

The Ashamed Selves

Autobiographical Study of Finnish University Students' Shame of Speaking English

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Contrary to foreign language anxiety, shame has received limited attention in the field of Second Language Acquisition. According to previous research, shame is a variable that hinders learning of a second language in a highly negative way. In addition, shame has been found to be linked with the unwillingness to communicate in the second language. Since no prior systematic research on shame in the Finnish foreign language learning context exists, this study is an exploratory study on second language shame in Finland. The focus was on English and the objective of the study was to investigate Finnish university students' shame of speaking English. In total, six Finnish university students took part in the research.

In terms of data collection method, the present research investigated university students' shame of speaking English via self-written autobiographies. Autobiographical texts offer a new perspective to research on shame in the field of Second Language Acquisition as no previous research has employed the autobiographical approach. The autobiographies concerned students' English language learning histories and they were written in Finnish. The autobiographical texts were analysed by using qualitative content analysis.

The findings of the MA thesis indicate that there are two paths for developing the proneness to experience shame of speaking English. Some learners who have low self-esteem and high standards or goals in English seem to experience shame because they do not reach their objectives. On the other hand, some learners seem to develop shame due to their past experiences of receiving corrective feedback or experiencing traumatising treatment in instructional settings. An analysis of the autobiographies also revealed that factors such as inferiority to others, Finnish interlocutors and difficulties in English pronunciation were related to university students' proneness to experience shame in various situations. Students also exhibited coping behaviour to shame. The most prevalent way to cope with shame was to avoid speaking English and English-speaking situations.

The study also indicates that shame must be studied more in the future since it seems to interfere with university students' academic decision-making by lowering their course options at university. Therefore, shame of speaking English does not only hinder learning of English, but it also appears to undermine students' overall academic outcomes.

Key words: L2 shame, shame, self-concept, self-esteem, English language learning, foreign language learning, second language learning, individual differences

List of Figures	
List of Tables	
List of Abbreviations	

Table of Contents

<i>1 Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>2 SLA from the perspective of the L2 learner</i>	<i>3</i>
2.1 Individual differences as an approach to L2 research	3
2.2 The self of the L2 learner	6
2.2.1 Key self-related concepts explained.....	7
2.2.2 The self from a more holistic view: analysis of theoretical frameworks	10
2.3 Shame and learning an L2	14
2.3.1 L2 shame in the light of prior research	14
2.3.2 The problematic nature of L2 shame construct.....	20
<i>3 Research methodology</i>	<i>24</i>
3.1 The research questions and participants of the study	24
3.2 Data collection via autobiographical narratives	26
3.3 Data analysis method of the autobiographical narratives	28
<i>4 Analysis</i>	<i>31</i>
4.1 The outer and the inner critic language learner path	31
4.1.1 The effect of outside critique	32
4.1.2 The inner critic within the L2 learner.....	37
4.2 Common factors in L2 learners' shame experiences	39
4.2.1 Self-evaluation and sense of inferiority to others.....	40
4.2.2 The background of the interlocutors	42
4.2.3 The specific role of English pronunciation	45
4.3 Coping behaviour to shame	46
4.3.1 Avoidance of speaking English and English-speaking situations	46
4.3.2 The feeling of being in control.....	49
4.3.3 Anger.....	51
<i>5 Discussion</i>	<i>52</i>
5.1 The main implications of the study	52
5.2 Limitations of the present research	59
5.3 Ideas for future research	60
<i>6 Conclusion</i>	<i>62</i>
<i>List of References</i>	<i>64</i>
Appendix 1 Data elicitation instrument in Finnish	
Appendix 2 Data elicitation instrument in English	
Appendix 3 Original examples from the materials in Finnish	
Appendix 4 Finnish summary	

List of Figures

FIGURE 1 THE MECHANISM OF SHAME IN SLA (AS PRESENTED IN GALMICHE 2017, 45)	18
FIGURE 2 DEVELOPMENT OF PRONENESS TO FEEL L2 SHAME	53

List of Tables

TABLE 1 OVERVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES ON SHAME IN SLA.....	15
TABLE 2 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH SUBJECTS	25
TABLE 3 CATEGORISATION OF THE STORIES BASED ON THE WAY OF NARRATION	31

List of Abbreviations

AEQ	Achievement Emotions Questionnaire
DST	Dynamic Systems Theory
FL	Foreign Language
FLL	Foreign Language Learning
FLA	Foreign Language Anxiety
FLCAS	Foreign Language Anxiety Classroom Scale
ID	Individual Differences
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
L2-TOSGA	Second Language Test of Shame and Guilt Affect
L2 WTC	Willingness to Communicate in an L2
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TOSCA-3	Test of Self-Conscious Affect 3

1 Introduction

Initially, the present MA thesis was motivated by an observation related to my own foreign language learning and willingness to communicate in foreign languages. In order to cut the story short, I used to feel ashamed of speaking Swedish and I tried to avoid speaking Swedish in every possible way as it felt humiliating to try to communicate in that language. Conversely, I had sometimes felt highly anxious while speaking French, but my anxiousness had not stop me from speaking French. Although neither of the languages is English, the previous reflection gave me an idea for the present research: to study L2 (second language) related shame.

Shame has been studied scarcely in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Instead, Foreign Language Anxiety (FLA) has gained tremendous attention from SLA scholars as it has been studied extensively throughout many decades (see research overview of FLA from Horwitz 2010). A great number of SLA scholars have regarded language anxiety as the fundamental reason behind language learners' reluctance and difficulties of using a second language. However, according to Cook (2006, 229), "[t]he anxiety construct hides shame." Cook's (2006) dissertation on shame and anxiety in second language learning indicated that shame and fear of shame in particular might play a more central role in language inhibition than anxiety. Since Cook's (2006) pioneering dissertation, a gradual shift in SLA research has happened and the 2010's introduced more research on L2 shame (Galmiche 2017; 2018; Teimouri 2017; 2018; 2019; Wang 2016).

Previous research suggests that shame is a highly negative variable in SLA. No adaptive mechanisms of shame were found in Galmiche's (2017) study. Galmiche's (2017) findings also indicate that shame might even damage L2 learner's sense of self and identity. Most importantly, shame appears to undermine L2 learners' willingness to use the L2. Teimouri's (2018, 644-647) study revealed that L2 learners' proneness to experience shame in the SLA context was found to have a strong and negative correlation between their willingness to communicate in English. By the same token, the shame-prone students in Galmiche's (2017) study showed a clear reluctance to participate in the activities in English classroom. Overall, shame has been found to be linked with avoidance and withdrawal behaviour from L2 communication (Cook 2006, 131-150; Galmiche 2017, 43-45). These results are in line with what is known about shame in the field of psychology. According to Lewis (2016, 804), shame is not only related to the phenomenological experience of wanting to hide or disappear (or even die), but also to the loss of ability to speak. Since shame seems to have such great impact on one's willingness to speak, it is crucial to further understand the roots of this emotion in SLA.

The present MA thesis investigates Finnish university students' shame of speaking English. The main aim of the research is to understand the fundamental mechanisms behind Finnish university students' shame of speaking English. No previous systematic research on shame in the Finnish SLA context exist and thus, this thesis is an exploratory study on L2 shame in Finland. The research questions of the study are as follows:

- 1) How has the proneness to feel ashamed of speaking English developed?
- 2) What factors play a role in situations where students are prone to experience shame?
- 3) How do the students cope with their shame?

The present study approaches Finnish university students' shame of speaking English by analysing students' self-written autobiographical texts about their English language learning histories. In total, six Finnish university students' autobiographical texts were analysed. No prior research in the field of SLA has utilised such an in-depth method to investigate shame among L2 learners. Therefore, this study offers a new approach to the phenomenon.

The outline of the present thesis is as follows. The theoretical framework consists of three central parts. In section 2.1 the area of individual differences (IDs) in SLA is explored since the research revolves around Finnish university students' individual language learning experiences. Next, the notion of self is discussed in detail in section 2.2 due to its key role in L2 learners' shame experiences according to prior research (Galmiche 2017; 2018; Teimouri 2017). Section 2.3 concludes the theoretical framework by analysing the role of shame in SLA in the light of previous research literature and by defining the term L2 shame. Section 3 is devoted to presenting both the research methodology and the research participants of the present research. In section 4 the main findings of the study are reported and analysed. Finally, section 5 focuses on discussing the main implications of the present study while analysing its limitations and offering ideas for future research.

2 SLA from the perspective of the L2 learner

This section covers the theoretical framework of the present thesis. The section starts by examining the area of individual differences (IDs) in SLA and the relevant changes in ID research are discussed. After introducing the theoretical scope of IDs, the complexity of the self and the key self-related constructs are reviewed. Lastly, a thorough research overview of shame in SLA is presented and the concept of L2 shame is defined.

It is worth defining what is meant by *second* and *foreign language* in the present thesis. In Finland, English does not possess an official status by law in contrast to Swedish, whose status as an official language is secured in the Finnish constitution. This is the reason why English is often viewed as a foreign language and Swedish as a second language (Pietilä and Lintunen 2014, 13-14). Pietilä and Lintunen (2014, 14) note, however, that the line between these two concepts in the case of Finland is not so simple to draw because it is easier to encounter English than Swedish in the everyday life in Finland. *L2* is another term that is used in SLA research to refer to another language that is learned in addition to one's mother tongue. This term is more neutral since it does not refer to the language in terms of its status: whether it is a foreign or second language (ibid.). Nevertheless, one of the occurring concepts, foreign language anxiety, obstructs the possibility of using solely the term L2. Consequently, L2 and foreign language are used interchangeably in this thesis and they are both used to refer to a language that is learned in addition to one's mother tongue. In this thesis, this language is English.

2.1 Individual differences as an approach to L2 research

The study of individual differences (IDs) is an area of SLA research that is concerned with L2 learner variables that play a role in the acquisition process (Dörnyei 2009, 182). For decades, research on IDs or learner characteristics has been an important area of SLA due to the detectable differences in the outcomes of learning an L2 in contrast to L1 acquisition, where the variation in the outcome is limited (Dörnyei 2009, 180; Ellis 2004, 525). Thus, ID research has been interested in why some learners are more successful than others and which type of learner variables contribute to this individual variation in success (or failure) the most.

First, interest in IDs revolved particularly around language aptitude, the innate capacities that promote acquisition of another language. Later during the 1970's, the scientific discussion devoted to the good language learners (e.g. Rubin 1975) changed the perspective for the study of IDs as it shifted the focus more on the diversity and importance of other learner variables as well as on the role of the learners themselves in learning (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015,

5). Reflecting also on the changes in the field, Ellis (2004, 525-526) sees that the earlier stages of ID research were more interested in finding who were to be successful in SLA. In turn, subsequent research (on motivation and learning strategies, for instance) is more explanatory by nature with the aim of finding the variables that the more successful learners possess with an applicative purpose for learning and teaching (Ellis 2004, 526).

Having the basis in the field of psychology, concepts that have been traditionally treated as *IDs* in general individual difference research have been according to Dörnyei (2009, 181) “dimensions of enduring personal characteristics - or traits - that are assumed to apply to everybody and on which people differ by degree”. Thus, they have been considered to have a sense of stability. Nevertheless, Dörnyei (2009, 182-196) questions this conceptualisation of IDs and argues that this traditional view of IDs has been governed by four preconditions, which are not fulfilled in practice. In addition to the stability requirement, Dörnyei (2009, 182) clarifies that IDs have also been characterised as learner-internal (limited interplay with external variables) and self-reliant in the sense that different IDs have little effect on one another. Finally, Dörnyei (*ibid.*) argues that IDs have been considered to be defined in a straightforward manner.

Yet, there seems to be nothing straightforward about them: underneath lies a conflict which Dörnyei (2009, 181-194) calls *the individual difference myth*. His idea of the myth refers to the unsuitability of these learner characteristics with respect to their traditional conceptualisation and actual interaction with the learning environment. Thus, Dörnyei (2009, 194) proposes that IDs are not governed by stability but are prone to fluctuation across time and context. Furthermore, he notes that IDs are also very multifaceted constructs with their different constituents also influencing each other. Dörnyei (2009, 195) concludes his analysis by stating that this complex interplay of IDs is far more important than one single ID construct and its role in SLA. Therefore, Dörnyei (2009, 195-196) recommends approaching IDs with a more dynamic perspective by taking into account this complexity of variables at play. Indeed, a shift towards a more dynamic view on IDs has been going on in the field of SLA (see e.g. the overview from Dörnyei and Ryan 2015).

When it comes to different IDs in SLA, previous research has identified and investigated a vast number of concepts in addition to the already mentioned language aptitude, motivation and learning strategies. These include *inter alia* the following: learning styles (or cognitive styles), anxiety, willingness to communicate (WTC), personality, learner beliefs, creativity, intelligence, age as well as different concepts related to the self of the L2 learner such as self-esteem and self-regulation (Dörnyei 2005; Dörnyei and Ryan 2015; Dörnyei and Skehan 2003;

Ellis 2004; Pietilä 2014). Age has been under some scientific debate whether it actually functions as an ID factor. For example, both Ellis (2004, 529-530) and Dörnyei (2005, 8) regard it as a variable that encompasses SLA thoroughly in contrast to other IDs and thus, they have not included it in their ID research reviews. In this thesis, age plays a role through the temporal change in the narratives of the L2 learners and it is not considered an ID in its own right. Overall, the five most studied and important IDs in SLA have been aptitude, motivation, learning strategies, learning styles and anxiety (Dörnyei 2009, 182-184).

In his individual myth proposal, Dörnyei (2009, 184; see also Dörnyei and Ryan 2015, 9-10 on emotions) criticises this selection of the five most studied IDs (aptitude, motivation, learning styles, learning strategies and anxiety) to be limited due to its lack of emotions (despite anxiety), interests and general knowledge. For the purposes of the present MA thesis, it is relevant to consider the area of emotions further. According to Dörnyei (2009, 184), there exists two reasons for the neglect of emotions in SLA. Not only do emotions fluctuate from time to time (and are not regarded stable as had been required before from an ID variable), but they also had not been considered important in contrast to cognition (which focuses on information processing) (ibid.). This lack of focus on emotions is also resonated in Dörnyei and Ryan's (2015, 10) thoughts of declaring that "past research on learner characteristics has suffered from a general 'emotional deficit'", which as a statement itself highlights the importance of the present thesis and calls for more studies on emotions in SLA in general.

In the case of conducting research on ID variables, Dörnyei (2009, 186-187) identifies two general approaches. The first one, *individual difference research as the study of IDs*, is far more objective by nature as it aims to illustrate systematic variation within individual variables by usually using statistical means and "hardly ever concerns the individual proper" (Dörnyei 2009, 186). The majority of the ID research falls into this category as quantitative methodology has been utilised exhaustively in contrast to qualitative methodology, which Ellis (2004, 526-529) regards to be adverse for the field. In the same vein, Dörnyei (2009, 186) argues that mere statistics does not do justice for the individual itself as an average score cannot be necessarily applied for any research subject. The other approach in Dörnyei's (2009, 186-187) division is *individual-level analysis*, which he explains to be more concerned with the actual perspective of the individual. This approach resembles more the qualitative research paradigm with the aim of trying to understand the individual. Overall, the field has witnessed some changes, and the past decade has introduced more qualitative means in the ID research in SLA (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015, 195). The present research is more in line with the individual-level analysis: the objective is to understand the experiences of an ashamed English learner from their standpoint

with no particular attempt to find statistically significant variation or provide generalizable results.

Finally, based on his individual difference myth proposal, Dörnyei (2009, 195-197, 231) suggests that individual variation is better viewed through the scope of *Dynamic Systems Theory* (DST) that can more accurately describe the complexity of the phenomena at play in SLA. Even before Dörnyei, Ellis (2004, 546-547) had also highlighted the need for theories that would take into account the context-dependent role of IDs in learning. According to Dörnyei (2009, 225), both learner's interrelated web of cognition, affect and motivation and the role of learning environment can be better understood via DST. He argues in favour of creating umbrella frameworks, below which these three components of the human mind can be situated (ibid.). As one possible option, Dörnyei (2009, 225-226) sees the model of future self-guides (his L2 Motivational Self System is discussed in section 2.2.2). Despite his attempts, Dörnyei is still unable to give any further suggestions concerning methodology or definitive larger frameworks for studying IDs. However, we will get back to his ideas in section 2.2, where we discuss the concept of self and its role in SLA.

The present thesis accommodates Dörnyei's previous ideas on viewing individual differences through a more dynamic perspective. This dynamicity is present in the manner in which L2 shame is approached: not in isolation, but in connection with other variables and learning environment. Although this research revolves around one learner ID (shame) in particular, it does not regard shame above any other ID variable. Rather, shame functions as an ID variable through which this thesis attempts to encompass the psychology of the L2 learner. Next, the self of the L2 learner is discussed in more detail as Mercer (2014a, 52) states that “[a]t the centre of our understandings of truly individual learners lies an appreciation of their unique sense of self and how this mediates all their experiences of language learning and use.”

2.2 The self of the L2 learner

This section discusses the notion of self in SLA in more detail. The self of the L2 learner is pivotal for the present research for two following reasons. First, shame is defined as a self-conscious evaluative emotion which involves global evaluation of the self (Lewis 2016, 792-793, 804). Second, Galmiche's (2017; 2018) and Teimouri's (2017) studies on shame in SLA highlight the role of self in the emergence of shame response. Therefore, the section 2.2.1 starts by defining and discussing some key concepts related to the self after which three theoretical frameworks of the self by Higgins (1987), Dörnyei (2005, 105-106) and Mercer (2014a, 162-164) are evaluated in section 2.2.2.

2.2.1 Key self-related concepts explained

The 21st century has brought along more research in the area of self and self-related concepts in field of SLA. Not only has the concept of self revolutionised the study of L2 motivation via Dörnyei's (2005, 105-106) L2 Motivational Self System, but also the role of self in general has become more acknowledged in the field. The self in itself is a highly complex entity as a wide range of variables are self-driven: *self-efficacy*, *self-esteem*, *(L2 linguistic) self-confidence*, *self-regulation*, *self-concept* and *identity* (Mercer 2011a, 14-20; overview book by Mercer and Williams 2014). Since the selection is large, the focus of the present MA thesis is restricted to rather broad concepts which can also be drawn to suit the purposes of SLA research: FL/L2 learner's self-concept, self-esteem and identity. This limitation is based on both the specificity of this thesis being concerned with SLA and on previous research on shame in psychology and SLA, which highlight the role of the gap between one's actual self (self-concept) and the future self-guides (Galmiche 2017; Tangney et al. 1998; Teimouri 2017) as well as the role of self-esteem and identity in shame experiences (Galmiche 2017; 2018). The most pivotal construct in the present study is the self-concept.

In its most simplistic sense, self-concept covers the set of beliefs and feelings that individuals hold of themselves (Mercer 2014a, 52). In addition to the affective side (feelings about oneself), self-concept has a cognitive dimension to it: the beliefs about one's abilities in a given area (Mercer 2011a, 2). At first glance, it is easy to confuse self-concept with its close term, self-efficacy. However, self-efficacy has been defined to involve a more situation specific evaluation about one's abilities to complete a task at hand (Pajares and Miller 1994, 194). In turn, self-concept is broader (ibid.) and it is possible to define it from either a more global or domain specific perspective (Mercer 2014a, 52). In terms of Foreign Language Learning (FLL), *FLL self-concept* is conceptualised by Mercer (2011a, 14) "as an individual's self-descriptions of competence and evaluative feelings about themselves as a Foreign Language (FL) learner." It is a learner internal variable (Arnold 2007, 14), which can be described as multidimensional since individuals have a wide range of overlapping self-beliefs in different areas of language learning (Mercer 2011b).

In addition to self-efficacy, self-concept needs to be separated from self-esteem. Mercer (2011a, 15) views that self-esteem is the most evaluative and global by nature in contrast to both self-concept and self-efficacy. In line with Mercer, Rubio (2014, 42-43) also highlights the evaluative component of self-esteem. Rubio (2014, 42) distinguishes self-esteem from self-concept by stating that self-concept is the object of evaluation, whereas self-esteem concerns

the action of evaluating and the outcome that emerges from this evaluation. According to Rubio, it is then the individual's self-concept that is evaluated by their self-esteem:

In fact, the term is conceptually self-describing: *to esteem* means to regard, to value, to appreciate, or to consider something. Thus, a person can have high or low self-esteem and not a high or low self-concept, because the self-esteem is the resulting evaluation of the perceived self-concept.
(Rubio 2014, 43)

Congruent with Rubio, Arnold (2007, 14) also views that self-esteem is the product of the evaluation on one's self-concept (image of the self) and this evaluation can be either negative or positive. Therefore, self-concept and self-esteem are closely intertwined but they can be separated from each other by their agency: self-esteem being the one that evaluates and self-concept being the one that is evaluated. Yet, Mercer's (2011a, 15-16) and Rubio's (2014, 41) views on the domain specificity of self-esteem collides. Mercer (2011a, 15-16) argues that self-esteem cannot be narrowed down to concern more specific areas (such as foreign language learning). In contrast, Rubio (2014, 41) considers self-esteem to be a domain-specific term in the same vein as self-concept. In the present MA thesis, self-esteem is defined as a construct which can function both as a global and domain specific construct: it can be drawn to the area of foreign language learning through the evaluative process on the learner's FLL self-concept.

Prior research suggests that people can have different self-concepts across different languages (Yeung and Wong 2004). Yeung and Wong (2004) investigated primary and secondary school teachers' self-concepts in English, Mandarin, Cantonese and maths in order to test whether these four self-concepts can be statistically differentiated from each other. The study was carried out by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis on a data which was obtained via a self-report questionnaire. The sample consisted of 437 teachers and all of them had Cantonese as their mother tongue. Yet, the proficiency levels in the different languages were not systematically tested. According to the results (Yeung and Wong 2004, 363-365), Cantonese self-concept correlated negatively with both the English and Mandarin self-concepts. In contrast, a low correlation was found between the self-concepts in English and Mandarin. As no significant positive correlation was found between the different self-concepts, Yeung and Wong's study indicates that people can have different self-concepts across different languages. Therefore, Yeung and Wong (2004, 365-366) note that these divergences in language learner's self-concepts should be taken into account both by researchers and language teachers. In terms of L2 instruction, they (Yeung and Wong 2004, 356) suggest that the learning of each language

should be treated individually and teachers should not jump into conclusions if a learner feels competent in one similar foreign language.

Further support for the differentiating sense of self comes from the study of Pavlenko (2006). Via descriptive quantitative analysis, Pavlenko examined the responses of more than one thousand bi- and multilinguals to an open-ended question that requested whether the respondents felt like a different person whilst using another language. The data in terms of speakers of different languages were rich as 75 different L1s were detected among the research participants of the study. The results (Pavlenko 2006, 10) revealed that more than half of the respondents (65%) felt like being another person when speaking another language. This divergent experience of the self was related to the differences in proficiency, language emotionality, culture and language as well as to differences of how and where an FL had been learned (Pavlenko 2006, 10-23). The data of her study suggest that people can phenomenologically feel like a different person depending on the language in use and there exists few different variables that are related to this phenomenon of multiple selves. However, Pavlenko's study stands purely on these individual experiences and she has not defined the concept of self in any way. Overall, both Yeung and Wong's (2004) and Pavlenko's (2006) studies imply that people's perception of themselves (self) seems to differ according to different languages in question.

It is then the autobiographical stories that are at the core of building one's self-concept according to Dörnyei and Ryan (2015, 199-200). This is based on Dörnyei and Ryan's (ibid.) remarks on the idea of *narrative identity*, by which they mean how a person makes sense of their life events and themselves through different types of narratives. In terms of SLA, *L2 narrative identity* is defined by them (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015, 202) "as the specific aspect of an individual's ongoing internal narrative that relates to learning and using a second/foreign language." In reference to a short review in the field of psychology, Dörnyei and Ryan (2015, 200-203) propose that this continuous narration of life events (L2 learner's narrative identity) functions at the centre of L2 learner psychology by mediating change and depicting individuality. In this thesis, Dörnyei and Ryan's ideas about the narrative identity is viewed more by means of methodology than as a larger theoretical framework. In practice, autobiography is used as a data collection method in the study and other theoretical models are used in an attempt to interpret shame in SLA (theoretical frameworks of the self discussed in section 2.2.2.)

Finally, self-concept is an important building block of one's identity. Mercer (2011a, 18-19) states that identity is the more public and socially context-oriented part of one's self to

others in contrast to self-concept, which concerns the more private part of the individual's sense of self. Mercer (2011a, 19) explains that "self-concept can be understood as the underlying basis on which an individual constructs their identities in relation to specific contexts." In other words, it is the L2 learner's self-concept that creates the foundation for L2 learner's different identities. Therefore, the concepts are closely linked together but can also be distinguished from one another when it comes to their specificity and orientation (Mercer 2011a, 18-19).

Overall, many self-related concepts are intimately intertwined with each other. As this section aimed to demonstrate, it is the individual's self-concept which functions at the core of one's self as it lays the foundation for both self-esteem and the construction of identities in different socially oriented contexts. Therefore, this thesis perceives self-concept as the fundamental building block of the L2 learner's self through which the relationship between self and the self-conscious evaluative emotion of shame is explored. Next, three theoretical frameworks of the self are analysed.

2.2.2 The self from a more holistic view: analysis of theoretical frameworks

This section dives deeper into the theoretical frameworks of Higgins (1987), Dörnyei (2005) and Mercer (2014b) that revolve around the notion of self of the individual. First, Higgins' (1987) Self-Discrepancy Theory from the field of psychology is presented and analysed. Being based on Higgins' Self-Discrepancy Theory, Dörnyei's (2005, 105-106) L2 Motivational Self System is discussed next. Although Dörnyei's model is concerned with L2 motivation, it is worth examining its content because studies in the field of psychology (e.g. Tangney et al. 1998) and SLA (Teimouri 2017) portray a positive correlation with shame and the gap between one's self-guides and actual self. Finally, Mercer's (2014b, 162-164) self as a complex dynamic self-system is explained. When these three models of the self have been discussed, the approach of the present thesis is disclosed.

