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Author(s): Elaine K. Horwitz, Michael B. Horwitz and Joann Cope

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Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety

ELAINE K. HORWITZ, MICHAEL B. HORWITZ, AND JOANN COPE

"I JUST KNOW I HAVE SOME KIND OF DISABILITY: I CAN'T learn a foreign language no matter how hard I try."

"When I'm in my Spanish class I just freeze! I can't think of a thing when my teacher calls on me. My mind goes blank."

"I feel like my French teacher is some kind of Martian death ray: I never know when he'll point at me!"

"It's about time someone studied why some people can't learn languages."¹

Such statements are all too familiar to teachers of foreign languages. Many people claim to have a mental block against learning a foreign language, although these same people may be good learners in other situations, strongly motivated, and have a sincere liking for speakers of the target language. What, then, prevents them from achieving their desired goal? In many cases, they may have an anxiety reaction which impedes their ability to perform successfully in a foreign language class. Anxiety is the subjective feeling of tension, apprehension, nervousness, and worry associated with an arousal of the autonomic nervous system.² Just as anxiety prevents some people from performing successfully in science or mathematics, many people find foreign language learning, especially in classroom situations, particularly stressful.

When anxiety is limited to the language learning situation, it falls into the category of specific anxiety reactions. Psychologists use the term specific anxiety reaction to differentiate people who are generally anxious in a variety of situations from those who are anxious only in specific situations. Researchers have identified several specific anxieties associated with school tasks such as test-taking and with academic subjects such as mathematics or science.³

Second language researchers and theorists have long been aware that anxiety is often associated with language learning. Teachers and

students generally feel strongly that anxiety is a major obstacle to be overcome in learning to speak another language, and several recent approaches to foreign language teaching, such as community language learning and suggestopedia, are explicitly directed at reducing learner anxiety. However, second language research has neither adequately defined foreign language anxiety nor described its specific effects on foreign language learning. This paper attempts to fill this gap by identifying foreign language anxiety as a conceptually distinct variable in foreign language learning and interpreting it within the context of existing theoretical and empirical work on specific anxiety reactions. The symptoms and consequences of foreign language anxiety should thus become readily identifiable to those concerned with language learning and teaching.

EFFECTS OF ANXIETY ON LANGUAGE LEARNING

Second Language Studies. For many years, scholars have considered the anxiety-provoking potential of learning a foreign language. Curran and Stevick discuss in detail the defensive position imposed on the learner by most language teaching methods; Guiora argues that language learning itself is "a profoundly unsettling psychological proposition" because it directly threatens an individual's self-concept and worldview.⁴ More recently researchers have attempted to quantify the effects of anxiety on foreign language learning, but these efforts have met with mixed results. While the pertinent studies have differed in the measures employed, they can generally be characterized by their comparison of students' self-reports of anxiety with their language proficiency ratings, obtained through a discrete skills task or a global measure such as final course grade. In his 1978 review of research, Scovel argues that scholars have been unable to establish a clear-cut relationship between anxiety and overall foreign language achievement; he attributes the discrepant findings at least in part to the in-

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consistency of anxiety measures used and concludes: "It is perhaps premature to relate it [anxiety] to the global and comprehensive task of language acquisition."⁵

Studies seeking more specific effects of anxiety on language learning have been more revealing. Kleinmann found that ESL students with high levels of debilitating anxiety attempted different types of grammatical constructions than did less anxious ESL students; and Steinberg and Horwitz found that students experiencing an anxiety-producing condition attempted less interpretive (more concrete) messages than those experiencing a relaxed condition.⁶ These studies indicate that anxiety can affect the communication strategies students employ in language class. That is, the more anxious student tends to avoid attempting difficult or personal messages in the target language. These findings are also consistent with research on other types of specific communication anxiety. Researchers studying writing in a native language have found that students with higher levels of writing anxiety write shorter compositions and qualify their writing less than their calmer counterparts do.⁷

A review of the literature found only one instrument specifically designed to measure foreign language anxiety. Gardner, Clement, Smythe, and Smythe developed five items to measure French class anxiety as part of their test battery on attitudes and motivation.⁸ Gardner, Smythe, Clement, and Glikzman found small negative correlations (ranging from $r = -.13$ to $r = -.43$) between this scale and four measures of achievement (aural comprehension, speaking, final grade, and a composite of three sub-scales of the Canadian Achievement Test in French).⁹

This brief review suggests two reasons for the dearth of conclusions concerning anxiety and second language achievement. First, the anxiety measures typically have not been specific to foreign language learning. Only the research by Gardner utilized a measure relevant to language anxiety, and it was restricted to French classroom anxiety. Second, few achievement studies have looked at the subtle effects of anxiety on foreign language learning. Although research has not clearly demonstrated the effect of anxiety on language learning, practitioners have had ample experience with anxious learners.

