if she finds out...) underlines how this decision has been made against the teacher's alleged negative reaction to the news, so again it reinforces the learner's agency.

The most conspicuous example of confidence is represented by Bea, who claims to feel very comfortable on stage (B1). Her confidence, which opens and closes her turn (*“me encuentro muy cómoda”... “me encuentro cómoda”,* I feel very comfortable, I feel comfortable,B1), is what best defines how she feels. When struggling to find the right word in *“es cuando puedo darle-”,* falling back to confidence seems like the best option. However, this self-assurance stems from her familiarity with performing (she is a dance teacher) rather than from her language command. In fact, she judges herself as the weakest at English, as she is actually not studying it formally at the moment, apart from the drama course. It is her career specificity that allows her to feel at ease on stage even with the additional difficulty of the language, as long as she knows the meaning of what she is meant to say.

When she refers to the group using the second person singular (*“te quedas”, “sacas”,* you remain, you take out), she describes a big change from when they spoke in a low voice (*“bajita”*) to when they were able to speak more loudly (*“vozarrón”*) (B2). The change is highlighted by the diminutive (-ita) and augmentative (-on), and by the onomatopoeia *“gua”* which reinforces the surprise at the change illustrated by their voice becoming more powerful and audible. The voice is described as hiding inside and then coming out (*“sacas”,* take out) thanks to increased confidence and experience. Voice alteration has been described in 3.1.4.2 as symptoms of FLA; thus, this observation reflects the initial situation of the group, prior to drama experience, which produces the change by bringing out the voice from inside.

The starkest transformation is described by Rafa when he claims that thanks to acting he has become a more sociable person, as he is more at ease (*“suelto”*) with his friends and even with newly acquainted people (R1). Within identity fluidity claimed in 1.1, this new, confident attitude is worded as a radically new feature *“antes no era así”* (I was not like this before). This statement supports the thesis hypothesis that drama does provide a possibility for change in terms of self-confidence. An important identity-related phenomenon has taken place for this interviewee.

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

Evidently, confidence plays a huge part in the drama students' identity construction both on stage and in class. They seem very aware of how to protect and foster it, as well as of its transforming power.

7.3.2 MOTIVATION

7.3.2.1 MOTIVATIONS

The participants' motivations to do the drama course do not inform directly of their motivations to study English at EOI. However, the former do elucidate interesting aspects of the learning process. The drama course has been chosen at the participants' own will as a way to practise and improve their English, as an instrument to achieve better results in the language, but also in the socio-psychological attitude to learning.

Figure 7.24 Group D MOTIVATIONS

MOTIVATIONS	
F	Pues yo por practicar el hablar porque hacía mucho que no hablaba inglés y me apunté a la Escuela y bueno salió este grupo que es hablar como si hubiera salido de cocina o de otra cosa.
R	Yo principalmente por dos razones, la principal es practicar mi lenguaje no verbal y segundo mejorar mi inglés principalmente y poder adaptarlo como dice Marta a cualquier ámbito
N	Yo para quitarte un poco la vergüenza de hablar confundirte es lo que más me cuesta porque bueno pues gramática escribir bien pero lo que más me cuesta a mí es /soltarme
B	Por practicar inglés y porque me pone el escenario ((risa))
S	Aprendes un montón .. por mejorar

On the continuum extrinsic-intrinsic motivation, two opposing attitudes can be found. One participant, Bea, provides two main reasons, one extrinsic (to practise English) and the other intrinsic (she enjoys being on stage). She is the only one whose reason for joining the drama groups is drama itself. This is partly due to her background in performing arts, which allows her to explore drama as a vehicle to brush up on her English. At the other end of the continuum is Flor, who picked the drama course as it was the only available option, as she might as well have signed up for a cooking course, provided that it was in English. She does not seem to value drama per se except for its potential to meet her expectations to improve her English.

Flor's attitude highlights an investment in the drama course based on the belief that she will reap linguistic benefits. The rest of the respondents shared this expectation, all of whom chose to do the drama course because they envisaged they would draw some benefits for their English. This

motivated behaviour is an example of Mastery goal orientation (2.2.3.6): these students engage in the course because they want to master the subject matter and improve their language skills. Their will is self-directed and autonomous, as typical of EOI students, but it shows even more determination because the drama course is attended in addition to the two 2-and-half-hour classes per week at EOI. These pre-actional expectations are confirmed by Sara's APPRECIATION of the actual course usefulness in the actional stage (2.3.3): she appraises that they have been learning a lot (*"aprendes un montón"*, S).

Beyond a mere language improvement, in particular in terms of fluency in the oral skills, the respondents are after specific aspects of the learning experience that are addressed in this thesis. Namely, Rafa seeks to improve his body language, since, as he mentions elsewhere, he is a shy person both when speaking English and in the rest of realms. Therefore, he wishes to be able to use his English with confidence outside the theatre. Shyness and body awkwardness are respectively a cause and a consequence of FLA. An even stronger link to FLA is established by Neus, who intends to overcome her insecurity and self-consciousness thanks to this course, by not fearing to make mistakes and, thus, becoming more fluent in English.

7.3.2.2 OBLIGATION

According to Expectancy-Value theory¹⁰⁹, it seems that the participants do value and get engaged in the drama course as a way to gain benefits primarily for their English, but also for their self-confidence, and for reducing FLA. Although the course is entirely on voluntary basis, some of its characteristics give rise to a sense of obligation, not as the reason for signing up but rather as a consequence of belonging to the group. The table below will show some remarks on this matter.

Figure 7.25 Group D OBLIGATION

OBLIGATION	
V/H	<p>V: En el examen eres tú, aquí no eres tú solo .. si la persona que está contigo no lo hace bien <u>tú te puedes llegar a perder</u></p> <p>H: En el examen oral no estás solo tampoco sabes porque haces un diálogo con un compañero la movida es que en el examen lo que sabes lo sabes</p>
H1	<p>I: Y en el teatro porque te sientes mucho más ...</p> <p>H: En el teatro me siento mucho más <u>insegura</u> que que que en un examen ya no es solamente el <u>miedo al ridículo</u> sino también la <u>responsabilidad</u> que tienes si tú no dices una frase el resto se va a la m* es un poco la responsabilidad si no lo haces bien no se quede mal la obra porque <u>a tu compañero lo descuadras</u></p>
H2	<p>El tema es que si te sale trabajo o te aburres y dejas la obra dejas colgado un grupo entero como es una movida que es sólo un hoB2cy no es real</p>

Valerio and Helena compare the responsibility towards another person in an oral exam and in the theatre play: Valerio thinks that while on stage the way you act may have some repercussions on the other actors, whereas in the oral exam you are on your own. Helena disagrees by amending that in the oral exam you are not alone either, as you are involved in a dialogue with a classmate whom you may hinder. In order to show her disagreement, she picks up on “*en el examen oral*” (in the oral exam), and closes the amendment with “*sabes*” (you know V/H). In spite of the consequence on the partner highlighted, she softens the seriousness of halting in an exam by using a tautology: “*lo que sabes lo sabes*” (what you know you know), meaning that there are no major consequences if there is something you do not know in an exam, unlike in a play.

¹⁰⁹ See section 2.2.3.1.

In fact, they do agree that while acting, if one actor does not remember his/her lines, the next will find it hard to continue, because they rely on the previous line as a cue (V/H, V1). Although Valerio uses “you” as the agent who loses track, and Helena “your classmate”, the result is the same: someone gets confused and cannot carry on; something common in FLA scenarios. As mentioned in the CONFIDENCE section, this block is due to the lack of mastery of the language, which hampers improvisation as a way to save the performance. Possible mistakes may trigger the doom of the whole play (“*se va a la m**”, it goes badly). This responsibility, together with “*miedo al ridículo*” (self-consciousness), involves AFFECT by causing insecurity, even greater than in an exam (H1).

The obligation to commit to the group may falter for force majeure (if one happens to find a job) or just because one loses interest (“*te aburres*”, you get bored, H2). As an explanation, Helena provides a dismissing APPRECIATION of the course as just a hobby, as opposed to the real thing (“*no es real*”). Nonetheless, co-responsibility for the group’s good is clearly the main obligation felt by the participants in the drama group, which underlines even more strongly their adherence and investment in this project, in spite of being “just a hobby”.

7.3.2.3 MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR

The references to motivated behaviour outnumber those of other groups (10 items here and 6 in the previous two groups altogether). The drama course turns out to be something highly enjoyable, as well as useful in language learning terms. This enjoyment nature accounts for persistence, one of the main components of motivation, this latter being perceived as a process, rather than as a stable phenomenon.

Figure 7.26 Group D MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR

MOTIVATED BEHAVIOUR	
S1	Me daba envidia que [mi hermana] se lo pasara fenomenal
A	Yo fui a la reunión y me cayó tan bien el director
B	[...] Porque me pone el escenario ((risa)) I: ¿Cómo te sientes en el escenario? B: Yo feliz
V	Estoy súper a gusto somos un grupo estupendo
M	Lo pruebas te gusta y ya no lo dejas [...] te diviertes bailas eh cantas mmh ac- vamos que es muy completo
H1	Por aprender más inglés pero luego ya en realidad empezó a gustarme mucho empecé a divertirme un montón y .. llevo desde el principio
F	[...] es teatro y hay que actuar y a mí pues no me gusta pero sigo porque no sé me lo paso muy bien
S2	Yo esto es para divertirme y pasarlo bien y si hago el ridículo o lo digo mal pues bueno me da igual estoy aprendiendo
H2	La primera vez no nos divertimos NADA a partir de la cuarta empezamos a pasárnoslo bien sabes
F/S	F: [...] con lo cual tú aunque no eres consciente de que estás mejorando pero si alguien te dice "oye es que se nota" I: Te anima S: Te anima mucho más a continuar

In these examples the motivation process is visible from the activation stage and sustained through subsequent steps. In S1, Sara puts down her beginning the drama course to her sister's

enthusiasm: environmental influence motivates taking up the activity, activating the motivation process. The motivating external factor for Ana is the director/course instructor who sets off her reaction of AFFECT marked by “*tan*” (so): “*me cayó tan bien el director*” (I liked the director so much). Bea, on her part, does not need any external motivating impulse, due to her passion for and familiarity with the stage (stage as metonymy of acting and performing). For Valerio the milieu is what motivates him to stay. The feeling of belonging to a group, which he defines as wonderful (“*estupendo*”), makes him feel really at ease “*estoy super a gusto*”(V).

After the activation stage, the engagement and enjoyment of the course persists: Marta tried it out and realized she liked it because of the variety of activities involved (singing, dancing); several intelligences are activated at once as well as the linguistic one: musical, aural and kinaesthetic. Helena, who has participated since the beginning (“*llevo desde el principio*”), joined the group at first to improve her English, almost as an obligation, but then she started to really enjoy it. The beginning of this second stage of amusement is marked by the connectors of contrast and time “*pero luego ya*” (but then) and the twice used verb for beginning “*empecé*”, “*empezó*” (H1). It implies a contrast between learning English in the traditional way and having fun. The intensity of this emotional state is expressed through the intensifiers “*mucho*” and “*un montón*” (a lot, loads). A similar contrast is present in F, this time between acting and liking, which justifies persistence. In fact, Flor did not expect to be involved in acting at first, and although she does not like it as such, she does enjoy herself a lot, which accounts for keeping on attending the classes/rehearsals.

Finally, Sara also contrasts fun and obligation when she mentions her feeling more relaxed in the drama course, given that if she makes a fool of herself or if she makes a mistake in this course it is not as serious as if she does it in her standard English class (S2). Amusement and mistakes are alleged to belong to the learning process (“*estoy aprendiendo*”, I am learning), interestingly only when she refers to the drama class rather than her English class at EOI. The high level of FLA that will be evident for this learner in the related section¹¹⁰ might be partly due to her strict beliefs on traditional learning and her low tolerance of making a mistake or saying something wrong, which are part and parcel of the learning process, especially at a beginning level where Sara is. These beliefs might bring out avoidance to use the language or to experiment with it, for fear of making a mistake that may make her look ridiculous in the eyes of her peers and/or teacher. If she were able to transport her relaxed, accepting attitude from the drama class to her English class, she might suffer less from FLA.

¹¹⁰ 7.3.3.1.

Learning as process characterises the drama experience too. An evolution can be traced from the first shows -when unfamiliarity with the script and related anxiety hamper amusement- to the positive feeling experienced from the fourth show on (H2). The increase in confidence and amusement is paralleled by an improvement in English proficiency, as noted by the EOI teacher herself. Sara links back to Flor's statement about their improvement in order to explain that this acknowledgement from the teacher motivates them to carry on. According to Achievement Theory¹¹¹, one of the main drives for motivation is success. When the participants notice an improvement, which is also acknowledged by their teacher, they feel empowered and encouraged to persist.

Taking account the motivating force propelled by amusement while learning, it is highly advisable to capitalize on drama in standard English classes, in particular to maintain the motivation high all through the long and sometimes frustrating process of language learning. The external confirmation of the teacher who notices these students' English to be improving represents an indirect piece of evidence to the hypothesis that drama does help boosting foreign language proficiency, as well as activating and maintaining motivation.

¹¹¹ 2.2.3.2.

7.3.3 FLA

7.3.3.1 ANXIETY

The drama group reports experiencing FLA as well as the non-drama groups, both when acting and when taking exams. The learner's views on the two scenarios differ; nonetheless they mostly agree that both putting on a play and sitting exams trigger nervousness. The physical signs and impact on L2 image, as well as the internal speech and going blank are reported here as in the FLA literature.

Figure 7.27 Group D ANXIETY

ANXIETY	
G1	I: Cuando actuáis ¿cómo os sentís? S: Con miedo ((risa)) R: Ansiosos M: Sí porque tenemos muchas ganas que llegue el día de actuar y F: Mucho pero con miedo V: Deseas que salga bien fundamentalmente y no confundirnos
N	N: [...] ya ayer por la tarde cuando estaba repasando ya empezaba un poco allí a sentir los nervios y digo uh
H1	La primera vamos con un palo metido por el c*
H2	[...] porque tengo miedo a- a hablar en público y <u>siempre</u> me ha pasado (.) en sitios reducidos no (.) en clase no sabes en cualquier sitio no
H3	I: ¿Lo pasas mal (.) en serio? H: Me pongo muy nerviosa (.) un <u>handicap</u> para mí era eso
H4	Lo que pasa como <u>ya vamos haciendo más obras</u> yo mañana me quedo en blanco ? sabes pues te digo pff pa' mí es súper difícil
H5	<u>Es un mal y bien</u> lo pasas mal pero luego lo pasas bien
S1	Yo me acuerdo que estábamos aquí en Getafe y estaba el corazón tutututu pero dios mío es que la gente lo va a oír yo lo pasé allí <u>fatal</u> ... <u>fatal</u> vamos
S2	Pues a mí la verdad es que no mucho porque cuando hicimos en la escuela el examen (.) vamos un examen de prueba yo me quedé <u>totalmente en blanco</u> (.) súper nerviosa <u>más nerviosa incluso</u> que aquí (.) porque sabía que esa era una nota que me influía para mí para

	algo personal
G2	<p>I: ¿Pero a nivel de nervios es igual?</p> <p>N: No no no (.) en el examen es mucho más</p> <p>I: Mucho más porque te juegas la nota =</p> <p>N: = sí claro</p> <p>S: Yo lo pasé fatal =</p> <p>N: = te juegas un año entero</p> <p>H: Yo no tanto pasé más nervios en la actuación que en el examen</p> <p>S: Me quedé en blanco no sabía hablar y:</p>
S3	<p>Pero lo poco que sepas (.) te quedas con la mente <u>en blanco</u> yo (.) estaba leyendo y no sabía ni qué estaba leyendo y <u>decía</u> dios mío pero qué me está pasando <u>estoy totalmente bloqueada</u> .. es cierto que yo nunca he hecho exámenes hace muchísimos años .. yo nunca he estudiado inglés con lo cual</p>
S4	<p>Sabes yo sé que lo voy a pasar <u>muy mal muy mal</u> y si me cambian de compañero ya sí que no sé ni hablar ¿que me salgo con mi papel de teatro? Podría ((risa)) no me van a seguir los otros</p>

In the first group answer (G1) five voices are orchestrated to convey how anxious they get when the play is approaching and why they do. Neus's statement adds up as a sixth voice (N). Additionally, the general laughter adds a non-verbal consensus on behalf of those who did not answer verbally. Therefore, the whole group turns to agree on anxiety before a play. The emotions verbalized are fear and anxiety. Marta acknowledges these feelings and qualifies them by saying that they are due to the fact that, as a group, they are looking forward to the day of performing; Valerio picks up on this point to add that their expectation is that everything goes well and they do not make mistakes. Basically, the kind of anxiety described here has to do with the wish for a good outcome of the performance, which might be associated with facilitative anxiety, rather than debilitating (3.1.4.1). Indeed, this level of anxiety provides an optimal arousal in the learners, prompts them to take risks and fosters motivation. The drama students indeed strive to obtain the best possible result out of the performance, thus the effect of this feeling would be mostly energizing and beneficial.

Helena and Sara speak out about their personal feelings, providing abundant information for the AFFECT category. Helena illustrates the tension of the first show with a graphic, emphatic, as well as gross metaphor ("*con un palo metido por el c**", like a stick up the*, H1). Her discomfort is not restricted to performing, though, as she claims to experience stage fright in other contexts when

dealing with large audiences, thus not in class (H2). She is aware of this being a permanent feature of hers (“*siempre*”, always, H2) and she labels it a handicap (H3). Nonetheless, for the use of the imperfective (“*era*”, it was, H3), it can be assumed that the practice and routine she mentions are helping her in this respect (“*ya vamos haciendo más obras*”, we’ve been doing more shows, H4). Therefore, the theatre process, though anxiety provoking, might be also helping soothe this anxiety problem in the long run. This dichotomy is encapsulated in H5 “*es un mal y bien*” (it is good and bad), with which Helena states that at first you have a bad time but then you enjoy it. It may signify that the preparation and related anxiety are appraised as negative AFFECT variables, but then the outcome may bring positive feelings.

Sara also emphatically points out her anxiety, both on stage and in exams. Her vivid description of her heart pounding so hard that she fears it will be heard by the audience is made even more realistic by the onomatopoeia “*tutututu*”, the exclamation “*dios mío*” (my God), which is finally appraised with the APPRECIATION “*fatal*” (awful) repeated twice (S1). Her physical state of anxiety becomes even more serious when she envisages the audience to partake in it, as fear of being judged magnifies her anxious state. When it comes to exams, she admits to feeling even worse than on stage (“*súper nerviosa*”, super nervous, S2), putting down this anxiety to her lack of familiarity and practice with exams (S3). There is an apparent contradiction in the reason why she felt so nervous in the exam: first she explains that it was a mock test without any bearing on the final assessment, but then she justifies her state with the importance of a grade at a personal level. Probably she refers to the fact that even if the grade of a mock exam does not count for the final assessment, it does have a bearing on herself as a committed language learner, who has been investing a lot in this language course. The self of an adult, motivated person overrides here the academic self, only concerned with academic results. Indeed, she affirms that the grade would affect her personally (“*me influía para mí para algo personal*”, it affected me on a personal level, S2). A failure in the exam would have a wider impact on Sara as a full-fledged adult learner rather than on Sara as English student.

The way different learners experience the exam situation varies, as the latched contributions in G2 highlight. The exam as an enhanced stressor is explained by Neus as a one-off chance when the whole year is at stake, since you need to repeat if you fail. Sara refers an episode of FLA during the oral exam: “*me quedé en blanco no sabía hablar*” (I went blank, I couldn’t speak, G2). However, Helena disagrees: she felt more nervous in the play than in the exam, due to her greater familiarity with exams, as stated elsewhere.

Whether it is acting or sitting an exam, both FLA freezing up and detrimental internal speech appear. Sara repeatedly refers to going blank (S2, G2 and S3) and to her mental speech (“y

decía dios mío pero qué me está pasando estoy totalmente bloqueada”, and I said my God what is going on with me I’m totally blocked, S3) and without the introductory “*decía*” (I said): “*pero dios mío que la gente va a oír*”, (but my God, people will hear it, S1). The use of the present tense (“*está pasando*”, “*estoy*”, it’s going on, I am) and of the future (“*va a oír*”, they’re going to hear) denote that the mental speech is triggered as a reaction to the present state of anxiety, not anticipatorily as it happens in the case of the B2 students (6.3.2.3). It still reflects a debilitating type of anxiety, in that the individual is distracted by these thoughts, but it is more linked to an actual situation rather than a hypothetical one as in the anticipatory case, which is independent of the present moment. Thus, Sara seems to have more chances to overcome her FLA if she manages to gain more confidence and proficiency, inasmuch as she is not doomed by anticipatory detrimental thoughts.

The reasons for experiences FLA are not attributed to lack of understanding, as in group B2, because there are no references at all to this category. Most probably, it is due to the fact that the lines of the play they learn must be memorised rather than understood. Thus, they wait for the cue in order to continue with their own lines. In sum, practice and predictability take away the stress which a spontaneous conversation may generate.

7.3.3.2 SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

Self-consciousness is referred to by some interviewees as the reason for FLA, but also as the reason why they chose drama: they want to overcome it. The table below shows different perspectives in this category.