One prominent theoretical framework of the self is the Self-Discrepancy Theory presented by Higgins (1987) in the field of psychology. Higgins' theory is based on research in psychology and the position of how incongruities in one's self-beliefs are connected to psychological discomfort. In brief, Higgins' theory aims to explain how divergences between different self-representations (beliefs about the self) can expose an individual to experience uncomfortable emotions. According to Higgins, the self of the individual is comprised of the following self-representations:

- (a) the *actual* self, which is your representation of the attributes that someone (yourself or another) believes you actually possess;
 - (b) the *ideal* self, which is your representation of the attributes that someone (yourself or another) would like you, ideally, to possess (i.e., a representation of someone's hopes, aspirations, or wishes for you); and
 - (c) the *ought* self, which is your representation of the attributes that someone (yourself or another) believes you should or ought to possess (i.e., representation of someone's sense of your duty, obligations or responsibilities).
- (Higgins 1987, 320-321 (layout of the text modified from the original))

Not only is the self divided into actual, ideal and ought selves, but all of these three components are further separated into individual's own and others' perspectives of the self (Higgins 1987, 321). While the actual self-domain forms individual's self-concept, the ideal and ought selves function as their four different self-guides and the "theory postulates that we are motivated to reach a condition where our self-concept matches our personally relevant self-guides" (ibid.). Higgins (1987, 322) argued that shame occurs when a person thinks they have not fulfilled one of these self-guides: the other people's wishes or hopes about them. Yet, the results of Tangney et al.'s (1998) study were not congruent with Higgins' theoretical assumption on shame. Instead, Tangney et al.'s (1998, 259-261) study on 229 undergraduate students revealed a significant positive correlation between all of the different forms of self-discrepancy and the proneness to experience shame. By utilising adjective ratings list on each of the self-states and Higgins' Selves questionnaire, the correlation analysis was done on both quantitative and qualitative data. The results of these two instruments were compared to the scores of scenario-based Test of Self-Conscious Affect (TOSCA), which is a self-report questionnaire to test proneness to experience shame and guilt. Although Tangney et al.'s (1998) research is not completely in line with Higgins' hypothesis, both of their work suggest that self is related to the emergence of shame in the form of divergent beliefs about the self.

When it comes to the field of SLA, it is Dörnyei's (2005, 105-106) L2 Motivational Self System which is relevant for the purposes of the present thesis. Being based on Higgins' (1987) Self-Discrepancy theory, Dörnyei (2005, 105-106) divides the L2 learner's self into *Ideal L2 Self* and *Ought-to L2 self*. The Ideal L2 Self covers the characteristics which an L2 learner would like to ideally have (e.g. native accent), whereas Ought-to L2 Self concerns the outside pressure and the qualities the L2 learner thinks one must have with the attempt of avoiding negatives consequences (ibid.). In contrast to Higgins' two-folded model, Teimouri (2017, 687) argues that Dörnyei's Ideal L2 Self and Ought-to L2 Self include only one standpoint of the self by "excluding the other two future self-guides (ideal self/other and ought-to self/own)." Therefore, Dörnyei's self-guides are not as multidimensional as in Higgins' model. The third

component in Dörnyei's (2005, 106) model is *L2 Learning Experience*, which combines learner's previous learning experiences and immediate learning environment, thus by taking into account the situated role of language learning. In short, Dörnyei's model proposes that the drive for action (L2 motivation) is derived from the gap between one's current self and their ideal and ought-to L2 selves. In practice, if a learner has this future vision of oneself as a fluent English speaker (ideal self), the motivation to learn is derived from the gap between one's current abilities and this idealistic vision. Not only does the discrepancy of self-states affect L2 learner's motivation, but also the L2 learner's prior learning experiences influence how the L2 learner approaches their L2 learning environment.

As far as Dörnyei's Ideal L2 Self and Ought-to L2 Self are concerned, research in SLA also indicates that shame is related to the incongruity between L2 learner's beliefs about the actual self (self-concept) and their future L2 self-guides (Galmiche 2017; Teimouri 2017; see also Teimouri 2019). In Teimouri's (2017) study, Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System was utilised to investigate the emotional states of joy, anxiety and shame in relation to L2 learner's future self-guides. By using a questionnaire as a data elicitation instrument, four different self-discrepancies (ideal L2 self/own, ideal L2 self/others, ought-to L2 self/own and ought-to L2 self/others) were studied. In total, 524 Iranian FL learners' (English as FL) responses were analysed by testing the reliability and validity of the questionnaire constructs (via Cronbach's alpha) and conducting regression analyses between the different variables of the study. Teimouri's (2017, 695-702) results indicated two noteworthy factors. First of all, Teimouri's (2017, 695-696; see also Teimouri 2019) statistical analysis suggests that in contrast to Dörnyei's model, there should be three different self-guides instead of two: one Ideal L2 Self and two distinct L2 Ought-to Selves. In other words, L2 Ought-to Self should be divided into ought-to self/own and ought-to self/others perspectives (ibid). Secondly, shame correlated positively with all of these three self-guides (Teimouri 2017, 698-699). In line with Teimouri's statistical finding, the discrepancy between L2 learner's actual self and their L2 self-guides was also found to be linked with shame in Galmiche's (2017, 44) qualitative interview study on shame.

Further support for the relationship between L2 learner's self-beliefs and shame come from the qualitative and longitudinal study of Aragão (2011). Aragão examined the interplay of beliefs and emotions by means of triangulation of different types of narrative data (visual, written and oral), self-report questionnaire and participant observation (video tapes and observation notes). Three university students were investigated in instructional learning settings of English over the course of one semester in Brazil. Among Aragão's (2011, 306-307) research

participants, shame appeared when they believed to be much worse than others in class, where at the core lay a sense of inferiority to others. This sense of being worse than others was not only related to learners' peers but also to their English teacher, whose mastery of English they believed to be perfect (Aragão 2011, 306). Aragão (2011, 307) argued that “[f]eelings like shame, fear and inhibition are strongly associated with beliefs about students' self-concepts in the foreign language classroom. They [learners] believed themselves to be ‘inferior’ to idealized models.” The results of Aragão's (2011) study indicate a very close yet dynamic relation between learner beliefs and emotions as the study illustrates how alterations in both learner's beliefs and emotional responses happen in a complex and interdependent way. All in all, studies in the field of psychology and SLA support the fundamental idea of Higgins' Self-Discrepancy theory of how incongruities in one's self-beliefs expose to emotional vulnerabilities, which is in the case of the present research shame.

Finally, the third relevant theoretical framework of the self is proposed by Mercer (2014b, 162-164; see also Mercer 2011c), who views the self as a *Complex Dynamic System*. Mercer's model of the self is built upon three key elements. First, she (Mercer 2014b, 162) views that self is not only comprised of different interrelated parts (such as self-efficacy and different self-concepts) that are in active interaction with one another, but these parts can also form sub-systems by themselves. Second, the self is dynamic and there is an ongoing change within: alterations in one area do not happen in isolation but affect other parts, too (Mercer 2014b, 163). Third is the emergence of the system, by which Mercer (ibid.) means that self cannot be understood by mere investigation of its sole individual components due to the constant flux between its different parts and the outcomes that follow from the changes. In addition, Mercer (2014b, 163-164) views that this self-system does not function in isolation but is in an active interplay with the outside world. Consequently, Mercer (2014b, 163) defines L2 learner's self from a broader perspective: “a coherently organised dynamic system encompassing all the beliefs, cognitions, emotions, motives and processes related to and concerning oneself.” Thus, she views the self as a superordinate system incorporating three central areas (cognition, emotions and motivation) of the learner psychology together, which corresponds to the way Dörnyei (2009, 225-231) suggested to approach individual variation in SLA. Mercer seems to consider the self-system directly above these three dimensions, whereas Dörnyei (2009, 225-226) suggests that one possible higher framework would be the model of future self-guides (which his L2 Motivational Self system is).

This thesis takes a standpoint that combines the ideas of Higgins (1987), Mercer (2014b) and Dörnyei (2005) on the self. Mercer's (2014b, 162-164) self as a complex dynamic system

functions as the higher framework of the L2 learner psychology below which cognition, emotions and motivation and other learner variables such as shame can be pinpointed. Higgins' (1987) Self-Discrepancy theory on the relationship between self-belief incongruence and emotional vulnerabilities is applied to SLA via Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System, where the incongruities appear between the L2 learner's self-concept (actual abilities) and their Ideal L2 self and Ought-to L2 self. It is then through the notion of L2 learner's self-concept that the present thesis investigates this entity of self-system in relation to future self-guides and shame. This is based on the fundamental role of the self-concept in relation to other self-related concepts (discussed in section 2.2.1) and accessibility of learner's self-concept via autobiographies (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015, 199-200). Finally, the ideas from both Mercer (2014b, 163-164) and Dörnyei (2005, 105-106) on learning environment are also adopted: the processes within the L2 learner do not happen in isolation but in interaction with the learning environment.

2.3 Shame and learning an L2

In contrast to foreign language anxiety (FLA), shame has not been very visible in the scholarly discussion in SLA until very recently. Thus, the previous research literature specifically on L2 shame is scarce. Fortunately, there are a few studies that have been dedicated to shame in SLA by Cook (2006), Wang (2016), Galmiche (2017; 2018) and Teimouri (2017; 2018; 2019). Although none of these studies have been conducted in the Finnish L2 learning context, they are crucial for the present research as they offer tentative outlook on shame and its interplay with SLA. First, the main findings and implications of these studies are analysed in section 2.3.1. Second, the concept of L2 shame is discussed and defined in section 2.3.2.

2.3.1 L2 shame in the light of prior research

As already noted, research on shame in SLA has been limited. Table 1 summarises the current studies and their methodological choices around the phenomenon. Overall, a wide range of methods have been employed in order to investigate L2 related shame. The benefit of this is that qualitative research results can be contrasted with the statistical information elicited by the quantitative studies. One particular issue rises from the measurement of shame in these studies. In quantitative studies, shame has been measured by different scales and questionnaires: The Test of Self-conscious Affect-3 (TOSCA-3) in Cook (2006), Achievement Emotions Questionnaire (AEQ) in Wang (2016), separate items from the field of psychology in Teimouri (2017) and L2-TOSGA (Second Language Test of Shame and Guilt Affect) to measure shame-

Table 1 Overview of previous studies on shame in SLA

Study	Subjects	L2/FL	Method	Main results
Cook, 2006 (U.S.)	N=30, foreign college students (21-40 yo) N=12, interviews	English	Mixed-methods; 1) quantitative: statistical analysis of FLCAS and TOSCA-3 ¹ questionnaire results 2) qualitative: in-depth and semi-structured interviews	No correlation between FLA and shame construct of TOSCA-3. Own perception of one's competence in English was related to shame experiences. Avoidance and withdrawal behaviour from L2 communication. Avoidance was related to fear of shame. Shame was also found to be linked with anger responses.
Wang, 2016 (China)	N=143 Chinese college students (18-22 yo) N=4, interviews	English	Mixed-methods; 1) quantitative: AEQ ² questionnaire results 2) qualitative: in-depth and semi-structured interviews	Rather low levels of shame was felt among the participants. Experiencing shame in independent study settings statistically greater than in classroom or test-taking situations. Yet, interviews advocated for test and classroom contexts to be more shame-provoking. Shame correlated positively with hopelessness in all settings.
Galmiche, 2017 (France)	N=30, mixed group (13-49 yo)	English	Qualitative: in-depth and semi-structured interviews	Classroom context found shame-provoking and speaking English in class in particular. Avoidance/withdrawal behaviour in class. No positive effects of shame found. Shame was related to learners' sense of self and identity and it was found across different proficiency levels.
Galmiche, 2018 (France)	N=30, mixed group (13-49 yo)	English	Qualitative: in-depth and semi-structured interviews	Factors related to shame: shame bound personality, issues in pronunciation, limited vocabulary and accuracy, losing positive self-image, fear of failure, corrective feedback, teacher evaluation
Teimouri, 2017 (Iran)	N=524, high school students (12-18 yo)	English	Quantitative: questionnaire results	Shame correlated positively with all the detected L2 learner self-guides. Ought-to self dimension was more related to shame than ideal-self.
Teimouri, 2018 (Iran)	<u>Study 1</u> N=395 (10-46 yo) <u>Study 2</u> N=174, English majors (18-58 yo)	English	Two studies; 1) Mixed-methods: construction of L2-TOSGA ³ 2) Quantitative: questionnaire results	Strong negative correlation between shame and L2 WTC, attention and academic achievements in English studies at university. Guilt predicted positive outcomes with the studied dependent variables.
Teimouri, 2019 (Iran)	<u>5 different studies</u> N=866 mixed group	English	Mixed-methods; 1) Qualitative: Open-ended surveys 2) Quantitative: e.g. L2-TOSGA, L2 selves questionnaire	Shame affects motivation and achievement negatively. Shame strongly linked with ought-to L2 self/others discrepancy. No link with ought-to self/own. Validation of L2-TOSGA questionnaire to measure L2 learners' proneness to experience shame and guilt in SLA.

¹ TOSCA-3 is a commonly used self-report instrument to measure the tendency to experience shame and guilt (Robins, Noffle and Tracy 2007, 443, 448-449).

² AEQ implies for Achievement Emotions Questionnaire. It measures students' nine different achievement emotions in relation to study, class and test-taking contexts specifically in the academia (Pekrun et al. 2011).

³ L2-TOSGA refers to a research instrument developed by Teimouri (2018; 2019) and its abbreviations stand for Second Language Test of Shame and Guilt Affect.

proneness in the SLA context in Teimouri (2018; 2019). This inconsistency of measuring shame hampers the reliability of the comparison between the statistical studies. Nevertheless, all of the L2 shame related studies have had English as either a second or foreign language, which in turn facilitates the comparison. In terms of the methodology used in the present study, no previous research in the field of SLA (see Table 1) has utilised extensive written narratives in the form of autobiographies. Next, the main implications of prior research is discussed thoroughly.

First of all, shame lowers L2 learner's willingness to communicate in English (Teimouri 2018; see also Teimouri 2019). Teimouri's (2018, 644-647) research on 174 Iranian English major students indicated a statistically strong and negative correlation between proneness to experience shame in L2 contexts and willingness to communicate in English (L2 WTC). In contrast to shame, guilt had correlated positively with students' willingness to use the L2. The proneness to feel shame and guilt in the SLA context were measured by L2-TOSGA (the Second Language Test of Shame and Guilt Affect) which Teimouri (2018, 638-642) had created on the basis of qualitative analysis on Iranian L2 learners' negative experiences of learning an L2 and interview data from four English teachers. The validity and reliability of the instrument was tested by running different statistical analyses such as Cronbach's alpha coefficient, factor analysis and correlation analysis between shame and guilt constructs (Teimouri 2018, 639-642). Later in 2019, Teimouri's (2019) multi-study dissertation confirmed the reliability and validity of L2-TOSGA instrument in measuring proneness to feel shame and guilt in SLA. The construction of L2-TOSGA gives more reliability for the result between L2 shame and L2 WTC as they are both constructs which are measured specifically in the context of SLA.

Further evidence for shame's effect on L2 learner's willingness to communicate in English comes from the qualitative interview studies of Cook (2006) and Galmiche (2017) (see also Wang 2016). Both Cook's (2006, 131-150) and Galmiche's (2017, 43-45) studies indicate that shame is related to avoidance of and withdrawal from L2 communication: they serve as coping mechanisms to shame. In Cook's (2006, 131-132, 145) study, avoidance was the component that appeared the most frequently within the interview data and it was mainly related to avoidance of English-speaking situations. For example, shame-prone learners avoided asking questions both in class and outside class (Cook 2006, 135-138). By the same token, avoidance behaviours were common among the students in Galmiche's (2017, 43-45) research on shame in instructional settings. In her study (*ibid.*), avoidance appeared in the form of not wanting to take part in class activities actively or skipping English classes altogether.

This avoidance of speaking English seems to be partially connected with the fear of experiencing shame. Cook's (2006) study showed that avoidance among his research

participants was mostly due to fear of shame. Based on his results, Cook (2006, 217-220) established a shame-fear cycle by which he meant that shame and fear can sometimes operate together: shame causing fear of shame which further leads to avoidance behaviour. In line with Cook's research finding, Galmiche (2017, 45) also detected fear of shame among her research participants. Cook (2006, 220) stated that "[i]t is very possible that future research will not only show that the fear of shame is the single greatest cause of language learning inhibition, but that it is the single greatest cause of learning inhibition in general". Therefore, underneath L2 learners' fear of speaking English can hide shame and fear of shame in particular. Yet, some learners seem to respond to shame by anger as Cook's (2006, 150-152, 230-234) study also indicated that shame can trigger either anger at oneself or others as a coping mechanism to the emotion.

Fear and L2 learner's self seem to be also connected to each other in L2 shame experiences. According to Teimouri (2018, 647) "[s]hame-prone L2 learners are less willing to voluntarily use the L2 in situations that are perceived to pose a threat to their social status." This was found to be the case among the shame-prone students in Galmiche's (2017, 42) research, who reported to have experienced feelings of insecurity and sense of exposing their self and identity to threats while being in the English language class. The students' sense of self was endangered due to showing an undesirable and incompetent side of oneself to others with the possibility of being humiliated for making mistakes whilst speaking English (Galmiche 2017, 41-42). It is the bad English accent that seems to threaten L2 learner's self-image and identity the most since it is considered as a direct reflection of one's limited language skills and intelligence (Galmiche 2017, 42; 2018, 113-114). Students in Galmiche's (2017, 42) study were afraid of failure because they perceived failure as a menace to their self. In line with Galmiche, Cook (2006, 215) stated in his study that "[s]hame is touched off by events that are perceived as failures of the self" indicating then the intimate connection between shame and L2 learner's self. In Cook's (2006, 264) study, most shame experiences were detected among those research participants who were more mistake-oriented and who also blamed themselves for making mistakes. Based on her analysis, Galmiche (2017) proposed the following mechanism of shame in SLA presented in Figure 1.

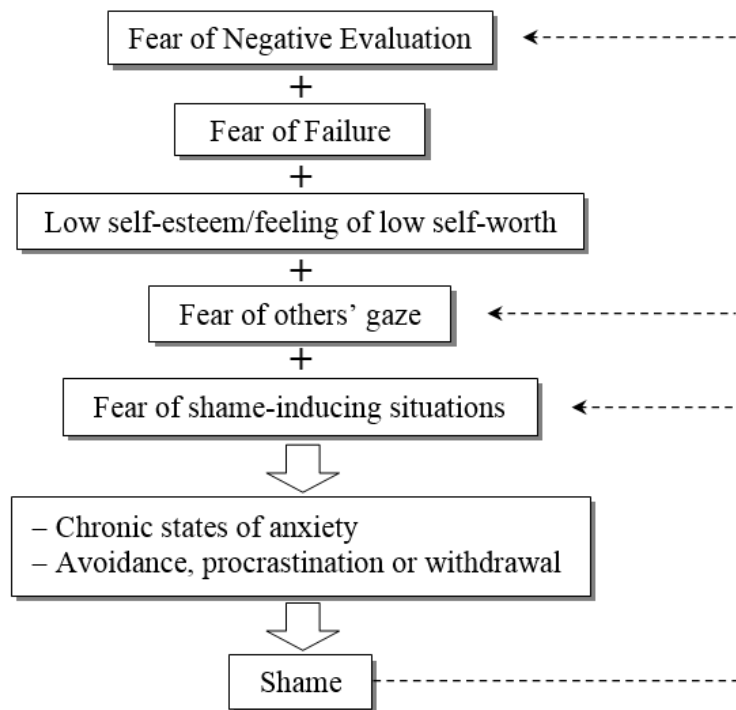


Figure 1 The mechanism of shame in SLA (as presented in Galmiche 2017, 45)

As can be seen, Galmiche (2017) depicts shame as a variable that is connected to, for example, fear of negative evaluation, fear of failure, low self-esteem and fear of shame-provoking situations which together with the other variables in the Figure 1 ultimately result in more shame by creating a harmful chain of shame.

Most importantly, prior research suggests that L2 shame is not so much related to L2 learners' actual proficiency but to their perceived proficiency level of English. First of all, Teimouri's (2018, 642-647) quantitative study on Iranian English major students indicated negative effects of shame despite the students' intermediate language competence in English. Second, Galmiche's (2017, 45-46) qualitative research showed that shame can be experienced by students across different proficiency levels and that advanced learners might be even more liable to experience shame than beginners. Galmiche (2017, 42) noted in her study that "[l]earners' feeling of shame arises from the *perception* of inadequacy in the TL [target language] and of their limited linguistic abilities rather than their *actual* poor command of the TL". Her analysis is in line with the earlier discussed qualitative study of Aragão (2011, 306-307) where shame appeared when L2 learners viewed others in a glorified light while they themselves believed to be worse than others. Furthermore, Galmiche's (2017, 42-44; 2018, 111) research indicates that global negative self-evaluation is a common feature among shame-prone L2 learners: this involves seeing the whole self as flawed. Thus, earlier research indicates that it is not necessarily the language competence but the distorted perception of one's own and

others' language skills and the global negative self-evaluation that lay the foundation for the feeling of being ashamed.

Related to this sense of inadequacy and negative self-evaluation is the process of comparison. Previous qualitative research shows how shame-prone L2 learners tend to compare themselves to other learners and speakers of English (Cook 2006; Galmiche 2017; Wang 2016). For instance, the oral reports in Galmiche's (2017, 40-42) research exemplify how self-evaluation is done by comparing one's own competence to peers in class. The same type of comparison can be found in the studies of Cook (2006, 79-89) and Wang (2016, 30-31). Not only does comparison appear in relation to peers, but also in relation to L2 learner's own standards and goals. Galmiche's (2017, 44) research indicated that some L2 learners experience shame when they perceive that their actual abilities (actual self) are not congruent with their ideal or ought-to self, which corresponds to both Teimouri's (2017) and Tangney et al.'s (1998) statistically strong correlation between shame and self-discrepancy. Therefore, the evaluation and comparison seem to be both learner-external (comparison to others) and learner-internal (comparison of actual self to ought/ideal selves).

Another important perspective to take into account in L2 shame experiences is the role of context. Galmiche's (2017) research suggests that instructional settings could be more shame-provoking than non-instructional settings. Her (Galmiche 2017, 38) shame-prone research participants regarded mistakes to be acceptable outside classroom, whereas they viewed "FL classes as an ongoing language exam in front of an audience" where there is no room for making mistakes or mispronouncing words. By the same token, Wang's (2016, 40) qualitative interviews indicated that both test taking and instructional settings were experienced more shame-provoking than independent study settings. However, her (Wang 2016, 25-27) quantitative analysis revealed that classroom and test-taking situations were statistically less shame-provoking than independent study settings, which is not congruent with the results of the two qualitative interview data. Thus, more research is needed in order to better understand the contextual variation of shame and the reasons behind it. Overall, the existing research indicates that shame is a variable that shows contextual variation in SLA.

Galmiche's (2017, 36-46) research pinpoints how it is the teacher practices and group dynamics that can alter L2 learners' proneness to experience shame in instructional settings. It is certainly the English teacher's verbal and non-verbal communication and behaviour that play a key role in the emergence of shame in the classroom context. Galmiche's (2017, 39-41; Galmiche 2018, 116-117) interview data implies that English teachers' focus on mistakes and devaluing behaviour can both increase the appearance of shame in class and to expose learners

to experience shame in the long run. Some of her shame-prone research subjects had even reported experiences of humiliation and trauma in the English classroom (Galmiche 2017, 37-38; see also Galmiche 2018). Shame seems to be particularly detrimental when it is experienced frequently in the SLA context (Galmiche 2018, 118). This can lead to internalisation of shame which “turns into a debilitating and destructive force or a trauma that is re-activated and relived every time one experiences failure or humiliation” as Galmiche (ibid.) explains. Yet, some L2 learners seem to be more prone to experience shame in SLA because they are generally highly shame-prone individuals since shame has become part of their personality and shame might not be limited to FLL settings (Galmiche 2018, 112-113). Galmiche (2018, 112) refers to these individuals as the Shame-Prone Selves.

Finally, L2 learners’ proneness to experience shame appears to vary across different languages and ages. Galmiche’s (2017, 40) findings suggest that the more prominent position the language has in the world, the more shame-provoking it might be to learn. In other words, as English is spoken around the world, people are expected to have a good command of it (ibid.) The students’ in Galmiche’s (ibid.) study were not so concerned about making mistakes in other languages in contrast to English. In the same vein, when the L2 learner has chosen to learn the foreign language without any obligation to do so, learning seems to happen in a more relaxed way (ibid.) Another factor is age. Leppänen et al.’s (2009, 84) large scale study on the use of English in Finland found that younger Finnish people were not as ashamed of their language skills than older people. Yet, this could be due to the change in teaching practices and not age.

All in all, earlier research indicates that L2 shame is a complex phenomenon because it is connected to various factors in SLA that are both learner internal and external. Essentially, L2 shame is pictured as a highly negative variable in SLA as it hinders learning by promoting unwillingness to communicate in English, lowering learners’ ability to concentrate in class and derogating learners’ sense of self by leading them to feel deep psychological discomfort. Next, the concept of L2 shame is discussed and defined.

2.3.2 The problematic nature of L2 shame construct

To begin with, no conclusive definition of L2 shame yet exists in the field of SLA. In the scarce research literature on L2 related shame (Cook 2006, 13; Galmiche 2017, 26-29; 2018, 101-103; Teimouri 2017, 690; 2018, 634-635; 2019, 10-12; Wang 2016, 9-11), shame has been conceptualised by using previous research literature from the field of educational or social psychology (or even dictionary entries). Dörnyei (2005, 219) warns that relying too heavily on frameworks from psychology can actually be damaging. Interpreting the conclusion of his first

book on IDs (*ibid.*), L2 shame should then have its own conceptualisation in SLA and combine the knowledge of the two disciplines. Fortunately, there is one tentative definition of shame from Galmiche (2017), who concludes her study by creating a new term, *foreign language classroom shame* (FLCS):

Foreign language classroom shame can be seen as a complex, dynamic, self-evaluative and particularly debilitating and paralysing emotion arising in the specific context of the FL classroom, found at all levels of proficiency, and composed of a diversity of interrelated factors such as learner beliefs, self-perceptions, feelings, emotions, personality traits, as well as contextual variables (e.g. teacher, peers), and leading to enduring anxious states, avoidance of, or disengagement from FL learning and use, to a persistent diminished sense of self and perception of a flawed identity. (Galmiche 2017, 49)

Although extremely broad, this definition depicts shame as a very multifaceted and debilitating phenomenon that is intertwined with various other SLA variables. Indeed, as we saw in the previous section 2.3.1, shame is related to many different phenomena. What is crucial about this definition is that we can find anxiety there in the form of FLCS “leading to enduring anxious states”. Galmiche (2018, 117-118) later identified shame-anxiety cycle among her research participants. Her findings reveal the interdependent nature of the two emotions but Galmiche (2018, 117) also further proposes that “the fear of displaying a shamed version of one’s self is conducive to ingrained and lasting anxious states, avoidance behaviour and self-saving strategies.” This suggests that Galmiche views shame or fear of shame as the feeling underneath anxiety. It is then worthwhile investigating the relation between foreign language anxiety (FLA) and shame in order to distinguish them from one another.