Clinical Experience. The subjective feelings, psycho-physiological symptoms, and behavioral responses of the anxious foreign language learner are essentially the same as for any specific anxiety. They experience apprehension, worry, even dread. They have difficulty concentrating, become forgetful, sweat, and have palpitations. They exhibit avoidance behavior such as missing class and postponing homework. Clinical experience with foreign language students in university classes and at the Learning Skills Center (LSC) at the University of Texas also suggests several discrete problems caused by anxiety and illustrates poignantly how these problems can interfere with language learning. Principally, counselors find that anxiety centers on the two basic task requirements of foreign language learning: listening and speaking. Difficulty in speaking in class is probably the most frequently cited concern of the anxious foreign language students seeking help at the LSC. Students often report that they feel fairly comfortable responding to a drill or delivering prepared speeches in their foreign language class but tend to "freeze" in a role-play situation. A female student speaks of the evenings in her dorm room spent rehearsing what she should have said in class the day before. Anxious language learners also complain of difficulties discriminating the sounds and structures of a target language message. One male student claims to hear only a loud buzz whenever his teacher speaks the foreign language. Anxious students may also have difficulty grasping the content of a target language message. Many LSC clients claim that they have little or no idea of what the teacher is saying in extended target language utterances.

Foreign language anxiety frequently shows up in testing situations. Students commonly report to counselors that they "know" a certain grammar point but "forget" it during a test or an oral exercise when many grammar points must be remembered and coordinated simultaneously. The problem can also be isolated in persistent "careless" errors in spelling or syntax. The student realizes, usually some time after the test, that s/he knew the correct answer but put down the wrong one due to nervousness. If the student realizes s/he is making preventable errors during the test, anxiety—and errors—may escalate.

Overstudying is a related phenomenon. Stu-

dents who are overly concerned about their performance may become so anxious when they make errors, they may attempt to compensate by studying even more. Their frustration is understandable when their compulsive effort does not lead to improved grades. One bright woman who had lived in Mexico spent eight hours a day preparing for a beginning Spanish class—and still did poorly. The reverse behavior is also possible. Anxious students may avoid studying and in some cases skip class entirely in an effort to alleviate their anxiety.

Certain beliefs about language learning also contribute to the student's tension and frustration in the classroom. We note that a number of students believe nothing should be said in the foreign language until it can be said correctly and that it is not okay to guess an unknown foreign language word.¹⁰ Beliefs such as these must produce anxiety since students are expected to communicate in the second tongue before fluency is attained and even excellent language students make mistakes or forget words and need to guess more than occasionally.

In light of current theory and research in second language acquisition, the problem of anxiety and the accompanying erroneous beliefs about language learning discussed here represent serious impediments to the development of second language fluency as well as to performance. Savignon stresses the vital role of spontaneous conversational interactions in the development of communicative competence, while Krashen argues that the extraction of meaning from second language messages (second language acquisition in his terminology) is the primary process in the development of a second language.¹¹ Anxiety contributes to an affective filter, according to Krashen, which makes the individual unreceptive to language input; thus, the learner fails to "take in" the available target language messages and language acquisition does not progress.¹² The anxious student is also inhibited when attempting to utilize any second language fluency he or she has managed to acquire. The resulting poor test performance and inability to perform in class can contribute to a teacher's inaccurate assessment that the student lacks either some necessary aptitude for learning a language or sufficient motivation to do the necessary work for a good performance.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY: CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS

Because foreign language anxiety concerns performance evaluation within an academic and social context, it is useful to draw parallels between it and three related performance anxieties: 1) communication apprehension; 2) test anxiety; and 3) fear of negative evaluation. Due to its emphasis on interpersonal interactions, the construct of communication apprehension is quite relevant to the conceptualization of foreign language anxiety.¹³ Communication apprehension is a type of shyness characterized by fear of or anxiety about communicating with people. Difficulty in speaking in dyads or groups (oral communication anxiety) or in public ("stage fright"), or in listening to or learning a spoken message (receiver anxiety) are all manifestations of communication apprehension. Communication apprehension or some similar reaction obviously plays a large role in foreign language anxiety. People who typically have trouble speaking in groups are likely to experience even greater difficulty speaking in a foreign language class where they have little control of the communicative situation and their performance is constantly monitored. Moreover, in addition to all the usual concerns about oral communication, the foreign language class requires the student to communicate via a medium in which only limited facility is possessed. The special communication apprehension permeating foreign language learning derives from the personal knowledge that one will almost certainly have difficulty understanding others and making oneself understood. Possibly because of this knowledge, many otherwise talkative people are silent in a foreign language class. And yet, the converse also seems to be true. Ordinarily self-conscious and inhibited speakers may find that communicating in a foreign language makes them feel as if someone else is speaking and they therefore feel less anxious.¹⁴ This phenomenon may be similar to stutterers who are sometimes able to enunciate normally when singing or acting.

Since performance evaluation is an ongoing feature of most foreign language classes, test-anxiety is also relevant to a discussion of foreign language anxiety. Test-anxiety refers to a type of performance anxiety stemming from a fear of failure.¹⁵ Test-anxious students often put unrealistic demands on themselves and feel that

anything less than a perfect test performance is a failure. Students who are test-anxious in foreign language class probably experience considerable difficulty since tests and quizzes are frequent and even the brightest and most prepared students often make errors. Oral tests have the potential of provoking both test- and oral communication anxiety simultaneously in susceptible students.

Fear of negative evaluation, defined as "apprehension about others' evaluations, avoidance of evaluative situations, and the expectation that others would evaluate oneself negatively," is a third anxiety related to foreign language learning.¹⁶ Although similar to test anxiety, fear of negative evaluation is broader in scope because it is not limited to test-taking situations; rather, it may occur in any social, evaluative situation such as interviewing for a job or speaking in foreign language class. Unique among academic subject matters, foreign languages require continual evaluation by the only fluent speaker in the class, the teacher. Students may also be acutely sensitive to the evaluations—real or imagined—of their peers.

Although communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation provide useful conceptual building blocks for a description of foreign language anxiety, we propose that foreign language anxiety is not simply the combination of these fears transferred to foreign language learning. Rather, we conceive foreign language anxiety 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.

Adults typically perceive themselves as reasonably intelligent, socially-adept individuals, sensitive to different socio-cultural mores. These assumptions are rarely challenged when communicating in a native language as it is usually not difficult to understand others or to make oneself understood. However, the situation when learning a foreign language stands in marked contrast. Because individual communication attempts will be evaluated according to uncertain or even unknown linguistic and socio-cultural standards, second language communication entails risk taking and is necessarily problematic. Because complex and non-spontaneous mental operations are required in order to communicate at all, any performance

in the L2 is likely to challenge an individual's self-concept as a competent communicator and lead to reticence, self-consciousness, fear, or even panic.

Authentic communication also becomes problematic in the second language because of the immature command of the second language relative to the first. Thus, adult language learners' self-perceptions of genuineness in presenting themselves to others may be threatened by the limited range of meaning and affect that can be deliberately communicated. In sum, the language learner's self-esteem is vulnerable to the awareness that the range of communicative choices and authenticity is restricted. The importance of the disparity between the "true" self as known to the language learner and the more limited self as can be presented at any given moment in the foreign language would seem to distinguish foreign language anxiety from other academic anxieties such as those associated with mathematics or science. Probably no other field of study implicates self-concept and self-expression to the degree that language study does.

IDENTIFYING FOREIGN LANGUAGE ANXIETY

Since anxiety can have profound effects on many aspects of foreign language learning, it is important to be able to identify those students who are particularly anxious in foreign language class. During the summer of 1983, students in beginning language classes at the University of Texas were invited to participate in a "Support Group for Foreign Language Learning." Of the 225 students informed of the support groups, seventy-eight, over one-third, were concerned enough about their foreign language class to indicate that they would like to join such a group. Due to time and space limitations, participation had to be limited to two groups of fifteen students each. Group meetings consisted of student discussion of concerns and difficulties in language learning, didactic presentations on effective language learning strategies, and anxiety management exercises. The difficulties these students related were compelling. They spoke of "freezing" in class, standing outside the door trying to summon up enough courage to enter, and going blank prior to tests. They also reported many of the psychophysiological symptoms commonly associated

with anxiety (tenseness, trembling, perspiring, palpitations, and sleep disturbances).