Figure 7.28 Group D SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS	
G	I: ¿Eso de la vergüenza que alguien ha dicho en el escenario la sentís? F: [no B: [no S: [sí M: Has visto que somos unos desvergonzados ... todos [risa general] S: <u>Yo no</u> porque <u>yo sí</u> que siento vergüenza sobre todo la primera vez
N	Pero también ayuda mucho que como ves que los compañeros ((chasquido de lengua)) pues hacen lo mismo ... que no <u>les</u> da vergüenza que no sé qué dices ((no

	pasa nada)) a mí tampoco
H	[...] pero en sitios grandes un miedo al ridículo tremendo
R	Por <u>desinhibirme</u> un poquito en la pronunciación quitarme <u>esa vergüenza que todo el mundo</u> tenemos a la hora de hablar <u>sobre todo</u> en inglés, aparte del castellano

The group answer (G) shows that there is no unanimous perception. There are three overlapping short answers (two no's and one yes) and two more extended remarks to the question whether they feel self-conscious on stage. Altogether, three answers are negative (F, B and M) and one positive (S, first as a short answer, that as an expanded one). Marta humorously remarks that they are shameless (*“desvergonzados”*), as the interviewer has had the opportunity to witness in the rehearsal before the interview. She includes everyone in this definition, with a pause and repair in which she adds the word *“todos”* (everyone). It is followed by general laughter, which comes as a sort of agreement, except for Sara who self-allocates the talking turn with a turn-entry symmetric structure *“Yo no porque yo sí que...”* (I don't because I do...) and goes on to mark the difference between herself and the rest of the group in terms of self-consciousness.

Sara's and Helena's self-consciousness in G and H explain their FLA described in detail above. They articulate their negative feelings with words falling into the AFFECT category such as *“siento vergüenza”* (I feel self-conscious, G) and *“miedo al ridículo tremendo”* (enormous fear of being ridiculous/self-consciousness, H). Sara and Helena do seem the most anxious partakers in the drama group, since we learn from Neus (N) that the rest of the peers are not affected by self-consciousness and behave quite freely while acting (*“no les da vergüenza”*, they are not embarrassed). The feeling of belonging helps her to integrate and not care about whatever she might say (*“no sé qué dices no pasa nada a mí tampoco”*, I don't know whatever you say it doesn't matter and I don't mind either, N). Therefore, her social identity, forged through interaction and comparison with her peers, benefits the self in that it allows her to gain more confidence in a climate of no judgement.

Drama as a therapy for self-consciousness is what Rafa upholds when he states the reasons for signing up for this course: he intended to lose his inhibitions (*“por desinhibirme”*, R). Self-consciousness is pointed out as *“esa vergüenza que todo el mundo tenemos”* (that self-consciousness that everybody has, R); thus, referring to a construct that is well-known and experienced, according to the interviewee, by everyone. As in Marta's comment in G, Rafa extends his experience to the whole community of speakers, probably based on related conversations sharing this concerns and feelings. Self-consciousness gets worse when it comes to English (*“sobre*

todo en inglés, aparte del castellano”, above all in English, apart from Spanish, R). The foreign language, and its perceived lack of mastery, is once again the origin of an even greater sense of discomfort which hampers a positive image of an L2 user, and at large of a confident self.

In conclusion, drama students are not exempt from FLA, even in conjunction with performing itself. Nevertheless, it seems it must be an unavoidable state to go through, but with some reward in the end, which is gaining confidence both on stage and in the use of English.

7.3.3.3 SELF-EFFICACY

The drama students’ self-efficacy is reduced by their limited linguistic resources, which do not allow them to improvise on stage if needed. However, when things run smoothly, acting does boost their perception of proficiency, which receives external support by the EOI teachers.

Figure 7.29 Group D SELF-EFFICACY

SELF-EFFICACY	
S/R	<p>S: Nosotros <u>no podemos</u> improvisar=</p> <p>R: =en inglés como me equivoque en algo=</p> <p>S: =nuestro vocabulario es todavía <u>muy limitado</u>=</p> <p>R: =si no encuentro la palabra para encontrar la siguiente entonces tengo que pensar=</p> <p>S: = <u>no tenemos</u> agilidad</p>
V	<p>La diferencia que tienes en el idioma (.) no tienes confianza suficiente como para ponerte a hablar en inglés y cuando tienes por ejemplo un fallo (.) igual te olvidas una palabra (.) no tienes suficiente vocabulario para lanzar una palabra distinta y enlazar con (.) con el texto (.) en español sí porque el abanico de palabras es mucho más amplio que en inglés</p>
B	<p>B: =y en español no te pasa eso porque estás entendiendo todo</p> <p>I: =todo lo que pasa</p>
H	<p>H: desde el momento que he decidido que <u>no me importa</u> que suspendo saco una nota que te c* en el speaking sabes el reading y tal me salió un poco regularo pero el writing y speaking me salió de p*m* que al final al cabo es lo que te hace=</p> <p>I: =producir</p>

	H: =lo que sabes (.) escribir una movida y hablar en inglés también ha sido <u>el peso</u> cuando me he quitado <u>el peso</u> de encima si suspendo (..) es que <u>me da igual realmente</u> igual incluso (.) lo agradecería
A/F	A: Los profesores a la hora del examen siempre cuando ... desde el primer año nos han comentado "se te nota que estás" F: =Sí es verdad A: el primer año cuando empezamos que empezamos a finales de octubre o por ahí eh ya en el mes de enero decía Alba ((su profesora en la EOI)) dice "se os nota", dice "se os va notando"
M/B	M: Te sientes que sabes inglés cuando le oyes porque lo entiendes tan bien con esa dicción que tiene que parece que tú sabes ... @ luego te vas [a la calle ((risa)) B: [estás hablando en inglés ... salvo que te equivoques pero dices jopé te van a entender todos

The discourse on linguistic limitations is co-constructed by Rafa and Sara through their latched contributions (R/S). They provide JUDGEMENTS on their limited capability in contiguous utterances which list their impossibility to improvise, the serious consequences of making a mistake, their lack of vocabulary and of agility. Their JUDGEMENTS are quite categorical and extended to the whole group: "*no podemos*", "*no tenemos*" (we can't, we haven't got, S/R). They self-select as spokespersons of the group in terms of their lack of ability to cope with improvising in case they forget a line. The consequences of such mistakes are deemed as quite serious by Rafa, as compared to making a mistake in class. He claims: "*en inglés como me equivoque en algo*" (in English if I make a mistake, S/R). The unfinished turn is left suspended by this conditional clause which presupposes negative consequences¹¹². This pressure for not making mistakes is aggravated by the search for the next word. If it does not come out spontaneously, Rafa needs to start thinking, which implies hesitating in the delivery of the line, defined by Sara as lack of agility. These latched contributions highlight, on the one hand, the confidence derived by knowing the lines by heart, with its related drawbacks when memory fails. On the other hand, they bring out the need for improvisation in order to provide student-actors with the mental agility to get by in breakdowns.

The lack of confidence in one's self-efficacy is also endorsed by Valerio and Bea, who compare acting in English to their mother tongue (V and B). Valerio also refers to the detrimental

¹¹² The Spanish structure "*como* + subjunctive", often used to replace the standard if clause "*si* + indicative", often presupposes some negative consequences, without the need to complete the sentence. Ex. "*como me enfade...*" translates: if I get angry (you will see).

effects of a possible mistake when one forgets a word, which cannot be made up for because of their insufficient linguistic competence, in particular their poor vocabulary. The L2 self is, thus, constrained by low self-efficacy, in contrast with a more independent L1 self with a much wider range of possibilities available (*“el abanico es mucho más amplio”*, V).

Outside the theatre group, a student’s self-efficacy is claimed to be restrained by the academic obligation of taking an exam. The pressure for the exam is described in terms of a burden to get rid of in order to thrive (*“el peso”*, *“me he quitado el peso”*, the burden, I got rid of the burden, H). In fact, Helena admits to feeling more relieved since she got rid of this burden when she gave up her expectations to pass the exam: since then her performance has improved especially in the productive skills, namely speaking and writing. Her APPRECIATION of passing to the next level without adequate competence is given by expressions such as *“no me importa”* and *“me da igual realmente”* (I don’t care, it really doesn’t matter, H). She appraises failing the exam as something irrelevant or even beneficial (*“igual incluso (.) lo agradecería”*, I would even be (.) grateful, H). The pause before *“agradecería”* has the effect of highlighting an appreciation that is, otherwise, quite striking uttered by a student, who normally tends to hope to pass at any cost. This realism about one’s self-efficacy stresses how committed some students are at EOI. They may renounce the self-gratification of passing to the next level, for the sake of actually learning and consolidating their skills in a level they feel comfortable in (see H1 in 7.3.1.2).

On the other hand, the exam represents an occasion for some students (Ana and Flor) to have their self-efficacy acknowledged by a third party, in this case someone as influential as the class teacher. The latter reportedly praises the students’ improvements by commenting that their progress is noticeable. The instances referring to how noticeable the improvement is grow in scope from a 2nd person singular pronoun (*“se te nota”*) to a 2nd person plural (*“se os nota”*, A/F), encompassing the whole subgroup of students who have taken up drama. In the third token (*“se os va notando”*), the use of the periphrasis *“va”* + gerund evidences the gradual headway throughout the course. Flor’s latched contribution (*“sí, es verdad”*, yes, it’s true, A/F) backs her partner’s experience. Thus, through intertextuality a third authoritative voice is introduced to support that doing drama in English has brought about an improvement in the learners’ oral performance, noticeable even in exams. Therefore, the teacher’s JUDGEMENT turns out to be an external source feeding into their self-efficacy.

Similarly, understanding the drama teacher, with his perfect elocution, exerts a positive effect on Marta’s self-efficacy. The two verbs *“te sientes”* (you feel as if) and *“parece”* (it seems) which precede *“sabes inglés”* (you know English) denote that self-efficacy is perceived rather than actual. This entails that, from a psychological point of view, one’s perception of competence is

dramatically important for the individual in order to deliver an adequate performance. According to Expectation-Value theory (2.2.3) and Willingness to Communicate (3.1.3), which emphasize the importance of a learner's commitment to the task, having a high self-efficacy promotes an increased engagement in tasks, more persistence and self-control during the execution. As a self-guide, self-efficacy leads to a better performance sustained by higher motivation.

The result in terms of performance is that they do actually speak English (*"estás hablando en inglés"*, M/B), which might sound banal, but for many students of English it is an unreachable goal. And when they do speak the language at different levels of proficiency, they often do not acknowledge their ability (i.e. their perceived self-efficacy is low), inasmuch as they do not consider themselves as legitimate L2 users. The simple remark *"estás hablando en inglés"* signals quite an achievement which is sealed by the exclamation full of AFFECT *"jopé"*, before concluding with another achievement; that is, that everybody will be able to understand their English.

There are two exceptions that hedge both Marta's and Bea's declarations of self-efficacy. Marta adds a final remark that she leaves dangling: when you then go out into the world (*"luego te vas a la calle"*); as a completion, it can be deduced that she means that "out in the world" it will be a different story, as it will be much harder to communicate. Nevertheless, the non-verbal cue of her laughter attenuates this negative coda. Bea inserts her exception between her two positive remarks: *"salvo que te equivoques"* (unless you make a mistake): she shows caution about the fact that they might make mistakes on stage, but apart from that the final effect is one of self-satisfaction.

These extracts have shown that students may often feel unconfident with regard to their linguistic abilities, which may bring about avoidance and even anxiety (1.1.2). In order to avoid this counterproductive lack of self-efficacy, it has capital importance firstly that language instructors set attainable goals to their students, and then provide positive feedback as a way to empower students and contribute to their self-efficacy.

7.3.4 STRATEGIES

The drama group have learnt several techniques meant to perform their play as well as to pass their exams successfully. Memory, practice and not fearing to make mistakes are some of their key strategies. The former takes on a crucial role for most participants who deploy a wide range of related techniques. Reportedly, drama has helped them improve their learning strategies, as well as boosting their English level.

Figure 7.30 Group D STRATEGIES

STRATEGIES	
A	I: Muy bien y ¿creéis que os ha ayudado a superar lo que son la vergüenza los nervios (.) en general? A: <u>Hacerlo</u> <u>hacerlo</u> <u>hacerlo</u> estar en diferentes sitios y mostrarlo al público también
F	Al final se habla te equivocas no te equivocas y lo vas soltando
M1	También es porque te sirven las líneas que:: memorizas te sirven para exámenes para soltarlas de alguna forma en algún momento, te sale mucho mejor si te las has aprendido de memoria y sabes que la estructura está bien hecha
M2	[ya porque aquí vamos practicando el ritmo de como se dice una frase porque como el inglés es rítmico pues al final luego en el speaking lo vas soltando y eso te da un poco más de [what do you do dedede dedede ((imitando la entonación inglesa)) con lo cual tú aunque no eres consciente de que estás mejorando pero si alguien te dice "oye es que se nota"
H/M	H: Yo estudio exactamente de la misma manera para una cosa u otra I: ¿Cuál es? H: Estudiarte el papel es estudiarte el papel y saber el pie que te tienen que dar pero organizo las ideas exactamente igual que si estudio para un examen me apunto frases importantes (..) como para un examen en un examen de speaking se utiliza muchísimo (.) muchísimas frases hechas que al profesor se le hace el culo* Pepsi-cola y yo aprovecho las frases que te c* sabes (..) en el último examen dije "time will tell" M: =Yo dije "everywhere" pero lo dije así acompañado de la mano y todo o sea "crisis is everywhere" y me salió así ((moviendo el brazo en movimiento circular en sentido de las agujas del reloj)) H: en el fondo haces como ((gestos teatrales)) "time will tell"
B	Yo es que ya no me examino porque ya no estoy (.) en la Escuela pues memorizar memorizar saber aplicarlo y el movimiento (.) en movimiento o sea todo en movimiento no estar parado se te va quedando más
S	I: Y ¿cómo os ha ayudado en ese sentido? S: Pues a la hora de formar las frases que no sé qué decías tú = que de memoria que hay que saber ? te sale sola (.) se va quedando allí en el cerebro (.) claro luego con las clases en la Escuela pues voy viendo mira si aquí utilizo el presente aquí no sé qué
V	Lo automatizas
S/F	I: ¿Y cómo lo haces?

	<p>S: Pues no sé ... pienso que estoy sola ... que no hay nadie y digo adelante</p> <p>F: <u>Pero</u> tendrá vergüenza <u>pero</u> no se le nota</p> <p>S: Eso porque pienso que estoy sola</p>
S/V	<p>I: La última pregunta es ¿cómo os preparáis antes del espectáculo y antes de un examen en plan de nervios y tal?</p> <p>S: Yo repasando repasando repasando lo grabo me escucho me escuchan escucho grabo todo</p> <p>V: Yo la verdad no hago nada en especial (.) estoy (.) estoy (.) soy como una esponjita (.) voy absorbiendo</p> <p>H: Hace lo que le sale de los pies</p> <p>V: Que digo una palabra que no es no pasa nada Richard me perdona y las otras también (.) como saben que soy un poquito: lento [risa] de memoria claro soy muy olvidadizo entonces no me lo toman en cuenta</p>
G1	<p>F: Sabes que el compañero o compañera te da pie con esa palabra con lo cual si te equivocas en un gesto o en una [pala-?</p> <p>B: [cuando alguien se equivoca se equivoca el siguiente también si te equivocas el compañero no te va a seguir porque está esperando la última palabra</p> <p>I: ¿Algo más?</p> <p>R: No (.) a lo mejor un poco de picardía (.) a lo mejor mira se ha perdido mi compañero</p> <p>B: [échale una mano</p> <p>R: [voy a decir la frase siguiente a echarle una mano pero claro en el momento de la escena en que estás representando ... en vivo .. difícil</p>
G2	<p>S: No sé ni hablar que me salgo con mi papel de teatro? Podría ((risa)) no me van a seguir los otros</p> <p>M: Pues claro le dices “when I go out [the man always pays</p> <p>All: [the man always pays</p>
V/S	<p>I: ¿Entonces al hilo de lo que decías que os ha ayudado para el inglés, a los demás os ha ayudado también para vuestro inglés?</p> <p>V: [Por supuesto</p> <p>S: [sí sí por supuesto ella se equivoca la que tengo menos nivel soy yo ((risa)) es que lo tengo clarísimo ((risa)) además es que yo he empezado de cero cero cero [y me ha ayudado muchísimo</p>

First of all, they acknowledge that practice makes perfect (*“hacerlo hacerlo hacerlo”*, doing it doing it doing it, A), especially performing in front of an audience. By becoming more confident, they manage to overcome their self-consciousness. A pragmatic stance is also taken by Flor: her sentence *“se habla te equivocas no te equivocas y lo vas soltando”* (F) means that by speaking, you may make mistakes or not, but you eventually blurt it out¹¹³. The result is uttering something in English, which, however basic it may seem, for FLA learners is quite an undertaking.

Memorising some lines proves effective, not only for the obvious immediate application to drama, but also for their English. Marta praises the possibility to reuse well-formed sentences she learns for the plays even in exam contexts, but not only. She reuses them *“de alguna forma en algún momento”* (somehow, at some point, M1), i.e. the lines are always there to be applied to the most suitable context. Helena endorses this strategy in H/M, where both interviewees make some telling examples of when they were able to insert some of these lines correctly and appropriately in an oral exam. Phrases like “time will tell” or “crisis is everywhere” that had been previously learnt by heart in the context of a play have enabled the examinees to add some idiomatic expressions to their oral performance. The dramatic gestures learnt in conjunction with the phrases are also enacted in the exam automatically (*“y me salió así”*, and it came out like this, H/M), enriching the interaction with some extra paralinguistic value.

Indeed, Bea points out the capital importance of matching movement and speech while rehearsing in order to create a link between both components. By moving around and saying one’s lines, the text will be acquired more easily and will stay longer (B). In 4.2.4 it was stressed how powerful the incorporation of movement to the speech is in terms of language acquisition. Movement provides a chance to experience with and through one’s body by breathing life into language learning; as a result, the language becomes more ingrained in our experience.

The technique of learning set phrases is not relegated to learning one’s lines. In fact, Helena suggests that she has long pursued the same strategy to prepare for exams. She considers it quite a common practice, as her JUDGEMENT is presented as a widespread and effective strategy to put in place (*“se utiliza muchísimo (.) muchísimas frases hechas”*, it is very widely used (.) so many set phrases, H/M). She thus explains that she is used to selecting some important phrases, whose use is known to impress the teacher-examiner positively (*“se le hace el c* Pepsi-cola”*, their a* becomes Pepsi¹¹⁴, H/M). Therefore, Helena capitalizes on her study technique, acquired through years of exams at EOI, for both uses: theatre and EOI.

¹¹³ “Soltarlo” both means to say something at last after hesitation and to let go.

¹¹⁴ The literal translation of this colourful expression does not make sense in English. It can be deduced that Helena means that the use of these phrases will cheer up the teacher.

Other members also mention the effect of repeating the same lines during rehearsals. Sara argues that the lines stick to one's brain ("*se va quedando allí en el cerebro*", S) and then come out automatically ("*te sale sola*", S). Her observation alludes to the psychological process wherein information is acquired through strengthening neurological networks by means of repeated stimuli, i.e. connectionism¹¹⁵. This idea is also conveyed by Valerio who argues that chunks of well-formed language become automatically retrievable ("*lo automatizas*", V). Another folk observation is illustrated when Sara says that in her classes at EOI she establishes valuable connections between the lines memorized and what she learns formally. In this way, she matches chunks of language or entire sentences learnt through rote learning with what she learns in class, so that the chunks are analysed linguistically ("*en la Escuela pues voy viendo mira si aquí utilizo el presente aquí no sé qué*", at the EOI then I gradually notice, look, I use the present here, and so on, S). In technical words, she carries out the cognitive learning strategy of "noticing", which consists of paying special attention to the input in order to acquire grammar forms.

Another bonus of these pre-learnt sentences is that they have been worked on from a pronunciation and intonation point of view; hence, they are ready to be reused with the peace of mind that they are not only correct but also well-pronounced and uttered with an effective intonation. Marta seems to have become aware of the prosodic differences between Spanish and English ("*como el inglés es rítmico*", given that English is rhythmical, M2), probably thanks to the special emphasis on this aspect in the drama class, where emotions and intentions are conveyed through different tones, among other devices. The advantage acquired with this more authentic intonation is expressed by directly imitating the English tone, without further explanation after the dangling "de-" ("*y eso te da un poco más de-* [what do you do dedede dedede ((*imitando la entonación inglesa*))]", and that gives you a little bit more of- [what do you do dedede dedede", M2). This improvement might not be obvious from the learner's perspective ("*aunque no eres consciente*", although you may not be conscious", M2), but the teacher does notice it. It may be interpreted as a sign of modesty on the student's part, or as further credibility provided by the teacher's endorsement.

In terms of drama-specific strategies, the participants have also developed some techniques to make the play run smoothly. Listening to one's recording is carried out several times by Sara in order to memorise her lines ("*lo grabo me escucho me escuchan escucho grabo todo*", I record it I listen to myself they listen to me I record everything, S/V). The repetition of the two main verbs (record and listen) denotes a quasi-obsessive reiteration of these actions. On a different vein,

¹¹⁵ According to connectionism, learners form mental connections between co-occurring items in the language, from which they extract language rules. The frequency of these items in the input would be a requisite for acquiring them.

Valerio admits to being forgetful (a lighthearted way to refer to his degenerative illness). However, he argues that it is not a big deal thanks to the director's and peers' understanding. His own strategy is to "absorb" his lines during the rehearsals, like, as in his own metaphor, a little sponge ("*como una esponjita*", S/V).