First of all, the construct of shame and its relationship with FLA has been examined by Cook (2006). As part of his research, university students’ anxiety, shame-proneness and guilt-proneness levels were measured by using FLCAS (Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale) for FLA and TOSCA-3 for shame and guilt (The Test of Self-Conscious Affect 3). The scores of these instruments were compared by using Pearson’s correlation in order to test, whether there was a relation between FLA and shame-proneness constructs. Yet, no statistical relationship was found in Cook’s (2006, 68-71) research and he points out that this could be due to how the FLCAS instrument is constructed. According to Cook (2006, 69-70), shame experiences play only a minimal role in the anxiety statements of FLCAS, which could explain why no correlation between FLCAS and TOSCA scores was found. In addition, TOSCA-3 is used to test proneness to feel shame in general (Robins, Nofle and Tracy 2007, 448-449),

whereas FLCAS (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986) is specifically suited for studying anxiety in instructional FLL settings. Thus, the two instruments do not measure similar types of contexts. Yet, Cook's finding lends support for being able to distinguish foreign language anxiety from shame.

Cook (2006) also explored the concepts of FLA and shame via discrete-emotions technique on data that were elicited by his in-depth interviews. Based on his analysis, Cook (2006, 205-206) proposes that FLA has been used as a superordinate term for many other related negative emotions such as embarrassment, fear, distress, guilt and shame. He (Cook 2006, 241-244) depicts that by using shame as an explicative construct the role of other emotions and phenomena such as anger and avoidance in SLA are easier to explain than with FLA. Cook's qualitative analysis then further supports the possibility for the separation of the two constructs.

Furthermore, anxiety and shame constructs had different correlations in Teimouri's (2017) study on the relationship between three emotional responses and L2 learner's self-guides. In Teimouri's (2017, 698-699) study, anxiety was related to Ought-to L2 self/own and Ought-to L2 self/other future self-guides, but not to Ideal L2 self-guide. In contrast, shame correlated positively with all the three different future self-guides (*ibid.*). This suggests two aspects. First, anxiety and shame are derived from different self-discrepancies in SLA. Second, if all the L2 self-guides are related to experiencing shame, it implies that learner's self and self-concept are more central in shame experiences in contrast to experiencing anxiety. Nevertheless, Teimouri did not measure anxiety with FLCAS or shame with any generally utilised measurement from the field of psychology (or with L2-TOSGA), which hampers the generalisability of the results. Yet, the results of his study suggest that anxiety and shame might be distinguishable from each other from the point of view of the L2 learner's self.

In the field of psychology, shame is classified as a self-conscious emotion, which means that in order to experience shame one needs to have the ability to self-reflect (Lewis 2016, 792-793). Lewis (*ibid.*) further categorises shame as a self-conscious evaluative emotion since it requires the adoption of standards, rules and goals of the surrounding community, developed representation of the self and responsibility for one's actions and thoughts. It is then the cognitive process of self-evaluation that is used in order to evaluate one's behaviour, thoughts or feelings in accordance with this unique set of standards, rules and goals one has adopted and formed (Lewis 2016, 800-803). As a precondition for this self-evaluation, one needs to be self-conscious (Lewis 2016, 800). Shame reaction is triggered when a person has evaluated their behaviour, thoughts or feelings to be incongruent with their own standards, rules and goals and has taken the responsibility for that failure (Lewis 2016, 804). Furthermore, the failure is

projected on the whole self (Lewis 2016, 803-804) and one sees oneself “as a bad person who is immoral or feels inadequate to the point of being fundamentally flawed” as Harter (2012, 199) describes. Lewis (2016, 803) explains that when the self is being evaluated globally by the self, this leads to the inability to function. Overall, shame is linked with the urge to hide or disappear (or even the desire for death), distraction in thinking processes as well as with the lack of being able to speak (Lewis 2016, 804).

In contrast to shame, anxiety is not as intimately bound to individual’s self. First and foremost, anxiety does not belong to the group of self-conscious emotions in the field of psychology (with shame, guilt, embarrassment, pride and hubris) (Lewis 2016). Instead, anxiety is often described as “an emotion characterized by feelings of tension, worried thoughts and physical changes like increased blood pressure” (American Psychological Association 2019). In the field of SLA, Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986, 128) conceptualised foreign language anxiety (FLA) “as a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process.” As can be seen, their definition includes L2 learner’s self in the form of self-perceptions and beliefs which also correspond to the characteristics of shame in SLA (e.g. Aragão 2011; Galmiche 2017; 2018). Indeed, the role of learners’ distorted or unrealistic beliefs about language learning are at the core of provoking language anxiety as well (Zhang and Zhong 2012, 28), which indicates how similar these two phenomena are. However, a crucial difference between the two constructs is the nature of evaluation. Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986, 127-128) distinguished three factors that are related to the rubric of FLA: communication apprehension, test-anxiety and fear of negative evaluation. The fear of negative evaluation in the case of FLA concerns the possible evaluation done by other people. In contrast, shame includes global self-evaluation when the individual fails to meet their standards or goals (Lewis 2016, 803-804; see also Galmiche 2017 in the field of SLA). While L2 shame can also involve fear of negative evaluation (Galmiche 2017, 45), global self-evaluation has not been defined to be invested in anxiety. Thus, in this thesis L2 shame is distinguished from FLA in terms of the different evaluation FLA and shame constructs involve. Shame is considered as an emotion, which is closer to the L2 learner’s self and self-system.

Based on the systematic analysis on prior research on shame in SLA and the conceptualisation of shame in the field of psychology, L2 shame is defined in this thesis as follows. L2 shame is a dynamic ID variable which involves global self-evaluation, and which derives from L2 learner’s negative and incongruent self-beliefs by leading the L2 learner to avoid using the L2.

3 Research methodology

In this section, the chosen methodology of the research is presented. The methodological decisions are discussed in three separate sections. First, an overview of the research participants is provided in section 3.1. Second, the autobiographical approach as a data collection method is explained and justified in section 3.2. Finally, section 3.3 covers the method that was used for analysing the data from the autobiographical narratives.

Before discussing the methodology of the study any further, the main goal and research questions of the study are revisited. The purpose of the present MA thesis is to investigate and understand Finnish university students' shame of speaking English. Since there is no prior systematic research on L2 shame in Finland, this thesis is as an exploratory study on shame in the Finnish context. The research questions of the present study are as follows:

- 1) How has the proneness to feel ashamed of speaking English developed?
- 2) What factors play a role in situations where students are prone to experience shame?
- 3) How do the students cope with their shame?

The research questions were derived inductively from the data of the autobiographical narratives (discussed in section 3.3). Therefore, no hypotheses were specifically formed to address these research questions. By addressing each of these research questions, the main objective of the study is to describe factors that are related to Finnish university students' development of L2 shame, shame-inducing situations and coping strategies to shame. Next, the research participants of the study are described.

3.1 The research questions and participants of the study

In total, six Finnish university students took part in the research. An overview of the research participants is presented in Table 2. Out of the six research participants, five were women and one was a man. Their ages ranged from 20 to 47 years. In terms of L1, five research participants reported Finnish as their mother tongue, and one reported to be bilingual (Finnish and Swedish). Students' major subjects varied from different fields of educational sciences to law, but no student from natural sciences participated in the study. The major subjects were excluded from the information in Table 2 in order to better secure details around the research participants. The research participants took part in the research completely anonymously and the names that are used in this research are pseudonyms.

Table 2 Overview of the research subjects

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	L1	Living abroad	Started learning English at school	Matriculation examination of English
Julia	26	female	Finnish	-	1st grade	Advanced syllabus level, M
Kerttu	47	female	Finnish and Swedish	Sweden, childhood partially lived there	1st grade	-
Päivi	32	female	Finnish	-	3rd grade	-
Maiju	31	female	Finnish	U.S. 9 months	3rd grade	Advanced syllabus level ⁴ , C
Pekka	27	male	Finnish	Spain, Udmurtia, Tatarstan & Ukraine circa 22 months	3rd grade	Advanced syllabus level, C
Tuija	20	female	Finnish	-	3rd grade	-

As Table 2 illustrates, only three research participants have taken the matriculation examination of English in upper secondary school. In Finland, an upper secondary school student must complete three other exams besides their mother tongue (Swedish or Finnish) and at least one exam out of these three needs to be taken at an advanced level (The Matriculation Examination Board 2019a). This means that the students who have not taken English in their final examination must have taken an advanced level either in Swedish, other foreign language or mathematics (ibid.) This is not so common as roughly 40,000 students every year enrol in the advanced level English exam in contrast to other possible advanced level subjects, where the highest number of participants is in mathematics with somewhat 10,000 examinees per year (The Matriculation Examination Board 2019b).

The research participants were asked to self-evaluate their own language competence in relation to four skills: speaking, writing, reading and listening comprehension. Overall, receptive skills (reading and listening) were evaluated to be better than productive language skills (speaking and writing). However, no proper language proficiency test was conducted in this research. Thus, a more accurate English proficiency level is unknown.

⁴ This research participant had answered Basic Syllabus Level C in the demographic part but based on her autobiography it was assumed that she had confused the Advanced and Basic Levels exams. Thus, here it is marked as Advance syllabus Level.

Possible research subjects were approached via different university email lists and Facebook groups. In order to find suitable candidates for the study, shame was directly addressed in the title of the data collection: “University student, are you ashamed of speaking English? Write an autobiographical text about your own English language learning history and journey as a speaker of English!” It was decided to name shame explicitly as Cook (2006, 221) points out that one of the potential reasons for not studying shame in SLA is because it tends to be hidden. Similar type of approach was used by Malinen (2010), who investigated general shame-proneness in Finland: his data collection was conducted by asking Finnish people to narrate shame and guilt experiences in the form of essays.

3.2 Data collection via autobiographical narratives

The data for the present MA thesis were collected by asking Finnish university students who feel ashamed of speaking English to write autobiographical stories in Finnish about their English language learning history. Benson (2004, 17) describes *(auto)biography* to be a method that is interested in the L2 learner’s first-person narratives and experiences in the long run in contrast to specific situations. Therefore, autobiography falls into the group of narrative research and in this thesis *narratives* are understood as a body of discourse (in this case autobiographical stories) which are guided by a plot in terms of a timeline (Polkinghorne [1995] 2003, 5-7). Autobiography and narrative approach represent the qualitative research paradigm (Benson 2004, 17; Polkinghorne [1995] 2003, 5) and qualitative studies generally aim to investigate individual’s perception of a particular phenomenon (Dörnyei 2007, 38). Overall, the use of different types of autobiographic narratives started to gain more and more interest around the start of the 21st century in the field of Applied Linguistics (Pavlenko 2007, 163).

The application of autobiographical narratives in investigating shame is congruent with the research literature on L2 shame and L2 learner psychology. First of all, Pavlenko (2007, 164-165) states that autobiographical narratives enable to view different SLA processes from the perspective of the individual itself in contrast to experimental methods. Not only does this correspond to Dörnyei’s (2009, 186-187) ideas of the individual-level analysis in ID research, but it also suits the main objective of the study, which is to understand shame of speaking English from the point of view of the L2 learner. In addition, Benson (2004, 20) explains that autobiographical research provides the possibility to pinpoint the dynamic change of both what happens in the mind of the learner and within their learning environment in the long term. This possibility of encompassing both temporal and situational change is in line with Dörnyei’s (2009, 182-196) thoughts on the need to take into account the dynamic role of ID variables in

SLA. Finally, earlier research (Aragão 2011; Galmiche 2017; Teimouri 2017) highlights the role of self and self-concept in the emergence of shame in SLA. According to Dörnyei and Ryan (2015, 199-200), autobiographical stories function at the core of building one's self-concept. Therefore, it is anticipated that the autobiographical approach provides a profound insight on the L2 learners' shame experiences by being able to access the L2 learners' self and self-concept.

Most importantly, self-written autobiographies have not been used in prior research on L2 shame. The previous studies in SLA have utilised qualitative in-depth and semi-structured interviews (Cook 2006; Galmiche 2017; 2018; Wang 2016) and different questionnaires (Cook 2006; Teimouri 2017; 2018; 2019; Wang 2016) in order to either analyse correlations between shame response and some other SLA variables or to elicit short narrations about shame-inducing situations. Although Cook (2006), Wang (2016) and Galmiche (2017; 2018) approached shame by asking their research participants to orally narrate their experiences in their interviews, no prior research on L2 shame has utilised in-depth written narratives. Therefore, the present study provides a new perspective on the phenomenon and this can be especially beneficial for future research as Pavlenko (2007, 165) notes that autobiographical narratives can reveal new links between different factors in SLA.

Self-written autobiographies were preferred over autobiographical interviews due to the topic of the thesis being highly sensitive. Self-report by means of writing a text provides a more secure personal space between the research participant and the researcher. This enables complete anonymity of the research participant. There is no opportunity for complete anonymity by using interviews as a data elicitation method. Finnish was chosen as the data collection language because the task of writing an autobiography in English would have been too laborious for the research participants. In addition, it was predicted that expressing shame would be more natural and accurate in the research participants' own mother tongue.

For the data collection procedure, an electronic survey was constructed in Webropol. The autobiographies were collected in an electronic form for two reasons. First, electronic survey platform makes it possible to collect data within the whole scope of Finland. Second, when the autobiographical texts are in an electronic format (in contrast to texts that are written by hand) they do not need to be transcribed, and it is also easier to understand the electronic texts in contrast to hand-written ones. Besides collecting autobiographies, information concerning research participants' gender, age, mother tongue, major subject, English language learning background and other learned foreign languages were also asked. The question that elicited self-evaluation of one's English skills was adapted from the questionnaire of the

national survey on the English language in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2009). The research participants' background information was asked in the first section of the survey and the second section was devoted to the autobiographical text.

An instruction sheet was constructed in order to help the research participants to approach their autobiographical texts (see Appendix 1 or 2). These types of instruction sheets in autobiographical studies in the Finnish SLA context have been used by, for example, Mäkelä (2016) and Veltheim (2016). Mäkelä's (2016) MA thesis was focused on studying FLA among Finnish French major students, whereas Veltheim's (2016) MA thesis explored the role of emotions in learning and using English among Finnish English major students. The instruction sheet of the present research was constructed on the basis of Veltheim's (2016) and Mäkelä's (2016) instructions as their research goals reflected that of the current study: emotion(s) in SLA. Yet, the instruction sheet was modified to fit the purposes of the current study.

The data collection was conducted between April and May 2019. Before the official data collection, the electronic survey was piloted in March. Based on the piloting, minor changes were made on the survey. Next, the electronic survey was distributed via two different means in order to reach the possible research subjects: by using email and Facebook. Via email, the electronic survey was sent to different language centres at Finnish universities and to various student organisation/university email lists. The electronic survey was also shared on a few Facebook groups that contained university students from different fields of study.

The materials of the present research consists in total of six autobiographical texts. When it comes to the length of these stories, they ranged from three to nine pages (A4; line spacing 1,5; font 12 pt.; paragraphs separated by blank line). Overall, there were thirty-one pages of text. One of the autobiographies contained many instances of anger rather than shame. This story was still included in the analysis for two following reasons. First, the data collection was done directly by asking students who feel ashamed of speaking English to write stories for the study. Second, Cook's (2006) study illustrates how shame can hide behind some L2 learners' anger: anger can function as a coping mechanism to shame. Next, the data analysis method is discussed.

3.3 Data analysis method of the autobiographical narratives

This section presents and justifies the chosen data analysis method for the autobiographical narratives. One well-known distinction in the study of narratives is that of Polkinghorne ([1995] 2003). Polkinghorne ([1995] 2003, 12) separates *analysis of narratives* from *narrative analysis*. Polkinghorne ([1995] 2003, 12, 15-16) explains that narrative analysis is an approach whose

aim is to create a narrative explanation of a studied phenomenon in the form of a story, where important factors of the data are drawn together to form a plot. In contrast, Polkinghorne ([1995] 2003, 12-15) says that analysis of narratives does not concern creation of a story but the purpose is to analyse common factors and themes within the stories. As one of the main goals of the study is to pinpoint the main factors that are common both in the autobiographies as well as in the shame experiences among the Finnish university students of the study, this study utilises the approach which Polkinghorne describes as analysis of narratives.

When it comes to approaching the analysis of narratives in the context of SLA, Kalaja (2011, 121) separates the three following methods: *subject reality*, *life reality* and *text reality*. Text reality is concerned with the stories from a textual level in terms of narration, whereas life reality focuses on the factors that are related to what has happened in learning (ibid.). In contrast, the subject reality concerns the subjective experiences of the L2 learner in relation to the language learning process (ibid.) This thesis is first and foremost interested in the experiences of the ashamed L2 learner and thus the subject reality suits the purposes of the study. However, Pavlenko (2007, 180) concludes her article on autobiographies in Applied Linguistics by stating that despite the focus on one of these three realities, researchers have to be aware of the other realities as well because the lines between these three are not so clear-cut. Although the focus is on the subjective experiences of the students, text reality and life realities were also taken into account in the analysis by considering *how* the learners had written about their experiences and *what* had happened in learning.

L2 learners' experiences within the autobiographical stories were examined by using qualitative content analysis, which is a useful method for examining different types of data in a textual form. Dörnyei (2007, 245) separates qualitative content analysis from quantitative content analysis by stating that "the qualitative categories used in content analysis are not predetermined but are derived inductively from the data analysed." In other words, the analysis is guided by what is found in the data and not by theory and prior research. Yet, Pavlenko (2007, 166-167) views that the traditional use of content analysis in analysing the subject reality in autobiographical narratives is too narrow and considers the pure data-driven approach as being an illusion since she sees that the researcher is not able to detach from their own perspective. In contrast to traditional content analysis, Pavlenko (2007, 174-175) suggests to expand the analysis by also examining what the storytellers do not tell in their autobiographies and why they do not tell something. In addition, Pavlenko (2007, 167) states that for the sake of examining the emerging phenomena in the narratives in a more in-depth way researchers should establish a theoretical framework as a basis for the analysis. The qualitative content analysis of

the study was then conducted by taking Pavlenko's critique into consideration. In practice, the research questions of the present research were formed inductively on the basis of what was found in the autobiographies. However, what the students did not narrate in their autobiographies was also used as a method for approaching the stories. In addition, a theoretical framework for the analysis was formulated in order "[t]o provide analysis that goes beyond a list-making activity" as Pavlenko (2007, 167) describes.

The stories were analysed in different phases by both pre-coding and coding the content of the stories in order to distinguish various emerging themes. This process was done by first signing the different themes their own colour codes and highlighting the emerging themes in the autobiographies accordingly. The next step was to transfer these pieces of material into Excel and the themes were then grouped together by means of creating larger categories. In addition, a short summary of each autobiographical story (a profile) was created in Excel by coding the key elements in each of the phases in the language learning histories (see Appendix 1 or 2 to view the phases). Based on these summaries, a further analysis was conducted in order to examine how the students had approached their shame and difficulties of speaking English in their stories in terms of narration. The research questions of the study were then formulated on the basis of the larger categories and the primary analysis on the approach of narration. The primary analysis was conducted in Finnish in accordance with Pavlenko's (2007, 173) suggestion for respecting the original language of the narratives. However, the data samples in the Analysis section are provided solely in English since the language of this thesis is English. The original Finnish data samples can be found as an attachment (see Appendix 3), where the examples are sectioned in the same order as they appear in the analysis.

Last but not least, it is crucial to take into account ethical aspects when conducting research. As already mentioned, one key measure has been to provide complete anonymity for the research participants since the topic of the thesis is highly sensitive. In order to better protect the research participants and their experiences, the examples in the Analysis section are provided in a way that no specific details about the research participants nor the people involved in their stories are revealed. After all, the research subjects have the right to privacy, and it is the researcher's responsibility to present the materials in a manner which guarantees that the participants cannot be recognised (Dörnyei 2007, 68). For instance, more specific descriptions of people and contexts were excluded from the analysis (such as descriptions of teachers). Furthermore, the materials of the study will not be used for any other purposes and they will be destroyed once the study has been published for the sake of securing the confidentiality of the information (ibid.).

4 Analysis

This section presents and analyses the main findings of the research. Each section responds separately to a posited research question. First, section 4.1. analyses the development of shame in the students' autobiographies. Second, the main factors related to situations where students were prone to experience shame are investigated in section 4.2. Finally, students' coping mechanisms to shame are explored in section 4.3. The examples that are provided in this analysis section are translations. The original Finnish examples can be found from the Appendix 3 in the order of appearance in the analysis.

4.1 The outer and the inner critic language learner path

The present research aimed at understanding Finnish university students' shame of speaking English. This aim was approached by positing three different research questions out of which one was as follows: How has the proneness to feel ashamed of speaking English developed? Two different types of stories were detected. These two groups were named as the outer and the inner critic based on the way students had approached their shame and language learning histories: whether they had explained their shame and difficulties of speaking English by the actions of another person or not. An overview of these two groups is presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Categorisation of the stories based on the way of narration

Category	Outer critic	Inner critic
Narrator's approach	Shame and difficulties of speaking English are explained by the actions of another person.	Shame and difficulties of speaking English are not explained by the actions of another person.
Development of L2 shame	Someone else's corrective feedback or devaluing behaviour on L2 learner's use of English caused the L2 learner to experience shame.	Generally shame-prone individual and low self-esteem. Internal conflict between L2 learner's perceived skills and their ideal abilities exposes the L2 learner to feel shame.
An example extract from the stories	Kerttu: "We receive our books from which we read the first chapter one by one. The teacher bursts out laughing in front of the class, he raises his hand up and slaps his desk audibly with his palm in order to highlight his reaction. I don't understand what he is saying, I can't hear, I am ashamed and stupefied."	Julia: "In a way I was probably disgusted by the fact that if I was stammering or pronouncing English in a poor way, and that people would have an image of me as being a 'hillbilly'."

The outer critic category (N=3) consists of stories in which narrators referred to experiences of receiving corrective feedback or devaluing behaviour on their use of English and, they explicitly explained how these experiences had affected them negatively in the long run. These L2 learners connected their shame and unwillingness to speak English to these past experiences. Conversely, the inner critical stories (N=3) revolved more around the internal pressure of having to be good at learning and speaking English. These L2 learners did not explain their shame and difficulties of speaking English by the actions of another person. Rather, these inner critical L2 learners seemed to have experienced a sense of threat to their identity and self-image due to the incongruity between their perceived and ideal speaking skills of English which then exposed them to feel shame.

It is also important to keep Pavlenko's (2007, 174-175) suggestion in mind that what the storytellers do not tell in their narrations is an important factor to consider in the analysis. It is possible that the students in the inner critic category have not wanted focus on difficult experiences of receiving corrective feedback or experiencing devaluing behaviour because they can be painful to reflect on. However, one of the inner critical students had also included one negative experience of receiving corrective feedback on her pronunciation, but she had not approached her autobiography by explaining her difficulties nor shame of speaking English by this event. Therefore, this study takes the perspective of how it is important that the inner critics have not explicitly explained their shame and difficulties of speaking English by someone else's behaviour on their use of English. Based on these two approaches, the present study depicts two possible learner paths for developing proneness to experience shame in SLA: incongruity of L2 self-guides (the inner critic) and the effect of other people's behaviour in SLA context (the outer critic). Next, these two language learner paths are analysed in more detail.

4.1.1 The effect of outside critique

Three of the autobiographical stories contained instances of either receiving feedback on the L2 learner's use of English or experiencing devaluing behaviour in instructional settings. These experiences were perceived as critique and they were regarded as highly negative events in the language learning histories. The narratives indicated that these events had led the students to feel bad about themselves as learners and speakers of English. Most importantly, both L2 shame and difficulties of speaking English were linked with these experiences of outside critique in these three language learning histories. Two of these stories concerned the behaviour of an English teacher, whereas the third story had an instance of boyfriend's corrective feedback.

Two of these outer critic stories were teacher-centred. In both of these two stories, English teacher's behaviour had affected the student negatively and caused them difficulties of speaking English in the long run. In the examples (1) and (2), Kerttu describes her feelings about learning English in primary school.

(1) It was mere entertainment when it was my turn in class, the same things happened time after time. Sometimes the teacher would laugh out loudly when it was my turn, sometimes he would scrunch up his face by having a skeptical look and by bending down on his arms. I felt so worthless, so unwanted, such a loser. (Kerttu, 47 years old)

(2) I cried and studied at home, I tried and tried. Studying while being afraid and ashamed was neither fruitful nor exhilarating. When I even touched my English books, I started to feel ill. The pages were bend due to my tears, ink had spread around the underlinings. The books are memories of sorrow and feeling ill from these times. (Kerttu, 47 years old)

The extract (1) from Kerttu illustrates how she feels worthless due to her English teacher's devaluing behaviour. She does not say that she felt being bad at English but worthless without any indication to language skills. Kerttu's narration corresponds to the global evaluation of shame when a failure is projected on the whole self (Lewis 2016, 803-804). Moreover, the example (2) shows how her learning was affected negatively by these experiences. Kerttu's English teacher had mocked her both in English classes and in detention. Not only did her teacher's mocking behaviour concern Kerttu's English language skills, but also her other traits such as looks and clothing. Overall, Kerttu's story indicates that she was bullied and humiliated by her English teacher. The experiences of Kerttu are in line with the qualitative interview data of Galmiche's (2017) study, which indicated a relationship between teacher's devaluing behaviour and the emergence of shame in instructional settings. Therefore, teacher's mocking behaviour seems to have a derogating effect on L2 learner's beliefs and feelings about themselves by leading the L2 learner to have a negative FL self-concept and global sense of worthlessness.