The experiences related in the support groups contributed to the development of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS).¹⁷ The scale has demonstrated internal reliability, achieving an alpha coefficient of .93 with all items producing significant corrected item-total scale correlations. Test-retest reliability over eight weeks yielded an $r = .83$ ($p < .001$). A construct validation study is currently underway to establish foreign language anxiety as a phenomenon related to but distinguishable from other specific anxieties.¹⁸

Pilot testing with the FLCAS affords an opportunity to examine the scope and severity of foreign language anxiety. To date, the results demonstrate that students with debilitating anxiety in the foreign language classroom setting can be identified and that they share a number of characteristics in common. The responses of seventy-five university students (thirty-nine males and thirty-six females ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-seven) from four intact introductory Spanish classes are reported here. The FLCAS was administered to the students during their scheduled language class the third week of the semester.

The items presented are reflective of communication apprehension, test-anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation in the foreign language classroom. Responses to all FLCAS items are reported in Table I. All percentages refer to the number of students who agreed or strongly agreed (or disagreed and strongly disagreed) with statements indicative of foreign language anxiety. (Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.)

Students who test high on anxiety report that they are afraid to speak in the foreign language. They endorse FLCAS items indicative of speech anxiety such as "I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation in language class" (49%); "I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my language class" (33%); "I feel very self-conscious about speaking the foreign language in front of other students" (28%). They also reject statements like "I feel confident when I speak in foreign language class" (47%). Anxious students feel a deep self-consciousness when asked to risk revealing themselves by speaking the foreign language in the presence of other people.

TABLE I
FLCAS Items with Percentages of Students Selecting Each Alternative

	SA*	A	N	D	SD
1. I never feel quite sure of myself when I am speaking in my foreign language class.	11**	51	17	20	1
2. I <i>don't</i> worry about making mistakes in language class.	11	23	1	53	12
3. I tremble when I know that I'm going to be called on in language class.	5	16	31	29	19
4. It frightens me when I don't understand what the teacher is saying in the foreign language.	8	27	29	20	16
5. It wouldn't bother me at all to take more foreign language classes.	15	47	12	16	11
6. During language class, I find myself thinking about things that have nothing to do with the course.	7	19	31	32	12
7. I keep thinking that the other students are better at languages than I am.	13	25	20	28	13
8. I am usually at ease during tests in my language class.	5	35	19	20	21
9. I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation in language class.	12	37	19	28	4
10. I worry about the consequences of failing my foreign language class.	25	17	12	29	16
11. I don't understand why some people get so upset over foreign language classes.	5	17	36	37	4
12. In language class, I can get so nervous I forget things I know.	9	48	11	25	7
13. It embarrasses me to volunteer answers in my language class.	0	9	19	57	15
14. I would <i>not</i> be nervous speaking the foreign language with native speakers.	5	12	17	51	15
15. I get upset when I don't understand what the teacher is correcting.	1	31	28	37	3
16. Even if I am well prepared for language class, I feel anxious about it.	5	37	17	24	16
17. I often feel like not going to my language class.	19	28	19	23	12
18. I feel confident when I speak in foreign language class.	1	28	24	43	4
19. I am afraid that my language teacher is ready to correct every mistake I make.	0	15	31	40	15
20. I can feel my heart pounding when I'm going to be called on in language class.	5	27	19	37	12

TABLE I (continued)