As a psychological strategy to overcome any negative AFFECTIVE interference, Sara imagines that she is alone on stage. Through the cognitive process of distraction (3.5.1), she disconnects from an anxiety-provoking setting, namely the theatre full of spectators, transporting herself to an envisaged safer dimension where there is no-one to watch (and judge) her. She then spurs herself with an encouraging message, making use of the self-instruction technique (3.5.1): "*y digo adelante*", (and I say "go ahead", S/F). Flor remarks that however embarrassed Sara may be, nobody notices it; the contrast between how Sara feels and the impression she conveys is marked by the double contrastive connector "*pero*" (but) in Flor's turn ("*pero tendrá vergüenza pero no se le nota*", but she might be embarrassed but you can't notice it, S/F). Sara's reply comes to provide an explanation why her embarrassment does not come across and it consists of a reiteration of the cognitive distraction with which she started off ("*eso porque pienso que estoy sola*", that's because I think that I'm alone, S/F).

As for group dynamics, the goal of putting on a good show stimulates collaborative strategies. First of all, the drama group members need to develop active listening skills, in order to not to miss the cue signalling when their turn starts. Then, in case of halting, they try to cue the partner with the forgotten line, so as to try and reactivate their memory and carry on. This strategy is termed by Rafa as cunning ("*a lo mejor un poco de picardía*", maybe some cunning, G1), but at the same time it is appraised as difficult to carry out live with one word functioning as a whole APPRECIATION ("*pero claro en el momento de la escena en que estás representando ... en vivo .. difícil*", but actually during the scene you are performing ... live ... difficult, G1). From a conversation analysis point of view, there are two pairs of simultaneous utterances (F-B and B-R, see below) meant to elaborate on the same idea: Bea expands on Flor's dangling "pala-" (wor-), while Rafa and Bea fuse in three adjacent turns that sound as pronounced by one (R-B-R). These cooperative overlaps seem to reinforce the idea that drama has trained them to co-construct meaning, as extract G1 below shows.

F: Sabes que el compañero o compañera te da pie con esa palabra con lo cual si te equivocas en un gesto o en una [pala-?

B: [cuando alguien se equivoca se equivoca el siguiente también si te equivocas el compañero no te va a seguir porque está esperando la última palabra

I: ¿Algo más?

R: No (.) a lo mejor un poco de picardía (.) a lo mejor mira se ha perdido mi compañero

B: [échale una mano

R: [voy a decir la frase siguiente a echarle una mano pero claro en el momento de la escena en que estás representando ... en vivo .. difícil

The drama group's perception about the usefulness of acting for their English is definitely positive: the adjacent pair question-answers in V/S confirm what has been previously mentioned by other interviewees that English has helped them with their language skills. Indeed, the question elicits positive replies by both Valerio and Sara, who answer emphatically that it has certainly helped them (*"por supuesto"*, of course, V/S). Sara adds that she is the least proficient in the group, in a sort of competition with a previous interviewee who had claimed the same. In light of the fact that she started learning English from scratch, she claims that her improvement is even more visible, since what she knows at the moment of the interview is the fruit of the few months combining EOI and the drama course. The chorus in G2 demonstrates that memory proves an effective tool and one that bonds the group as such:

M: Pues claro le dices "when I go out [the man always pays

All: [the man always pays

In conclusion, several strategies are reported to have been learnt and deployed by this group: first and foremost memorizing lines and chunks of language, matching them with body movement, continuous practice, recording oneself when rehearsing and then listening to the recording again and again. From the psychological point of view, they mention overcoming the fear of making mistakes and convincing themselves that the audience is not to be feared. Evidently, the drama classes provide not only extra language practice, but also useful techniques and tools meant to learn the language more effectively and perform more satisfactorily. Even in terms of FLA, the fact of facing an audience on stage has developed sophisticated skills similar to those adopted by advanced students.

7.4 SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW RESULTS

The qualitative data discussed above are reflected in the percentages of frequency of each category, as illustrated by the four tables. The same information is presented graphically in four different ways, showing the percentages of responses for each category in relation to the total amount of responses. Anxiety turns out to be by far the most widely mentioned category (23.4% anxiety itself and 44.7% counting the related factors altogether), twice as much as the second (motivated behaviour 11.5%). There are no instances of resistance (0%) and very few of unmotivated behaviour (1.6%). These data suggest that anxiety is indeed the most recurrent topic brought up in the interviews, followed by instances of motivated behaviour, both competing and complementary aspects that this thesis deals with.

Figure 7.31 Frequency per category: number of instances (Count) and percentages (% codes)

Category	Code	Description	Count	% Codes
SELF CONCEPT	self		14	7,3%
SELF CONCEPT	confidence		16	8,3%
MOTIVATION	motivations		14	7,3%
MOTIVATION	motivated behaviour		22	11,5%
MOTIVATION	obligation		12	6,3%
MOTIVATION	unmotivated behaviour		3	1,6%
FLA	understanding		5	2,6%
FLA	self-consciousness		15	7,8%
FLA	resistance			
FLA	anxiety		45	23,4%
FLA	self-efficacy		21	10,9%
PROFICIENCY	strategies		25	13,0%

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

Figure 7.32 Pie chart with frequency per category

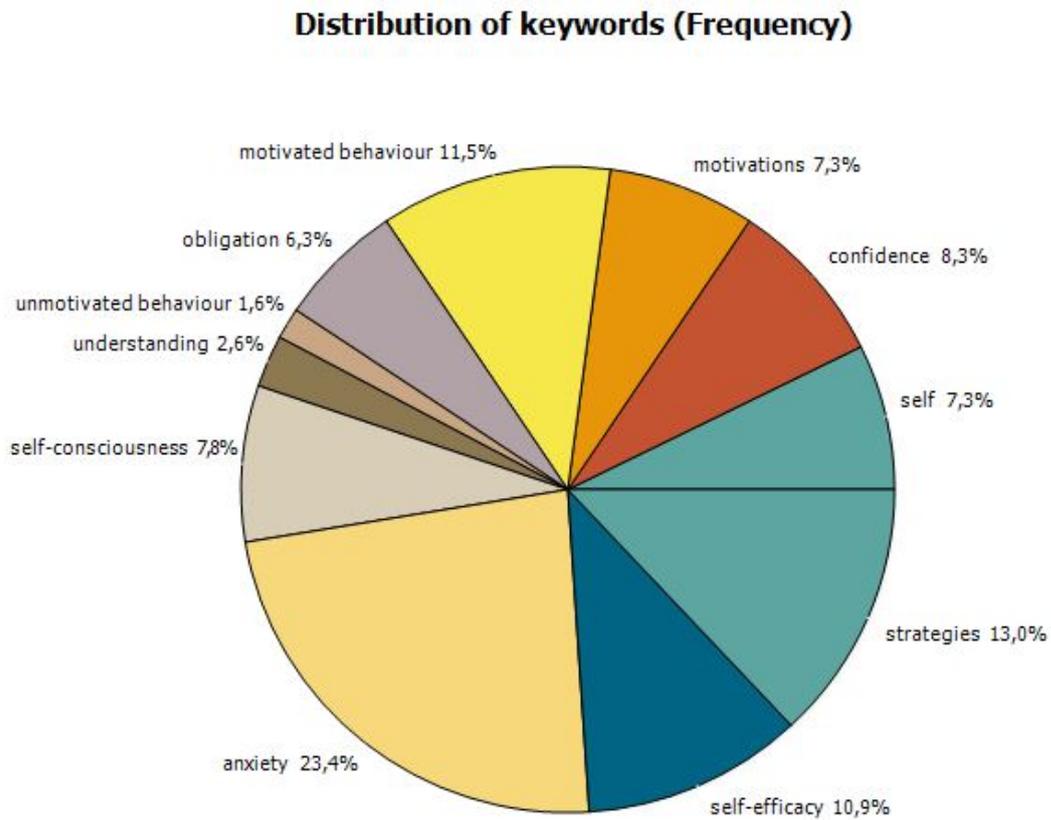
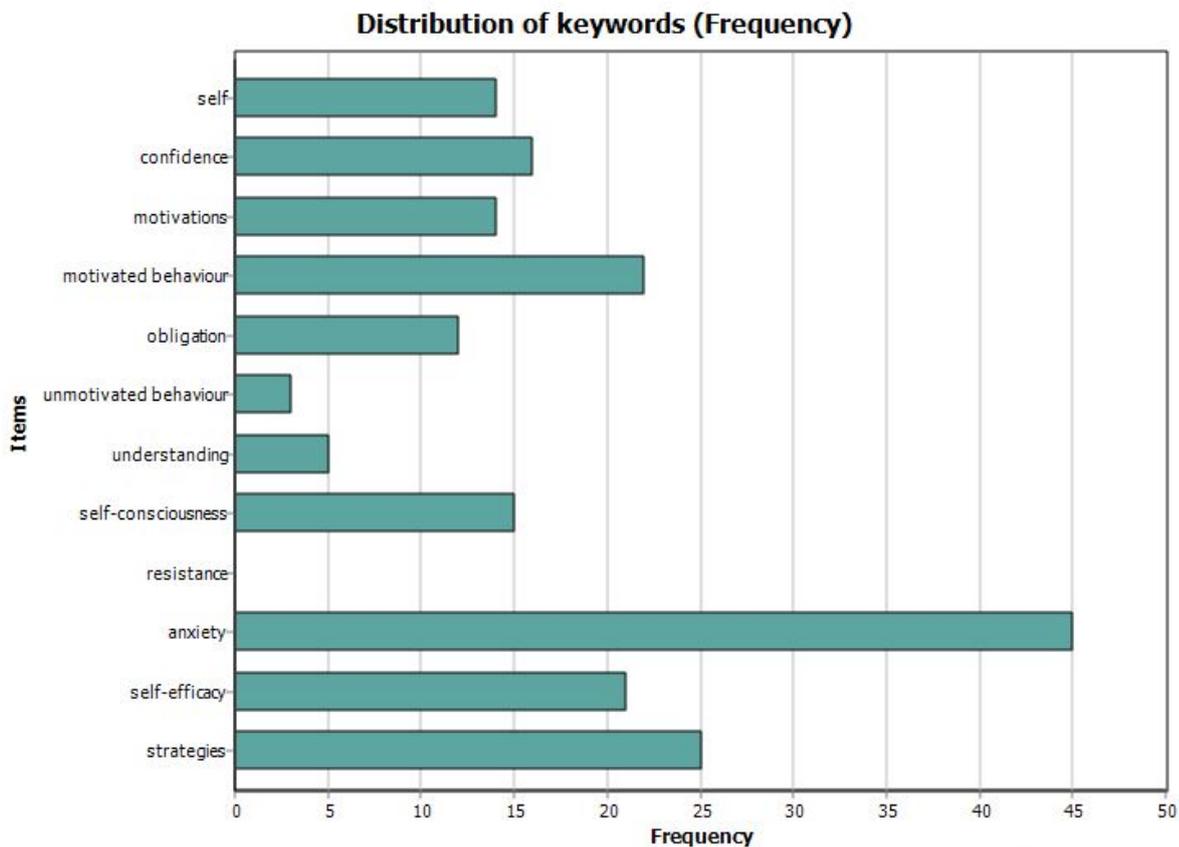


Figure 7.33 Bar chart with frequency per category



Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

Figure 7.34 Word cloud with frequency of categories



7.5 RESULTS FOR SURVEYS

In this section, I will present the results of the surveys completed by the student-participants, after carrying out the three experimental drama activities described in 4.2.4. The answers will be categorised and recorded according to percentages of respondents giving the same answer and the reasons they put forward.

7.5.1 RESULTS FOR ACTIVITY 1A

Pronunciation has been singled out in the literature as the one aspect in which identity conflicts may arise (see 3.3.1). In fact, the written feedback has provided extremely interesting insights into the participants' self-perception upon embracing an English speaking persona, as well as how they perceive their identity as Spanish speakers in the FL realm. These data contribute to answering research question 4c (Does drama bring about any changes in their self-concept?)

In the first part of activity 1, participants were asked to read a Spanish text with an English or American accent. The following answers were given to the question “How did you feel during the activity?”, and are presented below divided into the categories that emerged.

Figure 7.35 ACTIVITY 1A

POSITIVE FEELINGS			
Categories	Individual answers		
INTERESTING	a) It was interesting		
USEFUL	b) When I told a joke imitating English tourists a teacher told me that I pronounced better	c) Useful in order to know how they pronounce in English	d) Useful to realize how important pronunciation is. You can discover the key pronunciation sounds
	e) It showed me the tricky words	f) I tried to speak soft, to link words in a different way	
FUN	g) Enjoyable and a little bit exciting because I felt as if I was meeting some new foreign people on holiday	h) It was funny	i) I felt ridiculous, it made me laugh

NEGATIVE FEELINGS			
Categories	Individual answers		
DIFFICULT	j) I first doubted about the accent. I don't really identify the accent for speaking as opposed to listening, copying it is more difficult	k) I found it difficult to imitate the English accent. I knew some basic rules but haven't been able to recognise some of them	l) More difficult than the Spanish one
UNFAMILIAR/ FORCED	m) I felt like a robot without rhythm	n) Some words were really overstressed	
BAD	o) I felt as if I couldn't pronounce so badly		
EMBARRASSING	p) It was embarrassing	q) It was embarrassing	

The results are mixed, almost equally positive (9) and negative (8). The positive ones include general remarks such as interesting or funny and some more elaborated answers. More than half of the respondents with positive feedback referred to how useful it was to spot the phonetic differences between the two languages and managed to discover some tricks to improve it. Eventually, being aware of such differences led them to admit to the importance of improving one's pronunciation. One person is even more specific and describes the difference between English and Spanish with the term "soft" (g): speaking more softly and linking words would allow this learner to sound more English, which hints at their perception of English as softer. Another explains that when he tells jokes exaggerating the English accent his pronunciation improves (b). This anecdote confirms the rationale of the activity which pushes learners to exaggerate some phonetic and prosodic features in order to experiment a new identity and eventually find one with which they feel comfortable, with a benefit for their pronunciation. Other remarks point to the funny side of the activity. One labels it as "ridiculous" but not in an anxiety-provoking way, because the respondent points out that it made him/her laugh (i). A very interesting answer from the identity construction point of view is the one that claims that it was like meeting a foreign person on holiday (g): in this case the learner achieved such a degree of absorption and identification with her English-speaking persona that she literally felt transported elsewhere in a different, real-life context.

On the other hand, the negative feedback hinges mainly on the difficulty in trying to imitate sounds that the learners are not confident with, which points to an alarming lack of explicit training in this key field of communication. Other comments refer to more psychological reactions than just

the impossibility to go about the task: one respondent says that he/she felt like a robot (m), which is telling about how this learner feels the English language should sound: robotic, deprived of the rhythm they probably attribute to their mother tongue and they have not been trained to appreciate in the English language. Another one is even more derogatory, saying that they could not read it so “badly”, hinting at the equivalence between English prosody and “bad sound” (o). These two answers reflect some bad “attitudes” towards the English language that have been proved as an obstacle towards the mastery of the language, and in particular for the development of a full-fledged L2 persona (see Gardner's integrativeness theory 1.3.1). Similarly, another participant stresses the unfamiliarity and awkwardness of the feeling by saying that some words sounded “overstressed” (n). Finally, two comments refer to feelings that have been discussed regarding FLA: embarrassment and self-consciousness (p and q).

Trying to put on an English accent, i.e. to impersonate an English identity, may cause feeling of discomfort and unease in some learners, which are counterproductive for a competent L2 user. For others, exploring a new identity proves enjoyable and useful. Thus, to answer question 4c, drama does bring about some changes in the self concept, either positive or negative. Therefore, it must be taken into account by teachers that some students might not feel ready to take on an L2 persona and ought to be respected, but at the same time they should be trained to try and take risks in order to advance in their language learning process.

7.5.2 RESULTS FOR ACTIVITY 1B

The second part of activity 1 required participants to read an English text with a strong Spanish accent. The table below displays the answers divided into categories.

Figure 7.36 ACTIVITY 1B

POSITIVE FEELINGS			
Categories	Individual answers		
RELIEVED	a) I feel I have improved because I try to read with a strong accent and it wasn't possible	b) I felt more comfortable	c) I felt relieved
	d) I felt really free ... ¹¹⁶	e) The pronunciation was more familiar ¹¹⁷	
FUNNY	f) It was funny and reminded me of the Mayor of Madrid	g) Like a showman imitating another person (a peasant etc)	
	h) ... but it was funny though	i) Funny to listen to strong accents	
CLEARER	j) I avoided speaking slowly and opened more my mouth	k) I felt more fluent	l) It was easier
DIFFERENT	m) I felt as if I was putting on someone else's boots		
NEGATIVE FEELINGS			
Categories	Individual answers		
SELF-PROTECTING	n) We are conscious of the common mistakes we make but we don't remember them while we are speaking	o) We miss pronunciation ¹¹⁸ because it's different from Spanish so we think we're exaggerating when we pronounce correctly	
ANNOYED	p) As if I was wasting my time trying to forget what I have learnt		
BAD	q) It sounded very bad with a Spanish accent. Terrible	r) ...although some words sounded a bit hard	s) ...but some words really sounded horrible
	EMBARRASSED	t) I felt embarrassed ... ¹¹⁹	u) A little bit stupid

¹¹⁶ This answer continues with a negative part "but some words really sounded horrible". See below.

¹¹⁷ This answer continues with a negative part "although some words sounded a bit hard". See below.

¹¹⁸ They probably mean "we mispronounce".

¹¹⁹ This answer continues with a positive part "but it was funny though". See above.

Also in the case of the second part, positive and negative feedbacks are mostly balanced, even with positive and negative remarks within the same response (see the use of “but”, “though” and “although” in the footnotes above). However, there are more positive answers (13 items, i.e. 62%) than negative ones (8 items, i.e. 38%), which suggests that participants felt slightly more confident than uncomfortable to simulate a strong Spanish accent, although they did experience some changes identity-wise, as explained below.

Their comfort took basically the form of relief and fun. They feel satisfied to realize they can speak better in spontaneous conversation than in the pretended reading (a). But they also feel relieved to be able to pronounce English as Spanish-like as possible, after the effort of trying to imitate an English accent in activity 1A (c). The Spanish modality provides them with a sense of familiarity and increased fluency (b, e, k and l). It may be deduced that they felt more true to themselves and authentic in such a mode of reading. Others did not stress the relief but the fun effect of the activity (h and i). One mentions the case of the former mayor of Madrid¹²⁰, which indicates that the participant managed to feel literally like another person (f). His identity shifted like the case of the respondent who felt as if she was on holiday in the first part. In parallel to this, another respondent claims to feel like a showman imitating a funny character, another successful example of temporary identity transformation (g). The most explicit answer in this sense is the one that states that the respondent felt like a different person, or as he/she put it, as if they were “putting on other’s boots”¹²¹. (m)

Nevertheless, other respondents felt that this accent sounded bad, hard or even terrible, making them feel embarrassed or stupid. Some of these statements are mitigated by a second part of the answer implying something positive as well (see notes). Some referred to a sense of frustration, as if they were going to forget all what they had learnt and the progress made in pronunciation (p), which for others was, conversely, a chance to appreciate their improvement by noticing the difference between their actual pronunciation and the imitated one. In the first case one can see a sample of perfectionism, of a student who cannot “let go” and experiment with her accent, failing to see the point of the activity. Other instances of this defensive attitude can be seen in the two answers that use a plural “we” to provide a justification that is meant to defend the whole class or the entire community of Spanish EFL learners (n and o). The former (n) attributes the pronunciation mistakes to the gap between knowing a rule and actually applying it while speaking (although the

¹²⁰ They refer to Ana Botella, Mayor of Madrid from 2011 to 2015, who made a speech on 7/09/2013 to support Madrid's candidacy for the 2020 Olympic Games. This speech unleashed media reactions because of her dubious command of the English prosody.

¹²¹ The expression reminds us of the idiom “to put oneself in someone’s shoes”.

task was more about accents than phonetics). The other (o) also claims to be aware of the “correct” pronunciation, but cannot help feeling it exaggerated, because it clashes with familiar Spanish phonetics.

Both parts of Activity 1 have challenged the participants’ self-concepts, bringing about either positive or negative feelings within the learners. Considering this was a one-off experiment, the results are quite telling about how the continuous adoption of an accent might have a bearing on someone’s L2 persona.

7.5.3 RESULTS FOR ACTIVITY 2

Activity 2 consisted of improvisation based on scenarios where some conflicts may arise between participants. A table with the data gathered from the ten advanced students surveyed will be provided and then each question will be commented on. Finally, observational remarks are offered by the participant researcher. It is worth noting that the answers were in English in the original, so they are reported almost faithfully, but summarised or clarified in small linguistic details. The highlighting signals specifically FLA related answers.

Question 1 of the post-activity survey (How did you feel during today's activity?) will allow me to partly answer research question 1a (Which identity-related aspects and emotions have an impact on adult EOI learners’ FLA?). The second question (Did you feel different in this activity compared to other activities?) is meant to deal with research question 4c (Does drama bring about any changes in their self-concept?). Finally, the third question (Do you think it was useful for your English?) is linked to research question 4a (Are drama techniques useful to reduce FLA in adult learners?).

Firstly, an overview with participants’ answers will be presented.