In the same vein, Päivi (3) reported an experience of humiliation in English class in middle school in a situation where she had been in front of the class not knowing what to do.

(3) I remember one time when I was standing in [front of the] the board and I had no clue what I had just replied to the teacher and what I was meant to write. Luckily, I received help from my classmates, who whispered the answer word by word and I wrote it without knowing what I was even writing. Luckily, this teacher only taught one course throughout the whole upper comprehensive school. But it was enough to bear this sense

of humiliation in mind, when the answer is being required from you word by word so that all the brain functioning for surely stops because you are too afraid of the situation. (Päivi, 32 years old)

As can be seen, Päivi describes how this experience was sufficient enough to leave her the feeling of humiliation in mind. A mutual factor in her and Kerttu's narration is the setting: the teacher-learner interaction happens in front of all the other students. Although Päivi narrates that her classmates helped her in the situation, the experience has still affected her strongly. This highlights how much teachers have authority in the classroom contexts. In her autobiography, Päivi also narrated how her English teachers throughout comprehensive school were too eager to give corrective feedback and this had left her the feeling of never being successful in conveying a message in English. Both the strong focus on mistakes by teachers and experiences of humiliation were reported in Galmiche's (2017, 37-41; see also Galmiche 2018) research on shame in instructional settings. This further suggests that L2 learner's self is highly sensitive in the SLA context and that teachers need take this into account when giving corrective feedback to their students in class.

The autobiographical narratives allowed to examine how these past experiences of both Kerttu and Päivi were related to their shame and difficulties of speaking English in the long run. After her experiences in primary school, Kerttu has struggled with English throughout her whole language learning history. Towards the end of her autobiography, Kerttu starts referring to her past experiences as her trauma. In example (4), Kerttu narrates about an oral presentation she needed to give at a university course of English.

(4) I prepared my first presentation while jogging [...] I had printed my speech for the person sitting next to me and I asked her to read a part, if I was going to stumble, panic or whatever was going to happen. She promised to help. I cried and I spoke, the trauma came out of me as I spoke. I wasn't able to do anything else. I was shaking thoroughly. The shame appeared. I was about to give up once but my lovely friend, who sat at the same table, said with a loud enough voice that it is going great. I pulled myself together and continued. I was able to finish. (Kerttu, 47 years old)

The above example (4) illustrates how Kerttu's traumatic experiences are related to her L2 shame. Her shame is also accompanied with the physical reaction of shaking thoroughly which indicates how deeply shame can affect L2 learner's core sense of self. Expression of trauma in relation to shame was also detected in Galmiche's (2017, 37) research on shame in classroom settings. Overall, Kerttu's story is in line with Galmiche's (2018, 118) thoughts on how frequent shame episodes in the SLA context can lead to an internalisation of shame which "turns into a debilitating and destructive force or a trauma that is re-activated and relived every time one

experiences failure or humiliation.” Therefore, it is possible that behind some L2 learners’ shame of speaking English can be traumatic experiences in the instructional settings, which is the case for Kerttu in this study.

The past experiences that are related teacher’s behaviour do not have to be considered traumatic, but they can still have a long-lasting effect on L2 learner’s willingness to speak English and proneness to experience shame. In examples (5) and (6), Päivi discusses her approach to speaking English nowadays.

(5) When I look back, I notice that most of them [English teachers] have done their best that I wouldn’t dare to speak and try to explain myself in a clumsy rally English by making grammatical mistakes. I have been taught to be afraid of mistakes and that’s why I haven’t spoken many words even at the university English course (Päivi, 32 years old)

(6) because I am afraid of that moment when I get stuck at some word that I don’t remember or don’t know, and I don’t know how to go around it. I panic in the situation, I start to feel ashamed and then finally I can’t figure out any kind of way to say my thing in English. (Päivi, 32 years old)

Päivi explains how her English teachers have caused her the fear of making mistakes. She seems to feel that the stereotypical Finnish pronunciation of English, her “clumsy rally English”, has not been sufficient for her English teachers. Fear of failure and mistakes was also reported in Galmiche’s (2017, 41-42; see also Galmiche 2018) research. In Cook’s (2006, 264) study, students who had experienced more shame-provoking situations were the ones who were more concerned about making mistakes and they had also used their mistakes to judge themselves. If an L2 learner is more prone to experience shame, the more they concentrate on mistakes it is then the role of corrective feedback from the teachers that becomes important in classroom settings. Indeed, Päivi has seemed to become more self-aware about making mistakes in English due to the continuous corrective feedback she has received from her English teachers. Moreover, example (6) illustrates how Päivi’s shame seems to be connected with her past experience of humiliation in class because she becomes ashamed when she does not know what to say. This is exactly what had happened to her in the past in front of the whole class. Thus, Kerttu and Päivi’s stories indicate the far-reaching effects of English teachers’ behaviour on L2 learners’ proneness to experience shame of speaking English.

Yet, it is not necessarily the corrective feedback or devaluing behaviour from an English teacher that can contribute to the development of L2 shame. In the third story in this category, Maiju narrates how the corrective feedback from his former boyfriend had affected her.

(7) Some experiences have affected me very strongly, such as one where my ex-boyfriend (boyfriend at the time) corrected my speech when I was talking to my foreign friend and I had said one word in a wrong way. That affected me so strongly that I started avoiding speaking English among Finnish people. (Maiju, 31 years old)

Maiju's example (7) highlights how one single corrective feedback from a loved one can affect someone greatly and cause them to feel ashamed of speaking English. In Maiju's case, the effects of this corrective feedback have been very context specific because she explains how the feedback had led her to avoid speaking English specifically among Finnish people. Despite the focus on shame in instructional settings, Galmiche (2017, 39) also notified the role of significant others whose devaluing behaviour can cause sense of inferiority and negative thinking within the L2 learner. Galmiche's words are in line with Maiju's experiences because Maiju has seemed to started to feel inferior to her boyfriend after the feedback. In example (8), Maiju narrates about another experience with her boyfriend.

(8) Then again when it comes to another experience, I was very happy with myself when at an airport, the same boyfriend was not able to understand an official with a heavy dialect who tried to advise him with his too heavy suitcase, but I was able to understand him straight away. Maybe it was due to the way of learning the language, I had learned by listening to natives and he had learned in school. Then I understood that I wasn't worse. (Maiju, 31 years old)

Maiju explains how a successful experience of communicating in English made her understand that she was not worse in English than her boyfriend. This extract reveals how she had felt worse in English due to her to boyfriend's corrective feedback. Therefore, it appears that receiving direct corrective feedback on one's speech in the L2 can be considered a devaluing behaviour by some L2 learners. This highlights the highly sensitive nature of speaking another language and receiving feedback on one's speech in L2.

Overall, all the three stories in this category illustrate how someone else's devaluing behaviour or corrective feedback can lead to negative outcomes in the future. These L2 learners' beliefs about themselves as learners and speakers of English had changed for the negative due to these past experiences. In addition, they had become more self-conscious of themselves and their abilities in English because of these events. Provided that L2 learner's self-concept is built largely by their autobiographical stories (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015, 199-200), these three stories demonstrate how L2 learner's negative past experiences can play a role in the construction of L2 learner's negative self-concept by further leading them to be prone to experience shame of speaking English in the future.

4.1.2 The inner critic within the L2 learner

This section covers the three other autobiographies in which the L2 learners had not linked their difficulties and shame of speaking English with someone else's behaviour on their use of English. In turn, these stories centred more around the internal pressure of not being as good at English as the students had wished to be. Overall, the students behind these narratives were highly self-conscious of themselves and how they are perceived by others.

Two of the stories were related to how not being good at English in school derogated the L2 learner's self-image of being a good student. In examples (9) and (10), Pekka and Tuija discuss their relationship with English in primary school.

(9) It was awkward to read out loud the chapters as it was not always possible to look the ipa [pronunciation advice] of the vocabulary and I often said some word in a wrong way. Of course, I wasn't the only mispronouncer, but it was not suitable for the image of a quite good student. (Pekka, 27 years old)

(10) I was used to being the best at everything in a small village school. I was the only one who could read before school started. In mathematics and especially in mother tongue [Finnish], I was considerably ahead of others and I did a lot of different extra tasks, whole books from other book series, extracurricular activities. English became the area, where I didn't do well and I remember having that kind of uncomfortable feeling related to English already from the second grade, when it was so hard to learn the word "sharpener". (Tuija, 20 years old)

It seems that it has been highly uncomfortable for both Pekka and Tuija to show an insecure and imperfect side of them to others by not being the very competent student in English in contrast to other school subjects. Teimouri (2018, 647) stated in his study that "[s]hame-prone L2 learners are less willing to voluntarily use the L2 in situations that are perceived to pose a threat to their social status." Indeed, for Pekka and Tuija it is the status of being a good student that is under this sense of possible threat. However, both of them narrated about deliberate and strong avoidance of English outside school as well. This suggests that not wanting to show an undesirable side to others is not restricted to school context for them. Overall, their stories indicate that good students who do otherwise really well at school might find foreign language classes extremely shame-provoking if they are unable to reach the level they are used to in other subjects. This highlights the role of standards and goals in language learning because shame is an emotion which is triggered when an individual has self-evaluated that their behaviour, thoughts or feelings have not reached the standards, rules or goals that they have adopted from the surrounding culture or community (Lewis 2016, 801-804).

It is Julia, the narrator of the third story in this category, who explicitly and in-depth reflects on how she felt about her English-speaking abilities. In examples (11) and (12), she reflects on her shame and goals.

(11) Although I have never really had big problems with learning English and weaknesses could have been improved with more active practising, the shame of speaking English probably originated from the way how I always wanted to be better at speaking English than I was and I always wanted to see myself as a good English speaker. I was way worse in Swedish, but I didn't experience similar type of pressure from it and I approached it [Swedish] in a more relaxed way and I spoke it way more openly. (Julia, 26 years old)

(12) At the beginning of university, feelings about being ashamed of speaking English started again. I felt that the general level of speaking English, and in English overall, was way better than my own and way better in contrast to my earlier targets of comparison. It felt like at the university at the latest I should be more fluent, sometimes I have even thought that it felt almost like being "a fraud" to be in an academic education, when you can't speak really good and fluent, almost native-like English. (Julia, 26 years old)

Julia's words demonstrate a clear contrast between her L2 Ideal Self and actual speaking abilities in example (11) and her Ought-to L2 Self and actual self in example (12). In both examples, shame is related to this incongruity of self-beliefs. This corresponds to the positive statistical relationship between shame and the gap between one's self-concept and future self-guides both in the field of psychology (Tangney et al. 1998) and SLA (Teimouri 2017). It is contradictory to Higgins' (1987, 322) theoretical assumption on shame since he had predicted that shame occurs when other people's wishes (ideal self/other) are not fulfilled. Furthermore, it seems that it is not only the gap between Julia's ideal and actual self, but also the vulnerability of showing this gap to others that exposes her to feel shame. Although Pekka and Tuija did not reflect on their shame as in-depth as Julia, their stories also indicated that they felt highly uncomfortable due to showing this perceived gap between their actual skills and ideal skills.

The role of standards and goals appears to be very important since Julia (11) explains how she did not experience similar pressure in Swedish although she had been worse at it. In addition to Julia, Tuija and Pekka also reported more positive feelings towards learning Swedish. This is in line with Galmiche's (2017, 40) research, which indicated that learners' proneness to experience shame can vary across different languages. Her study (ibid.) suggests that the global position of English might make the learning of English more shame-provoking because people are expected to be able to speak it. This could also explain why Julia, Tuija and

Pekka had more positive feelings towards Swedish in contrast to English since the position of English in the world is more prominent.

The narratives also highlight the role of low self-esteem within these inner critic stories in addition to the incongruity of actual self and future self-guides. In the following examples (13) and (14), both Julia and Tuija mention their self-esteem in relation to learning English:

(13) After all, all the insecurity to speak English has probably been related to the shame that I had experienced before, which was related to low self-esteem or thoughts of how other people perceive me. This again caused me to try to get away with speaking situations “as easily and as unnoticeably as possible”, although I sometimes enjoyed speaking a lot and experienced moments of success [...] Nowadays, I don’t feel ashamed the same way about how I’m not so good at speaking English as I sometimes want to be. (Julia, 26 years old)

(14) I was very lonely the whole time in secondary school and there was not much content in my life except school and losing weight. In the end, I was just able to raise my English grade from seven to eight before the diploma. That was the only eight in my diploma, which I hated above everything. And also the grade which demanded the most work. In total, there were 13 tens. In addition, a few nines and that eight from English, which derogated self-esteem. (Tuija, 20 years old)

Julia connects her low self-esteem to her earlier experiences of shame and shame of speaking English, whereas Tuija describes how her English grade derogated her self-esteem. Therefore, both of the extracts show how Tuija and Julia have both struggled with low self-esteem. In line with Julia’s reflections, it is possible that it is the low self-esteem and general shame about oneself that has exposed these inner critic L2 learners to experience shame in SLA. This corresponds to Galmiche’s (2018, 112-113) “Shame-Prone Self”, which refers to the individuals who are more prone to experience shame in SLA because shame has become part of their personality and shame is not then restricted to second language learning. Since the three students in this category had not explained their shame by derogating behaviour on their L2 self, it is maintained here that their low self-esteem (or general proneness to experience shame) together with their high standards and goals has further exposed them to experience shame of speaking English.

4.2 Common factors in L2 learners’ shame experiences

One of the research questions of the present study was aimed at investigating what type of factors play a role in situations where the students are prone to experience shame. This research question is answered in three parts according to the three big themes that emerged from the

autobiographical data: self-evaluation and sense of inferiority to others, Finnish interlocutors and the specific role of English pronunciation.

4.2.1 Self-evaluation and sense of inferiority to others

Self-evaluation of one's competence in the form of comparison to other people appeared frequently throughout the autobiographies of the present research. This in itself is not surprising as within the data elicitation instrument there were questions like "How were your language skills like?" or "What type of learner were you?" However, what matters is the tone of their self-evaluation as the students of the present research felt inferior to either others or to their own standards. In some instances the comparison to others was done explicitly (peers), whereas in other instances it was done implicitly (general sense of being inferior).

Many of the students referred to the 'general proficiency level' of their peers. What was crucial was how the L2 learners situated themselves to this general level: it affected their feelings in class and their proneness to feel shame. In other words, if they felt they were around the same level with most of the students (either as bad or as good), they seemed to feel safe and more relaxed. In contrast, if they felt like being behind this general level, they felt distressed and ashamed. In example (15), Pekka explains his feelings in relation to other people's language skills.

(15) However, English lessons became the most oppressive lessons in school apart from handcraft and such other things that I didn't understand anything about. The chapters started to become quite difficult and the fear of mispronouncing grew, because the people in our class were more skilled in languages than on average. On the contrary, I was not as afraid of Swedish lessons in the same way. (Pekka, 27 years old)

Here we can detect how the generally high level of languages had made Pekka feel more afraid of pronouncing words incorrectly in English class. It appears that other people's high competence raises the need to be better at English in order not to be among the weakest students in class. On the contrary, Swedish lessons have not been so distressful for Pekka, which indicates that making mistakes in Swedish has not been so serious. This corresponds to Galmiche's (2017, 40) finding on how languages can differ from each other in terms of their shame-provoking nature due to their different position and usage in the world. Since English is more widely used in the world than Swedish, it is possible that Pekka has not viewed it acceptable to make mistakes in English. This has then possibly made English lessons more oppressive and shame-provoking for him. Yet, Pekka does highlight the role of other students' competent language skills in his discomfort, which indicates that these two factors seem to operate jointly in creating a more shame-provoking situation for speaking and learning English.

It was the students' own beliefs about their own language skills in relation to other students that played a pivotal role in evoking L2 shame. If the students believed to be worse at speaking English, they were exposed to feel shame. In the examples (16) and (17), Julia and Päivi share their experiences.

(16) If the pairs or groups to speaking tasks were raffled or the teacher chose them, I remember that I was relieved if I got to do the speaking tasks with someone, with whom speaking English badly wasn't embarrassing or then I didn't have to feel ashamed, because the other person's speaking skills were weaker than mine. Horrible way to think, now that I am looking back. (Julia, 26 years old)

(17) The whole time in elementary school I felt that I was bad at English. I hated the lessons and I was afraid of opening my mouth during the lessons. I never raised my hand voluntarily, although I might have known something. I wasn't always the worst in the class, but from the weakest group yes. The continuous correction of pronunciation and detection of mistakes taught me to stay quiet. Discussions in pairs gave some comfort sometimes when it was possible to try with someone close to your own level and I didn't have to feel ashamed all the time. Unfortunately, there were so many good English speakers in class that it was rare to have a pair who was on the same level. (Päivi, 32 years old)

As the examples illustrate, both Julia and Päivi's proneness to experience shame shows clear alteration according to the competence level of their peers, thus revealing the fluctuating quality of L2 shame. This corresponds to Dörnyei's (2009, 194) argument on the dynamic nature of ID variables in contrast to them being stable as had been previously thought. When Julia and Päivi had perceived that they were worse at speaking English than their peers, they had experienced shame. Conversely, having a pair with similar speaking skills had made them feel more at ease. This dynamic relationship between shame and feeling of being worse than others is in line with Aragão's (2011) study on the relationship between student's beliefs and emotions. In his research, shame had appeared when university students had believed to be worse in English than their peers (Aragão 2011, 306-307). L2 learners in Aragão's (2011, 306) study also reported that their teacher's perfect mastery of English had affected their emotions, whereas no effects of English teacher's language skills on L2 learners' emotions or shame were reported in the present research. The university students of the present study did not appear to view their English teachers' level comparable to their own level of English, which highlights the important role of comparison in the emergence of shame.

Overall, the students compared themselves to their peers very frequently. In example (18), Julia explains how she compared her English skills to others in high school.

(18) In high school, I started comparing my English skills more to others and started seeing faultlessly speaking friends, acquaintances and semi-acquaintances. In high school, my friends and acquaintances started going on language courses, on exchange or started having friends and acquaintances from other countries, with whom they spoke English. Some kind of sense of inferiority or embarrassment started to be more related to international experiences than to how I was as a speaker of English. I probably became more ashamed of the thing because I even more wished to be as fluent and brave and “international” speaker of English and young person as I saw some other people. (Julia, 26 years old)

Julia narrates how she started comparing herself more to others in high school and had considered that others had spoken English faultlessly. She had viewed other people in an extremely positive and perfect light in contrast to herself. Furthermore, Julia’s thoughts are not limited to language skills, but they concern the image of what is shown to others. Julia’s description of other people’s perfect skills of English corresponds to Aragão’s (2011, 307) statement about his research participants on how “[f]eelings like shame, fear and inhibition are strongly associated with beliefs about students’ self-concepts in the foreign language classroom. They [learners] believed themselves to be ‘inferior’ to idealized models.” Not only do the beliefs of being inferior to others seem to be an important factor in L2 shame experiences, but also the way of believing that others are flawless. All in all, Julia’s example demonstrates how at the core of feeling inferior to others lies the mechanism of comparison. Comparison to others was also reported in the studies of Cook (2006, 79-89), Wang (2016, 30-31) and Galmiche (2017, 40) among their ashamed L2 learners.

Therefore, it seems that L2 learners who experience shame in the SLA context are highly inclined to do comparisons to others and they seem to evaluate themselves and their skills (self-concept) in relation to others often negatively. Galmiche (2017, 42) stated that “[l]earners’ feeling of shame arises from the *perception* of inadequacy in the TL [target language] and of their limited linguistic abilities rather than their *actual* poor command of the TL”. Although the present study did not measure the research participants’ proficiency level of English, the autobiographical narratives also indicate that the L2 learner’s perceived language proficiency seems to play a more pivotal role in the emergence of shame than their actual language skills.

4.2.2 The background of the interlocutors

The research participants of the study reported feeling more uncomfortable and ashamed of speaking English in the company of other Finnish people in contrast to foreigners or native speakers of English. Although the students of the present research reported many instances of

shame in the classroom context, the role of Finnish interlocutors revealed to be even more powerful contextual factor in L2 learners' proneness to experience shame than the dichotomy between instructional and non-instructional settings. This is dissimilar to Galmiche's (2017) finding, which indicated that classroom settings were found particularly shame-provoking. In the following examples (19) and (20), Kerttu and Julia discuss the contrast between Finnish and non-Finnish interlocutors.

(19) Funny that I have travelled to various countries and I admire that urge to help, which people offer with their bad English or without even having a mutual language at all. They dare, they live courageously. During my trips I dare to speak, when there are no Finns around me. My child can be there, no one else. (Kerttu, 47 years old)

(20) as to my relief, I have noticed that the more and the more often you speak English, the more fluently and casually it is possible to speak. However, what still bothers me as a speaker of English is that I prefer, and I feel more relaxed when speaking it with all the other people except with Finns. (Julia, 26 years old)

As can be seen, Kerttu and Julia's examples demonstrate how more unwilling they are to speak English among other Finnish people. This is in line with Teimouri's research (2018, 644-647), where proneness to experience L2 shame was found to have a significant negative correlation between L2 learner's willingness to communicate in English. Yet, this unwillingness to communicate in English varies according to the interlocutors' nationality in contrast being a general unwillingness to speak English. Since L2 shame is related to the fear of negative evaluation (Galmiche 2017, 45), it is possible that L2 communication situations with other Finnish people are perceived to be more evaluative than situations with non-Finnish people.

Not only seems the same nationality (or the same mother tongue) of the interlocutor to be an important contextual cue in evoking shame, but also the same age. The stories imply that the closer the age of the Finnish interlocutor is to L2 learner's own age, the more difficult and shame-provoking the L2 communication situation seems to be. Maiju further explains this in example (21) (see also example (24) from Julia in section 4.2.3.).

(21) The funniest thing is that with non-Finnish-speaking people I have no problems to speak at all. I feel like I do fine with everyday life situations and abroad without having problems with the language. My favourite travelling destination is London. In contrast, if there are Finns around, certainly around my own age, it is very difficult for me to speak. It irritates me a lot and I am trying to fight against it. I think this is precisely due to shame. (Maiju, 31 years old)

Maiju highlights how the similar age of the Finnish people affects her willingness to speak English and links this unwillingness with shame. The similar age and nationality might play a

role outside classroom contexts due to the past experiences in school. In comprehensive and upper secondary school, the Finnish L2 learners usually learn English in the company of other Finnish students who are the same age. Galmiche (2017, 38) stated that her research participants regarded “FL classes as an ongoing language exam in front of an audience” where it is not permitted to either mispronounce or make mistakes in comparison to non-instructional settings. This similar sensation of being “at an exam” seemed to extend to non-instructional settings for the research participants of this study when they needed to speak English with other Finnish people. In addition, the students appeared to be more self-conscious in L2 communication situations with other Finns. If instructional settings are perceived highly evaluative and shame-provoking in the school context, this might expose Finnish learners of English to be more prone to experience shame outside school with other Finnish interlocutors. On the other hand, this might also imply that Finnish people in general are perceived to be more likely to judge each other’s English in contrast to non-Finnish people.

Yet, this dichotomy between Finns and other speakers of English might also make a difference in instructional settings. In example (22), Kerttu reflects on her experiences at a university course of English.

(22) I am thankful that she [teacher] gave me my time and eventually I went to the front of the class as well, I did all the tasks there like everybody else. It was also important that there were non-Finnish people by their background, which gave me a permission to understand my bilingualism and I wasn’t ashamed of my funny Swedish accent anymore that for some reason appeared in English. (Kerttu, 47 years old)

An important factor that has alleviated shame for Kerttu has been the non-Finnish background of her peers which had helped her not to feel ashamed of her English accent in class. In her childhood, she used to stand out from the other students because she had lived her early childhood in Sweden. In primary school, she had had traumatic experiences due to her English teacher’s devaluating behaviour on her use of English. Therefore, these past experiences of being evaluated by other Finnish people seem to be connected with her shame and this is the reason she might feel more relaxed with non-Finnish students.

Overall, two important variables related to interlocutors’ background in shame-provoking L2 communication situations were detected. Firstly, the research participants of the study narrated more shame-provoking situations among Finnish interlocutors than with foreigners or native speakers of English. Secondly, the age of the Finnish interlocutors seems to also play a role in evoking L2 shame. The closer the age of the Finnish interlocutor is that of the L2 learner, the more prone the learners were to experience L2 shame.

4.2.3 The specific role of English pronunciation

Shame appeared the most frequently in relation to difficulties in English pronunciation. Fear of making mistakes in pronunciation was a common feature among students' narratives. The students of the present research were highly self-conscious about their own pronunciation skills and they considered pronunciation as a very difficult, or even impossible, area of English language to master. Päivi explains in the example (23).

(23) Speaking was difficult, and I was ashamed because my classmates were so much better at speaking and their pronunciation was better and more fluent. I still remember that awkwardness when in the language lab we had to communicate via headphones and microphones with a random classmate and the conversation did not come along at all when neither of us wanted to speak English while another person could hear you.
(Päivi, 32 years old)

Päivi describes how she felt ashamed since her peers were better at speaking English and how their pronunciation was better than hers. This corresponds to Aragão's (2011, 306-307) research where students' sense of inferiority to other students' language skills in classroom was linked with shame. Since pronunciation is the most apparent feature of spoken language and it is therefore easy to compare one's pronunciation skills to others, it is possible that students' sense of inferiority might be related to their pronunciation skills the most. Furthermore, because students are not able to hide their English pronunciation while they speak, pronunciation can be the most plausible area of English language competence to provoke shame.

As pronunciation is a very visible part of L2 learner's language skills, it seems to specifically interfere with L2 learner's identity. In example (24), Julia elaborates (see also example (9) from Pekka in section 4.1.2.).