Figure 7.37 ACTIVITY 2, overview

ANSWER	Survey questions		
	1) How did you feel during today's activity?	2) Did you feel different in this activity compared to other activities? If so, what's the difference?	3) Do you think it was useful for your English? If so, how?
1	Very good Not embarrassed at all in front of my classmates	(Yes) Familiar context that you can empathise with	Yes For my fluency Seeing classmates before helps and gives you more confidence to speak spontaneously
2	“Funny” and relaxed	(Yes) More interesting when you interact You become less self-conscious	Yes to put in practice what you've learnt always useful if you can speak without restrictions
3	Not comfortable at the beginning More comfortable during the scene	Yes Because we are standing in front of the class And there was no preparation time So you have to think quickly and do your best in short time	Yes to realize your proficiency in a real situation Then you think that you always should have said something different
4	Fortunately good	Yes because we did not need to think about the grammar and other possible mistakes	Yes to improve confidence
5	Stuck with vocabulary but happy because I'm overcoming my self-	Humour has helped to break the ice easily I should keep this mood	Yes Always useful to speak aloud A good way to feel more

	consciousness	during the exam but it is difficult	confidence in the exam with partner and teacher
6	Nervous at the beginning Comfortable after a couple of minutes	Relaxed atmosphere	Very to get more confident and fluent
7	Not really nervous	Not really	Yes Because after it you realize some mistakes
8	Not very comfortable Lack of vocabulary	More informal and relaxed	Yes Because it helps to break the ice and move forward to solve the given situation
9	Good	No	Yes It is the only way to improve
10	I enjoyed the performances	Yes I had to use my creativity So I felt as if I was in a game	Yes to practise speaking skills

The answers above will be analysed putting them into categories, question by question, followed by a comment of these categories.

QUESTION 1: How did you feel during today's activity?

Figure 7.38 ACTIVITY 2, QUESTION 1

	1	2	3	4	5	6
GOOD	√ not embarrassed	√ not nervous	√ relaxed	√ fortunately	√ very	√
MIXED FEELINGS	√ beginning vs. during	√ beginning vs. during	√ stuck but happy			
FLA	√ not very comfortable					

More than half of the surveyed students (60%) felt well during the activity, out of which one “very” well and the rest relaxed, not embarrassed, not really nervous and fortunately well. The latter three are quite telling as they presuppose that one might feel embarrassed or nervous, because of the use of the negation “not” embarrassed/nervous and of the adverb “fortunately”. Only one respondent out of ten says that they did not feel comfortable and 3 gave mixed answers: two distinguish between a stage of nervousness at the beginning of the activity which turned into more comfort during the performance. This change reflects what often happens to actors on stage, and also underlines the power of “flowing” (see 3.1.4.1) during an involving activity, in which one focuses on the activity itself, is carried away by it and forgets about what is around. Finally, the third mixed-feelings respondent felt limited by her vocabulary, but finally happy to be able to overcome her self-consciousness. The use of these terms by the respondent herself signals certain awareness of FLA, even conveyed by the suitable language to express it. In fact, students learnt this vocabulary during a motivational session devoted to spot their problems with English and set goals for the academic year (see Appendix II).

Thus, regarding research question 1a (Which identity-related aspects and emotions are have an impact on adult EOI learners’ FLA?), the emotions felt by learners in class during this activity are primarily comfort, ease and lack of embarrassment, also thanks to their fluency and familiarity with the language and the suitability of the task for their level. A minority experienced discomfort but mainly at the beginning, becoming involved and gaining confidence as they were carrying out

the role-play. In sum, although not totally positive, the emotions arisen in the experiment are suitable for a satisfactory development of students' L2 identity.

QUESTION 2: Did you feel different in this activity compared to other activities?

If so, what's the difference?

Figure 7.39 ACTIVITY 2, QUESTION 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Different	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Not different	√	√						

Eight respondents out of ten did feel different during the activity, against only two who did not. The difference boils down to the new setting or modality according to some students: it is attributed by two respondents to the more relaxed and informal atmosphere, to the humorous component by another and to a playful framework by a fourth student. The latter is the most explicit about experiencing an identity change, in that she says that she felt as if she was in a game. In the same line, others refer to the element of interaction and the standing position. Two refer to the instruction that they should not worry too much about the accuracy of their sentences and that they should try to speak spontaneously, which is one of the objectives of the experiment: “Improve fluency and confidence, overcoming debilitating worries about accuracy”, tightly linked to FLA. The importance of this state of confidence is well-known to respondent 5, who wishes she could keep the same confident, light-hearted mood also in the exam, a particularly threatening and FLA-arising situation.

Finally, another respondent points out the familiarity of the context (everyday situations), suggesting that other activities at this stage are too abstract or distant from students' everyday experience (topics mainly dealing with society at large). It is particularly true because the comment is made by a 16-year old, who may find himself at a loss when dealing with such topics, due to his early age. However, it is interesting to see that he could feel different in an everyday situation, hinting that he was experiencing his own L2 self as an L2 user utilizing English for his everyday needs, though simulated.

Therefore, for questions 4c (Does drama bring about any changes in their self-concept?) and 4a (Are drama techniques useful to reduce FLA in adult learners?), although the data gathered do not allow for a complete answer to these complex questions, it can still be inferred that, in this different setting, learners have the chance to express themselves more freely and to feel like more

confident L2 users. This positive experience should be treasured and - as desired by respondent 5 - it may come in handy in a stressful situation like an oral exam. As seen in 2.2.1.2 and 2.2.3.3, both Connectionism and Attribution Theory underline the importance of positive experiences for learning and their impact on future occasions. Success would become a positive attribution which may motivate future actions and decisions.

QUESTION 3: Do you think it was useful for your English? If so, why?

Figure 7.40 ACTIVITY 2, QUESTION 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
USEFUL	√ conf ¹²²	√ conf	√ conf	√ conf	√ conf	√ fl	√ fl	√ fl	√ pract / mist	√ pract / mist
NOT USEFUL										

All the advanced students agree that the activity was useful. Half of them maintain that it was beneficial to boost their confidence, three out of ten to improve their fluency and two see the activity as a good way to practise oral English. Two say that the activity is useful to realize one's mistakes, normally at the end of it. The emphasis on mistake correction is interesting because it was not one of the objectives, so that it highlights learners' concern and need for accuracy, even when they are not asked to pay attention to it. The exam scenario is also present in students' mind, as shown again by respondent 5, who underlines the need to feel confident with the rest of the class and also with the assessing teacher.

In terms of students' perceptions and beliefs, I also would like to point out the use of restrictive words such as “always” and “only” in some answers: respondent 2 finds it always useful to be able to speak without restrictions; respondent 5 similarly claims that it is always useful to speak aloud. Respondent 9 is also quite self-assured of the best learning methodology when he asserts that this is the only way to learn.

Finally, it is also worth noting at an individual level that respondent 8, the only student who answered that she felt uncomfortable, then goes on to say that the atmosphere was relaxed and that she deems it a good activity to become more fluent and confident. It can be concluded that, in spite of this participant's unease, she acknowledges the importance of tackling her FLA-related state. In

¹²² For reasons of space, the following abbreviations are used in this table: conf = confidence, fl = fluency, mist = mistakes, pract = practice.

order to improve everyone's levels of comfort, some reassuring comments should be made in this respect prior to the performance.

The answer provided by the respondents to the research question 4a (Are drama techniques useful to reduce FLA in adult learners?) is straightforward: yes. They all agree it is useful for their English and for their FLA. Even if the activity may generate unease in some participants, the whole class is convinced that it is worth using drama techniques in class.

Drawing from my observation during the activity, I will first give a brief account about the previous use of the activity and then about how students went about the task in the present study. The results of a previous exploratory experience with a similar group of students carried out in 2012 were as follows. The interactions were quite successful in terms of communication and problem-solving. Most students, even shyer ones, took part in the activity quite willingly and the scenes tended to turn out rather comic, provoking a general feel-good mood, so beneficial for motivation. From the accuracy point of view, as they had been instructed that they should not worry too much if they may make mistakes, the lessened accuracy-monitoring led them to poorer performance from the form perspective. However, it can be asserted that the main goal of enhancing fluency and confidence was fully achieved.

The experiment of the present study was preceded by a group project on sitcoms, consisting in acting out a scene from a TV series at students' choice. It was meant for students to work on fluency, pronunciation and intonation, as well as confidence and interaction (Appendix II).

The result of the experiment was equally satisfactory as the exploratory experience. To begin with, being carried out at the end of the school year, on a day when the initial level of energy and concentration was particularly low, the first benefit of the activity was to bring about a change of rhythm and mood and to boost concentration and involvement. Beside being an observable feature for all participants, one comic instance can be provided to give account of the climate, such as the teenager in dialogue 7 who claimed that he would not provide more details on the night unless his lawyer was present.

The dialogues were all remarkably smooth and the level of interaction was high and intense. The improvisation activity provided students with a chance to talk freely and resort to their linguistic and communicative resources in order to carry on the conversation. Some situations in particular offered a clear possibility or even need to negotiate intentions, which fostered speaking. For instance, in dialogue 5 a third character (the manager) was introduced to enrich the negotiation between customer and client, bringing in a new perspective.

As far as language enhancement is concerned, I would single out three elements: gestures, props and realistic setting. The gestures (combing and pretending to cut the partner's hair, dialogue

2) spurred extended turns and interaction: every different haircut carried out did spur different reactions from the student-client. Similarly, the hair style and props like hair bands, enhanced vocabulary such as “terrific”, previously seen in texts and impersonal contexts but normally not often used spontaneously by students. Now the vocabulary item was applied to a realistic situation to refer to the haircut.

In dialogue 9, the conflict and realistic situation encourages a normally very shy student to become insistent and come up with a deluge of ideas and excuses. Likewise, terms of endearment such as “honey” or “darling” are uttered by students while they simulate being a couple (dialogue 1), a unique situation in the likely scenario where students do not have an English speaking partner in real life to use these terms with. Similarly, it was quite interesting to observe the elaborate use of politeness forms used by the client in dialogue 2, pertaining to formulas learnt in class but seldom applied in other kinds of activities.

In terms of emotions, some stage fright was perceived and enacted by some students: some participants asked in a surprised and slightly alarmed tone if they had to stand up in front of the rest of the class during the dialogue; one participant even made the sign of the Cross on herself before starting. The anxiety that was experienced by some respondents may be considered as “facilitative” as to activate the need to interact and negotiate the conflict, or just simply to get away with any wrongdoing (having used the shoes in dialogue 5) or satisfy their needs or requests (not ironing – dialogue 1-, get a decent haircut - dialogue 2). Besides, this kind of anxiety did not seem debilitating from the point of view of the teacher/observer, as compared with other oral performances by the same students, probably because advanced students have reached such a minimum level of fluency and wide enough range of vocabulary as not to get stuck.

As far as identity is concerned, some students seemed to be comfortable in the role they had taken on, like the student interpreting the teenager in dialogue 7 who really got into the character and performed communicative acts of protesting and begging very emphatically and convincingly. The ability to identify with the character was probably due to his close age (16) and the student's high proficiency in and ease with English.

In conclusion, taking into account students' need for preparation in order to be more confident, the preparatory sitcom activity can be considered as a complementary experience in which students are given plenty of time to prepare and rehearse the scene, with the audiovisual aid of the video to provide extra confidence in terms of pronunciation, language accuracy and intonation. Additionally, an activity used in some drama courses could be introduced as a starter, consisting in looking into each other's eyes for a couple of minutes, sending and receiving positive messages of acceptance, in order to provide extra confidence and avoid feeling judged by the

classmates. A follow-up activity that caters for both aspects, preparation and with a realistic appeal, would combine both aims.

7.5.4 RESULTS FOR ACTIVITY 3

Activity 3 was meant to have elementary students improvise a dialogue based on a given text. Similarly to the section about activity 2, a table with the same three questions comprising the questionnaire will follow for activity 3, with a list of the responses given by each student numbered from 1 to 16 and finally some of the researcher’s observations. The highlighting signals specifically FLA related answers. Then each question will be analysed separately.

As a general consideration, it is worth noting some key words used in Spanish by elementary students and translated into English, in order not to lose the original meaning and to establish a clear connection with the English counterpart:

Figure 7.41 ACTIVITY 3, translation glossary

Spanish original	English translation
Soltarse ¹²³	Speak (more) fluently
Agobiado/a ¹²⁴	Stressed
Vergüenza	Self-consciousness
Miedo al ridículo	Fear to appear ridiculous/ feeling self-conscious
Perder el miedo	Become less self-conscious
Me cuesta	I struggle

¹²³ The Spanish lexeme “*suelto/soltarse*” is translated here as “fluent(ly)/fluency”. However, not only does it contain the idea of fluency itself, but also of literally “untying” some knots, which echoes some psychological block that ought to be overcome in order to speak effectively.

¹²⁴ Apart from strictly stressed, “*agobiado*” means overwhelmed as described in the FLA literature.

An overview of all respondent's answers will be provided below.

Figure 7.42 ACTIVITY 3, overview

	1) How did you feel during today's activity?	2) Did you feel different in this activity compared to other activities? If so, what's the difference?	3) Do you think it was useful for your English? If so, how?
1	Good Fluency activities are great	Yes Because we had to improvise as the dialogues had not been planned in advance	Very All speaking activities are useful and interesting
2	Nervous	No I always struggle to speak, I feel nervous when thinking and speaking in English	Always useful to speak in English But we struggle to speak fluently
3	Good Because today I managed to be more fluent I like the participative classes	Yes Because we acted together with our classmates And we were a bit less self-conscious when speaking	Yes Because we could improvise And I like it As you don't feel too stressed about making mistakes
4	Good	No	Yes Because your fluency improves
5	Good	(Yes) ¹²⁵ More interaction with our classmates in front of an audience	Yes Because we improvised and tried to keep a conversation going with other people
6	A bit shy	(Yes) I always struggle to speak in public In English even more	Very Because it was helpful to become less self-conscious speaking in English

¹²⁵ The answer “yes” is within brackets because the respondent did not explicitly reply so, but it can be inferred from the justification given.

		<p>Improvising even more</p> <p>More activities like this will be useful</p>	<p>If it was up to me I would never speak in public</p>
7	<p>Very good</p> <p>It is fundamental to express oneself aloud and to interact in a language class</p>	<p>No</p> <p>I learnt long time ago that participating in class is one of the best way to learn a language or any other subject</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>It is always useful</p> <p>Even when we make a mistake we learn more than when we say something correctly</p>
8	<p>Good</p> <p>Although sometimes I didn't know how to carry on the dialogue</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>As we could speak with other people</p> <p>Also in public</p>
9	<p>Quite comfortable</p> <p>I liked it a lot</p>	<p>Yes but I liked it.</p> <p>In the beginning you struggle to start</p> <p>But then you become more fluent</p>	<p>Very</p> <p>Because by speaking in public we become more confident with each other</p> <p>Also we can correct each other</p>
10	<p>Very fluent and comfortable</p> <p>I liked the creative side</p>	<p>No</p> <p>It was creative and I felt comfortable and happy to see my progress from the beginning</p>	<p>Very</p> <p>Because for my future the most important thing is speaking</p> <p>To see my mistakes and what I say correctly</p>
11	<p>Very hot</p> <p>Because I feel very self-conscious to feel observed</p> <p>I get frozen by the fear to appear ridiculous</p> <p>So I don't express myself</p>	<p>(No)</p> <p>I always feel the same when speaking in public</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>Because we get used to becoming more fluent</p> <p>It is interesting</p> <p>Although we struggle</p>

	as I would like to		
12	Good	Yes When you're standing, you express yourself better. If we had prepared it more, the result would have been better. We always have some stage fright	Yes It helps a bit more to become more fluent and practise conversation
13	Good Because these activities help me improve my English But also a bit insecure and self-conscious to perform in front of all the class	Yes Because it was in public It is easier to do individual or peer activities But these activities are useful to become more fluent	Very Because these are the most effective activities in order to learn especially to communicate with other people
14	Normally I feel uncomfortable to speak English in front of other people But I think it is useful just for this reason	Yes Because you take it more seriously Although you have more pressure and you may freeze	(Yes) It can be useful in order not to freeze in similar situations And to become more confident
15	Good although a bit self-conscious towards my classmates	More or less the same But doing it standing it is a higher step of performing in public	Yes Because we must get used to speaking like this
16	A bit stressed It was very similar to an oral exam	Yes It is useful to become more fluent when you have to speak in English	Yes Following the hints provided it was easier and the questions came out alone

Each question will be analysed in categories, as shown in the tables below.

QUESTION 1: How did you feel during today's activity?

Figure 7.43 ACTIVITY 3, QUESTION 1

Categories	Number of responses							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 ¹²⁶
GOOD	√	√	√	√	√	√ very good ¹²⁷	√ comfortabl e	√ very comfortable
MIXED FEELING S	√ insecure	√ insecur e / self- conscio us	√ self- conscio us					
FLA	√ nervous	√ shy	√ hot	√ uncomf ortable	√ stressed			

The respondents' answers point out that half of them experienced positive feelings during the drama activity (8 out of 16). Three of the positive answers are particularly enthusiastic (very good, comfortable and very comfortable). Namely, by mentioning comfort, it means that the objective “Overcome self-consciousness and anxiety” was fully achieved in these cases. Furthermore, the explanations given range from praising the effectiveness of interactive fluency activities, to acknowledging the creative and participative side of them.

Three positive answers (18.75%), however, come with a concession, which I named “mixed feelings”: students felt well in spite of feeling self-conscious and insecure as well, due to the fact - according to one respondent- that he/she did not know how to carry on, which was part and parcel

¹²⁶ These numbers do not correspond to the numbers of survey above but they are used to clearly count how many answers of each kind have been given.

¹²⁷ In some cases, apart from the tick, some succinct comment has been added in order to better represent graphically some extra information provided in the answers.

of this open-ended activity: “Improvise a reaction in everyday situations”. Four respondents (between mixed feelings and FLA respondents) mention the audience as the cause for their discomfort. This may be solved in a future experiment by specifying at the beginning that any judgement should be avoided towards one's classmates and, conversely, any effort made should be praised.

Five students (31.25%) express negative feelings, worded with a range of common FLA symptoms: nervousness, shyness, discomfort, stress and even a physical reaction, heat, not directly mentioned in the literature but related to other physiological symptoms like sweating (3.1.4.2). They felt nervous due to the difficulty in speaking in English and, even worse, in public, which relates FLA both to lack of proficiency in spoken English and to the public situation. One mentions the same stress as when sitting an exam, which implies that he/she took the activity quite seriously and might have felt assessed. Mention should be made again to the non-evaluative nature of the activity. Notwithstanding that, those who expressed these negative feelings also acknowledged how useful it was for them to go through these emotions and eventually overcome them.

A response worth pointing out is 11, in that it gathers together several FLA scenarios: the student feels observed and is afraid of appearing ridiculous in the classmates' eyes. She experiences the typical detrimental consequence of freezing up portrayed in the literature, whose result is a poorer performance than the one a student is capable of delivering. In the case of this student, it is evident how the potentiality of a good language learner may be hampered by FLA, of which she is clearly aware. Probably this awareness becomes even more detrimental because it consolidates into a belief of failure expectation, despite the learner's good aptitude.

In conclusion, to answer the research question 1a (Which identity-related aspects and emotions have an impact on adult EOI learners' FLA?), I would say that half of the learners felt well and comfortable, whereas the other half experienced emotions related to FLA (either predominantly or mixed with positive feelings): self-consciousness, insecurity, nervousness, shyness, discomfort, stress and even test anxiety. On the behavioural level, I could observe some signs of this unease but never to handicapping levels of freezing up or refusing to talk, as envisaged in the literature (3.1.4.2) and portrayed by Jade in the preliminary interviews.

QUESTION 2: Did you feel different in this activity compared to other activities?

If so, what's the difference?

Figure 7.44 ACTIVITY 3, QUESTION 2, different/not different

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Different	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	(√) more or less
Not different	√ always bad	√ always bad	√	√	√ always well	√ always well				

This question was supposed to answer the research question 1a (Which identity-related aspects and emotions are most relevant for adult EOI learners?) and 4c (Does drama bring about any changes in their self-concept?). Nonetheless, some respondents interpreted it as referred to how different the activity itself was as compared to others, and not referring to their own feelings. This misunderstanding highlights the need for a clearer formulation in future surveys.

If responses both about the activity and about the self are counted together, the survey bears 57.5% of “yes” (I felt different), 37.5% of “no” (I did not feel different), and 1 person out of 16 who says “more or less the same”, but then highlights the different dynamics of the activity (standing), which would increase the amount of “yes” to 62.5%. Regarding the activity, they claim that it was different because they had to improvise, there was more interaction and participation, it was performed in front of an audience (3 people) and standing (2 people). The latter two elements are interesting all the same in that they are two features in common between drama and real life, which are often difficult to recreate in a classroom setting. The presence of an audience renders speaking a social act, thus possibly threatening. Moreover, the fact of standing makes learners more visible, and vulnerable, or as respondent 15 puts it, “it is a higher step of performing in public”. Respondent 12 sees the advantage of this position as a way to express oneself better. It should be noted that this respondent plays in a band as a hobby and thus is more used to this kind of stage situations and might even relish them, as drama student Bea.

If the answers dealing with the self are counted separately, then 4 answers are positive (I felt different) and 4 negative (I did not feel different). More usefully, the answers about the self may be divided instead between those that portray a positive self and those that entail some negative feelings, as in the following table:

Figure 7.45 ACTIVITY 3, QUESTION 2, positively/negatively different

	1	2	3	4	5
Positively different	√ less self-conscious	√ more fluent	√ comfortable		
Negatively different	√ pressure/ frozen	√ nervous	√ observed/ frozen	√ difficulty	(√) stage fright

Those who claim that they felt positively different say that they felt less self-conscious or gradually more fluent, complying with the objective “Overcome self-consciousness and anxiety”. One refers to feeling as positively as usual, which means that for him the threshold of self-confidence has already been achieved and he can communicate confidently in the FL. This is true about the respondent, who, in spite of some inaccuracies, stands out for his self-reliance and fluency. He indicates that he was happy to observe his own progress, so the activity may be considered in his case as a true-to-life trial of the communicative competence acquired throughout the year.