(24) My shame related to English was probably mostly related to that I didn't want to be "revealed" as a weak, unclear and badly pronouncing English speaker to my high school friends and acquaintances that were the same age. I preferred to avoid more difficult phrases and I didn't take any space for speaking. I didn't even do this so consciously, but I almost always ended up doing so when English was spoken among other Finnish people. As if I didn't want it to be part of my identity that others would perceive me as bad and clumsy at speaking English, especially because it didn't suit how I wanted to see myself and how I wanted others to see me. (Julia, 26 years old)

As can be seen, Julia has considered herself to be bad at pronouncing English which has not been a part of her that she has wanted to show to her peers. Therefore, her FLL self-concept (description of competence and feelings about herself) in terms of English pronunciation has been negative. As self-concept functions as the basis of one's identity, which is the more public side of oneself to others (Mercer 2011a, 18-19), this means that this negative self-concept has

had an effect on Julia's identity by leading her to show an undesirable part of herself to others. Inevitably, this creates a situation where there is an incongruity between the L2 learner's Ideal L2 Self and actual self by leading the L2 learner to experience shame (Teimouri 2017; field of psychology Tangney et al. 1998). Julia's example (24) is also in line with Galmiche's (2017, 42; 2018, 113-114) research where the bad accent was found to be highly damaging for L2 learner's self-image and identity because a strong accent was considered to be a reflection of one's limited language skills and intelligence. This is why Julia might feel uncomfortable about being "revealed as a weak, unclear and badly pronouncing English speaker", because she might think that people see her as a person who lacks intelligence.

Overall, the material suggests that L2 learner's proneness to experience shame appears to be closely linked with how the L2 learners perceive their own pronunciation skills in relation to others and how others would potentially see them due to their mistakes or bad pronunciation. In line with Galmiche's (2017; 2018) research, factors such as being bad at pronunciation, making mistakes in pronunciation and having an undesirable accent were related to the shame experiences in the present research. It is then possible that the L2 learners who experience shame of speaking English might be more cautious about how they are perceived by others in terms of their English accent. If the shame-prone L2 learners think they have a bad English pronunciation, it seems to expose them to experience shame as they are obliged to show the gap between their ideal and actual pronunciation skills when they speak English.

4.3 Coping behaviour to shame

The students of the current study had three types of coping mechanisms to their shame of speaking English. These were avoidance of speaking English and English-speaking situations, gaining control of the speaking situation and anger. These themes are discussed separately in the following three sections.

4.3.1 Avoidance of speaking English and English-speaking situations

Avoidance of using English was one of the most coded themes in the present study and it was detected in all of the six autobiographies. This is in line with Cook's (2006, 131) research on shame in SLA, where avoidance was the most frequent element in his qualitative interviews. In this study, avoidance was related to situations where the students knew they would have to use and speak English. However, the form and scope of this avoidance behaviour varied among different students. In some instances avoidance was explicitly named as a deliberate strategy, whereas in some examples it emerged as a more unconscious unwillingness to speak English.

Avoidance appeared both in L2 communication situations and as a way of completely avoiding them.

Avoidance behaviour was detected in situations where students needed to use and speak English. In examples (25) and (26), Päivi and Kerttu explain how they behaved in two different types of situations.

(25) I was ashamed of trying to pronounce words correctly as they didn't fit in my mouth the way they should have. When words were being repeated after the recording as a group, I never made a sound but only moved my lips. (Päivi, 32 years old)

(26) I have a passion for getting to know new countries, different cultures, I have an international friend group, many different languages are spoken. I love this spectrum of life. But I don't communicate in English, I have preferred to draw my things than say my message. Means are many. (Kerttu, 47 years old)

These two examples show how avoidance of using English can take different forms in different situations. Päivi (25) narrates how she avoided repeating anything out loud in class because she was ashamed of her pronunciation. In contrast, Kerttu (26) has preferred to use other means of communication in order to avoid speaking English altogether. Päivi's example is situated in the classroom where there has not been any need for communication with others, whereas Kerttu is speaking about the L2 communication situations in general. Despite these different contexts, both students show strong resistance and avoidance of producing anything in English. Rather than being a mere inability to speak, which is known to be a consequence of shame (Lewis 2016, 804), Julia and Kerttu's speechlessness seems to have been a deliberate and conscious decision. Their behaviour is more strategic and this avoidance of speaking English has appeared to function as a way of coping with shame-provoking L2 communication situations.

Avoidance also functioned as a strategy of minimising situations where English needed to be spoken. For some students, avoidance behaviour had been more extreme and deliberate than for others. Tuija and Pekka discuss their experiences in examples (27) and (28).

(27) After upper secondary school my relationship with the English language has been that kind of avoidance policy. During my last year of upper secondary school I even tried to protect myself from everything that was in English by pleading to that I wanted to focus on Swedish and that I didn't want to mix my head with English. (Tuija, 20 years old)

(28) The question was whether I am ashamed of speaking English. I am ashamed indeed. I try to avoid using it as best as I can. The first time I properly spoke English outside school was at one conference during my third year of university. Until then, I had been more radical when it came to my avoidance. Nowadays, I have spoken it at least once a

year, but I don't really suffer from a guilty conscience because of this. (Pekka, 27 years old)

As can be seen, both Tuija and Pekka narrate about very deliberate avoidance of English. In Tuija's (27) case, avoidance of English has not been restricted to speaking but it has also concerned the English language in general. It seems that even hearing English might trigger the emotion of shame for her. In turn, Pekka's (28) extract shows that his avoidance is related to speaking English and that this is specifically due to his shame. Tuija and Pekka were both the two students who were categorised as inner critic L2 learners by experiencing an attack on their image of being good student (in section 4.1). It seems that even after comprehensive school they still resist exposing an undesirable side of themselves to others in order to avoid feeling ashamed.

One of the most frequent themes in the students' narratives was how their avoidance of speaking English was related to the way they approached their studies both at university and upper-secondary level. One student narrated how her reluctance to participate in academic English courses at university had delayed her BA degree. Another student had avoided these academic English courses altogether by replacing them with the basic studies (25 ECTS) of Russian language. Overall, the narratives suggest that shame of speaking English seems to limit students' academic decision-making. In examples (29) and (30), Tuija and Maiju reflect on their own behaviour at university.

(29) I have evidently had to encounter English during my university studies. But by now after a freshman year, surprisingly little. And I have always cut the corners. Once I skipped one special education seminar, because I knew that there was an English-speaking visiting lecturer who wishes the audience to participate actively. A nightmare. (Tuija, 20 years old)

(30) My studies are in Finnish and for some reason I am avoiding voluntary courses that are held in English. I might be afraid, if I need to speak. (Maiju, 31 years old)

Tuija (29) has preferred to be absent from a seminar due to a possibility of having to speak English, whereas Maiju (30) has avoided voluntary courses that are held in English. Both Tuija and Maiju have preferred to avoid English-speaking situations at the university at the expense of their own studies and learning. This implies that L2 shame is a highly uncomfortable emotion to feel as it is better for L2 learners to avoid English-speaking situations than to participate in academic activities that require them to speak English. Since English is in frequent use in the Finnish universities, some of the university students who feel ashamed of speaking English need to be very strategic in order to avoid courses that are held in English.

Moreover, Maiju (30) connects her avoidance behaviour with the fear of speaking English. On the whole, fear of speaking English was frequently mentioned in the students' narratives in the present research. The findings support Cook's (2006, 217-220) shame-fear cycle according to which shame can cause fear of shame that further results in avoidance. In example (31), Kerttu elaborates her feelings.

(31) I am crying. I tell about my traumas. Delivering two speeches in front of the class was awful even as a thought. I almost wasn't able to do them because I was so horrendously afraid. However, I had reached that kind of point where I wanted to do it like everybody else, in front of the class. I didn't want any special things, although I knew about their existence. I was fed up with being ashamed, being the weak one who gives up. I wanted to exceed myself. (Kerttu, 47 years old)

As Kerttu's example (31) demonstrates, shame and fear occur to refer to the same situation when Kerttu has needed to give two speeches in class. Based on Cook's (2006, 2017-220) shame-fear cycle, it is possible that Kerttu was afraid of giving the two speeches due to the possibility of experiencing shame. Since shame involves global self-evaluation when a failure is encountered (Lewis 2016, 803-804) and shame-prone L2 learners are described to experience a threat to their self in SLA contexts (Galmiche 2017, 42; Teimouri 2018, 647), the fear might function as a way of alerting the L2 learner of the possible 'danger', where the whole self is viewed as a failure.

Overall, this section aimed to demonstrate how avoidance of speaking English was frequent among the research participants of the study. Based on the autobiographies, avoidance of speaking English has been the most important coping strategy to their shame of speaking English – either consciously or unconsciously. Avoidance was not only related to how the students behaved in L2 communication situations but also how they resisted ending up in them altogether. Most importantly, the autobiographical stories suggest that L2 shame seems to interfere with academic decision-making because shame-prone students are more likely to avoid English-speaking courses at the university than participating in them.

4.3.2 The feeling of being in control

For two of the students in this study, another way to cope with shame was to prepare extremely well for the moment when they needed to speak. This type of 'preparedness' appeared specifically in instructional settings. In examples (32) and (33), Julia and Päivi reminisce their experiences in comprehensive school.

(32) Yet, I remember a technique already from primary school which I learned and repeated almost every time when we had to read out loud sentences from the English book. In my mind, I always calculated which sentence I needed to read depending on from which side of the classroom the reading was going to be started. If I was not among the first ones, I had enough time to think which sentence was for me or, in addition to the translation, also the way the words needed to be pronounced. When there were more challenging or new words, I searched the pronunciation instructions from the English book and wrote them down above the words of the chapter in order to know how they needed to be pronounced. (Julia, 26 years old)

(33) Most of the lesson was spent calculating which sentence or exercise was going to be for me and making sure that I would be able to say at least something.
(Päivi, 32 years old)

As can be seen, both Julia and Päivi have used the same strategy in English lessons in order to be better prepared for reading out loud a sentence in English in front of the other students. It seems that for them, reading out loud exercises have been highly shame-provoking by nature. When there has not been any way of avoiding using English in the presence of their peers, they have found it useful to make sure that they know what to say when it is their turn. This type of behaviour will inevitably hinder their concentration on everything else that happens in the classroom which will in turn hamper their learning. Indeed, Teimouri's (2018, 644-647) study indicated a strong negative correlation between L2 learners' proneness to experience shame in the SLA settings and their ability to pay attention in class.

For Julia and Päivi (see example 6 in section 4.1.1. for Päivi), the feeling of being in control was particularly useful method since for them shame seemed to be also linked with not knowing what to do and say in front of the other students. Julia narrates her experiences in example (34).

(34) At this age [upper comprehensive school], shame of speaking English started to be more related to losing control and 'freezing' than to mistakes in pronunciation: to that if I forget one word or a phrase, I start to become more nervous and I don't either remember or know how to quickly go around this in some other way and then I can't say anything anymore and I end up being in a really embarrassing situation.
(Julia, 26 years old)

Julia narrates about shame in relation to the experience of 'freezing' and not knowing what to say. Her experience corroborates Lewis' (2016, 804) description of shame causing the loss of ability to speak. According to Lewis (2016, 803), it is the global self-evaluation that causes the shutdown of the ongoing behaviour because the self is both the one which evaluates and the one being evaluated. This explains why Julia struggles with both finding a required word and the way of going around this word as the global focus on herself blocks the ability to do anything

else. This lends further support for Mercer's (2014b, 162-164) idea of the L2 learner's self for being a complex dynamic system under which variables such as beliefs, cognitions, emotions and motives function as an interrelated web. If shame creates a full stop in action and ability to speak via global self-evaluation (Lewis 2016, 803-804), this not only suggests that shame is a central debilitating variable in SLA, but it also highlights the role of L2 learner's self above all other learner-internal variables. Overall, some L2 learners seem to cope with shame by trying to gain control of the words they need to say in order to avoid the complete shutdown of the self-system that shame can cause.

4.3.3 Anger

One autobiography included many instances of anger instead of shame. This anger response is in line with Cook's (2006, 150-152) research, where anger was detected as a coping mechanism to shame. In example (35), Tuija narrates about her anger.

(35) The biggest reason why I have always hated English is exactly the matter how much effort and insecurity it has caused me. And also the way of studying English: what it was like did not suit my personality as a child. Maybe it would have been nicer if I had been used to similar kind of tasks in classes of other [school] subjects. To that kind where one has to play and discuss and to be a little out of one's comfort zone. And maybe I would have needed more support from home. But maybe mum did not understand how much work and suffering English has always been to me as I otherwise did well [at school]. I also claim that it has not all been my fault but also the continuous change of teachers and substitute [teachers] has also had an effect. (Tuija, 20 years old)

As can be seen from the extract above, Tuija's anger is targeted towards the English language in general. This in turn is contradictory to Cook's (2006, 150-152) research where anger was either targeted towards oneself or others. According to Tuija, her anger is related to how the English language itself has made her insecure. It is then possible that she projects her anger towards the language because she sees the language as the main reason behind her insecurity in contrast to other people's or her own behaviour. Based on the shame-anger response that was established by Cook (2006, 230-234), it seems that anger has functioned as a coping mechanism to Tuija's shame. However, it is also possible that the anger derives from the way she narrates about her experiences: she does not completely blame herself. Overall, Tuija's autobiography contained more anger than shame responses. Since autobiographies were collected directly by asking students who feel ashamed of speaking English to participate in the study, Tuija's anger towards the English language might have functioned as a coping mechanism to her shame while she was also writing her autobiographical story. Therefore, it is possible that the activity of writing about her experiences might have caused her to feel shame, too.

5 Discussion

The aim of this section is to address the posited research questions and to interpret the main implications of the study by contrasting them to prior research literature in SLA. The discussion section is constructed as follows. First, in section 5.1. the research questions are addressed one by one in the order of the analysis section. After discussing the main implications of the present study, section 5.2. is devoted to analysing its limitations. Finally, section 5.3. offers some ideas for future research.

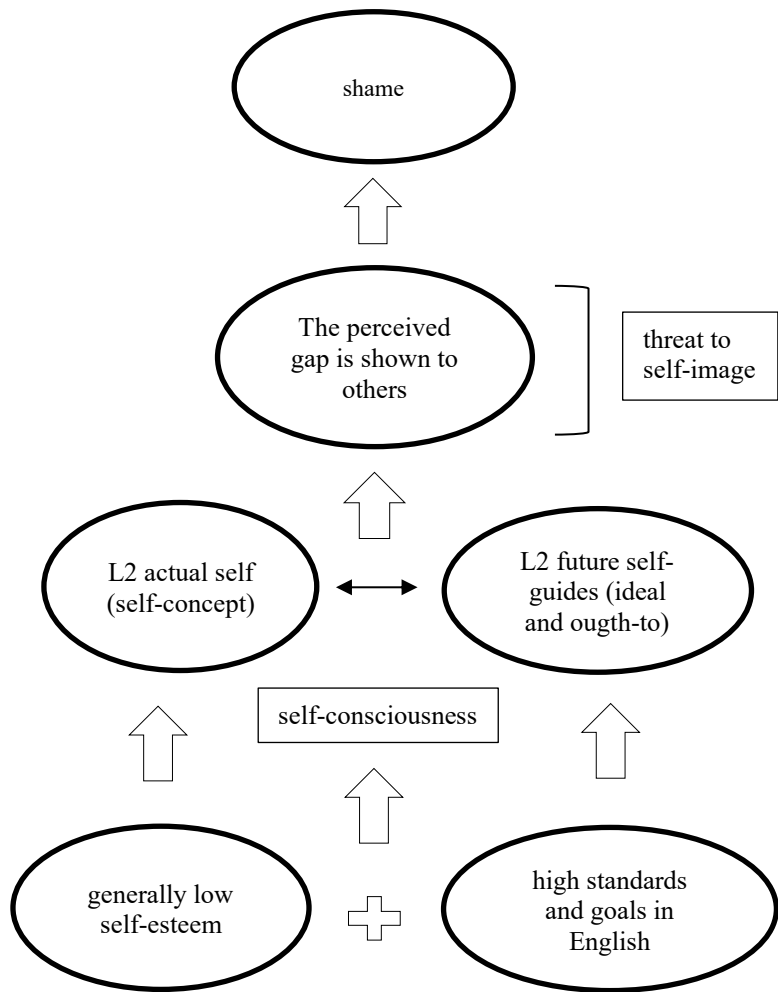
5.1 The main implications of the study

The first research question was interested in how the proneness to feel ashamed of speaking English had developed. The analysis of the autobiographical data enabled to distinguish two different types of stories among the research participants of the study: the inner and the outer critic language learner paths. In the outer critic stories, the development of shame was linked with the past experiences of receiving corrective feedback on one's use of English or experiencing devaluing behaviour in the English classroom. Conversely, shame in the inner critic stories was related to the internal conflict between students' Ideal-L2 self/Ought-to self and actual self in conjunction with low self-esteem and high standards or goals in English. Figure 2 aims to represent the mechanisms that were detected in these two stories in the analysis. Previous research literature on L2 shame has not provided such in-depth categorisation of different language learning paths among ashamed L2 learners. However, previous researchers have addressed the same phenomena that concern the roots of both the inner and outer critic language learner paths.

The outer critic language learner path exemplifies Galmiche's (2017, 39-41; 2018, 116-117) research findings on how English teacher's devaluing behaviour or corrective feedback can have long-term effects on L2 learners' proneness to experience shame. In the case of the present research, also receiving corrective feedback from a boyfriend had resulted in long-term shame for one participant. These past experiences of receiving corrective feedback or devaluing behaviour had led these learners to have negative self-beliefs about themselves as speakers and learners of English, thus damaging their English language self-concept. Since the self-concept functions as the basis of one's self-esteem and self-esteem is formed by the evaluation of one's self-concept (Arnold 2007, 14; Rubio 2014, 42-43), this further leads the outer critic learners to have a low self-esteem and sense of inferiority about their language skills. This results in a cycle of shame because the negative self-concept, in other words, negative self-beliefs function

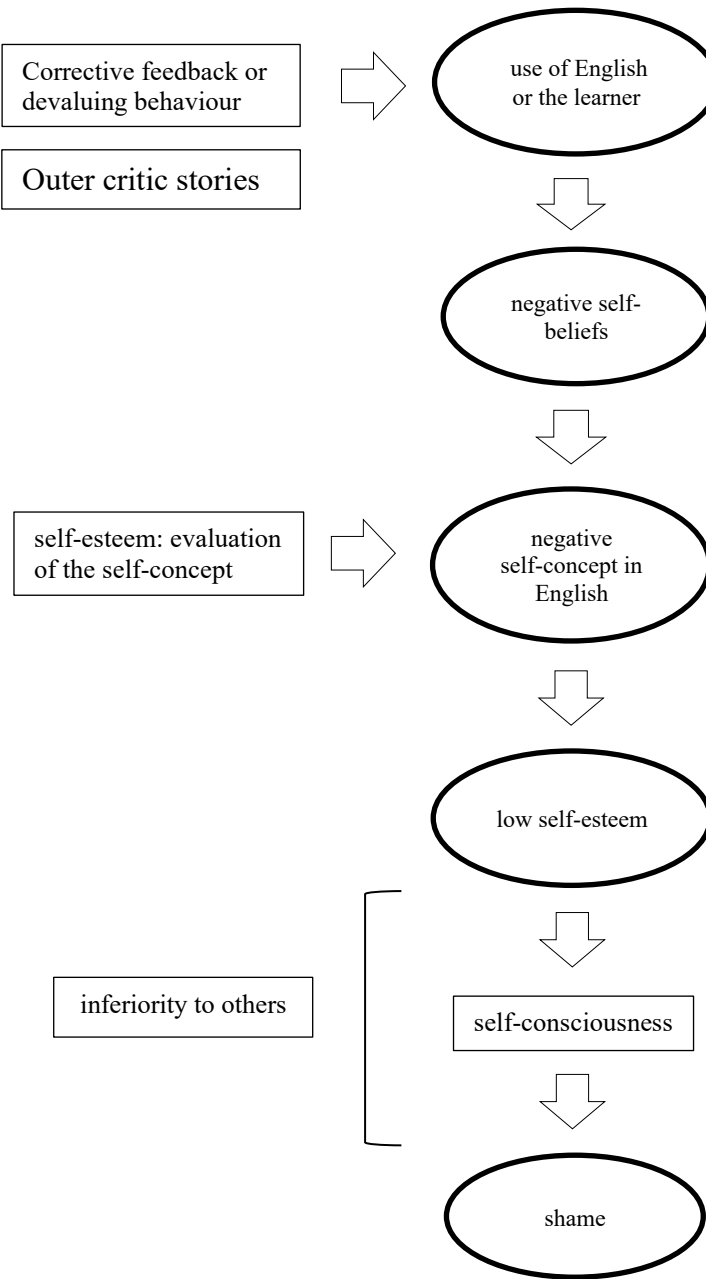
Figure 2 Development of proneness to feel L2 shame

Inner critic stories



Corrective feedback or devaluing behaviour

Outer critic stories



repeatedly as the basis of L2 learner's self-esteem. This cycle corresponds partially to Galmiche's (2018, 118-119) idea of the internalisation of shame, where repeated shame experiences can cause learners to internalise the shame. Yet, this study argues how it is possibly the L2 learner's self-system and the interaction between learner's self-concept and self-esteem that maintains this shame as part of L2 learner's self.

In turn, the inner critical stories of the present research correspond to Galmiche's (2018, 112-113) finding on the "Shame-Prone Self", which is an L2 learner whose personality has been bound with shame and this general proneness to experience shame further extends to language learning. Yet, the autobiographical data enabled to describe these generally shame-prone L2 learners in more detail. The analysis indicated that these shame-prone learners' low self-esteem and high standards and goals in English seem to operate together by exposing the L2 learner to feel ashamed of speaking English if their goals are not met. Conversely to English, the inner critic students reported positive feelings towards learning and using Swedish. When the standards and goals are high and the self-esteem is low, the gap between L2 learner's self-concept and future self-guides grows. This big contradiction between L2 learner's self-concept and their future self-guides makes the students susceptible to experience shame because shame appears when one's standards or goals, in other words, their future self-guides are not met (Galmiche 2017; Lewis 2016, 804; Tangney et al. 1998; Teimouri 2017). If the self-concept does not match the future self-guides, this can also lead to a harmful spiral of shame and negative thinking, since as mentioned, L2 learner's self-esteem is formulated on the basis of self-evaluation that is done on their self-concept (Arnold 2007, 14; Rubio 2014, 42-43). Moreover, these inner critic students seemed to also experience a sense of threat to their identity by having to show this perceived gap to others. In contrast to Galmiche's (2018, 112-113) ideas, it is not necessarily only the general proneness to experience shame (shame bound personality) but also L2 learner's standards and goals in the given L2 that play a role, too.

Although the development of shame in these two language learning paths differ, they have an important mechanism in common: self-consciousness. The inner critic L2 learners seemed to be very self-conscious of themselves and others' opinions about them in general, whereas the outer critic L2 learners appeared to become more self-conscious in SLA contexts due to someone's feedback or behaviour on their use of English. Shame, in turn, requires consciousness of the self and involves global self-evaluation when one perceives to have failed their standards, goals or rules (Lewis 2016, 800, 803-804). It is then possible that the inner critic L2 learners are more self-conscious of themselves due to their general shame or low self-esteem and thus, they are more attentive whether their standards and goals are met in English. In

contrast, the past experiences of the outer critic L2 learners seemed to have led them to feel inferior and more self-conscious about their English language abilities. It is possible that the self-centred attention might alter L2 learners to experience more shame since they will then monitor and evaluate themselves more. Furthermore, the mechanisms in these two language learner paths do not have to be mutually exclusive and it is possible that the phenomena are in a far more complex interplay with each other by taking into account Mercer's (2014b, 162-164) ideas of the self as a complex dynamic system. After all, this categorisation is only based on the way students had written about their experiences.

The second research question was aimed at exploring the common factors that were related to situations where L2 learners expressed feeling ashamed of speaking English. The analysis revealed that the role of peers was frequent and an important variable in students' narrations about shame throughout their language learning histories across different contexts. Based on the analysis of the autobiographical data, three big themes in the students' shame experiences were identified: self-evaluation and sense of inferiority to others, Finnish interlocutors and similar age of the interlocutors as well as the specific role of English pronunciation. Overall, these three factors were related to most of the L2 shame experiences in the students' autobiographies although there was some variation among the students.

As discussed in the analysis, self-evaluation and sense of inferiority about one's English skills to other people was frequent among the ashamed speakers of English in the present research. Shame appeared when learners regarded themselves to be worse in English than others. This is in line with Galmiche's (2017, 42) and Aragão's (2011, 306-307) research, which indicated that shame emerges when learners perceive to be or believe to be inadequate or worse in the L2 in contrast to their peers. Congruent with previous research (Cook 2006; Galmiche 2017; Wang 2016), the present study also highlights the role of comparison to others in the L2 learners' shame experiences. It is then possible that L2 learners who experience L2 shame are generally more inclined to do comparison to others. Since shame is an emotion which involves global self-evaluation when one fails to meet their standards, rules or goals (Lewis 2016, 803-804), some L2 learners might believe to fail if they experience that they are worse at speaking English than most of their peers.

Secondly, the students of the present research reported feeling more ashamed of speaking English in the company of other Finns in contrast to native or other foreign interlocutors. Not only were the students more likely to feel ashamed of speaking English among other Finns, but they were also more unwilling to speak English with them altogether corroborating Teimouri's (2018, 644-647) research finding on the correlation between

proneness to experience L2 shame and L2 learner's willingness to communicate in English. In addition, some students felt that the closer the age of the Finnish interlocutor was to their own age, the more shame-inducing the situation would be. Contrary to Galmiche's research (2017), these two factors were found to be more important contextual variables than the dichotomy between instructional and non-instructional settings since the students felt ashamed of speaking English among other Finns outside class as well. On the other hand, the results of the present research also support Galmiche's (2017) research finding because students in instructional settings are often the same age and share the same mother tongue. One of the examples in this study also indicated that learners might feel more relaxed in instructional settings when there are learners from other countries instead of having only Finnish learners in class. If Finnish L2 learners are more unwilling to speak English among other Finns due to the possibility of experiencing shame, this creates a fundamental problem for Finnish foreign language teaching because classroom context is the place where the students need to practise their speaking abilities for the first time. The exact reasons for this proneness to experience shame with other Finns were not found in the study. It is maintained here that it might be related to both experiences of evaluation in the classroom context (Galmiche 2017, 38) among other Finnish people and a perception that Finnish people think that other Finns are likely to judge each other's English skills (fear of negative evaluation).