The negative feelings encompass various FLA scenarios. One respondent says that they took it more seriously than other activities, which may indicate good attitude, but they also admit it could lead to more pressure and to freeze, a FLA symptom. Another one also mentions stage fright as a recurrent element, although his answer (12) is just partially negative, hence the tick between brackets (5) in the table Figure 7.45. Three respondents did not notice any improvement to their FLA state: they maintain that they always feel nervous and self-conscious when they have to speak in English, and it gets even worse in public. They ask for more similar activities and, in the light of these five examples of FLA, improvisation acquires a prominent role in order to overcome the above mentioned emotions.

Therefore, to answer the complex question whether any changes take place in the learners' self when having to perform in English, I can answer that part of the class did experience some change (40%), overcoming their self-consciousness and anxiety, as expected in the objective phase. Some others (60%) attributed the change to some FLA manifestations, which means that the activity itself may have given rise to anxiety because of its characteristics (standing, with an audience and so on). Nonetheless, all the respondents who reported FLA symptoms also claimed the importance and usefulness of such activities just in order to try and overcome their FLA in the long term.

QUESTION 3: Do you think it was useful for your English? If so, why?

Figure 7.46 ACTIVITY 3, QUESTION 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
USE FUL	√ very	√ very	√ very	√ very / conf 128	√ conf	√ fl	√ fl	√ fl	√ fl	√ fl	√ self- consc / mist	√ no stress / mist	√ mist	√ mist	√ impr	√ impr
NOT USE FUL																

To begin with, like the advanced students, 100% of the answers are positive: the whole class found the drama activity useful for their English, with four respondents out of 16 (25%) even answering “very”. Indeed, on other occasions the class has demonstrated similar enthusiasm when the speaking activity was fluency-oriented and contained a component of freedom, improvisation, or a realistic context. I can conclude that the perception of usefulness of the activity is completely satisfactory, which is quite important to bear in mind when hesitating about proposing similar alternative activities (see 3.5.2). Namely, respondent 6 claims that if it was up to him, he would never talk in class. Therefore, it is clear that in these cases the teacher's role in getting everybody to participate is essential.

Moreover, the answers to “If so, how?” provide useful information about the relationship between the activity and FLA. Although the survey question is about the benefits for students' English, whereas the research question zooms in on the usefulness in terms of FLA, some respondents made a reference by themselves to FLA. Nine out of sixteen (575%) made an explicit reference to fluency and confidence, that is, the drama activity helped them become more fluent and confident when speaking in English in public. In particular, one of these nine respondents says that the activity has contributed for her to become less self-conscious, meaning that she usually feels so and understands that she should overcome it. Another respondent (16) says that “questions came out alone”, which means that she could speak quite fluently without much thinking. It can be deduced through this answer that students need opportunities to experience the feeling of being fluent,

¹²⁸ For reasons of space, the following abbreviations are used in this table: conf = confidence, fl = fluency, self-consc = self-consciousness, mist = mistakes, impr = improvisation.

without the cognitive bulk of constructing a sentence in the FL. This feeling could be provided, among other things, by learning some drama lines by heart.

The mere fact that more than half of the respondents gave an explanation with regard to FLA, without being directly asked, signifies that it occupies a prominent position among their concerns. In fact, one respondent says that speaking fluently is what he will really need in the future. In addition, some responses underlie the learners' awareness of FLA in their learning process. One learner mentions that these kinds of activities are useful in order not to freeze, and another enjoys the lack of stress and the freedom of making mistakes. The fear of making mistakes is mentioned by a quarter of the respondents, which means that at this stage accuracy is such a big concern that it normally hampers fluency. One acknowledges the usefulness of the cognitive process of trial and error by saying that one learns even when making mistakes.

The advantage of drama techniques is stated when two respondents relate usefulness to improvisation, which is one of the main characteristics of drama, although one states that he would have rather prepared it in advance to obtain a better performance. As mentioned in 3.5.1.1, on the one hand improvisation provides this willingly uncertain terrain on which learners are free to experiment with the foreign language, which, on the other hand, may make them feel even more anxious. Previous preparation and rehearsal could counterbalance the feeling of unexpectedness, losing at the same time though the true-to-life potential. Nonetheless, one of the relevant advantages of rehearsing is to work continuously on a portion of language, improving pronunciation, fluency and indirectly vocabulary and structures.

Finally, a couple of observations point to the positive evaluation of collaborative learning: one respondent hints at correcting each other, and another one to the importance of acquiring confidence with each other. The measures and activities aimed at strengthening the class confidence and getting to know each other seem to find a confirmation in terms of students' perception.

To sum up, students seem to answer positively to the question 4c (Are drama techniques useful to reduce FLA in adult learners?), in that they feel that by becoming more fluent they gain confidence, especially when they do not need to worry about making mistakes. FLA has turned out to be present in their minds, as they promptly referred to it when asked about the usefulness of the activity.

The results of a previous exploratory experience with a similar group of students carried out in 2014 were as follows. The reading phase was quite satisfactory, whereas they struggled more with the spontaneous improvisation, except for one student who claimed that it was the moment when she best felt in the whole year. Indeed, she had performed the role of a jealous wife with particular emphasis and involvement. The initial difficulty could be interpreted positively as a

useful experience for them to realise that in real-life situations they will have to interact without a written support and will have to draw on their linguistic and communicative resources to make themselves understood.

The result of this experiment, from an observational point of view, is slightly more satisfactory in that participants seemed more eager to carry on talking, in spite of their linguistic limits. Hopefully, the preparatory activities and class dynamics implemented for this course (Appendix II) have proved effective. In particular, some students who are not particularly talkative found themselves in a situation in which they had to keep up the conversation and seemed stimulated to elaborate more or ask further questions. In dialogue 2, for instance, the appearance of the other two characters (Juan and Pablo), claiming that they are going to move to Washington, stimulates several questions about why and when they are moving. Localizing the dialogue by changing Washington for a Spanish town might bring about more meaningful questions and answers, due to the familiarity with the place. Some students decided to memorise their lines, which reminds us of the benefits of memorising for learning, as claimed by some members of the drama group (see 4.4.2.2).

Moreover, the dialogue offered the opportunity to make use of vocabulary otherwise not often used in a meaningful way: in dialogue 1, when a student is explaining why he is stuck at a family dinner, he uses the word “talkative” referred to his family members that I had never heard him use in class. Gestures also accompany the acting and spur words, for example waving one's hand over a shoulder facilitates the understanding of “the old one” in dialogue 6, which the partner hadn't understood up to that point.

The conflicting element is specially relevant in dialogues 3 and 5, where the intentions of the interlocutors are in contrast: in 3 the intentions are going out and staying in respectively, and in 5 they are joining the other on the trip and not accepting the other's company. This contrast stimulates a certain level of negotiations, insistence and excuse through verbal and non-verbal communication.

As future recommendation based on observing the performance, cards should be handed to each participants with clear instructions on what to do next, instead of waiting for the teacher's instructions, in order to keep it secret to the interlocutor. Furthermore, students must be reminded that the only aim of the activity is to gain fluency, whereas accuracy is not evaluated on this occasion, especially if it may make them halt and grasp for words. In case one is at a loss for words, they should just carry on, filling silence with anything meaningful.

7.5.5 CONCLUSIONS FOR SURVEY

The experiment yielded the following results. Half of both groups felt comfortably during the experiment, although the percentage for advanced learners is slightly higher (60% vs. 50%). The other half experienced FLA at different degrees. Elementary students admit to feeling self-conscious, insecure, stressed and so on at a higher level than advanced students (31.25% vs. 10%), and if those with mixed feelings are counted in, then the amount of FLA responses is again a little higher for the elementary group (50% vs. 40%). However, the advanced students' mixed feelings are mainly at the beginning of the activity and FLA is overcome once they get involved in the performance, which makes these respondents' weight on the percentage less heavy. Based on all these data, I can assert that elementary students suffer more than advanced students from FLA.

Including when they comment on how different they felt during this activity, there exists a difference between the two groups in terms of FLA. 60% of elementary students indicate that a standing, public speaking activity makes them more nervous and self-conscious, against 40% who drew benefits in the opposite direction from the same type of activity. Instead, most advanced students appreciate the drama activity and the beneficial atmosphere it may create. In addition, virtually no advanced student mentions FLA with regard to how different they felt in the experiment context. The transformation they seem to be able to undergo thanks to drama is in fact to let go and overcome FLA, though temporarily, and enter a different, more confident dimension.

As for the usefulness of drama to overcome FLA, the two groups reply positively, with again a higher number of advanced respondents (80%) spontaneously referring to confidence-related benefits than beginners (57.5%).

It can be concluded that there are cases of FLA learners within both elementary and advanced students, but the latter seem to be less affected by it and to manage to overcome its symptoms more successfully, as they are more capable of taking advantage of the benefits of drama to reduce FLA. The elementary learners, while they welcome drama as a valuable tool, are still less prepared to such kind of activities. The reason is most probably their reduced language proficiency, in terms of vocabulary breadth and fluency, their limited experience with a wide range of language activities and certain insecurity about their capability to cope with a communicative situation. Drama techniques both provoke and help overcome FLA, especially within elementary learners, but their continuous use should bring about the aspired effect.

CONCLUSIONS

Having presented the results of both quantitative and qualitative analysis, in this section I will draw some conclusions based on the findings on their own merits and compared to results in the literature, so as to answer the four research questions.

Question 1a. Which identity-related aspects (namely Age, Gender, Stay abroad, Frequency of use) and emotions have an impact on adult EOI learners' FLA?

This study shows that for the sample of EOI students who took the questionnaire, the variables gender and age are the most relevant in correlation with FLA. This means that the female respondents suffer from FLA more than their male counterparts and the older students more than younger students. Nevertheless, in the interviews aimed at delving into the reasons behind the data, only references to age have been found. In fact, an older interviewee attributes her FLA to the social comparison with younger peers, not just in terms of cognitive deterioration but rather in terms of self-esteem being a non-proficient full-fledged adult. On the gender level, no interviewee makes any reference to gender construction as part of the learning process; as a consequence, in accordance with the stance put forward in the critical review of the literature for this matter, I conclude that women tend to admit to anxiety (and other emotions) because culturally brought up to do so, rather than being intrinsically more prone to it.

The emotions which emerged more prominently surveying the learners have been both positive, when achievement and confidence were guaranteed, and often negative too, such as fear, self-consciousness, inferiority and discomfort. These feelings portray a host of delicate factors to be borne in mind in the possibly unsettling process of language learning and teaching.

Question 1b. Does the learning experience at EOI bring about any transformation in adult learners' self-concept?

Within the framework of identity fluidity, the respondents have displayed that learning does provide a chance for a "critical experience", or an "irreversible destabilization of the individual's sense of self" (Block 2007: 21). In fact, they refer to a process of transformation and transposition during the English classes, in particular when drama activities are involved. They mention feeling a different person, or as if they were acting in a film, or simply elsewhere. The identity shift is accomplished, though temporarily in the case of the class activities. Yet on the long-term, their self-concept also goes through a process of transformation towards an ideal self (Dörnyei 2005), which the respondents identify with a proficient foreign language user (Cook 2002). Their struggle to

attain an ideal self status is what drives their motivation. This process is sustained by the learner's agency on controllable factors, such as the effort expended on preparing for an exam, rather than inner, more stable qualities such as shyness or perfectionism, which are deemed more difficult to control.

During the transformation process, I have detected that self verification takes place (Stets & Burke 2000), when a learner compares their behavior to identity standards that may be provided by the group as a community of practice (Omoniyi & White 2006). Learners seem to experience a detachment from a secure, authentic L1 persona in search of a suitable L2 identity which would make them feel legitimate L2 users (Jenkins 2007). This process unfolds not without possible frustration and internal struggle, whenever a learner feels that they are downgraded to a deficient, childish L2 persona inasmuch as they cannot express themselves fully as they would in their mother tongue. This inferiority feeling brings them to low self-esteem: they might feel ridiculous, awkward and unnatural. Lack of confidence is often registered in the interviews with undermining effects.

The learning experience becomes in these cases a threat on their L1 identity and may bring about resistance to learning (Foucault 1981), or a high affective filter (Krashen 1977). Resistance has been detected in the preliminary study as an implicit manifestation (i.e. refusing to speak in English) or explicit, as a declaration of hopelessness. Both manifestations, leading the learner in the opposite direction to motivation, turn out to be counterproductive for a harmonious learning experience and development of a full-fledged L2 persona.

Therefore, the answer is that there is definitely a transformation in terms of identity construction, which is often accompanied by inevitable feelings of estrangement and lack of confidence.

Question 2. Which motivational components (namely extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, self-efficacy) intervene in adults' learning experience at EOI?

The main motivation for EOI students has turned out to be, as expected, intrinsic. Most respondents enroll at this non-compulsory school for cultural reasons, or self-actualization, rather than for work-related obligations. The intrinsic motivation has been described by some as love or passion for learning languages or for their instrumental and integrative benefits, i.e. travelling and communicating with local people. Environmental factors, such as teaching quality and class atmosphere, contribute to the advantageous state of flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1990). The drama course that some students took up is a case in point of the motivational force propelled by enjoyment, with beneficial effects on learning per se and on overcoming FLA issues. Moreover, part of the sample in the study did mention studying English because of obligations both in

academic and professional fields, in particular at elementary level and for younger students. Therefore English, as compared to the previous study Pérez-Paredes in 1996 on a similar sample, has enhanced its status as gatekeeper over these two decades.

Self-efficacy, one of the components of motivation consisting in perceived capability to perform a task, has turned out to be the best predictor for FLA. Both quantitative and qualitative data have yielded the same result: if learners believe in their ability to speak English, their level of anxiety will be lower, and thus they will not be hindered by counterproductive thoughts and feelings and will not be led to amotivation. Rather, they will perform better and even enjoy the learning experience more, with positive consequences on involvement and future persistence. On the contrary, whenever they do not believe in their own ability, their FLA will be higher with detrimental effects on their performance and self-esteem. Hence, it becomes fundamental for a teacher to empower learner so as to ensure an adequate level of self-efficacy.

Question 3a. What factors in the FLCAS account for FLA in the EOI sample? Does “Listening Anxiety” contribute to account for FLA?

From the FLCAS questionnaires, Communication Apprehension (CA), i.e. fear of real or anticipated communication, turned out to be the main factor accounting for FLA. The causes of CA are stated by several interviewees as encompassing both social and self-related origins.

First of all, feeling ridiculous, or fearing to be judged as such, is often referred to as a cause of FLA. The link between language and judgement highlights once more how language use is conceived of as an identity statement liable to social criticism, not just as a tool for communicating, with the self being constantly at threat. On the other hand, in the drama group, where specific training has been done in this direction, the lack of peer judgement brings about a sense of freedom and empowers the participants to overcome their self-consciousness.

Then, low self-efficacy may lead to fear of failing and FLA. Some adult learners have a deficient, self-conscious image of themselves due to their low perceived self-efficacy in the language; their mature thoughts need to be infantilized in order to be expressed, with subsequent frustration for the L2 persona. When it comes to exams, even a mock test with no academic relevance might have a huge impact on the self-esteem of a full-fledged adult learner. Test related pressure is said to be a stressor, which poses an obstacle on the learning experience even before exams themselves. Related to Test Anxiety, perfectionism was detected as due to the mismatch between ideal self and actual self. Perfectionist learners displayed little tolerance and overreaction to mistakes, resulting in high frustration, block and harsh self-evaluations.

The second relevant factor emerged in the Factor Analysis was indeed Listening Anxiety, a hypothesis I made in the beginning which was also backed by several interviewees. Lack of understanding, or anticipatory fear of not understanding the interlocutor or an audio recording produces negative feelings while listening, which may lead to powerlessness and stress. An anxious listener feels a loss of control over the communicative event and might end up freezing, or even withdrawing from the interaction and avoiding future encounters. The interviewees mention more proficient interlocutors (i.e. the teacher, other peers, or a native speaker in real life) as possibly intimidating. The very nature of oral communication bears a component of unpredictability, in terms of possible answers from the interlocutor, which is overwhelming for some learners, who find themselves in a vicious circle: the less they understand, the more anxious they become, and the more anxious they become the less they understand. A counterexample for this phenomenon is the lack of FLA related to understanding in the drama group, due to the fact that their replies are completely predictable, as they have been rehearsed several times before the play.

Teachers should be aware of this type of anxiety and provide enough scaffolding for students before listening comprehension activities, so as to reinforce their self-efficacy for them to go about the task with calm and confidence.

Question 3b. Does FLA hinder achievement in speaking and listening?

From the participant observation of some anxious students' oral exams, some anxious patterns have been identified, such as fidgeting, sweating, dry mouth, sense of discomfort, stuttering and reduced fluency. Some examinees seemed to be stuck in a loop and kept on repeating the same ideas with the same words, with frequent restarts and no sentence completion. As admitted in the interviews, a counterproductive string of negative thoughts interfered with their oral performance, since cognitive resources were split between these distracting thoughts and the task itself. Most interestingly, when they learnt about their mistakes in a tutorial after the exam results, they were quite puzzled to realize them and claimed to have felt frozen and with articulation impediments.

From a quantitative analysis point of view, there exists a negative correlation between FLA and marks in speaking and listening (the lower the mark the higher FLA), however this correlation is not statistically significant. In fact, according to Achievement Theory, low achievers are not necessarily more anxious, if they do not afford a high investment in their academic success and are not worried about avoiding failure; conversely, some proficient learners show high anxiety due to perfectionism, because they over-strive for success and are overly concerned about failing. Thus, self-efficacy turned out to be a much more reliable predictor of FLA, which implies that the learner's own perception of how good they are at the language is more relevant in terms of FLA

than their actual level of proficiency. Hence, the importance of fostering and protecting the psychological image of an L2 learner is paramount.

Question 3c. Does the manifestation of FLA differ in EOI elementary and advanced learners of English?

The means in the FLCAS questionnaire show that the most anxious students are those belonging to the elementary groups, and the least are the advanced students. However, the correlation is not statistically significant.

Nonetheless, in the qualitative study several differences do emerge. Elementary learners do admit to FLA more than advanced, namely they refer to feeling stressed, insecure and self-conscious in the experimental activities, probably owing, on the one hand, to their lower proficiency (i.e. fluency, vocabulary breadth, familiarity with communicative tasks), and on the other to a still incipient L2 persona, with its self-consciousness issues attached.

Whereas advanced participants show a slightly greater confidence and appreciation of both enjoyment and usefulness of the drama activities. At the same time, these learners are faced with demanding course-loads and exams and feel the pressure of the level of proficiency they are supposed to have attained, thus they also suffer from FLA like lower level students.

However, the main difference does not stem from the degree of FLA experienced by the two levels of proficiency, rather from the strategies to overcome FLA deployed by advanced learners, which are more thorough and sophisticated, due to a longer time trying to tackle FLA and its detrimental effects.

Question 4a. Are drama techniques useful to reduce FLA?

From the FLCAS data, the hypothesis that drama played a role in reducing FLA was not borne out, given that the drama group had the highest FLA mean of the five groups, and the control non-drama groups altogether had an even lower FLA than the main groups, who had carried out the experimental activities, as well as other drama-related tasks. Taking separately though, the main advanced group seemed to have managed to take advantage of the drama activities to have a slightly lower FLA than the advanced control group. However, the difference among the groups was not statistically significant.

The high FLA in the drama groups may be explained by several factors: the moment of the completion of the questionnaire was just before their show, when stage fright might be at its highest. Then, analyzing their feelings and arguments in the interviews, the cause of FLA turned out to be a desire for the show to have a successful outcome and to avoid making mistakes on stage. This kind of FLA is thus facilitative, as opposed to debilitating, since it consists of an energizing optimal arousal boosting motivation. From the interviewees' comments it can also be evinced that the effects of their drama training are ongoing, and in the long run they expect to overcome FLA and gain confidence, which is the reason for joining the group for many members.

Most importantly, the questionnaires measured FLA only at one point -the end of the year-making it impossible to gauge any improvement from the beginning to the end of the course. A comparative study with pre- and post-test would provide a clearer answer to the effectiveness of drama to reduce FLA.

The experiments carried out with the elementary and advanced groups yielded positive results in terms of usefulness. Although the participants did experience some self-consciousness and discomfort, especially within the elementary students and at the very beginning of the activity, in most cases this feeling faded away to give way to growing confidence and comfort, in a state of flowing. Additional benefits were overcoming a sense of awkwardness and expressing oneself freely without pressures. The participants' view of the activity usefulness is unanimously positive: they all appreciated the true-to-life nature of the activity and the stimulus of performing in front of an audience.

In conclusion, drama itself might be a potential stressor and an unavoidable stage to go through. Nonetheless, there seems to be a reward in the end, which is gaining confidence both on stage and in the use of English. As one interviewee put it, it is a therapy for self-consciousness.

Question 4b. Are other strategies deployed to cope with FLA?

Students turned out to be the more aware of FLA - and consequently to deploy the more sophisticated strategies to prevent/overcome it- the more advanced they are. Elementary learners do not seem as aware of the detrimental effects of FLA as to develop specific measures against it. On the contrary, advanced learners refer to a wide range of techniques based on a deep awareness of what ought to be done in case of FLA. Even more so, the members of the drama group have developed a series of strategies that prove effective both on stage and in exams.

Most strategies correspond to the ones recommended in the literature: first of all, on the behavioural level, exposure to potentially FLA-provoking situations by rehearsing and doing plenty of practice, accompanied by breathing techniques; then, cognitive distraction and self-instructions, by disconnecting from detrimental internal speech and promoting encouraging messages. From the psychological point of view, they mention overcoming the fear of making mistakes and, in case of making one, carrying on and convincing themselves that the audience is not to be feared.