Thirdly, pronunciation emerged as the most shame-provoking and the most challenging area of the English language among the ashamed students of the study. The narratives illustrated that students considered making mistakes in English pronunciation particularly shame-inducing. In the same vein, pronunciation skills were frequently related to Cook's (2006, 134-199) and Galmiche's (2017, 42; 2018, 113-115) research participants' shame reactions. In line with Galmiche's (*ibid.*) research, the data analysis indicated that L2 learners consider it shameful to show an incompetent side of themselves to others by being bad at pronouncing English or having an unwanted accent. Galmiche (2018, 113-114) reported that her research participants had viewed strong accent as an element which directly reflects learners' incompetence and even lack of intelligence and that accent plays an important role in L2 learner's identity. The present study found a connection between L2 learners' identity and self-concept. The study indicates that since self-concept functions as the fundamental building block of one's identity (Mercer 2011a, 18-19), the negative self-beliefs the L2 learners have about their pronunciation skills seem to expose the learners to show an undesirable side of themselves to others by leading them to feel shame. This suggests that learners' self-beliefs about their own pronunciation skills might be an important part of their overall self-concept in second language

learning.

The third research question aimed to seek an answer for the possible coping behaviour that the students have for their shame. Avoidance was the major coping strategy to shame in this study and it is in line with previous research on L2 shame in SLA (Cook 2006; Galmiche 2017). Avoidance appeared on two different levels: avoidance of speaking English in L2 communication situations and as a way of evading English-speaking situations altogether. Yet, the scope of avoidance behaviour varied among the students and some students had been more extreme at avoiding English than others. In Cook's (2006) research, the biggest reason for avoidance of English was the fear of shame. Being afraid of speaking English was also related to students' shame in the present research supporting Cook's (2006, 217-220) idea of the shame-fear cycle. Because shame involves global self-evaluation when encountering a failure in terms of one's standards, rules or goals (Lewis 2016, 804) and shame-prone L2 learners seem to be experiencing a sense of threat to the self (Galmiche 2017, 42; Teimouri 2018, 647), it is possible that the fear of speaking English is a warning sign of the possible shame and threat to the L2 learner's self. Overall, avoidance can be considered a maladaptive coping strategy to shame because it hinders L2 learners' opportunities to speak and use the L2.

Most importantly, the analysis revealed that shame of speaking English might affect university students' academic decision-making. The students of the present research were more reluctant to participate in courses that are held in English and some of them reported avoiding English-speaking courses or seminars at the university. Since students who feel ashamed of speaking English seem to avoid English-speaking courses at the university, this reveals that L2 shame does not only hinder the learning of an L2, but it can also limit university students' overall academic outcomes. This makes L2 shame an ID variable that must be taken into account seriously both by SLA scholars and staff at Finnish universities. Because many university courses are held in English in Finland, it is possible that some Finnish university students have struggled with their studies due to their shame of speaking English. Future research must be conducted in order to address this research finding more in-depth.

In addition to avoidance, anger and having the control of what one has to say in English were detected as coping mechanisms to shame. While avoidance was found in all of the autobiographies in this research, these two coping mechanisms were not. This suggests that students show individual variation in their coping strategies to shame but avoidance of English and English-speaking situations seems to be a prevalent strategy to cope. In contrast to Cook's (2006, 150-152) study, one student's anger response was targeted towards English language in general and not towards themselves or others. Therefore, students who feel ashamed of

speaking English might hate both the English language and learning it instead of hating others or themselves due to their shame. However, this does not mean that anger is always a reflection of students' shame. Rather, anger can be related to some L2 learners' shame.

When it comes to pedagogical implications of the study, the results of this thesis can help foreign language teachers to become more aware of the processes and variables that are related to L2 learners' shame of speaking English. First and foremost, foreign language teachers' role in evoking long-term shame for some L2 learners is evident. Therefore, teachers need to understand how devaluing behaviour or even corrective feedback in the classroom context can have long-lasting effects on the development of L2 shame. Since English pronunciation was regarded as the most shame-provoking area of the English language, this suggests that teachers need to be particularly careful when giving corrective feedback on their learners' mistakes in pronunciation. In fact, teachers' too eager strive for accuracy in pronunciation can be counter-intuitive by leading some L2 learners to have a negative self-concept about themselves as learners and speakers of English. It might be advisable to give only indirect corrective feedback in front of other students, thus fading out the appearance of an error in pronunciation. Secondly, some L2 learners can be more prone to experience shame because of their low self-esteem and high standards in the given FL. The role of the teachers is to understand their learners' standards and goals: whether they are realistic or not and how their students feel when they do not reach them.

Overall, teachers need to understand the individuality of each L2 learner by taking into account "their unique sense of self and how this mediates all their experiences of language learning and use" as Mercer (2014a, 52) describes. Because autobiographical stories function as the basis of one's self-concept (Dörnyei and Ryan 2015, 199-200), they offer a great opportunity to understand learners' feelings and beliefs about themselves. Knowing how L2 learners feel about themselves as learners and speakers of a language is crucial knowledge for FL teachers, since prior (Aragão 2011) research indicates that L2 learners' beliefs play a key role in the emergence of their emotional responses and L2 learners' own perception of their inadequacy is related to shame (Galmiche 2017, 42). Based on the analysis of the autobiographical texts in this research, it is argued here that FL teachers will benefit from using autobiographical texts as a method in their teaching in order to better understand their students' learning.

5.2 Limitations of the present research

The limitations of the present research have to be taken into account. Firstly, there is no absolute way of verifying whether the research participants of the study have written about their experiences in an honest and reliable manner. Although the students were given guidelines for their autobiographies, in practice they were able to approach their language learning histories in a personal way. Yet, the research participants were given the ability to write about their experiences with complete anonymity (no names nor contact details were asked). This was assumed to be crucial in order to gain valuable information around such a highly sensitive topic by lowering the bar of being open and honest about one's experiences. The students of the present study had written about very sensitive topics such as bullying from a teacher or having difficulties in one's family, which indicates that they have dared to share their experiences in an open and honest way. Another limitation comes from the retrospective nature of the narratives. It is possible that the students' recollections of their English language learning and speaking experiences are liable to bias due to not being able to remember their past accurately.

Second, the research participants of the study form a very limited group of individuals. As all of the six research participants were Finnish university students and the process of getting into university in Finland is very rigorous, Finnish university students can be considered a unique sample when it comes to their academic abilities. It is then important to bear this in mind before extending any reported phenomenon to other L2 learners. In addition, all the research participants reported Finnish as their mother tongue with the exception of one being a bilingual (both Finnish and Swedish). Therefore, the present study is unable to portray the perspective of Finnish university students who speak Swedish as their mother tongue. As Finnish and Swedish differ greatly from each other, it is possible that there might be differences in experiencing shame of speaking English among Finnish and Swedish L1 learners of English. Finally, there was only one man in contrast to five women among the research participants. Thus, this thesis is unable to pinpoint any differences in terms of gender and shame in the SLA context.

Thirdly, shame was not measured by using any quantitative research methodology. In contrast, shame was approached via individual narratives from the students who feel ashamed of speaking English. Since the research participants' proneness to experience shame in the SLA context was not measured, it is possible that this can affect the reliability of their shame experiences. However, the students' written reports corresponded to the previous research literature on shame both in the field of psychology and SLA, which in turn strengthens their experiences being related to shame and not any other emotion.

Overall, by taking into account all these limitations, the results of the present study cannot be directly generalised to either all the Finnish learners of English or Finnish university students or even L2 learners in different countries. The present study is purely qualitative, and it is focused on the individual experiences of six Finnish university students. Therefore, the implications of the study need to be considered as preliminary and more systematic quantitative or mixed-method studies need to be conducted in order to confirm the results of the present study.

5.3 Ideas for future research

More research on L2 shame needs to be conducted. If shame is as detrimental emotion in SLA as the previous and present studies suggest, it is crucial to broaden our understanding of shame in order to enhance both the SLA learning processes and language teaching practices. The present research provides many interesting new perspectives into the study of shame in SLA particularly in the Finnish FLL context. Some ideas for future research are provided in this section.

First and foremost, the present research suggests that Finnish learners of English might be more prone to experience shame among other Finnish people. As discussed in section 5.1., this creates a fundamental problem for learning English in the instructional settings in Finland. In order to confirm this research finding, more thorough and larger scale studies have to be carried out in the Finnish SLA context. This could be done by modifying Teimouri's (2018; 2019) L2-TOSGA scale by adding items which test the L2 learner's proneness to experience shame among different interlocutors in different contexts. The L2 learners who score high on the proneness to experience shame in the company of other Finnish interlocutors could be interviewed with the aim of detecting different variables that might contribute to this Finnish and non-Finnish interlocutor dichotomy. One way of expanding this type of study would be to construct a questionnaire which would investigate Finnish FL learners' perceptions and beliefs about 'the required standards of English language proficiency' in Finland. This is because shame is an emotion which is related to the adaption of standards, rules and goals of a given community and culture and the failure to meet them (Lewis 2016, 800-804). By taking into account the perspective of the Finnish culture and society, shame would be investigated from a more top-down approach at the same time.

Secondly, the present study indicates that shame can interfere with Finnish university students' academic decision-making. This finding needs more support from quantitative research. Therefore, the relationship between the students' proneness to experience L2 shame

(L2-TOSGA) could be compared to both their willingness to communicate in English (L2 WTC) and willingness to participate in university courses that are held in Finnish and English. If a difference between Finnish university students' proneness to experience L2 shame and their course participation can be found, this would mean that L2 shame needs to be taken into account seriously in the Finnish academic context as shame then limits greatly shame-prone students' academic outcomes. In order to add more complexity to this type of study, Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking university students could be compared in order to understand the effect of Finnish L2 learners' mother tongue.

Furthermore, it would also be interesting to study whether there are any differences in the written language learning histories (autobiographies) of Finnish university students, who score high and low on FLCAS and L2-TOSGA. This type of mixed-method study would not only give more reliability for investigating shame via written autobiographies, but it would also enable the possibility for comparing the concepts of FLA and L2 shame in a different way in contrast to Cook's (2006) research, which used the general shame-proneness scale (TOSCA-3) and qualitative interviews. To gain a more in-depth understanding of the role of proficiency, the level of English could be measured as well. The future research must provide such data which enables to distinguish L2 shame from FLA in a more reliable manner.

6 Conclusion

The purpose of the present research was to examine Finnish university students' shame of speaking English and fill the research gap on the topic since no prior systematic research on L2 shame in the Finnish SLA context existed. The research material was collected by asking Finnish university students to write autobiographical texts about their English language learning histories in Finnish. Hence, the study was carried out by using qualitative methodology and these texts were analysed by using qualitative content analysis. In total, six Finnish university students took part in the research.

The analysis of the autobiographies revealed that there were two different language learner paths for the development of L2 shame proneness. These two language learner paths were named as the outer critic and the inner critic based on the way the students had narrated about their shame and difficulties of speaking English in their language learning histories. In the outer critic stories, shame and difficulties of speaking English were linked with either receiving corrective feedback on their use of English or experiencing devaluing behaviour in SLA settings. On the contrary, the inner critic stories did not contain such explicit links between their shame and someone else's behaviour on their use of English. Instead, the inner critic stories revolved more around the incongruity between their Ideal L2/Ought-to self and actual self. Whichever is "the path", at the core is always the L2 learner's self-concept: their beliefs and feelings about themselves as learners and speakers of L2 play a powerful role in the development. Therefore, language teachers must take into account how L2 learners feel about themselves and they also need to understand the sensitivity of L2 learner's self by being careful when giving corrective feedback.

The autobiographies unveiled three major factors that were related to situations when students were more prone to feel ashamed of speaking English. The study indicates that these L2 learners were more susceptible to feel shame when they believed to be worse at speaking English than others and when their interlocutors were Finns. Some L2 learners seemed to be even more prone to experience shame when their Finnish interlocutors were the same age highlighting how important it can be to preserve a positive self-image in the eyes of peers. In addition, English pronunciation skills were related to L2 learners' shame the most in the present research. The study indicates that pronunciation seems to be a very sensitive part of L2 learner's self and identity. Overall, different factors played a role in the university students' proneness to experience shame of speaking English.

In order to cope with shame, all of the research participants of the study had avoided speaking English one way or another. The avoidance had appeared in two different ways:

avoiding speaking English in situations where English needed to be spoken or avoiding English-speaking situations altogether. Most importantly, avoidance behaviour was found to be related to how these Finnish university students approached their studies. They were more unwilling to participate in courses or seminars that are held in English. The study indicates that shame of speaking English in Finland might not only limit students' learning of L2, but also their overall academic outcomes. This makes L2 shame a crucial variable that must be addressed both by SLA scholars and staff at Finnish universities since many degree programmes contain courses in English.

The present research indicates that shame in SLA is a multifaceted phenomenon which is deeply intertwined with L2 learner's self in different ways. Not only was shame related to a sense of inferiority to others and low self-esteem, but it was also connected to learners' negative self-beliefs and self-concept. In line with earlier research, this study strengthened the finding that the gap between L2 learner's Ideal L2/Ought-to self and actual self does expose some L2 learners to feel shame. Taking into account the results of the present study, L2 shame is defined as a dynamic ID variable which alters across different contexts and time and which is related to a complex interplay of different parts of the self by resulting in negative thoughts and an avoidance of using the L2. The development of L2 shame proneness depends on several individual factors such as prior learning experiences, general proneness to experience shame, low self-esteem as well as goals and standards.

Based on the analysis of the present research, it seems that it is the L2 learners' self and self-system which keeps the shame experiences reoccurring in the L2 learners' lives. Since shame involves a global self-evaluation when an individual perceives to have failed their standards, rules or goals (Lewis 2016, 803-804), one way to resolve shame might be to stop judging oneself. On the other hand, L2 learner's self-concept seems to also play a crucial role in the emergence of shame. Therefore, shame might also be tackled by becoming more conscious about one's beliefs and feelings about oneself as a learner and speaker of English and by changing the negative perception into a positive one. One way of becoming more conscious of our self-concept in foreign language learning is to dive into our language learning history by writing an autobiographical text about our language learning experiences in order to see how we perceive ourselves in relation to our past experiences as well as our standards and goals. Overall, at the core is the L2 learner's self. Although Bob Marley and the Wailers' (MetroLyrics 2020) Redemption Song is not related to the topic of the thesis, the lyrics capture it well: "Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery, None but ourselves can free our minds" indicating how no one else but ourselves can make a stop to what happens in our minds.

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Appendix 1 Data elicitation instrument in Finnish

Yliopisto-opiskelija, hävettääkö puhua englantia? Kirjoita elämäkertateksti omasta englannin kielen oppimisestasi ja matkastasi englannin kielen puhujana!

Olen englannin kielen pääaineopiskelija Turun yliopistosta ja teen parhaillaan Pro gradua englannin kielen puhumiseen liittyvästä häpeästä. Tutkimukseni pureutuu englannin kielen puhumista häpeävien yliopisto-opiskelijoiden kielen oppimisen ja puhumisen elämäkertoihin. Tutkimuskohteenani ovat suomalaiset yliopisto-opiskelijat (pääainetta ei ole rajattu).

Pro graduni aihe on tärkeä, sillä englannin kielen puhumiseen ja oppimiseen liittyvää häpeää ei ole Suomessa tutkittu ja maailmallakin vain hyvin niukasti.

Gradun tutkimustuloksista on ennen kaikkea hyötyä kielten opettajille, jotka pystyvät tutkimustulosten kautta ymmärtämään paremmin kielen oppimiseen ja puhumiseen liittyviä haasteita kielen oppijan näkökulmasta - oppijoiden itse kertomana. Kirjoittaminen auttaa myös sinua ymmärtämään paremmin itseäsi englannin kielen oppijana ja puhujana sekä parhaimmillaan se voi tuntua myös hyvin vapauttavalta kokemukselta.

Tutkimukseen osallistuvien **anonymiteetti on täysin turvattu, sillä nimeä tai yhteystietoja ei jätetä**. Kertomuksien sisältöjä käsitellään luottamuksellisesti ja niitä käytetään ainoastaan tutkimuskäyttöön, tämän Pro gradu -tutkielman valmiiksi saattamiseksi.

Tutkimukseen osallistuvat kirjoittavat englannin kielen oppimisestaan ja puhumisestaan **vapaamuotoisen elämäkertatekstin suomeksi, jonka pituus on noin 1,5-10 sivua (500-3000 sanaa)**. Kirjoitelman tarkemmat ohjeet löytyvät lomakkeen yhteydessä tulleesta sähköpostista. Tekstin kirjoittamiseen on hyvä varata jonkin verran aikaa. Teksti kannattaa kirjoittaa ja tallentaa ensin jossain tekstikäsittelyohjelmassa (esim. Word) ja sitten lisätä se tälle kyselylomakkeelle.

Lomakkeen ensimmäisessä osiossa kysytään muutamia taustatietoja. Kirjoitelman palautus tehdään lomakkeen toisella sivulla, josta kirjoitelman ohjeet löytyvät vielä uudemman kerran.

Tutkimukseen voi osallistua vielä pe 17.5. klo 23.55 mennessä. Kiitos, kun otat osaa näin tärkeään tutkimukseen omalla työpanoksellasi!

Keväisin tsemppiterkuin,
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7. Arvioi muu vieraiden kielten taitosi. Mikäli jokin kielistä on äidinkielenäsi, älä arvioi sitä tässä kysymyksessä. Arvioi vain ne kielet, joita olet oppinut/osaat, muutoin voit jättää rivin tyhjäksi.

	alkeet	tydyttävä	hyvä	erinomainen
ruotsi	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ranska	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
espanja	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
saksa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
venäjä	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
suomi	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
jokin muu, mikä?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

(valitse ensin vaihtoehtoista alkeet-erinomainen, minkä jälkeen vieressä oleva tekstikenttä aktivoituu käyttöön)

jokin muu, mikä?

(valitse ensin vaihtoehtoista alkeet-erinomainen, minkä jälkeen vieressä oleva tekstikenttä aktivoituu käyttöön)

8. Oletko asunut ulkomailla?*

- en
- kyllä, missä olet asunut ja kuinka pitkään?

9. Mitä opiskelet pääaineeksesi yliopistolla?*

Tarkoituksena on kirjoittaa englannin kielen oppimiseen ja puhumiseen liittyvä 'omaelämäkerta', joka etenee englannin kielen oppimisen ensi askelista kohti tätä päivää **kokemuspolkuasi mukailten kronologisesti**. Kertomuksen keskiössä olet sinä ja sinun kokemuksesi englannin kielen oppimisesta ja puhumisesta. Näin ollen kirjoita kertomuksesi **minä-muodossa**, vähän kuin uskoutuena päiväkirjalle.

Havainnollista kokemasi antamalla konkreettisia esimerkkejä englannin kielen oppimiseen ja puhumiseen liittyvistä tilanteista. Kokemuksia niin koulusta kuin koulumaailman ulkopuoleltakin. Apukysymyksiä kirjoittamisen tueksi löytyy alemmaa tästä tiedostosta.

Kirjoita tekstisi **suomeksi** ja juuri itsellesi mielekkäällä kirjoitustyyllillä. Oikeinkirjoituksesta ei tarvitse välittää. Kirjoita kuitenkin kokemuksistasi rehellisesti. Kirjoita **1,5-10 sivua eli noin 500- 3000 sanaa**, juuri sen verran, mikä sinusta aiheen tiimoilta tuntuu mielekkäältä. **Mikäli kirjoitat tekstin suoraan tälle lomakkeelle** (kirjoittamatta tekstiä ensin tekstinkäsittelyohjelmassa), merkkimäärän on hyvä olla 4000-28 000 paikkeilla. Laskuri löytyy laatikosta. **Huom 28 000 merkkiä laskurissa on vain maximimäärä, ei se määrä paljonko tekstiä tarvitsee olla.**

Tehtävän helpottamiseksi voit esimerkiksi tehdä ensin aikajanan lapsuudesta tähän päivään ja hahmottaa sille matkaasi englannin kielen oppijana ja puhujana.

Kirjoita vapaasti kokemuksistasi, **mutta kronologisesti**. Voit lähestyä tekstiäsi mm. seuraavien kysymysten avulla:

Yleisiä kysymyksiä, joita voit miettiä pitkin englannin kielen oppimisen ja puhumisen kokemuspolkuasi:

- Millaisena olet kokenut englannin kielen tunnit?
- Minkälainen kielitaitosi on ollut?
- Millainen englannin kielen puhuja olet ollut? Millainen puhuja haluaisit olla? Millainen puhuja sinun täytyy olla?
- Minkälaisissa tilanteissa sinua on hävettänyt puhua englantia? Mikä sinua on hävettänyt?
- Oletko jossain tilanteessa tuntenut erityisen paljon häpeää puhuessasi englantia? Oletko päässyt tilanteesta eroon häpeän tunteesta? Jos olet, miten?
- Oletko puhunut englantia koulun ulkopuolella? Jos olet, miten se on sujunut ja miltä se on tuntunut?
- Oletko puhunut englantia ulkomailla? Jos olet, miten se on sujunut ja miltä se on tuntunut?

Englannin kieli lapsuudessa ja alakouluikäisenä

Milloin aloitit oppimaan englantia? Millainen oppija olit päiväkodissa/alakoulussa? Millaisena koit päiväkodin/alakoulun ympäristönä oppia ja puhua englannin kieltä? Millaisena koit englannin kielen opettajasi ja luokkasi? Millainen englannin kielen puhuja olit alakouluikäisenä? Miltä tuntui puhua englannin kieltä alakouluikäisenä? Millaisia muistoja sinulla on alakouluajoilta? Puhuitko englannin kieltä koulun ulkopuolella? Millaisissa tilanteissa? Kenen kanssa? Miten se sujui?

Englannin kieli yläkouluikäisenä

Millainen oppija olit yläkoulussa? Millaisena koit yläkoulun ympäristönä oppia ja puhua englannin kieltä? Millaisena koit englannin kielen opettajasi ja luokkasi? Millainen englannin kielen puhuja olit yläkouluikäisenä? Miltä tuntui puhua englannin kieltä yläkouluikäisenä? Millaisia muistoja sinulla on yläkouluajoilta? Puhuitko englannin kieltä koulun ulkopuolella? Millaisissa tilanteissa? Kenen kanssa? Miten se sujui?

Englannin kieli lukio/ammattikouluikäisenä

Millainen oppija olit lukiossa/ammattikoulussa? Millaisena koit ammattikoulun/lukion ympäristönä oppia ja puhua englannin kieltä? Millaisena koit englannin kielen opettajasi ja kurssikaverisi? Miltä tuntui puhua englannin kieltä lukio/ammattikouluikäisenä? Millainen englannin kielen puhuja olit? Millaisia muistoja sinulla on lukio/ammattikouluajoilta? Puhuitko englannin kieltä koulun ulkopuolella? Millaisissa tilanteissa? Kenen kanssa? Miten se sujui?

Englannin kieli toisen asteen jälkeen ja yliopistossa

Millainen oppija olet ollut toisen asteen jälkeen? Millaisena koet yliopiston ympäristönä oppia ja puhua englannin kieltä? Millaisena olet kokenut yliopiston englannin kielen opettajasi ja kurssilaisesi? Onko opinnoissasi kursseja englanniksi? Millainen englannin kielen puhuja olet? Miltä englannin kielen puhuminen tuntuu? Puhutko englannin kieltä opintojen ulkopuolella? Millaisissa tilanteissa? Kenen kanssa? Miten se on sujunut?

Kaikkiin kysymyksiin ei tarvitse vastata vaan ne auttavat sinua miettimään matkaasi englannin kielen parissa. Kiitos erittäin paljon osallistumisestasi!

Ystävällisin terveisin,
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10. Kirjoita/liitä tekstisi tähän vastauslaatikkoon (Huom 28 000 merkkiä laskurissa on vain maksimimäärä, ei se määrä paljonko tekstiä tarvitsee olla)*

11. Lähettämiäni tietojani ja tekstiäni saa käyttää anonymisti tutkimustarkoituksiin*

- Kyllä
- Ei

University student, are you ashamed of speaking English? Write an autobiographical text about your own English language learning and journey as a speaker of English!

I am an English major student at the University of Turku and I am currently doing my MA Thesis on shame of speaking English. My research focuses on the autobiographical stories of university students who feel ashamed of speaking English. My research subjects are Finnish university students (no limitation with the major)

The topic of my MA thesis is important as shame of speaking and learning English has not been studied in Finland and overall in the world scarcely.

The results of the thesis are first and foremost beneficial for language teachers, who can via the results better understand the challenges related to learning a language from the point of view of language learners – as narrated by the learners themselves. Writing helps you to better understand yourself as a learner and speaker of English and at its best it can be a very liberating experience.

The anonymity of the research participants is fully secured as no names nor contact details need to be given. The contents of the stories are handled confidentially, and they are only used for research purposes in order to complete this MA thesis.

The ones taking part in the research will write **an informal autobiographical text in Finnish about their English language learning and speaking history, whose length is around 1,5-10 pages (500-3000 words).** More detailed instructions for the autobiography can be found as an attachment in the email, which contained the link for this questionnaire. It is good to reserve some time for writing the autobiography. It is recommendable to first write and save the text in some kind of word-processing program (e.g. Word) and then insert it to this questionnaire.

The first part of the questionnaire elicits some background information. The autobiography is submitted on the second page of the questionnaire, where the instructions for the story can be found again.

It is possible to take part in the research by Friday the 17th of May at 23.55 pm. Thank you for taking part in such an important research!

Best regards,
Pinja Immonen
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7. Evaluate your competence in other languages. If one of the languages is your mother tongue, do not evaluate it in this question. Evaluate only those languages that you have learned/you know, otherwise you can leave a row blank.

	basics	satisfactory	good	excellent
Swedish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
French	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Spanish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
German	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Finnish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
other, what?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

(first, choose one option from the scale basics-excellent, after which the text box activates)

other, what?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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(first, choose one option from the scale basics-excellent, after which the text box activates)

8. Have you lived abroad?*

- no
- yes, where have you lived and for how long?

9. What is your major?*

The purpose is to write an ‘autobiography’ about your English language learning and speaking, which moves from the first steps of learning English towards today **according to your experiences in a chronological manner**. It is you and your experiences about learning and speaking English that are in the center of the story. Therefore, **write your narrative by using I**, almost as if writing to a diary.