The drama group in particular rely on memorising lines and chunks of language that will be automatically retrieved when needed. Active listening is also essential to ensure the play runs smoothly. In addition, they afford an enormous importance to matching the correct paralinguistic features (i.e. body movement and gestures) and prosodic features (i.e. tone and intonation) as a way to be equipped for effective real communication. The peace of mind acquired through drama at large and through memorisation in particular acts against FLA, at the same time that learning through drama breathes life into the learning experience and the language becomes more ingrained in the mind and body.

On the other hand, the lack of effective techniques has been demonstrated to be linked to low self-efficacy and aimless investment, and consequently to FLA. Hence, it has proven paramount that students be taught learning techniques, including anti-FLA and self-regulation strategies, in order to invest their efforts productively and reap the benefits of a positive language learning experience.

Question 4c. Does drama bring about any changes in their self-concept?

The drama group has been a case in point that acting in a foreign language may bring about changes in the learner-actor's self-concept, or in Block's (2007) terms, it may provide them with a "critical experience".

In fact, by identifying with a fictional character, these learner-actors gain such a degree of confidence which allows them to perform on stage in a foreign language. In this possibly highly FLA-provoking situation, anxiety takes the form of facilitative anxiety. This new L2 persona both

protects their self-concept and enhances their new self, given that the new self can dare to express itself with the confidence generated by the character. Additionally, props and body movements are deemed essential to this transformation and to add authenticity to the character.

This phenomenon is evident in the experimental activities too, whereby pretending to be an English speaker allowed the participants to express themselves more freely and confidently, through a mental process of visualization and identification with an ideal self. By stressing those prosodic features of the English language that they would normally be embarrassed to reproduce, they had a chance to overcome initial awkwardness and explore new identity dimensions.

In sum, drama definitely proves a powerful tool and an ideal scenario to develop a healthy and thorough L2 persona. For all the reasons expounded so far, its implementation ought to be considered in any foreign language teaching with the aim of enhancing the learning experience and, ultimately, promoting confident, efficient language users.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

More scientific studies are due in order to determine the pervasiveness of FLA in different realms of EFL. Albeit the reliability of the measurement scale, the FLCAS, it should be looked into to ensure that it measures exactly what it is meant to measure; in addition, the three decades elapsed since its first piloting make it necessary to update certain items as to reflect contemporary society and EFL teaching and learning needs.

Other drama experiments ought to be carried out over a longer period of time, and a pre-test and post-test should follow in order to assess whether drama has a bearing in the long term on English learners.

CONCLUSIONES

Después de haber presentado los resultados tanto del análisis cuantitativo como cualitativo, en esta sección extraeré unas conclusiones basadas en los resultados en sí y comparándolos con los de la literatura, para así responder a las preguntas de investigación.

Pregunta 1a. ¿Qué aspectos relativos a la identidad (Edad, Género, Estancia en el extranjero, Frecuencia de uso) y emociones afectan a la ansiedad de aprendices adultos?

Este estudio demuestra que para los alumnos de EOI que respondieron al cuestionario, las variables género y edad son las más relevantes en correlación con la ansiedad¹²⁹. Esto significa que las mujeres encuestadas sufren FLA más que sus homólogos masculinos y que los alumnos mayores más que los estudiantes más jóvenes. Sin embargo, en las entrevistas dirigidas a profundizar en las razones detrás de los datos, se han encontrado únicamente las referencias a la edad. De hecho, un entrevistado de edad más avanzada atribuye su FLA a la comparación social con sus compañeros más jóvenes, no sólo en términos de deterioro cognitivo sino más bien en términos de autoestima, siendo un aprendiz maduro con un dominio limitado del inglés. A nivel de género, ningún entrevistado hace referencia a la construcción de género como parte del proceso de aprendizaje; por consiguiente, según la postura expuesta en la revisión crítica de la literatura sobre este tema, concluyo que las mujeres tienden a admitir la ansiedad (y otras emociones) porque son culturalmente educadas para hacerlo, en lugar de ser intrínsecamente más propensas a ello.

Las emociones más prominentes que surgieron al examinar los datos han sido tanto positivas, cuando el logro y la confianza están garantizados, como a menudo negativas, tales como el miedo, la vergüenza, el complejo de inferioridad y el malestar. Estos sentimientos constituyen una serie de factores delicados a tener en cuenta en el proceso posiblemente desestabilizante de enseñanza y aprendizaje de una lengua.

Pregunta 1b. ¿Produce la experiencia de aprendizaje en EOI alguna transformación en el autoconcepto de los estudiantes adultos?

En el marco de la fluidez de la identidad, los encuestados han mostrado que el aprendizaje proporciona una oportunidad para una «experiencia crítica» o una «desestabilización irreversible del sentido de sí mismo del individuo» (Block 2007:21). De hecho, se refieren a un proceso de transformación y transposición durante las clases de inglés, en particular cuando se trata de actividades de teatro. Mencionan haberse sentido una persona diferente, o como si estuvieran actuando en una película, o simplemente en otro lugar. Logran un cambio de identidad, aunque sea

¹²⁹ O FLA (del inglés Foreign Language Anxiety).

únicamente durante las actividades de clase. Sin embargo, a largo plazo su autoconcepto también pasa por un proceso de transformación hacia un yo ideal (Dörnyei 2005), que los encuestados identifican con un usuario con cierto dominio de la lengua extranjera (Cook 2002). Su lucha para lograr un estado de yo ideal es lo que impulsa su motivación. Este proceso se sustenta en la capacidad del estudiante de influir sobre factores controlables, como el esfuerzo realizado en la preparación para un examen, en lugar de cualidades interiores más estables como la timidez o el perfeccionismo, que se consideran más difíciles de controlar.

Durante esta transformación, he detectado que ocurre un proceso de auto-comprobación (Stets & Burke 2000), cuando un alumno compara su comportamiento a los estándares de identidad proporcionados por el grupo, que constituye una comunidad de práctica (Omoniyi & White 2006). Los alumnos parecen experimentar un alejamiento de una personalidad segura y auténtica relacionada a la L1 en busca de una identidad plausible en la L2 que les haga sentir usuarios legítimos de L2 (Jenkins 2007). Durante este proceso es habitual que se produzca cierta frustración y lucha interna, cada vez que un estudiante siente que se degrada a un yo deficiente e infantil en la L2, ya que no puede expresarse plenamente como lo haría en su lengua materna. Este sentimiento de inferioridad conlleva baja autoestima: el alumno puede sentirse ridículo, torpe y poco natural. La falta de confianza se registra a menudo en las entrevistas con efectos altamente perjudiciales.

La experiencia de aprendizaje se convierte en estos casos en una amenaza a su identidad de L1 y puede provocar resistencia al aprendizaje (Foucault 1981), o un filtro afectivo elevado (Krashen 1977). La resistencia se ha detectado en el estudio preliminar como manifestación implícita (es decir, negarse a hablar en inglés) o explícita, como una declaración de desesperación. Ambas manifestaciones, que llevan al alumno en la dirección opuesta a la motivación, pueden llegar a ser contraproducentes para una experiencia de aprendizaje armónico y para el desarrollo de una persona plena en la L2.

Por lo tanto, la respuesta es que definitivamente hay una transformación en términos de construcción de la identidad, que es acompañada a menudo de inevitables sentimientos de distanciamiento y falta de confianza.

Pregunta 2. ¿Qué componentes motivacionales (motivación extrínseca e intrínseca, autoeficacia) intervienen en la experiencia de aprendizaje de adultos en la EOI?

La motivación principal para los alumnos de EOI ha resultado ser, como se esperaba, intrínseca. La mayoría de los encuestados se inscribe en este centro de educación no obligatoria por razones culturales o para su realización personal, en lugar de hacerlo por obligaciones relacionadas con el trabajo. La motivación intrínseca ha sido descrita por algunos como el amor o la pasión por

aprender idiomas, o a través de sus beneficios instrumentales e integradores, es decir, viajar al extranjero y comunicarse con la gente local. Factores ambientales, tales como la calidad de la enseñanza y el ambiente de clase, contribuyen a un estado ventajoso de flujo (Csikszentmihalyi 1990). El curso de teatro cursado por algunos estudiantes es un excelente ejemplo de la fuerza motivacional propulsada por el disfrute, con efectos beneficiosos para el aprendizaje de por sí y para la superación de problemas de FLA.

Por otro lado, parte de la muestra en el estudio menciona estudiar inglés por obligaciones en los ámbitos académico y profesional, en particular los de nivel básico y los estudiantes más jóvenes. Por lo tanto durante estas dos décadas, en comparación con el estudio anterior de Pérez Paredes en 1996 en una muestra similar, el inglés ha aumentado su estatus como filtro en el ámbito laboral.

La autoeficacia, uno de los componentes de la motivación que consiste en la capacidad percibida para realizar una tarea, ha resultado ser la variable que mejor se correlaciona con la FLA. Los datos cuantitativos y cualitativos han dado el mismo resultado: si los estudiantes creen en su capacidad de hablar inglés, su nivel de ansiedad será menor, y así no serán obstaculizados por emociones y pensamientos contraproducentes y no se dejarán desmotivar. Más bien, su aprovechamiento será mayor e incluso podrán disfrutar de la experiencia de aprendizaje, con consecuencias positivas sobre su implicación y persistencia futura. Por el contrario, siempre que no creen en su propia capacidad, su FLA será mayor, con efectos perjudiciales en su rendimiento y su autoestima. Por lo tanto, se convierte en fundamental para un profesor empoderar a los estudiantes con el fin de garantizar un adecuado nivel de autoeficacia.

Pregunta 3a. ¿Qué factores en el FLCAS explican la FLA en la muestra de la EOI? ¿La «Ansiedad en la comprensión oral» contribuye a explicar la FLA?

De los cuestionarios FLCAS, la aprehensión comunicativa (CA¹³⁰), es decir, el miedo a la comunicación real o esperada, resulta ser el principal factor que explica la FLA. Según varios entrevistados, las causas de la CA abarcan orígenes tanto sociales como relacionados al individuo.

En primer lugar, la sensación de ridículo, o el temor a ser juzgado como tal, se apunta a menudo como causa de la FLA. La relación entre el lenguaje y el juicio pone de relieve una vez más cómo el uso de la lengua se concibe como una declaración de identidad susceptible de crítica social, no sólo como una herramienta para la comunicación, y el yo está constantemente amenazado. Por otra parte, en el grupo de teatro, donde se ha realizado formación específica en este sentido, la falta de juicio por parte de los compañeros trae consigo una sensación de libertad y permite a los participantes superar su vergüenza.

¹³⁰ Del inglés Communication Apprehension.

Por otro lado, la baja autoeficacia puede llevar al temor de fallar y a la FLA. Algunos estudiantes adultos tienen una imagen deficiente, insegura de sí mismos debido a su baja autoeficacia percibida en el idioma extranjero; sus pensamientos maduros necesitan ser infantilizados para poder expresarse, con la consiguiente frustración para el yo en la L2. Cuando se trata de exámenes, incluso una prueba simulacro con ninguna relevancia académica podría tener un impacto enorme en la autoestima de un estudiante maduro. La presión por los exámenes es definida como un factor estresante, que constituye un obstáculo en el aprendizaje incluso antes de los exámenes mismos. Relacionado con la ansiedad de los exámenes, el perfeccionismo ha sido detectado como debido al desajuste entre el yo ideal y yo real. El aprendiz perfeccionista muestra poca tolerancia y una reacción desmesurada ante los errores, dando por resultado alta frustración, bloqueo y duras autoevaluaciones.

El segundo factor relevante surgido en el análisis factorial ha sido justamente la ansiedad en la comprensión oral, una hipótesis que hice al principio y que también fue respaldada por varios entrevistados. La falta de comprensión o miedo anticipatorio de no entender al interlocutor o una grabación produce sentimientos negativos mientras se escucha, que pueden conducir a una sensación de impotencia y estrés. Un oyente ansioso siente una pérdida de control sobre el evento comunicativo que podría degenerar en bloqueo, o incluso llevarle a que se retire de la interacción y evite encuentros futuros. Los entrevistados mencionan como posibles fuentes de intimidación a más interlocutores competentes (el profesor, otros compañeros o un hablante nativo en la vida real). La naturaleza misma de la comunicación oral tiene un componente de imprevisibilidad en términos de posibles respuestas del interlocutor, que es abrumadora para algunos estudiantes, que se encuentran en un círculo vicioso: cuanto menos entienden, más ansiosos se ponen y cuanto más ansiosos se ponen, menos entienden. Un contraejemplo para este fenómeno es la falta de FLA relacionada con la comprensión en el grupo de teatro, debido a que sus respuestas son totalmente predecibles, ya que han ensayado varias veces antes del espectáculo.

Los profesores deben ser conscientes de este tipo de ansiedad y proporcionar suficiente apoyo para los estudiantes antes de escuchar las actividades de comprensión, con el fin de fortalecer su autoeficacia para que realicen la tarea con calma y confianza.

Pregunta 3b. ¿La FLA obstaculiza el rendimiento en la producción y comprensión oral?

De la observación participante en exámenes orales de algunos estudiantes con fuerte FLA, se han identificado algunos patrones de ansiedad, tales como sudoración, sequedad bucal, inquietud, sensación de molestia, tartamudeo y fluidez reducida. Algunos examinados parecían estar atrapados en un bucle y continuaban repitiendo las mismas ideas con las mismas palabras, reiniciando

constantemente una oración y dejándola sin terminar. Como han admitido en las entrevistas, una cadena contraproducente de pensamientos negativos interfiere con su tarea oral, puesto que los recursos cognitivos se dividen entre estos pensamientos distractores y la tarea en sí. Lo más interesante ha sido que, cuando se enteraron de sus errores en una tutoría tras los resultados de la prueba oral, los examinados se quedaron bastante perplejos y afirmaron haberse sentido bloqueados y con impedimentos en la articulación.

Desde un punto de vista del análisis cuantitativo, existe una correlación negativa entre la FLA y las notas en producción y comprensión oral (cuanto más baja la nota, mayor la FLA), sin embargo esta correlación no es estadísticamente significativa. De hecho, según la Teoría del Logro, los alumnos de bajo rendimiento no son necesariamente más ansiosos, si no invierten mucho en su éxito académico y no están preocupados por evitar el fracaso; por el contrario, algunos estudiantes con más aptitudes lingüísticas muestran gran ansiedad a causa de su perfeccionismo, porque se sobre-esfuerzan para alcanzar el éxito y se preocupan excesivamente por no cometer ningún error. Por lo tanto, la autoeficacia resulta ser la variable más correlacionada con la FLA, lo que implica que la percepción de la habilidad lingüística de un alumno es más relevante en cuanto a la FLA que su nivel real de competencia. Por lo tanto, es sumamente importante fomentar y proteger la imagen psicológica de un alumno de L2.

Pregunta 3c. ¿Difiere la manifestación de la FLA en estudiantes de nivel básico y avanzado de inglés de la EOI?

Las medias de los niveles de ansiedad en el cuestionario FLCAS muestran que los estudiantes más ansiosos son los pertenecientes a los grupos de nivel básico y los que menos ansiedad presentan son los de nivel avanzado. Sin embargo, la correlación no es estadísticamente significativa.

No obstante, es en el estudio cualitativo donde se aprecian interesantes diferencias. Los aprendices de nivel básico admiten la FLA más que los de nivel avanzado, puesto que se refieren a sentirse estresados, inseguros y cohibidos en las actividades experimentales, probablemente debido, por un lado, a su baja competencia (en cuanto a fluidez, amplitud de vocabulario, familiaridad con las tareas comunicativas) y por el otro a una personalidad todavía incipiente en la L2, junto a sus problemas de vergüenza.

Por otro lado, los participantes avanzados muestran una confianza ligeramente mayor y un aprecio tanto del placer como de la utilidad de las actividades de teatro. Al mismo tiempo, estos estudiantes se enfrentan a cargas de curso y exámenes exigentes y sienten la presión del nivel de

competencia que se supone han logrado, por lo que también sufren de FLA como los estudiantes de niveles inferiores.

Sin embargo, la principal diferencia no estriba tanto en el grado de FLA experimentada por los dos niveles de competencia, sino en las estrategias para superarla utilizadas por estudiantes avanzados, que son más completas y sofisticadas, debido a una experiencia más larga tratando de enfrentarse a sus efectos perjudiciales.

Pregunta 4a. ¿Son útiles las técnicas teatrales para reducir la FLA?

De los datos del FLCAS, la hipótesis de que el teatro desempeña un papel en la reducción de la FLA no ha sido confirmada, dado que el grupo de teatro tenía la media más alta de la FLA de los cinco grupos y los grupos de control tenían en conjunto una FLA incluso inferior que los grupos principales, que había llevado a cabo las actividades experimentales, así como otras tareas relacionadas con el teatro. No obstante, tomando los grupos por separado, el grupo avanzado principal parece haber sacado provecho de las actividades teatrales obteniendo un nivel de FLA ligeramente inferior que el grupo de control avanzado. Sin embargo, la diferencia entre los grupos no ha sido estadísticamente significativa.

La FLA alta en los grupos de teatro puede explicarse por varios factores: el momento de la cumplimentación del cuestionario fue justo antes de su espectáculo, cuando el pánico escénico puede estar en un punto álgido. En segundo lugar, analizando sus sentimientos y argumentos en las entrevistas, la causa de la FLA resulta ser un deseo de que el espectáculo salga bien y de evitar cometer errores en el escenario. Por lo tanto, este tipo de FLA es facilitadora, en oposición a la debilitadora, puesto que consiste en una excitación óptima energizante que aumenta la motivación. De los comentarios de los entrevistados también se desprende que los efectos de la formación teatral están en marcha, y a largo plazo esperan superar su FLA y ganar confianza, que para muchos de los miembros ha sido la razón para unirse al grupo.

Lo más importante resulta que los cuestionarios miden la FLA sólo en un punto -al final de año- lo que hace imposible medir una mejora desde el principio hasta el final del curso. Un estudio comparativo con pre y post-test daría una respuesta más clara a la eficacia del teatro para reducir la FLA.

Los experimentos llevados a cabo con los grupos básico y avanzado han ofrecido resultados positivos en cuanto a su utilidad. Aunque los participantes experimentaron cierta inhibición y malestar, especialmente los estudiantes de nivel básico y al comienzo de la actividad, en la mayoría de los casos este sentimiento perdió fuerza para dar paso a la creciente confianza y comodidad, en un estado de flujo. Beneficios adicionales fueron superar una sensación de torpeza y expresarse

libremente sin presiones. La valoración de los participantes sobre la utilidad de la actividad es positiva por unanimidad: todos apreciaban la verosimilitud de la actividad y el estímulo por actuar frente a un público.

En conclusión, aunque el teatro en sí mismo puede ser una fuente potencial de estrés y una etapa que se ha de superar inevitablemente, finalmente parece haber una recompensa a largo plazo, que es ganar confianza en el escenario y en el uso del inglés. Como afirma uno de los entrevistados, el teatro es una terapia para la vergüenza.

Pregunta 4b. ¿Se implementan otras estrategias para hacer frente a la FLA?

Los estudiantes resultaron ser más conscientes de la FLA -y, en consecuencia, implementar las estrategias más sofisticadas para evitarla o superarla- cuanto más avanzados son. Los estudiantes de nivel básico no parecen tan conscientes de los efectos perjudiciales de la FLA como para desarrollar medidas específicas contra ella. Por el contrario, los estudiantes avanzados hacen referencia a una amplia gama de técnicas basadas en un conocimiento profundo de lo que debería hacerse en caso de FLA. De forma aún más evidente, los miembros del grupo de teatro han desarrollado una serie de estrategias que se han demostrado eficaces tanto en el escenario como en los exámenes.

La mayoría de las estrategias corresponden a las recomendadas en la literatura: en primer lugar, a nivel conductual, la exposición a situaciones potencialmente provocadoras de FLA ensayando y realizando una gran cantidad de práctica, acompañada de técnicas de respiración; en segundo lugar, la distracción cognitiva y las autoinstrucciones, desconectando del discurso interno perjudicial y promoviendo mensajes alentadores. Desde el punto de vista psicológico, mencionan superar el miedo de cometer errores y, en caso de incurrir en uno, continuar y convencerse de que no merece la pena temer al público.

El grupo de teatro en particular utiliza la memorización de sus papeles y de fragmentos del lenguaje que son recuperados automáticamente por el cerebro cuando sea necesario. La escucha activa también es esencial para garantizar que la función se desarrolle sin percances. Además, atribuyen una importancia capital a los rasgos paralingüísticos correctos (es decir, movimientos corporales y gestos) y a las características prosódicas (entonación y tono) como una manera de prepararse para una comunicación eficaz en la vida real. La tranquilidad adquirida a través del teatro en general y a través de la memorización en particular actúa contra la FLA, a la vez que el aprendizaje a través del drama da vida a la experiencia de aprendizaje y el idioma se vuelve más arraigado en la mente y el cuerpo.

Por otro lado, se ha demostrado que la falta de técnicas efectivas se relaciona con baja autoeficacia y con una inversión infructuosa de energía, lo que conlleva niveles altos de FLA. Por lo tanto, se ha demostrado que es fundamental enseñar a los estudiantes técnicas de aprendizaje, incluyendo estrategias anti-FLA y de autorregulación, con el fin de que inviertan productivamente sus esfuerzos y cosechen los beneficios de una experiencia de aprendizaje positiva.

Pregunta 4c. ¿El teatro produce cambio en su autoconcepto?