Demonstrate your experiences by giving concrete examples about situations that are related to learning and speaking English. Include experiences both from school and outside school. As an aid for writing the text, some questions can be found below from this document.

Write your text **in Finnish** and with a style which feels meaningful to you. You don’t need to pay attention to spelling. However, write about your experiences in an honest manner. Write **1,5-10 pages, in other words, 500-3000 words**, the amount which feels natural for you around the topic. If you write your text directly to this questionnaire (without first writing the text in a word-processing program), the number of characters is good to be around 4000-28 000. The character counter can be found in the text box. **NB 28 000 is only the maximum number of characters and not the amount how much text there needs to be.**

In order to ease the task you can, for example, create a timeline from childhood to this day and sketch your journey as a learner and speakers of English there.

Write about your experiences freely, **but chronologically**. You can approach your text with the help of following questions:

General questions which you can reflect on throughout your English language learning and speaking journey:

- How have you experienced English lessons?
- How has your language proficiency been?
- What kind of English speaker have you been? What kind of speaker would you like to be? What kind of speaker do you have to be?
- In which type of situations have you felt ashamed of speaking English? What have you felt ashamed of?
- Have you felt particularly ashamed of speaking English in one situation? Have you got rid of being ashamed in the situation? If yes, how?
- Have you spoken English outside school? If yes, how has it been and how have you felt?
- Have you spoken English abroad? If yes, how has it been and how have you felt?

English language in childhood and during primary school years

When did you start learning English? What kind of learner were you in kindergarten/primary school? How did you experience kindergarten/primary school as an environment to learn and speak English? How did you experience your English teacher and class? What kind of English speaker were you in primary school? How did it feel to speak English in primary school? What kind of memories do you have from primary school years? Did you speak English outside school? In what kind of situations? With whom? How did it go?

English language during upper comprehensive school years

What kind of learner were you in upper comprehensive school? How did you experience upper comprehensive school as an environment to learn and speak English? How did you experience your English teacher and class? What kind of English speaker were you during upper comprehensive school? How did it feel to speak English in upper comprehensive school? What kind of memories do you have from upper comprehensive school years? Did you speak English outside school? In what kind of situations? With whom? How did it go?

English language during upper secondary/vocational school years

What kind of learner were you in upper secondary/vocational school? How did you experience upper secondary/vocational school as an environment to learn and speak English? How did you experience your English teacher and class? What kind of English speaker were you during upper secondary/vocational school years? How did it feel to speak English in upper secondary/vocational school? What kind of memories do you have from upper secondary/vocational school years? Did you speak English outside school? In what kind of situations? With whom? How did it go?

English language after secondary education and during university

What kind of learner have you been after secondary education? How do you experience university as an environment to learn and speak English? How have you experienced your English teachers and course mates? Do you have courses in English? What kind of English speaker are you? How does it feel to speak English? Do you speak English outside university? In what kind of situations? With whom? How has it been going for you?

Not all of the questions need to be answered. Rather, they are there to help you to think about your English language journey. Thank you very much for your participation!

Best regards,
Pinja Immonen
student
University of Turku
piorim@utu.fi

10. Write/attach your text into this answer box (NB 28 000 is only the maximum number of characters and not the amount how much text there needs to be)*

11. The information and text that I have sent can be used anonymously for research purposes*

- Yes
- No

Appendix 3 Original data examples in Finnish

The examples are provided in the same order as they appear in the thesis with exact same numbering.

Examples in Table 2.

Kerttu: Saamme kirjamme, josta luemme ensimmäisen kappaleen vuorotellen. Opettaja räjähtää nauramaan kovaan ääneen luokan edessä, hän nostaa kätensä ylös ja läpsäisee avokämmenellä kuuluvasti kirjoituspöytänsä, korostaakseen reaktiotaan. En ymmärrä mitä hän sanoo, en kuule, minä häpeän ja häkellyn.

Julia: Jollain tavoin kai inhotti se, jos sönkötin tai lausuin englantia huonosti, ja että siihen liitettäisiin jotain mielikuvia, että olen "juntti".

Examples in the text.

(1) Tunneilla oli yhtä viihdettä, kun tuli minun vuoroni, samat asiat toistuivat kerta toisensa jälkeen. Milloin opettaja nauroi kohdallani äänekkäästi, milloin nyrpisti epäuskoisen näköisenä kasvonsa ryttyyn ja kumartui kyyryyn nojaamaan käsiinsä. Tunsin itseni niin huonoksi, niin epätoivotuksi, niin epäonnistujaksi. (Kerttu, 47 vuotta)

(2) Itkin ja opiskelin kotona, minä yritin ja yritin. Pelossa ja häpeässä opiskelu ei ollut hedelmällistä, eikä innostavaa. Kun koskinkin englanninkirjoihin, rupesin voimaan pahoin. Sivut olivat aalloilla kyyneleistäni, muste levinnyt alleviivauksien kohdalta. Kirjat ovat surun ja pahanolon muistoja näiltä ajoilta. (Kerttu, 47 vuotta)

(3) Muistan erään kerran, kun seisoin taululla eikä minulla ollut harmainta aavistustakaan, mitä oli juuri opettajalle vastannut ja mitä minun pitäisi kirjoittaa. Onneksi sain apua edelleen luokkakaverilta, jotka kuiskailivat sana kerrallaan vastaukseen ja minä kirjoitin sen ymmärtämättä mitä edes kirjoitin. Onneksi tämä opettaja ei pitänyt minulle kuin yhden kurssin koko yläasteen aikana. Mutta jo se riitti painamaan syvälle mieleen sen nöyryytyksen, kun vastausta nyhdetään sana sanalta, niin että kaikki aivotoiminta varmasti loppuu, kun pelkää tilannetta liikaa. (Päivi, 32 vuotta)

(4) Valmistelin ensimmäistä esitelmää lenkillä [...] Olin printannut puheeni vieruskaverilleni ja pyysin häntä lukemaan minulle kohdan, jos kangertelen, menen paniikkiin tai mitä tapahtuukaan. Hän lupasi auttaa. Minä itkin ja puhuin, trauma tuli ulos minusta puhuessani. En pystynyt muuhun. Tärisin kauttaaltaan. Häpeä nousi esiin. Meinasin kerran lopettaa kesken, mutta ihana pöytäkaverini sanoi juuri kuuluvalla äänellä, että hyvin menee. Keräsin itseni ja jatkoin. Sain sen loppuun. (Kerttu, 47 vuotta)

(5) Kun katson aikaa taakse päin, huomaan että suurin osa heistä on tehnyt kaikkensa sen eteen, että minä en uskaltaisi puhua ja yrittää esittää asiaani kömpelöllä rallienglannilla ja kielioppivirheitä tehden. Minut on opetettu pelkäämään virheitä ja siksi en edes yliopiston enkun kurssilla montaa sanaa sanonut. (Päivi, 32 vuotta)

(6) koska pelkään sitä hetkeä, kun jumitun johonkin sanaan, jota en muista tai tiedä enkä osaa kiertää sitä. Hätäennyn tilanteessa, minua alkaa hävettää enkä lopulta keksi enää mitään reittiä sanoa asiaani englanniksi. (Päivi, 32 vuotta)

(7) Jotkut kokemukset ovat vaikuttaneet todella voimakkaasti, kuten sellainen, jossa ex-poikaystäväni (silloinen seurustelukumppanini) korjasi puhettani, kun puhuin ulkomaalaiselle ystävälleni ja sanoin jonkun sanan väärin. Se vaikutti minuun niin vahvasti, että aloin vältellä englannin puhumista suomalaisten kuullen. (Maiju, 31 years old)

(8) Tosin toisessa kokemuksessa oli erittäin tyytyväinen itseeni kun lentokentällä samainen poikaystävä ei saanut millään selvää voimakkaalla murteella puhuvasta virkailijasta, joka yritti neuvoa häntä liian painavan laukun kanssa, mutta minä ymmärsin heti. Ehkä siihen vaikutti kielen oppimisen tapa, minä olin oppinut kuuntelemalla natiiveja ja hän koulussa. Silloin ymmärsin, etten olekaan huonompi. (Maiju, 31 years old)

(9) Kappaleitten lukeminen ääneen oli kiusallista, sillä sanaston ipaa ei voinut koko ajan kurkkia, ja usein sanoin jonkin sanan väärin. Tietenkään en ollut ainoa väärinäätäjä, mutta melko hyvän oppilaan maineeseen se ei sopinut. (Pekka, 27 vuotta)

(10) Olin tottunut olemaan pienessä kyläkoulussa se kaikkein paras kaikessa. Olin ainoa, joka osasi lukea ennen koulun alkua. Olin matematiikassa ja erityisesti äidinkielessä huomattavasti muita edellä ja tein paljon kaikkia lisätehtäviä, kokonaisia muiden kirjasarjojen kirjoja ylimääräisiä tehtäviä. Englannista tuli sitten se osa-alue, jossa en pärjännytkään ja muistan jo kakkosluokalla sellaisen epämiellyttävän tunteen englantiin liittyen, kun teroitin sana oli niin vaikea oppia. (Tuija, 20 vuotta)

(11) Vaikka mulla ei oikeastaan ikinä ole ollut kuitenkaan suuria ongelmia englannin kielen oppimisen kanssa, ja heikkoudet olisi voinut kehittää aktiivisemmalla harjoittelulla, englannin puhumiseen liittyvä häpeä kohdallani johtui varmaan siitä, että olisin halunnut aina olla parempi puhumaan englantia kuin olin, ja halusin aina nähdä itseni hyvänä englannin puhujana. Olin paljon huonompi esimerkiksi ruotsin kielessä, mutta en kokenut siitä samanlaisia paineita ja suhtauduin siihen paljon rennommin ja puhuin siitä paljon avoimemmin. (Julia, 26 vuotta)

(12) Yliopiston alussa puhumiseen liittyvät häpeän tunteet alkoivat kuitenkin uudelleen. Musta tuntui, että yleinen taso englannin puhumisessa, ja englannissa muutenkin, oli paljon parempi kuin omani, ja lisäksi vielä paaljon aiempia vertailukohteitani parempi. Tuntui jotenkin, että yliopistossa mun nyt viimeistään pitäisi olla jo sujuvampi, toisinaan oon saattanut jopa mieltä, että tuntui melkein "huijarilta" olla akateemisessa koulutuksessa, kun ei osaa puhua tosi hyvää ja sujuvaa, melkein äidinkielen kaltaista englantia. (Julia, 26 vuotta)

(13) Kaikki englannin puhumiseen liittyvä epävarmuus on eniten kuitenkin varmaan liittynyt aiemmin kokemaani häpeään, joka liittyi heikkoon itsetuntoon tai ajatuksiin, miten muut näkevät minut. Tämä taas aiheutti sitä, että pyrin pääsemään puhumistilanteissa "mahdollisimman helposti ja huomaamatta", vaikka välillä nautin puhumisesta paljonkin ja koin onnistumisen tilanteita. Jokin rento kurssi tai ympäristö, jossa olisi puhuttu lähes pelkästään englantia hyvin turvallisessa ja avoimessa ryhmässä, jossa heittäytyminen olisi helppoa, olisi varmasti voinut auttaa. Nykyään en enää häpeä samalla tavalla sitä, etten ole niin hyvä puhumaan englantia, kuin haluan joskus olla. (Julia, 26 vuotta)

(14) Olin kyllä koko yläasteen tosi yksinäinen, eikä elämässä ollut paljon muuta sisältöä kuin koulu ja laihduttaminen. Lopulta sain englannin numeron täpärästi nostettua seiskasta kasiin ennen päättötodistuksia. Se olikin todistuksen ainoa kasi, jota vihasin yli kaiken. Ja kaikkein eniten töitä vaatinut numero. Kymppejä oli yhteensä 13. Lisäksi muutama ysi ja itsetuntoa syövä enkun 8. (Tuija, 20 vuotta)

(15) Englannin tunneista tuli kuitenkin koulun painostavimmat tunnit lukuun ottamatta käsitöitä ja muuta semmoista, mistä en tajunnut mitään. Lukukappaleet alkoivat olla aika vaikeita, ja väärin sanomisen pelko kasvoi, sillä luokallamme oli keskimääräistä kielitaitoisempaa väkeä. Sen sijaan ruotsin tunnit eivät minua pelottaneet ollenkaan samalla tavalla. (Pekka, 27 vuotta)

(16) Mikäli parit tai ryhmät puhetehtäviin arvottiin tai opettaja valitsi ne, muistan että helpotuin, jos sain tehdä puhumistehtävät jonkun kanssa, jonka kanssa huonommin puhuminen ei joko nolottanut, tai sitten ei tarvinnut hävetä, koska toisen englannin puhumisen taidot olivat heikommat kuin omani. Kauhea ajattelutapa itseasiassa kyllä nyt, kun tätä muistelee. (Julia, 26 vuotta)

(17) Koin koko peruskoulun ajan olevani huono englannissa. Inhosin tunteja ja pelkäsin avata suutani tunneilla. En koskaan viittannut vapaaehtoisesti, vaikka olisin joskus jotain osannutkin. En ollut aina luokan huonoin, mutta huonoimmasta päästä kyllä. Opettajien jatkuva ääntämisen korjaaminen ja virheiden tarkkailu opettivat pysyttelemään hiljaa. Parikeskusteluista oli joskus jotain lohtua, kun sai yrittää jonkun oman tasoisen kanssa eikä tarvinnut koko ajan hävetä. Mutta valitettavasti luokassa oli niin paljon hyviä englannin puhujia, että oman tasoinen pari sattui vain harvoin kohdalle.

(Päivi, 32 vuotta)

(18) Aloin lukiossa verrata englannin kielen taitoani enemmän muihin, ja nähdä ympärilläni moitteettomasti puhuvia kavereita, tuttuja ja puolituttuja. Kaverini ja tuttuni alkoivat lähteä lukiossa kielikursseille, vaihtoon ja omistaa kavereita ja tuttuja muista maista, joiden kanssa he puhuivat englantia. Jonkinlainen alemmuudentunne tai nolous englannin kieleen liittyen alkoi yhdistyä enemmän kansainvälistymiskokemuksiin kuin siihen, millainen olin englannin puhujana. Asia alkoi hävettää varmaan sen takia enemmän, kun yhä enemmän olisin toivonut voivani olla yhtä sujuva ja rohkea ja “kansainvälistynyt” englannin puhuja ja nuori, millaisena näin jotkut muut. (Julia, 26 vuotta)

(19) Hassua kyllä olen reissannut useassa maassa ja minä ihailen sitä auttamisen halua, jota ihmiset tarjoavat huonolla englannillaan tai ei yhteisellä kielellä ollenkaan. He uskaltavat, he elävät rohkeasti. Reissuilla uskaltaudun puhumaan, ellei kukaan suomalainen ole lähelläni. Lapseni saa olla, ei muita. (Kerttu, 47 vuotta)

(20) helpotukseksi olen huomannut, että mitä enemmän ja useammin englantia puhuu, sitä sujuvammin ja rennommin se alkaa sujua. Minua vaivaa kuitenkin edelleen englannin puhujana ongelma, että puhun sitä paljon mieluummin ja rennommin pelkästään muiden kuin suomalaisten kanssa. (Julia, 26 vuotta)

(21) Hassuinta on se, että ei-suomenkielisten kanssa minulla ei ole mitään ongelmaa puhua. Koen pärjääväni arkipäivän tilanteissa ja ulkomailla hyvin ilman ongelmia kielen kanssa. Lempimatkakohteidenkin on Lontoo. Sen sijaan, jos seurassa on suomalaisia, varsinkaan suunnilleen ikäisiäni, minun on todella vaikea puhua. Se harmittaa todella paljon ja yritän taistella sitä vastaan. Luulen tämän johtuvan nimenomaan häpeästä. (Maiju, 31 years old)

(22) Olen kiitollinen, että hän antoi minulle aikani, ja minä menin tilan eteenkin sitten aikanaan, tein kaikki muutkin tehtävät siinä kuin muutkin. Tärkeää oli myös se, että siellä oli taustaltaan ei suomalaisia, joka antoi minulle luvan ymmärtää omaa käsikielisyyttäni, eikä enää hävettänytkään oma hassua ruotsalaisaksenttia, joka jostain syystä tulee esiin englanninkielessä. (Kerttu, 47 vuotta)

(23) Puhuminen oli vaikeaa ja se hävetti, koska luokkakaverit olivat niin paljon parempia puhumaan ja heidän ääntämisensä oli parempaa ja sujuvampaa. Muistan vieläkin sen vaivautuneisuuden, kun piti kielistudiossa keskustella kuulokkeiden ja mikrofoniin kanssa satunnaisen luokkakaverin kanssa ja keskustelu ei sujunut lainkaan, kun kumpikaan ei halunnut puhua toisen kuullen englantia. (Päivi, 32 vuotta)

(24) Englannin kieleen liittyvä häpeä liittyi varmaan eniten siihen, että en halunnut ikään kuin "paljastua" ikäisilleni lukiokavereille ja -tutuille heikoksi, epäselväksi tai huonosti lausuvaksi englannin puhujaksi. Mieluummin vältin tilanteissa vaikeampia fraaseja enkä ottanut tilaa puhumiselle. En tehnyt tätä edes niin tietoisesti, mutta lähes aina siihen jotenkin ajauduin, kun englantia puhuttiin muiden suomalaisten kanssa. En halunnut ikään kuin identiteettiäni sitä, että olisinkin muiden mielestä huono ja kömpelö englannin puhumisessa, etenkin kun se ei sopinut siihen, miten halusin itse nähdä ja muiden näkevän minut. (Julia, 26 vuotta)

(25) Minua hävetti yrittää lausua sanoja oikein, kun ne eivät vain taipuneet suuhuni niin kuin olisi pitänyt. Kun sanoja toistettiin nauhan perässä kuorolausuntana, en koskaan päästänyt ääntäkään vaan liikutin vain huuliani. (Päivi, 32 vuotta)

(26) minulla palaa intohimo tutustua uusiin maihin, eri kulttuureihin, minulla on kansanvälinen kaveripiiri, puhutaan paljon eri kieliä. Rakastan tätä elämän kirjoa. Mutta en kommunikoi englanniksi, minä olen mieluummin piirtänyt asiiani, kuin puhunut. Keinot ovat monet. (Kerttu, 47 vuotta)

(27) Lukion jälkeen mun suhde englannin kieleen on ollut sellanen välttelemispolitiikka. Lukion aikana vuonna oikein suojelin itseäni kaikelta englannin kieliseltä vedoten siihen, että panostan ruotsiin enkä halua sekoittaa päätä englannilla. (Tuija, 20 vuotta)

(28) Kysymys kuului, hävettääkö minua puhua englantia. Todellakin hävettää. Pysin parhaani mukaan välttämään sen käyttöä. Puhuin ensimmäisen kerran koskaan enemmän englantia koulun ulkopuolella eräässä konferenssissa kolmantena opiskeluvuonna. Siihen asti olin radikaalimpi englannin välttelyssäni. Sittemmin olen tullut puhuneeksi sitä vähintään kerran vuodessa, enkä sinänsä pöde siitä huonoa omaatuntoa. (Pekka, 27 vuotta)

(29) Oon toki väistämättä joutunut kosketuksiin enkun kanssa yliopisto-opinnoissa. Mutta vielä tähän mennessä näin fuksivuoden jälkeen yllättävän vähän. Ja mennyt aina sieltä mistä aita on matalin. Jätin yhden erkan kurssin seminaarin väliin, koska tiesin, että siellä on enkun kielinen vieraileva luennoitsija, joka toivoo yleisöltä aktiivista osallistumista. Painajainen. (Tuija, 20 vuotta)

(30) Opintoni ovat suomeksi, ja jostain syystä välttelen vapaaehtoisia englanninkielisiä kursseja. Varmaankin pelkään, jos joutuu puhumaan. (Maiju, 31 years old)

(31) Minä itken. Kerron traumaistani. Kahden puheen pitäminen luokan edessä oli ihan ihan hirveä ajatuksenakin. En meinannut saada tehtyä niitä, kun pelkäsin niin hirmuisesti. Kuitenkin olin tullut siihen pisteeseen, että halusin tehdä sen niin kuin muutkin, tilan edessä. En halunnut erikoisjuttuja, vaikka tiesin niiden olemassa olosta. Olin kyllästynyt häpeämään, olemaan heikko periksi antaja. Halusin ylittää itseni. (Kerttu, 47 vuotta)

(32) Muistan kuitenkin jo alakoulusta tekniikan, jonka opettelin ja toistin lähes joka kerta, kun tunnilla piti lukea koko luokalle vuorotellen ääneen englannin kirjan kappaleista virkkeitä. Laskin mielessäni aina, että mikä lause tulisi mun ääneen luettavaksi riippuen siitä, kummasta päästä luokkaa lukeminen aloitettaisiin. Jos en ollut ensimmäisten joukossa, ehdin miettiä mielessäni minulle tulevan lauseen tai kappaleen suomennoksen lisäksi myös sen, miten sanat lausuttiin. Haastavien tai uusien sanojen kohdalla etsin ääntämishojeet englannin kirjasta ja kirjoitin ne muistiinpanoiksi kappaleen sanojen yläpuolelle sillä tavoin, miten ne kuuluu ääntää. (Julia, 26 vuotta)

(33) Suurin osa tunnista kului siihen, että piti laskea mikä lause tai tehtävä osuu omalle kohdalle ja varmistaa että osaisi sanoa edes jotain. (Päivi, 32 vuotta)

(34) Häpeä englannin kielen puhumiseen alkoi tässä iässä lausumismokia enemmän liittyä ikään kuin kontrollin menettämiseen ja "jäätymiseen": siihen, että jos unohdan jonkin sanan tai fraasin, alan jännittämään enkä muista tai osaa nopeasti tilanteessa kiertää jollain muulla tavalla tätä enkä sitten osaa enää sanoa mitään, ja joudun mielestäni tosi noloon tilanteeseen. (Julia, 26 vuotta)

(35) Isoimpana syynä siis miksi oon aina englantia vihannut, on just se, kuinka paljon ponnistelua ja epävarmuutta se on mulle aina aiheuttanut. Ja se, että mun luonteelle ei lapsena sopinut sellanen opiskelu, mitä enkun opiskelu oli. Ehkä se olis ollu kivempaa, jos olis tottunut samanlaiseen toiminnallisuuteen muidenkin aineiden tunneilla. Sellaseen et pitää pelata ja keskustella ja olla vähän epämukavuusalueella. Ja ehkä olisi tarvinnut kotoa enemmän tukea. Mutta ehkä äitikään ei oo tajunnut kuinka kovan työn ja tuskan takana enkku on aina mulle ollut, ku muuten pärjäsin hyvin. Väitän kyllä myös, että kaikki vika ei oo ollu mussa, vaan jatkuvat opettajien vaihtumiset ja sijaiset on myös vaikuttanut. (Tuija, 20 vuotta)

Appendix 3 Finnish summary

Johdanto

Tämän pro gradu -tutkielman päämääränä oli tutkia suomalaisten yliopisto-opiskelijoiden englannin kielen puhumiseen liittyvää häpeää. Häpeää tunteena on tutkittu toisen kielen oppimisen alalla niukasti. Häpeän sijaan toisen kielen oppimisen tutkimuksessa on painotettu ahdistusta, jota on tutkittu laajasti monesta eri näkökulmasta jo usean vuosikymmenen ajan (yleiskuva ahdistuksen tutkimuksesta Horwitz 2010). Cook (2006, 229) kuitenkin nostaa esille, että ahdistuksen määritelmä peittäisi alleen häpeän. Cookin (2006) väitöskirjatutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että häpeän rooli toisen kielen puhumattomuuden taustalla voisi olla keskeisempi kuin ahdistuksen. 2010-luvun aikana toisen kielen oppimisen tutkimuksessa on ollut havaittavissa asteittainen muutos, sillä useamman tutkijan huomio on kiinnittynyt häpeän rooliin toisen kielen oppimisessa (Galmiche 2017; 2018; Teimouri 2017; 2018; 2019; Wang 2016). Silti häpeästä, sen vaikutuksista sekä syntymekanismeista toisen kielen oppimisessa tiedetään edelleen hyvin vähän.

Edellisten tutkimustuloksien valossa häpeällä on hyvin negatiiviset vaikutukset sekä kielen oppimiseen että sen käyttämiseen. Aikaisemman tutkimustiedon mukaan suurin vaikutus häpeällä vaikuttaa olevan toisen kielen oppijoiden halukkuuteen puhua toista kieltä. Esimerkiksi Teimourin (2018, 644-647) tutkimuksessa havaittiin vahva negatiivinen korrelaatio toisen kielen oppijoiden häpeällisyyden ja kommunikaatiohalukkuuden välillä. Galmichen (2017) tutkimuksessa puolestaan häpeälle alttiit oppijat eivät olleet halukkaita osallistumaan aktiivisesti tunneilla tapahtuviin aktiviteetteihin. Psykologian puolella häpeän tunteen on puolestaan havaittu liittyvän muun muassa kyvyttömyyteen puhua (Lewis 2016, 804). Koska kommunikaatio on kielen pääfunktio, voidaan häpeään liittyvien tutkimuksien tuottamisen olevan erittäin tärkeää.

Englannin kielen puhumiseen liittyvää häpeää ei ole tutkittu Suomessa. Tämä pro gradu -tutkielma pyrkii täyttämään tämän tutkimusaukon ja kartoittamaan niitä tekijöitä, jotka liittyvät häpeäkokemusten ilmenemiseen suomalaisten yliopisto-opiskelijoiden keskuudessa. Tutkimusongelmaa lähdettiin ratkomaan seuraavien kolmen tutkimuskysymyksen kautta:

- 1) Miten englannin kielen puhumiseen liittyvä alttius kokea häpeää on kehittynyt?
- 2) Mitä tekijöitä liittyy tilanteisiin, joissa opiskelijat ovat alttiita kokemaan häpeää?
- 3) Miten opiskelijat selviytyvät häpeänsä kanssa?

Tässä tutkielmassa tutkimusongelmaa lähestytään kielitieteellisesti uudella tavalla. Aineisto koostuu englannin kielen oppimisen ja puhumisen elämäkertateksteistä. Aikaisemmat tutkimukset ovat hyödyntäneet lähinnä joko kyselylomakkeita tai syvähaastatteluita toisen kielen häpeän tutkimuksessa. Täten pro gradu -tutkielman toteutustapa tarjoaa tuoreen näkökulman toisen kielen häpeään maailmanlaajuisesti tarkasteltuna.

Teoreettinen viitekehys

Tutkielman teoreettinen viitekehys muodostuu kolmesta pääotsakkeesta. Näitä ovat yksilölliset erot toisen kielen oppimisessa, toisen kielen oppijan minä, siihen liittyvät käsitteet ja teorit sekä häpeän rooli toisen kielen oppimisessa. Teoreettisen viitekehysten punaisena lankana toimii toisen kielen oppijan minä ja miten tämä oppijan minä kytkeytyy toisen kielen häpeän ilmenemiseen erilaisten minään liittyvien prosessien kautta.

Teoreettisen viitekehysten pohja rakentuu Dörnyein (2009) ajatuksiin yksilöllisten erojen tutkimuksesta. Dörnyein (2009, 181-194) mukaan aikaisemmin yksilöllisiä eroja on tarkasteltu hyvin rajoittuneesta näkökulmasta, sillä yksilöllisten tekijät ovat nähty muuttumattomina ja ympäristöstä riippumattomina tekijöinä, jotka eivät ole juuri vuorovaikutuksessa toisten yksilöllisten tekijöiden kanssa. Tämän vastapainoksi Dörnyei (2009, 194) esittää, että yksilölliset tekijät ovat todellisuudessa ominaisuuksiltaan paljon dynaamisempia: niissä tapahtuu muutoksia ajan ja paikan mukaan ja ne ovat myös jatkuvassa vuorovaikutuksessa toistensa kanssa. Tunteita on tutkittu toisen kielen oppimisessa vähän ja Dörnyei (2009, 184) pitää tähän yhtenä syynä tunteiden sopimattomuutta siihen staattiseen muottiin, johon yksilöllisten tekijöiden oli ennen mahdollista. Dörnyein (2009, 194-196) mukaan toisen kielen tutkimuksessa tulee kuitenkin ottaa huomioon yksilöllisten tekijöiden dynaaminen luonne ja hän (2009, 195-197, 231) kehottaa lähestymään yksilöllisiä eroja dynaamisten systeemiteorioiden kautta. Dörnyein ajatusten pohjalta häpeää lähestytään tutkielmassa holistisesta näkökulmasta, havainnoiden niin oppimisympäristön, oppimiskokemusten kuin muiden yksilöllisten tekijöiden rooli häpeäkokemuksissa. Lisäksi tutkielman tutkimusote vastaa Dörnyein (2009, 186-187) ajatukseen yksilötason analyysistä, jonka päämääränä on ymmärtää yksilöllisiä eroja yksilön näkökulmasta tarkasteltuna eikä tilastollisten merkitsevyyksien kautta.

Toisen kielen häpeää tarkastellaan tutkielmassa oppijan minän kautta. Keskeisimpiä käsitteitä ovat toisen kielen oppijan minäkäsitys, itsetunto sekä identiteetti. Minäkäsitys muodostuu yksilöiden uskomuksista ja tuntemuksista itseään kohtaan (Mercer 2014a, 52).

Toisen kielen oppimisen tutkimuksen kannalta on kuitenkin oleellista tarkastella minäkäsitystä kontekstisidonnaisesti ja määrittellä minäkäsitys tämän kontekstin mukaan. Tässä tutkielmassa vieraan kielen oppijan minäkäsityksellä tarkoitetaan oppijoiden omia näkemyksiä sekä arvioita itsestään oppijoina vieraan kielen oppimisen kentällä (Mercer 2011a, 14). Itsetunto ja minäkäsitys erotetaan toisistaan niiden roolien perusteella. Itsetunto perustuu arvioon yksilön hetkisestä minäkäsityksestä: minäkäsitys toimii arvioinnin kohteena ja itsetunto arvioi (Arnold 2007, 14; Rubio 2014, 42-43). Identiteetti on puolestaan oppijoiden näkyvämpi osa minuutta, se mitä minästä näkyy ja näytetään ulospäin (Mercer 2011a, 18-19). Tutkielmassa minäkäsitys nähdään oppijan minän perustavanlaatuisena rakennusosana itsetuntoon ja identiteettiin nähden. Tämä perustuu siihen, että itsetunto muodostuu minäkäsityksen arvioinnin pohjilta (Arnold 2007, 14; Rubio 2014, 42-43) ja identiteetti puolestaan rakentuu kontekstisidonnaisesti minäkäsityksen kautta (Mercer 2011a, 18-19). Yksilöiden minäkäsitys polveutuu Dörnyei and Ryanin (2015, 199-200) mukaan heidän elämäkertatarinoidensa kautta. Nämä ajatukset luovat raamit koko pro gradu -tutkielmalle: yliopisto-opiskelijoiden minäkäsitykseen päästään käsiksi heidän kielen oppimisen elämäkertateksteistä, mikä mahdollistaa opiskelijoiden häpeän tarkastelun heidän minänsä kautta.

Yksilön minää voidaan lähestyä myös vielä kokonaisvaltaisemmasta näkökulmasta. Higginsin (1987, 320-321) diskrepanssiteorian mukaan yksilöillä on kolme erilaista käsitystä itsestään: heidän käsityksensä siitä, millaisia he ovat, millaisia he haluaisivat olla ja millaisia heidän pitäisi olla. Diskrepanssiteoria perustuu ajatukseen siitä, miten eriävät uskomukset itsestä voivat aiheuttaa yksilöille kärsimystä, ja Higginsin (1987, 322) mukaan häpeä ilmenee, kun yksilö ei täytä toisten ihmisten toiveita hänestä. Vastaavanlainen minuudenmalli löytyy toisen kielen oppimisen tutkimuksen kentältä motivaatiotutkimuksesta. Dörnyein (2005, 105-106) toisen kielen minuudenmotivaatiomallissa toisen kielen oppijoilla on kaksi minän ulottuvuutta: ideaali- sekä pitäisiminä. Nämä koskettavat joko niitä kielellisiä ominaisuuksia, joita oppija haluaisi omistaa tai hänen pitäisi omistaa (ibid.). Aikaisemmat tutkimukset sekä psykologian että toisen kielen oppimisen kentällä osoittavat, että häpeä ilmenee silloin, kun mikä tahansa yksilön minän tavoitteista ei toteudu (Tangney ym. 1998; Galmiche 2017; Teimouri 2017) alleviivaten yksilön uskomusten roolia häpeäkokemusten synnyssä. Toisen kielen oppimisen tutkimuksessa onkin havaittu häpeän ilmenevän silloin, kun oppija uskoo olevansa huonompi kuin muut oppijat (Aragão 2011, 306-307).

Toisaalta Mercerin (2014b, 162-164) mukaan yksilön minä voidaan nähdä kompleksisena dynaamisena systeeminä, joka muodostuu useasta eri päällekkäisestä osasta ja joidenka välillä on jatkuva vuorovaikutus tehden minästä alati muuttuvan kokonaisuuden.

Vuorovaikutusta tapahtuu minän eri osien lisäksi minän ja ympäristön välillä (ibid.). Mercerin (2014b, 163) näkemyksessä oppijoiden uskomukset, kognitio sekä tunteet sijoittuvat tämän kompleksisen dynaamisen minän systeemin alle.

Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa yhdistetään Higginsin (1987, 320-321), Dörnyein (2005, 105-106) sekä Mercerin (2014b, 162-164) ajatukset yksilön minän rakenteista. Mercerin (2014b, 162-164) ajatus minästä kompleksisena dynaamisena systeeminä toimii tutkielman pääteorianana. Higginsin (1987) diskrepanssiteoriaa yksilöiden uskomusten eriäväisyyksien yhteydestä heidän kärsimykseensä sovelletaan kielitieteen puolelle Dörnyein (2005, 105-106) minuudenmotivaatiomallin kautta, jossa uskomusten eriäväisyys syntyy joko toisen kielen oppijan ideaaliminän ja varsinaisen minän tai pitäisiminän ja varsinaisen minän välille.

Toisen kielen oppimiseen ja puhumiseen liittyvää häpeää on tutkittu USA:ssa (Cook 2006), Kiinassa (Wang 2016), Ranskassa (Galmiche 2017; 2018) ja Iranissa (Teimouri 2017; 2018; 2019). Kaikissa aikaisemmissa tutkimuksissa tutkimuksen kohteena on ollut englannin kieli. Yleisesti ottaen aikaisempi tutkimus osoittaa, että häpeällä on negatiivinen vaikutus toisen kielen oppimiseen. Häpeälttiit oppijat ovat haluttomampia kommunikoidaan toisella kielellä (Teimouri 2018, 644-647), ja häpeä voi saada oppijat välttelemään englannin kielen puhumista tai englanninkielisiä puhetilanteita (Cook 2006, 131-150; Galmiche 2017, 43-45). Häpeään saattaa liittyä pelkotiloja tai jopa vihaa joko itseä tai muita kohtaan (Cook 2006, 150-153, 217-220, 230-234). Aikaisempi tutkimus osoittaa myös, että toisen kielen oppijoiden minä ja identiteetti ovat tiivistä yhteydessä oppijoiden häpeäkokemuksiin (mm. Galmiche 2017, 42-45; 2018; Teimouri 2017, 698-699). Tämän lisäksi englannin kielen ääntäminen korostuu osaluueena häpeää kokevien oppijoiden keskuudessa (Galmiche 2017, 42; 2018, 113-114). Tähänastisen tutkimustiedon valossa häpeä ei näyttäisi niinkään riippuvan oppijoiden varsinaisesta kielitaidosta (Galmiche 2017, 45-46) vaan heidän omista uskomuksista ja näkemyksistään omasta kielitaidostaan (Aragão 2011, 306-307; Galmiche 2017, 42).

Häpeän taustalla on monenlaisia syitä. Galmichen (2017, 39-41; 2018) tutkimus osoittaa, kuinka tärkeä rooli opettajilla on häpeäreaktioiden ja häpeälttiuden synnyssä pitkässä juoksussa. Esimerkiksi opettajan arvosteleva käytös sekä opettajan antama korjaava palaute havaittiin Galmichen tutkimuksen häpeäkokemuksissa (ibid.). Toisaalta Galmiche (2018, 112-113) noteeraa joidenkin häpeän johtuvan heidän yleisestä häpeälttiudestaan, jolloin häpeä on kietoutunut osaksi toisen kielen oppijan persoonallisuutta. Häpeän kokeminen näyttäisi myös vaihtelevan kielikohtaisesti kielen aseman ja valinnaisuuden perusteella (Galmiche 2017, 40).

Toisen kielen häpeälle ei löydy toisen kielen tutkimuksesta yksiselitteistä määritelmää. Aikaisemmissa tutkimuksissa toisen kielen häpeä on määritelty joko psykologian tai

sanakirjaselitysten avulla. Psykologiassa häpeä luokitellaan itsetietoiseksi tunteeksi, johon liittyy kokonaisvaltaista minän arviointia, jossa minä arvioi sekä toimii arvioinnin kohteena (Lewis 2016, 792-793; 803-804). Tämä tutkielma määrittelee toisen kielen häpeän kattavan aikaisemman tutkimuskirjallisuuden analysoinnin kautta samalla yhdistäen siihen tiedon psykologian tieteenalalta. Toisen kielen häpeä määritellään dynaamisena yksilöllisenä tekijänä, johon liittyy kokonaisvaltaista itsearviointia ja joka aiheutuu toisen kielen oppijan negatiivisista ja ristiriitaisista uskomuksista itseään kohtaan johtaen toisen kielen oppijan välttämään toisen kielen käyttöä. Toisen kielen häpeä erotetaan ahdistuksesta arvioinnin roolin kautta: siinä missä arvioinnin pelkoa voi liittyä sekä ahdistukseen että häpeään, kokonaisvaltaisen itsearvioinnin ei katsota olevan osatekijänä ahdistuksessa. Häpeän tunne katsotaan olevan lähempänä oppijan minuutta.

Tutkimuksen aineisto ja metodit

Tutkimukseen osallistui yhteensä kuusi suomalaista yliopisto-opiskelijaa, jotka kokevat häpeävänsä puhua englantia. Heistä yksi on mies ja viisi on naisia. Yksi opiskelijoista ilmoitti olevansa kaksikielinen (suomi ja ruotsi). Muiden tutkimukseen osallistuneiden äidinkieli on suomi. Tutkimukseen pystyi osallistumaan opiskelijoita miltä vaan tieteenalalta. Tutkittavien pääaine vaihtelee kasvatustieteistä oikeustieteeseen, mutta ketään tutkittavista ei opiskele luonnontieteitä. Mahdollisia osallistujia lähestyttiin lähettämällä viesti tutkimuksesta sekä yliopistojen sähköpostilistoille että erilaisiin Facebook-ryhmiin. Opiskelijat ottivat osaa tutkimukseen täysin anonymisti ja nimet, jotka esiintyvät pro gradu -tutkielmassa, ovat peitenimiä.

Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu yliopisto-opiskelijoiden kirjoittamista englannin kielen oppimisen ja puhumisen elämäkertateksteistä. Aikaisempi tutkimuskirjallisuus ei ole hyödyntänyt elämäkertatekstien käyttöä toisen kielen häpeän tutkimuksessa. Elämäkertatekstien käyttö aineistonkeruumenetelmänä tässä tutkimuksessa perustuu Dörnyein ja Ryanin (2015, 199-200) ajatukseen siitä, että yksilön elämäkerralliset tarinat ovat avainasemassa minäkäsityksen muodostumisessa. Koska aikaisempi toisen kielen tutkimus osoittaa häpeän ja minäkäsityksen liittyvän olennaisesti toisiinsa (Aragão 2011; Galmiche 2017; Teimouri 2017), elämäkertatekstien voidaan katsoa tarjoavan hyödyllisen näkökulman häpeään. Elämäkertatestit ovat kirjoitettu suomeksi ja niiden kirjoittamista varten osallistujille laadittiin ohjeet. Elämäkertatestit ymmärretään tässä tutkimuksessa toisen kielen oppijan näkökulmasta kirjoitettuina narratiiveina, jotka sisältävät oppijoiden kokemuksia pitkältä

ajanjaksolta yksittäisten tilanteiden sijaan (Benson 2004, 17). Tutkielma tarkastelee tutkittavaa ilmiötä näin ollen yliopisto-opiskelijoiden narratiivien kautta, ja narratiivit puolestaan käsitetään tässä tutkielmassa diskursseina, joita ohjaa aikajanaa seuraava juoni (Polkinghorne [1995] 2003, 5-7). Elämäkertatekstit ja narratiivinen lähestymistapa voidaan katsoa lukeutuvan laadullisen tutkimuksen piiriin (Benson 2004, 17; Polkinghorne [1995] 2003, 5), ja yleisesti ottaen laadullisen tutkimuksen tarkoitus on tutkia ja ymmärtää tutkittavaa ilmiötä yksilön näkökulmasta (Dörnyei 2007, 38). Tutkielman tutkimusote on täten laadullinen.

Narratiivisessa tutkimuksessa erotetaan kaksi erilaista tapaa lähestyä narratiiveja aineistona. Polkinghornen ([1995] 2003, 12) mukaan näitä ovat narratiivinen analyysi ja narratiivien analyysi. Tutkielma tarkastelee elämäkertatekstejä narratiivien analyysin kautta, jonka tarkoituksena on analysoida ja poimia yhteisiä tekijöitä sekä teemoja narratiiveista (Polkinghornen [1995] 2003, 12-15). Toisaalta Kalajan (2011, 121) mukaan toisen kielen oppimisen tutkimuksessa voidaan oppijoiden narratiiveja tarkastella kolmesta eri näkökulmasta. Näitä ovat oppijan subjektiiviset kokemukset, narratiivien kirjoitustapa sekä ne tapahtumat, jotka ovat tapahtuneet oppimisessa (ibid.). Vaikka tutkimuksen päätavoitteena oli ymmärtää oppijoiden subjektiivisiä kokemuksia, aineiston analyysissä otettiin myös huomioon se, miten opiskelijat olivat kirjoittaneet elämäkertatekstinsä ja mitä heidän englannin kielen oppimisessaan oli tapahtunut. Varsinainen elämäkertatekstien analyysi tehtiin käyttämällä laadullista sisällönanalyysiä. Dörnyein (2007, 245) mukaan laadullisessa sisällönanalyysissä analyysi tehdään induktiivisesti niin, että ilmiöön liittyvät tekijät poimitaan aineistosta eikä analyysin teemoja ole päätetty etukäteen. Täten tutkielman tutkimuskysymykset on muodostettu aineistolähtöisesti. Tutkielma ottaa analyysissään kuitenkin huomioon Pavlenkon (2007, 166-167) kritiikin, jonka perusteella perinteinen sisällönanalyysin hyödyntäminen kielellisten ja kokemusperustaisten elämäkertatekstien tutkimuksessa on suppeaa. Hänen (Pavlenko 2007, 174-175) mukaansa analyysissä tulisi myös huomioida se, mitä oppijat eivät teksteissään tuo esiin. Tämän lisäksi Pavlenko (2007, 167) huomauttaa siitä, että narratiiveista löytyviä ilmiöitä pystytään syvemmin analysoimaan silloin kun tutkija on muodostanut teoreettisen viitekehyksen varsinaisen analyysivaiheen tueksi. Näin ollen esiin tulleiden teemojen analysoinnissa tukeudutaan vahvasti tutkielman teoreettiseen viitekehykseen.

Tutkimuksen tulokset ja pohdinta

Analyysin pohjalta yliopisto-opiskelijoiden elämäkertatekstit jaetaan tutkimuksessa kahteen eri toisen kielen häpeällisyyden kehittymisen polkuun sen perusteella, miten he ovat kirjoittaneet

elämäkertatekstinsä. *Ulkoisten kriitikkojen* kertomuksissa häpeän kehittyminen kytkeytyy sellaisiin aikaisempiin kokemuksiin, joissa opiskelija on joko saanut korjaavaa palautetta englannin kielen puhumiseensa tai hän on kokenut arvostelevaa, jopa traumatisoivaa, käytöstä englannin opettajalta luokkahuonekontekstissa. Näissä tarinoissa häpeä ja hankaluudet puhua englantia selittyvät näillä aikaisemmillä kokemuksilla, joissa pääroolissa on ollut jonkun toisen ihmisen käytös ja sen vaikutus oppijan englannin kielen puhumiseen. Ulkoisten kriitikkojen näkemykset ja uskomukset itsestään englannin kielen puhujina olivat näiden kokemusten takia muuttuneet negatiivisiksi ja heistä oli tullut hyvin itsetietoisia englannin kielen käytöstään. Päinvastoin *sisäisten kriitikkojen* teksteissä häpeää tai englannin puhumiseen liittyviä vaikeuksia ei selitetty samalla tavalla muiden toiminnan kautta: näissä kertomuksissa häpeä liittyy enemmän ristiriitaan opiskelijoiden tavoitteiden ja varsinaisen minäkäsityksen välillä. Lisäksi heidän tarinoissaan korostuu heikon itsetunnon ja korkeiden tavoitteiden vaikutus häpeällisyyden syntymisessä. Sisäiset kriitikot ovat yleisesti ottaen hyvin itsetietoisia siitä, miltä he muiden silmissä näyttävät.

Pro gradu -tutkielma esittää kyseisen elämäkertatekstien tyypittelyn pohjalta, että toisen kielen oppimiseen liittyvän häpeällisyyden syntyyn voi olla kaksi eri oppijan polkua. Toisessa polussa (ulkoiset kriitikot) oppijan aikaisemmat kokemukset muokkaavat hänen uskomuksiansa itsestään niin, että ne muuttuvat negatiivisiksi. Koska oppijan minäkäsitys muodostuu hänen uskomuksistansa ja tuntemuksista itseään kohtaa, hänen minäkäsityksensä muuttuu negatiiviseksi. Tämä puolestaan johtaa itsetunnon heikentymiseen, sillä itsetunto pohjautuu arvioon oppijan minäkäsityksestä. Näin ollen negatiiviset uskomukset itsestä ja heikentynyt itsetunto altistavat oppijan lopulta kokemaan häpeää. Toisaalta jotkut toisen kielen häpeälle alttiit oppijat eivät välttämättä koe sellaisia minäkäsitystä muokkaavia negatiivisia tapahtumia, jotka olisivat yhteydessä heidän häpeäänsä. Tällöin häpeällisyyden syntyyn näyttäisi liittyvän ennemminkin heidän heikko itsetuntonsa (sekä mahdollinen yleinen häpeällisyys) sekä korkeat tavoitteet. Kun tavoitteet eivät täyty, kokee oppija tästä häpeää. Molemmissa tapauksissa häpeän esiintymistä ylläpitää itsetunnon ja minäkäsityksen vuorovaikutus korostaen samalla oppijan minän tärkeää roolia toisen kielen oppimisessa.

Aineistosta pystyttiin erottamaan kolme isoa teemaa niissä tilanteissa, joissa opiskelijat olivat alttiimpia kokemaan englannin kielen puhumiseen liittyvää häpeää. Tutkimustulosten mukaan opiskelijat olivat alttiimpia tuntemaan häpeää tilanteissa, joissa he kokivat olevansa englannin kielen puhumisessa tai englannin kielessä heikompia kuin toiset. Lisäksi opiskelijat olivat taipuvaisia vertailemaan itseään muihin. Toisaalta tutkimus osoittaa, että opiskelijat olivat alttiimpia kokemaan häpeää tilanteissa, joissa joku heidän keskustelukumppaneistansa

oli suomalainen. Tulosten mukaan tämä vastakkainasettelu suomalaisten ja ei-suomalaisten puhujien välillä oli tärkeämpi selittävä tekijä tilanteiden häpeäalttiuden luomisessa kuin ero luokkahuonekontekstin ja muiden puhumiskontekstien välillä. Tutkimuksessa ei noussut esille tarkempia syitä suomalaisten keskustelukumppanien rooliin liittyen. Tämä suurempi alttius kokea häpeää muiden suomalaisten seurassa saattanee liittyä sekä kokemuksiin arvioinnista luokkahuonekontekstissa muiden suomalaisten kanssa ja siihen, että suomalaiset saattavat ajatella muiden suomalaisten olevan arvostetumpia heidän englannin kielen taidoistaan. Tämän lisäksi suomalaisten keskustelukumppanien iällä näyttäisi olevan myös vaikutusta. Joidenkin opiskelijoiden tarinoista tuli ilmi, että mitä lähempänä suomalaisen keskustelukumppanin ikä oli opiskelijan omaa ikää, sitä haluttomampia he olivat puhumaan englantia ja alttiimpia kokemaan häpeää. Tämä luo perustavanlaatuisen ongelman englannin kielen opetukselle Suomessa, sillä suuri osa opetuksesta tapahtuu ryhmissä, joissa opiskelijat ovat suomalaisia sekä iältään samanikäisiä. Jatkotutkimuksia aiheen tiimoilta näin ollen tarvitaan.

Häpeäkokemukset liittyivät kaikista vahviten englannin kielen ääntämiseen. Opiskelijat kokivat, että englannin kielen ääntäminen on hyvin vaikea osa-alue hallita ja oppia. Tämän lisäksi virheiden tekeminen ja ei-toivottu aksentti englannin kielen ääntämisessä vaikutti tarinoiden mukaan altistavan oppijat kokemaan häpeää. Tulosten mukaan toisen kielen oppijan negatiiviset uskomukset (minäkäsitys) hänen ääntämistaitojaan kohtaan saattaavat altistaa oppijan kokemaan häpeää, sillä tämä johtaa siihen, että epätoivottu osa minästä näkyy muille.

Välttely oli merkittävin selviytymiskeino englannin kielen puhumiseen liittyvään häpeään. Välttely ilmeni elämäkertateksteissä sekä englannin kielen puhumisen välttelynä tilanteissa, joissa opiskelijoiden oli pitänyt puhua englantia, että englanninkielisten puhetilanteiden totaalisenä välttelynä. Lisäksi aineistoista nousi esille se, miten häpeä saattaa vaikuttaa yliopisto-opiskelijoiden akateemiseen päätöksentekoon rajoittaen kurssimahdollisuuksia yliopistolla. Yliopisto-opiskelijat olivat haluttomampia osallistumaan kursseille tai seminaareihin, jotka pidetään englanniksi ja jotkut raportoivat välttelevänsä englannin kielisiä kursseja. Tämä tutkimustulos nostaa esille sen, että englannin kielen puhumiseen liittyvä häpeä ei välttämättä vaikuta negatiivisesti pelkästään toisen kielen oppimiseen, mutta opiskelijoiden yleiseen akateemiseen suoritukseen ja oppimiseen ylipäätään. Tutkimuksessa todetaan, että tulevaisuuden tutkimuksen on vastattava tähän havaintoon ja tutkittava sitä, miten englannin kielen häpeä vaikuttaa yliopisto-opiskelijoiden päätöksentekoon.

Kaiken kaikkiaan tutkimus osoittaa, että häpeä on kiinteästi yhteydessä toisen kielen oppijan minään erilaisten minän osa-alueiden kuten minäuskomusten, minäkäsityksen, itsetunnon ja identiteetin kautta. Isossa roolissa näyttävät olevan oppijan uskomukset itsestään kielen oppijana ja puhujana. Tutkimuksen tuloksien perusteella toisen kielen häpeä määritellään uudelleen. Toisen kielen häpeä on dynaaminen yksilöllinen tekijä, joka vaihtelee kontekstin ja ajan mukaan ja joka liittyy minän eri osa-alueiden vuorovaikutukseen aiheuttaen negatiivisia ajatuksia ja toisen kielen käytön välttelyä. Toisen kielen häpeäalttiuden kehittyminen riippuu yksilöllisistä tekijöistä kuten aikaisemmista oppimiskokemuksista, yleisestä häpeäalttiudesta, alhaisesta itsetunnosta sekä tavoitteista ja standardeista. Toisen kielen opettajien tulee ottaa huomioon oppijoiden yksilöllisyys kielen oppimisessa ja opettamisessa. Yksi hyödyllinen tapa ymmärtää paremmin oppijoiden uskomuksia itsestä on hyödyntää kielen oppimisen elämäkertatekstejä toisen kielen opetuksessa.