El grupo de teatro ha sido un excelente ejemplo de que actuar en un idioma extranjero puede producir cambios en el autoconcepto del alumno-actor, o en términos de Block (2007), puede proporcionarles una «experiencia crítica».

De hecho, al identificarse con un personaje de ficción, estos alumnos-actores obtienen tal grado de confianza que les permite actuar en el escenario en una lengua extranjera. En esta situación, que puede fácilmente provocar FLA, la ansiedad toma la forma de ansiedad facilitadora. Este nuevo personaje L2 protege su autoestima a la vez que potencia su nuevo yo, dado que el nuevo yo puede atreverse a expresarse con la confianza generada por el personaje. Además, el *attrezzo* y los movimientos del cuerpo se consideran esenciales para esta transformación y añaden autenticidad al personaje.

Este fenómeno es evidente en las actividades experimentales, en las que actuar simulando ser un hablante nativo permitió a los participantes expresarse más libremente y con confianza, a través de un proceso mental de visualización e identificación con un yo ideal. Haciendo hincapié en las características prosódicas de la lengua inglesa que normalmente les da vergüenza reproducir, tuvieron una oportunidad para superar la dificultad inicial y explorar nuevas dimensiones de la identidad.

En definitiva, el teatro se convierte sin duda en una poderosa herramienta y un escenario ideal para desarrollar una personalidad completa y fuerte en la L2. Por todas las razones expuestas hasta ahora, se debe considerar su aplicación en la enseñanza de cualquier idioma extranjero con el objetivo de mejorar la experiencia de aprendizaje y, en última instancia, empoderar a usuarios de idiomas seguros y eficientes.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ACTIVITY 1 – ENGLISH/SPANISH PERSONA (advanced)

ACTIVITY 1A

TEXT 1

Read this text as if you were an English OR American speaker. Choose the accent with which you feel more comfortable and you identify more. You're kindly asked to exaggerate!

Soy americano/a OR inglés/a pero vivo en Madrid desde hace un año. Mi español no es muy bueno porque siempre hablo con personas anglófonas y en mi trabajo sólo hablo inglés. La gente en Madrid son majos y ayudan mucho. La razón por la que me mudé es que vendí mi casa en mi país y quería vivir una aventura.*

Which are the phonological features that make your reading “more English”?

ACTIVITY 1B

TEXT 2

Now read this text trying to stress a “very Spanish” accent. You're kindly asked to exaggerate!

I am Spanish and I am studying English because my friend has invited me to see him in England. I have hosted him in Jaén and now I want to travel to his country and experience its important cultural heritage. There is a variety of things to do, I need lots of money but I will use the public transport to get around.

Which are the phonological features that make your reading “very Spanish”?

ACTIVITY 2 – IMPROVISING (advanced)

HUSBAND AND WIFE ARGUE ABOUT WHO IS GOING TO IRON TODAY. THEY BOTH CLAIM THAT THEY'VE ALREADY DONE OTHER HOUSEHOLD TASKS THIS WEEK AND THEY'RE VERY BUSY TODAY.

YOUR HAIRDRESSER HAS CUT YOUR HAIR REALLY BADLY! COMPLAIN ABOUT IT. HE/SHE WILL DEFEND HIS/HER JOB SAYING HE/SHE IS THE BEST HAIRDRESSER IN TOWN.

YOU ARE TWO 7-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN COMPETING FOR THE BEST MOTHER (YOU BOTH THINK THAT YOUR MUM IS THE MOST BEAUTIFUL, KINDEST, SWEETEST, YOUNGEST etc...

YOU ARE AT A CLOTHES SHOP. THE DRESS THAT YOU LIKE IS THE LAST ONE. ANOTHER CLIENT WANTS IT AND YOU FIGHT FOR IT.

POSH GIRL: YOU WANT TO GIVE BACK SOME SHOES TO Colee Jules. YOU USED THEM ONCE BUT YOU PRETEND YOU DIDN'T.

SHOP ASSISTANT: YOU NOTICE THAT THE SHOES HAVE ALREADY BEEN USED AND YOU DON'T WANT TO GIVE A REFUND FOR THEM.

List of situations:

- ✓ Husband and wife argue about who is going to argue today. They both claim that they have both already done other household tasks this week and they are very busy today.
- ✓ Your hairdresser has cut your hair really badly! Complain about it. He/she will defend his/her job saying he/she is the best hairdresser in town.
- ✓ You are both 7-year-old children competing for the best mother (you both think that your mum is the most beautiful, kindest, sweetest, youngest etc...)
- ✓ You are at a clothes shop. The dress that you like is the last one. Another client wants it and you fight for it.
- ✓ Posh girl: you want to give back some shoes to “El Corte Inglés”. You used them once but you pretend you didn't.

Shop assistant: you notice that the shoes have already been used and you don't want to give a refund for them.

- ✓ Employee: you want a promotion at work so you pay lots of compliments to your boss (clothes, hard-work...).

Boss: you do not want to give the promotion. You think that this employee is not hard-working.

- ✓ Dad/mum: your teenage child has come back home at 6 am (instead of 3 am when he/she should have come back).

Child: you knew that you should have come back home at 3 am but it was exactly when you started to have a good time! Now you are drunk and you should convince your parents that you are not.

- ✓ Wife: You are suspicious of your husband's frequent delays and want to find out more about his working time and after work commitments.

Husband: you are working quite hard and spend some time at the gym to work out after work and catching up with old friends.

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

✓ Birthday boy/girl: Your birthday will be in one week and you want to celebrate with few close friends (not this friend!)

Friend: you enquire about your friend's birthday plans and propose to celebrate together (give ideas).

ACTIVITY 3– ACTING OUT (elementary)

From Latham-Koenig, C. & Oxenden, C. (2012). *English File. Elementary*. OUP

10B GRAMMAR *be going to* (plans)

- a Complete the sentences with *be + going to*. Use the verb in brackets. Use contractions where possible.



1
A ¹ *Are you going to watch* the match tonight? (watch)
B I don't think so. I ² _____ with my girlfriend's parents, and they hate football. (have dinner)



2
A Juan and Pablo ³ _____ here next year. (not study)
B Why not?
A Because they ⁴ _____ in Washington. (live)



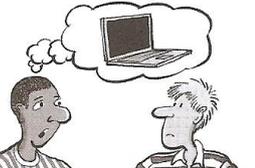
3
A I ⁵ _____ this evening. (not go out)
B Why not?
A I need to get up early tomorrow morning. I ⁶ _____ at 10.00. (go to bed)



4
A ⁷ _____ Emma _____ at the party? (be)
B Yes, and she says that she ⁸ _____ her new boyfriend. (bring)



5
A What ⁹ _____ you _____ next weekend? (do)
B We ¹⁰ _____ with our friends in London. (stay)
A ¹¹ _____ you _____ the children? (take)
B Yes. We ¹² _____ the Science Museum and then go sightseeing. (visit)



6
A Where is your sister?
B She's out shopping. She ¹³ _____ a new laptop. (buy)
A What ¹⁴ _____ she _____ with the old one? (do)
B I don't know, but she ¹⁵ _____ it to me! (not give)

activation

- b Practise the dialogues on this page with your partner.

ALTERNATIVE WORKSHEET

7B GRAMMAR past simple: regular verbs

a Complete the dialogues in the past tense. Use the verbs in brackets.

1 **Annie** *'Did you study* French at university? (study)

Beth No, I ² _____ French, I ³ _____ Italian. I ⁴ _____ in Rome for six months in my third year. (not study, study, live)

Annie Where ⁵ _____ you _____ in Rome? (live)

Beth Near the Forum. I ⁶ _____ a house with some Italian students. (rent)

Annie ⁷ _____ you _____ in Italian all the time? (talk)

Beth Not always, because they ⁸ _____ to practise their English. But I ⁹ _____ to cook great pasta! (want, learn)



2 **Alan** ¹⁰ _____ you _____ Brazil? (like)

Ben We ¹¹ _____ it! We ¹² _____ to come home. (love, not want)

Alan ¹³ _____ you _____ around the country? (travel)

Ben We ¹⁴ _____ much because we were only there for two weeks. (not travel)

Alan ¹⁵ _____ you _____ in hotels? (stay)

Ben No, we ¹⁶ _____. We stayed with Brazilian friends.



3 **Dave** ¹⁷ _____ you _____ the match? Arsenal and Real Madrid? (watch)

Carl No, I ¹⁸ _____.

Dave Why not?

Carl I ¹⁹ _____ late last night. I ²⁰ _____ until 7.00. (work, not finish)

Dave But the match ²¹ _____ at 7.45. (start)

Carl Yes, but I ²² _____ my train. I ²³ _____ home until 9.30. (miss, not arrive)

Dave What a pity! It was a fantastic match.



4 **Sam** I ²⁴ _____ you three times last night but you ²⁵ _____. (call, not answer)

Lucy Sorry. I was in the cinema with my sister.

Sam And I ²⁶ _____ you too. Why ²⁷ _____ you _____ me back? (text, not text)

Lucy Because I was angry.

Sam Angry? Why?

Lucy Because you ²⁸ _____ to me at the party last week. You ²⁹ _____ to Eva for about an hour. (not talk, chat)

Sam I ³⁰ _____ to Eva for an hour! She had a problem and she just ³¹ _____ to tell me about it. (not chat, want)

Lucy A problem? Is that why you ³² _____ with her for twenty minutes? (dance)



activation

b Practise the dialogues on this page in pairs.

APPENDIX II

In the school year 2014-2015, I have endeavoured to apply the information gleaned in the literature review to my classes in order to be able to see if the learners managed to tackle FLA. Here's a description of the activities and their corresponding purposes.

ACTIVITY or CLASSROOM ASPECT	DESCRIPTION	PURPOSE
Name Game NB1 NA2	Mingle activity in which students introduce themselves to each other by their given name preceded by a positive adjective starting with the same letter as their initial.	To break the ice. To get to know each other. To remember each other's name with the help of the adjective, thus create a relaxed atmosphere and threat-free environment.
Mixed interviews NA2	First students interview each other in pairs. Then report to the class in the first person but pretending they are the interviewed classmate.	To get to know each other, thus create a relaxed atmosphere and threat-free environment. To be in another's person shoes and take on the role. To improvise on unknown information (=classmate's life) requested by teacher or other students.
Motivation and goals	A session on students' initial motivation and how to sustain it, including learning strategies and setting goals for the academic year.	To make students aware of the importance of motivation at the beginning and all through the academic year. To empower them with techniques to sustain motivation. To set clear goals and strategies to attain them.
Games and role plays	Board games, drawing games, guessing games, miming and roleplaying activities, "find someone who" and other mingling activities, speed-dating.	To value students' intelligences apart from the linguistic proper. To create a cohesive, harmonious class environment. To foster collaboration and group learning.
Pairing and grouping	Pair and group work was promoted and pair and group composition varied so that students would not work with the same person(s) all the time.	To promote that students would get to know each other in the class and, ultimately, to foster a feeling of collaboration and intimacy, as to make it less threatening to speak out in English and to ask any questions or express any concerns.
Humour	A light-hearted, humoristic approach was fostered when possible.	To make the teacher more approachable and less threatening. To make the time in class more agreeable and fun, enhancing motivation. To make relationships smoother among students and student/teacher.

		To take oneself less “seriously” so as not to feel embarrassed when making a mistake or simply having to speak out.
Culture	British and American history hints. British humour through vignettes/cartoons. American and British national health service. British and American famous people. British and American public holidays. British and American music. Irish folk music and dances. British politeness. Indian tea and way of life. Sydney, Australia. Life and economy of an African country.	To enhance motivation and interest in the target cultures. To foster understanding and respect towards its speakers. Ultimately, to promote a positive attitude towards the language, its speakers and their culture and reduce the cultural barrier and emotional filter.
Competitions	Some general culture or language related competitions were held.	To foster in-group collaboration and learn in a relaxed, enjoyable environment. To acknowledge students' knowledge and abilities.
Projects	Posters on a cultural topic. A1 Poster on common learning objectives for the year. B2 Reading club. B2 Class presentation on cultural topic. B2 Acting out a scene from a sitcom. B2	To foster in-group collaboration. To value different abilities (artistic, musical, social and so on) and make the student feel more confident and enhance their self-efficacy.
Teacher's self-discourse	I told some personal anecdotes and experiences related to the topic or to cultural aspects, as well as disclosing my opinions and tastes on some matters.	To be more approachable as a teacher. To encourage freer expression. To communicate on a fair, balanced level.
Feedback of oral production (speaking)	I provided feedback avoiding direct, on-the-spot methods and preferring delayed correction, either individually or collectively but with no reference to the person who made the mistake. Non-intrusive, polite correction was also made in case of halting or communication breakdown.	To lessen the feeling of being corrected every time a student opened their mouth, putting them in such a situation that everything they said would be subject to correction. To promote a sense of relative freedom of expression. To minimise the debilitating effects of correction on fluency.
Pre-test preparation	Exam content and format, evaluation timing, procedures and criteria were made clear. Plenty of exam-like activities were carried out in class prior to the exams.	To minimise test anxiety.

APPENDIX III

CUESTIONARIO SOBRE ACTITUD HACIA EL INGLÉS

Este cuestionario forma parte de una investigación sobre el aprendizaje del inglés en la EOI. Tu colaboración es muy importante y contribuirá a la mejora de la labor docente.

Nombre y Apellidos*	Edad	Nivel		Género	
		NB1	NA2	M	F

¿Has vivido en un país de habla inglesa?	Nunca	Menos de 6 meses	Entre 6 meses y 1 año	Más de 1 año

¿Con qué frecuencia hablas inglés fuera de clase?	Nunca	1 ó 2 veces al año	1 ó 2 veces al mes	1 ó 2 veces por semana	A diario

¿Cómo hablas inglés?	Excelente	Muy bien	Bien	Razonablemente bien	Me defiendo	No muy bien	Mal	Muy mal

¿Estudias inglés porque tu empresa te lo exige?	Sí	No
¿Estudias inglés para ampliar tu cultura?	Sí	No
¿Estudias inglés para conseguir trabajo?	Sí	No

* *Los datos personales son confidenciales y no se utilizarán bajo ninguna circunstancia. Tampoco tendrán alguna relevancia las respuestas del test para la nota, por lo que te pido que respondas con la máxima sinceridad posible a las preguntas.*

POR FAVOR MARCA LA CASILLA QUE CORRESPONDA A TU GRADO DE ACUERDO CON CADA AFIRMACIÓN.

5=Estoy muy de acuerdo (MA)

4=Estoy de acuerdo (A)

3=No estoy de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo (NA/ND)

2=Estoy en desacuerdo (D)

1=Estoy muy en desacuerdo (MD)

	5 MA	4 A	3 NA/ ND	2 D	1 MD
1. Nunca me siento muy seguro/a de mí mismo/a cuando hablo en la clase de inglés.					
2. <i>No</i> me preocupa cometer errores en clase de inglés.					
3. Tiemblo cuando sé que se me va pedir hablar en la clase de inglés.					
4. Me asusto cuando no comprendo lo que el profesor está diciendo en inglés.					
5. No me importaría en absoluto recibir más clases de inglés.					
6. Durante la clase de inglés, me doy cuenta de que pienso en cosas que no tienen nada que ver con la clase.					
7. Continuamente pienso que a mis compañeros se les da mejor el inglés que a mí.					
8. Normalmente estoy relajado/a durante los exámenes de inglés.					
9. Me entra pánico cuando tengo que hablar en la clase de inglés sin haberme preparado antes.					
10. Me preocupan las consecuencias de suspender los exámenes de inglés.					
11. No comprendo por qué hay gente que se pone tan nerviosa en las clases de inglés.					
12. En la clase de inglés puedo ponerme tan nervioso/a que llego a olvidar las cosas que sé.					
13. Me da vergüenza contestar de modo voluntario en clase.					
14. <i>No</i> me pondría nervioso/a hablando inglés con hablantes nativos.					
15. Me inquieto cuando no comprendo lo que el profesor me está corrigiendo.					
16. Me preocupo por la clase de inglés incluso si estoy bien preparado/a para la misma.					
17. A menudo me apetece no asistir a la clase de inglés.					
18. Me siento seguro/a de mí mismo/a cuando hablo en clase.					
19. Me produce temor que el profesor esté pendiente de corregir cada error que cometo.					
	5	4	3	2	1

	MA	A	NA/ ND	D	MD
20. El “ <i>listening</i> ” es la más difícil de todas las destrezas.					
21. Se me acelera el corazón cuando se me va a pedir hablar en la clase de inglés.					
22. Cuanto más estudio para un examen de inglés, más me confundo.					
23. <i>No</i> siento la presión de tener que prepararme muy bien para la clase de inglés.					
24. Siempre tengo la sensación de que mis compañeros hablan inglés mejor que yo.					
25. Me da mucha vergüenza cuando hablo inglés enfrente de mis compañeros.					
26. Me siento seguro cuando hago un “ <i>listening</i> ”					
27. La clase de inglés va tan deprisa que me preocupa quedarme atrás.					
28. Me siento más tenso/a y nervioso/a en la clase de inglés que en clases de otras asignaturas (presentes o pasadas).					
29. Me pongo nervioso/a y me confundo cuando hablo en clase de inglés.					
30. Mientras voy a la clase de inglés me siento muy seguro/a y relajado/a.					
31. Me pongo nervioso/a cuando no entiendo cada una de las palabras que dice el profesor.					
32. Cuando hago un “ <i>listening</i> ” me parece que no entiendo nada.					
33. Me siento agobiado/a por el número de reglas que tienes que aprender para poder hablar inglés.					
34. Temo que los otros alumnos se rían de mí cuando hablo en inglés.					
35. Probablemente me sentiría cómodo entre hablantes nativos de inglés.					
36. Me pongo nervioso cuando el profesor de inglés me hace preguntas que no he preparado de antemano.					
37. Cuando hago un “ <i>listening</i> ” me pongo nervioso/a.					

5=Estoy muy de acuerdo (MA)

4=Estoy de acuerdo (A)

3=No estoy de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo (NA/ND)

2=Estoy en desacuerdo (D)

1=Estoy muy en desacuerdo (MD)

¡MUCHAS GRACIAS POR TU COLABORACIÓN!

APPENDIX IV

POST-ACTIVITY SURVEY

After the drama activities, the following questions were asked, aiming at gathering information on research question 1 (*1a. Which identity-related aspects (namely Age, Gender, Stay abroad, Frequency of use) and emotions have an impact on adult EOI learners' FLA?*), and 4a (*Are drama techniques useful to reduce FLA in adult learners?*) and 4c (*Do they bring about any changes in their self-concept?*) NB1 students were asked the questions in Spanish and NA2 students in English, taking into account the different levels of proficiency.

1. ¿Cómo te has sentido durante la actividad de hoy?

How did you feel during today's activity?

2. ¿Te has sentido distinto/a en esta actividad con respecto a otras actividades? Si sí, ¿qué diferencia has experimentado?

Did you feel different in this activity compared to other activities? If so, what's the difference?

3. ¿Crees que ha sido útil para tu inglés? Si sí ¿cómo?

Do you think it was useful for your English? If so, how?

APPENDIX V
ASSESSMENT

SPEAKING – ELEMENTARY STUDENTS			
PRON			5 SB 4 NT 3.5 AP+ 3 AP 2.5 AP- 2 SS 1.5 SS131
VOCAB			5 SB 4 NT 3.5 AP+ 3 AP 2.5 AP- 2 SS 1.5 SS
STRUCTURES			6 SB 5 NT 4 AP+ 3.5 AP 3 AP- 2 SS
FLUENCY			5 SB 4 NT 3.5 AP+ 3 AP 2.5 AP- 2 SS 1.5 SS
INTERACTION			4 SB 3 NT 2.5 AP 2 AP- 1.5 SS
TOT			

¹³¹ SB = sobresaliente (excellent); NT = notable (good); AP = aprobado (pass); SS = suspenso (fail).

SPEAKING - ADVANCED STUDENTS (B2)	Task 1	Task 2
Effective communication (intelligibility, communicative functions, sociolinguistic appropriacy)	___/3	___/3
Discourse (coherence, speech structure/interaction ¹³² information quantity and appropriacy)	___/3	___/3
Language range (grammar and vocabulary range, cohesion, fluency)	___/4	___/3
Accuracy (grammar and vocabulary accuracy, language complexity, pronunciation and intonation)	___/3	___/3
	___/13	___/12
	___/25	

¹³²

Speech structure in the case of task 1 (monologue) and interaction with peer in task 2 (dialogue).

APPENDIX VI QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Group A1

Student.	Stay	Frequency	Self-efficacy	Mot 1	Mot 2	Mot 3
1	0	2	2	N	Y	N
2	1	1	2	Y	Y	Y
3	0	0	6	N	Y	Y
4	1	1	2	N	Y	Y
5	2	2	3	N	Y	Y
6	0	1	2		Y	
7	0	0	2	N	Y	N
8	0	0	2	N	Y	
9	0	0	3	N	Y	Y
10	0	0	3	N	Y	Y
11	0	3	3	N	Y	Y
12	0	4	3	N	Y	N
13	0	1	2	N	Y	Y
14	0	1	2	N	Y	N
15	0	0	0	N	Y	Y
16	0	1	1	N	Y	Y
17	0	2	3	N	Y	Y
18	0	2	2	N	Y	Y

0,2222 1,166666667 2,388888889

Y = 1 Y = 18 Y = 12
N = 17 N = 0 N = 4
- = 1 - = 2

FLCAS

Student	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25	Q26	Q27	Q28	Q29	Q30	Q31	Q32	Q33	Q34	Q35	Q36	Q37
1	2	1	1	2	3	1	2	2	2	5	4	2	2	2	4	1	3	2	3	3	1	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	4	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	
2	2	1	1	3	5	2	3	3	1	5	3	3	1	4	5	5	2	5	1	5	1	3	1	3	1	1	3	5	3	3	4	4	1	3	1	5	
3	1	5	1	1	3	3	2	4	3	4	5	1	3	5	1	3	2	4	3	1	1	3	3	3	5	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	3	2	3	1	
4	4	1	3	4	5	3	4	2	5	4	2	5	4	4	4	4	2	3	5	4	4	3	2	4	4	3	3	1	3	3	4	5	3	4	5	4	4
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8	5	3	4	4	5	1	4	5	5	1	3	5	3	1	3	5	1	5	1	5	3	1	5	4	4	1	3	2	5	5	3	5	3	2	1	5	5
9	2	2	2	3	5	1	1	3	3	4	3	2	2	1	3	4	1	3	2	5	4	2	3	2	2	4	5	3	4	5	4	4	5	2	2	2	5
10	3	2	1	3	4	2	1	4	2	3	4	2	1	3	2	4	3	4	2	2	2	2	4	1	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	1	1	1	3	2	2
11	3	2	2	2	3	5	2	3	3	5	4	4	4	3	4	3	1	3	3	1	3	4	3	2	3	4	2	2	3	3	3	1	2	3	3	3	2
12	3	4	2	2	4	4	3	1		5	1	3	1	1	5	5	1	3	4	3	4	4		3	2	1	1	1	2	3	5	1	1	4	2		2
13		2	3	2	4	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	1	3	1	4	1	3	1	5	3	1	1	2	3	1	1	3	4	3	2	3	1	1	2	1	3
14	4	3	2	3	5	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	5	1	2	2	5	1	3	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	4	3	1	2	1	1	2	4
15	5	1	5	4	5	1	3	1	4	5	1	5	2	1	3	5	1	1	1	4	5	1	1	3	5	1	2	4	5	3	3	4	4	5	1	5	5
16	5	2	5	5	5	3	4	1	4	1	1	1	1		5	5	3	1	3	3	5	3	1	5	5	1	5	5	5	1	5	5	5		1	5	1
17	3	3	1	2	5	1	2	3	1	3	2	4	1	3	3	4	1	2	1	2	1	1	4	3	4	3	1	1		2	5	3	5	1	3	5	1
18	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	2	4	5	2	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	2	4	3	4	3	2	4	3	4	4	4	3	2	4	4

3,2353 2,5 2,3889 2,7778 4,2222 2,2222 2,5556 2,5556 2,7647 3,6111 2,7778 3 2 2,5882 3 3,8333 1,7222 2,8889 2,1111 3,4444 2,7222 2,3889 2,4118 2,8333 3 2,5556 2,3333 2,2778 3,1176 3,3529 3,1667 2,9444 3 2,1176 2,4444 3,0556 3,1111

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

Student	listening	speaking
1	6	14
2	21	19
3	24	21
4	17	14
5	25	25
6	22	21
7	20	12
8	20	19
9	25	21
10	25	23
11	19	29
12	21	17
13	13	17
14	20	20
15	23	22
16	19	19
17	25	23
18	20	14

Group B2

Student	Age	Level	Gender	Stay	Frequency	Self-efficacy	Mot 1	Mot 2	Mot 3
1		B2	F	0	1	3	N	Y	N
2	41	B2	F	1	1	3	Y	Y	Y
3	43	B2	F	0	0	3	N	Y	Y

Student	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25	Q26	Q27	Q28	Q29	Q30	Q31	Q32	Q33	Q34	Q35	Q36	Q37
1	4	4	3	2	5	2	3	2	3	1	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	4	2	2	3	3	3	4	4
2	5	2	5	4	5	1	2	2	5	4	1	4	4	3	4	4	2	1	4	4	5	4	3	2	4	2	4	3	4	2	4	3	4	4	2	2	4
3	3	2	2	1	5	1	3	1	2	2	4	3	2	1	1	5	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	3	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	4
4	4	2	2	1	2	2	2	4	2	1	4	4	4	2	2	1	4	2	1	5	4	2	4	4	4	4	2	1	2	4	4	4	1	2	1	2	2
5	2	2	2	2	5	5	2	1	2	5	3	2	2	3	1	2	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	3
6	1	5	1	2	5	2	1	5	3	5	5	5	1	3	5	5	2	2	1	2	3	4	1	2	2	4	3	4	5	3	1	2	5	2	3	4	3
7	2	5	1	1	5	4	3	3	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	2	4	4	3	1	5	1	1	3	5	1	2	1	1	2	1	1
8	2	5	1	1	5	3	2	3	1	1	4	2	2	2	1	1	2	5	1	2	2	3	4	2	1	3	2	1	2	4	1	1	2	1	3	1	1
9	4	1	5	5	5	4	5	2	5	5	1	4	4	1	5	4	2	5	4	5	4	5	1	5	5	1	3	4	5	4	4	5	3	5	1	4	4
10	3	4	1	3	2	4	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	3	5	4	3	4	2	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	1	4	2	3
11	3	4	2	1	5	3	3	4	3	2	1	2	3	2	1	1	4	2	1	5	3	1	1	1	2	5	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	2	1
12	3	3	2	2	5	2	3	3	2	4	4	3	3	4	3	5	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	4	3	3	4	2	3
13	2	3	2	3	4	2	1	4	1	4	3	2	2	3	4	1	3	4	4	2	3	1	4	1	1	4	2	1	2	4	3	1	2	1	3	2	2
14	4	2	2	3	5	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	4	3	1	3	1	1	1	2	3	3	1	4	1	1	4	3	1	2	3	1	3	1	4
15	3	4	2	4	4	5	3	4	1	5	4	4	1	4	4	5	4	4	2	5	2	2	4	3	2	1	1	1	2	4	2	3	2	3	3	2	4
16	1	1	1	1	5	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	1	1	3	1	2	1	1	5	2	1
17	3	1	4	3	4	2	1	1	3	5	1	4	4	4	5	3	4	3	2	4	4	2	4	2	4	1	2	1	4	2	1	5	4	1	4	2	5
18	2	2	2	1	4	4	4	4	2	5	1	3	3	5	2	1	4	3	3	2	1	2	4	4	2	1	3	2	2	4	1	4	2	1	4	2	4
19	3	4	3	4	5	3	1	4	1	1	1	4	3	2	2	1	1	2	1	4	3	1	5	1	1	2	1	3	4	2	3	3	1	1	3	3	1
20	5	2	3	3	5	2	5	1	3	4	1	4	4	2	4	4	3	5	3	2	4	3	2	4	3	5	3	4	4	5	3	3	3	3	2	4	4

2,95 2,9 2,3 2,35 4,5 2,8 2,6 2,8 2,25 3,15 2,5 3,05 2,6 2,55 2,8 2,7 2,6 3 2,15 3,2 2,65 2,45 2,85 2,6 2,3 2,95 2,25 2,05 2,85 3,45 2,05 2,7 2,35 1,85 2,95 2,25 2,9

Y = 1 Y = 20 Y = 9
 N = 19 N = 0 N = 10
 - = 1

FLCAS

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

Student	LISTENING	SPEAKING
1	18	13
2	19	19
3	14	12
4	17	12
5	13	13
6	10	13
7	21	17
8	21	21
9	18	14
10	15	19
11	22	15
12	14	14
13	22	17
14	23	17
15	24	24
16	17	19
17	18	17
18	15	19
19	21	23
20	14	12

Group A1c

Student	Age	Level	Gender	Stay	Frequency	Self-efficacy	Mot 1	Mot 2	Mot 3
1	52	A1	M	0	1	3	N	Y	N
2	44	A1	F	1	4	3	Y	Y	Y
3	40	A1	M	0	3	5	N	Y	N
4	22	A1	M	1	3	5	Y	Y	Y
5	51	A1	F	0	1	3	N	Y	N
6	40	A1	M	0	0	4	N	Y	Y
7	34	A1	F	0	3	2	Y	Y	N
8	28	A1	F	0	0	1	N	N	Y
9	17	A1	F	0	3	5	N	Y	Y
10	21	A1	M	0	1	4	N	Y	Y
11	42	A1	F	0	3	3	N	Y	Y
12	28	A1	F	0	1	3	Y	Y	Y
13	32	A1	F	0	3	3	N	Y	Y
14	37	A1	F	0	4	3	N	Y	N
15	25	A1	M	1	3	5	Y	Y	Y
16	31	A1	F	0	0	1	N	Y	Y
17	21	A1	F	0	0	0	N	N	Y
18	54	A1	F	0	1	3	N	Y	N
19	18	A1	F	0	1	6	N	Y	Y
20	18	A1	F	0	3	5	N	Y	Y

Y = 5 Y = 18 Y = 14
 N = 15 N = 2 N = 6

32,75

0,125 1,833333333 3,416666667

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

FLCAS

Student	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25	Q26	Q27	Q28	Q29	Q30	Q31	Q32	Q33	Q34	Q35	Q36	Q37	
1	3	2	3	1	5	1	2	4	3	5	1	5	3	3	2	4	1	2	2	2	4	1	3	2	3	2	2	4	3	3	1	4	3	1	3	4	3	
2	3	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	4	5	4	4		4	2	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	2	4	4	2	2	4	4	3	4	3	4	5	2	2	4	
3	2	5	1	1	4	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	2	3	2	4	2	2	3	2	1	2	2	2	4	2	4	2	2	4	2	4	2	3
4	2	5	1	2	5	4	3	4	3	2	4	3	1	4	2	4	4	5	1	5	2	1	4	3	2	3	3	1	3	4	5	4	4	1	4	2	3	
5	3	5	1	1	5	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	4	3	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	1	4	2	1	2	4	2	2	3	2	4	2	2
6	3	2	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	4	2	3	2	3	4	4	2	4	2	4	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	4	2	3	2	1	3	2	3	
7	4	3	4	2	4	3	4	3	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	4	4	3	3	4	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	
8	5	2	4	4	5	1	4	1	5	5	1	4	2	1	4	2	1	2	4	5	4	2	3	4	4	1	5	5	4	3	2	5	5	4	1	5	5	
9	3	3	2	2	4	4	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	4	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	
10	2	4	2	1	4	4	2	3	3	3	2	3	1	3	2	2	1	4	2	3	3	2	3	2	1	3	2	1	2	4	3	3	2	1	3	3	3	
11	4	5	2	2	5	2	2	2	4	4	2	3	2	4	2	3	1	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	2	4	3	2	3	4	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	
12	4	2	4	4	4	2	5	3	4	5	2	5	4	2	4	4	3	2	3	5	4	2	1	5	4	3	4	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	2	4	4	
13	3	5	1	1	5	2	3	4	1	4	3	3	1	3	3	3	2	4	1	5	1	4	3	3	2	3	1	3	2	5	2	3	2	1	2	2	4	
14	4	2	5	3	5	3	4	1	2	4	2	4	4	5	2	4	2	2	2	2	4	5	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	4	4	2
15	2	4	4	2	5	1	2	4	2	1	2	2	3	3	2	1	1	4	1	1	4	1	4	2	2	4	1	1	2	5	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	
16	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	4	3	4	2	2	4	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	4	2	3	3	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	4	3	2
17	3	5	3	3	4	5	2	4	3	4	2	3	5	1	3	2	4	3	2	4	3	2	5	2	4	3	2	1	2	4	2	2	2	2	1	3	2	
18	3	2	2	2	4	2	3	3	2	1	3	3	1	3	4	4	2	3	2	5	2	3	2	3	1	1	3	2	2	4	3	2	3	1	3	2	4	
19	2	2	1	2	4	1	3	2	2	4	4	2	2	2	3	4	4	4	4	2	1	1	4	3	2	3	1	1	1	5	1	2	2	1	3	3	4	
20	2	2	1	4	4	3	3	3	1	4	3	2	2	4	3	3	3	4	2	4	2	2	2	2	1	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	1	4	3	3	

2,9583 3,1667 2,4583 2,1667 4,25 2,5 2,9167 2,875 2,6667 3,3333 2,5 3 2,3913 2,9167 2,7917 3 2,0833 3,2083 2,2083 3,3333 2,7083 2,1667 2,9167 2,9583 2,4167 2,75 2,4583 2,4583 2,5833 3,7083 2,5417 2,6667 2,8333 2,0833 2,8333 2,7083 3,0417

Group B2c

Socio-psychological components in the identity construction process of adult learners of English at EOI: between motivation and anxiety. Drama as a tool to help overcome anxiety and enhance motivation.

Student	Age	Level	Gender	Stay	Frequency	Self-efficacy	Mot 1	Mot 2	Mot 3
1	38	B2	F	0	1	3	N	Y	Y
2	34	B2	F	0	3	6	Y	Y	N
3	36	B2	M	0	0	4	N	Y	N
4	26	B2	M	0	3	4	N	Y	Y
5	55	B2	F	0	1	3	N	Y	N
6	58	B2	F	0	1	3	N	Y	N
7	52	B2	F	0	1	4	N	Y	N
8	20	B2	F	0	0	5	N	Y	Y
9	48	B2	M	1	1	2	N	Y	Y
10	36	B2	M	0	3	3	N	Y	N
11	42	B2	F	2	1	3	N	Y	Y
12	47	B2	M	0	1	3	N	Y	N
13	35	B2	F	0	1	4	N	Y	N
14	29	B2	F	0	3	4	N	Y	Y
15	38	B2	M	1	1	3	N	Y	N
16	28	B2	M	0	1	5	N	Y	Y
17	17	B2	F	0	4	6	N	Y	Y
18	53	B2	F	0	3	3	N	Y	N
19	28	B2	M	0	4	5	N	Y	Y
20	27	B2	F	1	1	4	Y	Y	Y
21	25	B2	F	1	4	4	N	Y	Y
22	45	B2	F	1	3	6	N	Y	N
23	47	B2	M	0	0	3	N	Y	N
24	29	B2	F	0	4	4	N	Y	Y
25	21	B2	F	0	1	4	N	Y	Y

36,56

0,2692 1,807692308 3,9615384615

Y = 2 Y = 25 Y = 13
N = 23 N = 0 N = 12

FLCAS

Student	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25	Q26	Q27	Q28	Q29	Q30	Q31	Q32	Q33	Q34	Q35	Q36	Q37	
1	2	2	2	2	4	2	4	2	4	4	3	4	2	3	2	4	2	4	2	4	4	2	2	4	4	2	4	4	2	2	4	4	2	3	4	4	4	
2	2	5	1	1	5	5	4	2	1	5	2	2	2	5	2	4	2	4	2	4	2	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	4	3	2	4	2	3	
3	3	4	2	1	5	4	2	1	2	5	2	2	4	1	2	4	2	2	3	2	4	3	4	2	3	2	1	1	4	4	2	1	1	2	3	3	2	
4	3	4	2	2	4	2	2	3	3	4	2	2	3	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	3	2	4	2	2	3	1	2	3	4	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	
5	4	2	2	2	5	1	4	2	4	2	2	3	2	2	2	4	1	2	2	5	3	1	2	4	2	1	4	1	4	3	2	4	2	1	3	4	5	
6	5	2	4	2	3	1	3	1	5	3	1	5	3	3	4	5	1	2	2	5	5	3	1	4	4	1	5	5	4	4	2	5	3	2	2	4	5	
7	3	2	2	1	5	2	3	2	2	1	2	4	2	3	2	1	2	3	1	4	4	1	2	3	2	2	2	3	4	4	2	4	4	1	3	2	4	
8	2	4	4	1	4	3	3	4	4	2	1	1	4	2	2	3	4	4	2	2	2	1	2	4	2	3	1	1	2	4	2	2	5	1	3	4	4	
9	4	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	
10	3	4	4	4	5	2	4	1	4	3	2	4	4	3	2	4	2	2	5	4	4	2	4	3	1	2	4	4	2	4	4	2	4	4	2	3	4	4
11	2	4	2	2	5	3	5	1	5	5	2	1	2	4	5	4	1	2	1	3	4	2	2	5	5	2	3	2	3	2	2	4	1	2	5	4	4	
12	2	3	2	2	5	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	1	1	2	4	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	3	2	2	3	1	3	2	2
13	3	4	2	1	5	1	1	3	4	1	2	4	2	3	1	1	5	3	1	2	3	1	4	3	4	3	1	1	2	4	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	
14	2	2	1	5	5	1	5	1	4	4	1	1	4	1	1	5	4	1	5	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	5	1	4	1	1	4	1	4
15	2	1	4	3	5	1	1	2	3	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	4	4	3	2	2	3	2	1	3	2	4	2	2	
16	4	2	2	2	5	2	3	2	5	4	2	2	3	2	4	4	1	2	3	2	4	1	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	4	4	4	4	
17	1	5	1	1	5	4	1	5	3	4	5	1	4	5	1	2	4	5	1	2	1	5	2	1	5	2	1	5	1	1	4	1	2	1	5	3	1	
18	5	1	5	5	5	1	5	1	5	4	1	4	5	2	4	5	1	2	4	5	4	2	1	5	4	1	2	4	5	5	4	3	1	2	2	4	5	
19	2	5	1	3	5	3	3	3	4	5	3	4	2	5	4	1	2	4	1	2	3	2	3	2	2	4	1	2	1	4	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	
20	2	4	2	5	4	3	2	4	4	4	2	4	4	4	2	2	2	3	1	2	4	2	4	2	4	4	4	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	
21	3	2	2	4	5	4	5	2	3	5	2	4	3	1	4	3	2	3	3	5	4	2	2	5	4	1	3	2	4	4	4	5	3	3	1	3	5	
22	2	2	2	2	5	3	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	5	2	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	2	4	3	2	2	4	2	3	2	2	4	2	4	
23	3	2	2	2	5	3	4	3	2	2	4	2	4	2	2	2	2	3	3	5	2	2	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	4
24	1	4	1	1	4	2	2	3	2	3	4	1	2	4	2	2	1	3	1	3	2	1	4	2	2	3	1	1	1	4	2	2	2	1	4	1	2	
25	3	5	2	3	5	4	3	4	4	4	3	4	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	4	3	4	4	3	2	2	3	5	2	2	3	2	3	3	2

2,8 2,9615 2,4 2,1154 4,76 2,6538 2,9231 2,4615 3,3462 3,5 2,4231 2,8077 2,7308 3,1154 2,5 2,9615 2,1923 2,8846 1,9231 3,1538 3,0385 1,9231 3,0385 3 2,7692 2,4615 2,1923 2,16 2,6923 3,5385 2,1538 2,6923 2,4615 1,6154 3,1154 2,8462 3,2692

Group D

Student	Age	Level	Gender	Stay	Frequency	Self-efficacy	Mot 1	Mot 2	Mot 3
1	46	B1.1	F	0	3	3	N	Y	N
2	53	A2	F	0	0	2	N	Y	N
3	41	B1.2	F	0	3	6	N	Y	N
4	21	B1.1	M	0	3	3	Y	Y	Y
5	45	B1.2	F	3	3	5	N	Y	N
6	39	B1.1	F	0	3	2	N	Y	Y
7	46	A1	F	1	0	2	N	Y	N
8	49	B1.2	M	0	3	3	N	Y	Y
9	37	A1	F	0	3	1	N	Y	Y
10	26	B1.2	M	0	3	3	N	Y	Y
				40,3	0,4	2,4	3		
				Mean 2.9			Y = 1	Y = 10	Y = 5
							N = 9	N = 0	N = 5

FLCAS

Student	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25	Q26	Q27	Q28	Q29	Q30	Q31	Q32	Q33	Q34	Q35	Q36	Q37
1	3	1	1	5	3	4	1	5	4	1	5	5	1	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	4	1	5	2	4	3	5	3	4	4	4	4	2	4	5		
2	4	2	3	3	5	1	4	1	5	2	2	5	4	1	5	5	4	2	4	5	5	1	2	4	4	1	4	1	2	5	3	2	2	2	4	4	
3	3	5	4	3	5	2	4	1	4	4	2	5	3	2	4	5	1	3	1	4	4	1	3	4	3	1	3	1	3	4	4	4	2	3	2	5	4
4	5	3	3	5	3	3	3	4	5	1	2	3	2	4	4	1	3	2	2	4	1	4	3	3	2	2	3	4	4	2	3	2	3	1	3	2	
5	3	3	3	3	5	1	1	4	3	3	1	3	1	5	3	1	1	3	5	1	3	1	5	1	1	5	1	1	3	3	3	1	2	1	5	2	1
6	3	4	3	3	5	3	4	1	4	4	3	4	3	2	3	4	1	2	3	5	4	4	2	5	2	2	5	4	4	2	3	4	3	3	2	4	5
7	2	3	2	5	2	5	2	4	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	1	4	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	4	1	1	3	5	2	2	2	2	2	3	
8	2	4	4	3	5	3	2	2	4	3	2	4	3	2	4	4	1	3	2	5	5	3	3	2	2	1	2	3	4	5	2	5	2	1	3	4	5
9	4	4	4	4	5	4	5	1	5	3	1	5	5	2	4	4	1	1	1	5	5	5	2	5	4	1	5	5	4	3	5	5	4	1	1	4	5
10	1	1	1	1	4	3	3	3	1	2	3	3	2	3	2	4	2	5	1	4	3	2	2	2	1	3	1	3	2	5	2	3	3	1	3	1	3
2,778	3,2	3	2,9	4,6	2,8	3,2	2,1	3,7	3,1	1,8	3,8	3	2,2	3,5	3,8	1,5	2,8	2,5	3,8	3,9	2,4	2,8	3,1111	2,7	2,2	2,8	2,5	3,4	3,9	3	3,3	2,6	2,1	2,3333	3,3	3,7	

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