SA*	A	N	D	SD	
21. The more I study for a language test, the more confused I get.	4	12	8	48	28
22. I <i>don't</i> feel pressure to prepare very well for language class.	3	12	19	44	23
23. I always feel that the other students speak the foreign language better than I do.	12	19	25	31	13
24. I feel very self-conscious about speaking the foreign language in front of other students.	3	25	19	47	7
25. Language class moves so quickly I worry about getting left behind.	16	43	11	28	3
26. I feel more tense and nervous in my language class than in my other classes.	13	25	19	31	12
27. I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my language class.	5	28	28	31	8
28. When I'm on my way to language class, I feel very sure and relaxed.	5	27	40	24	4
29. I get nervous when I don't understand every word the language teacher says.	3	24	24	43	7
30. I feel overwhelmed by the number of rules you have to learn to speak a foreign language.	9	25	32	32	1
31. I am afraid that the other students will laugh at me when I speak the foreign language.	3	7	20	53	17
32. I would probably feel comfortable around native speakers of the foreign language.	5	23	20	41	11
33. I get nervous when the language teacher asks questions which I haven't prepared in advance.	5	44	17	31	3

*SA = strongly agree; A = agree; N = neither agree nor disagree; D = disagree; SD = strongly disagree.

**Data in this table are rounded to the nearest whole number. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

The fact that anxious students fear they will not understand *all* language input is also consistent with communication apprehension. Students endorse statements like "it frightens me when I don't understand what the teacher is saying in the foreign language" (35%); "I get nervous when I don't understand every word the language teacher says" (27%). They believe that in order to have any chance of com-

prehending the target language message they must understand every word that is spoken.

Anxious students also fear being less competent than other students or being negatively evaluated by them. They report: "I keep thinking that other students are better at languages than I am" (38%); "I always feel that the other students speak the foreign language better than I do" (31%); "language class moves so quickly, I worry about getting left behind" (59%); "it embarrasses me to volunteer answers in my language class" (9%); "I am afraid that the other students will laugh at me when I speak the foreign language" (10%). Thus, they may skip class, overstudy, or seek refuge in the last row in an effort to avoid the humiliation or embarrassment of being called on to speak.

Anxious students are afraid to make mistakes in the foreign language. They endorse the statement "I am afraid that my language teacher is ready to correct every mistake I make" (15%), while disagreeing with "I *don't* worry about making mistakes in language class" (65%). These students seem to feel constantly tested and to perceive every correction as a failure.

Student responses to two FLCAS items—"I feel overwhelmed by the number of rules you have to learn to speak a foreign language" (34%) and "I feel more tense and nervous in my language class than in my other classes" (38%)—lend further support to the view that foreign language anxiety is a distinct set of beliefs, perceptions, and feelings in response to foreign language learning in the classroom and not merely a composite of other anxieties. The latter item was found to be the single best discriminator of anxiety on the FLCAS as measured by its correlation with the total score. These results suggest that anxious students feel uniquely unable to deal with the task of language learning.

Our findings suggest that significant foreign language anxiety is experienced by many students in response to at least some aspects of foreign language learning. A majority of the statements reflective of foreign language anxiety (nineteen of thirty-three items) were supported by a third or more of the students surveyed, and seven statements were supported by over half the students. Although at this point we can only speculate as to how many people experience severe reactions to foreign language learning, these results (considered in light of the

number of students who expressed a need for a student language-support group) imply that anxious students are common in foreign language classrooms (at least in beginning classes on the university level).

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

In general, educators have two options when dealing with anxious students: 1) they can help them learn to cope with the existing anxiety-provoking situation; or 2) they can make the learning context less stressful. But before either option is viable, the teacher must first acknowledge the existence of foreign language anxiety. Teachers probably have seen in their students many or all of the negative effects of anxiety discussed in this article, extremely anxious students are highly motivated to avoid engaging in the classroom activities they fear most, they may appear simply unprepared or indifferent. Therefore, teachers should always consider the possibility that anxiety is responsible for the student behaviors discussed here before attributing poor student performance solely to lack of ability, inadequate background, or poor motivation. Specific techniques which teachers may use to allay students' anxiety include relaxation exercises, advice on effective language learning strategies, behavioral contracting, and journal keeping.¹⁹ But language teachers have neither sufficient time nor adequate expertise to deal with severe anxiety reactions. Such students, when identified, should probably be referred for specialized help to outside counselors or learning specialists.²⁰ Therapists employing behavior modification techniques, such as systematic desensitization, have successfully treated a variety of specific anxieties related to learning, and these techniques should prove equally useful in the case of foreign language anxiety.

Reducing stress by changing the context of foreign language learning is the more important and considerably more difficult task. As long as foreign language learning takes place in a formal school setting where evaluation is inextricably tied to performance, anxiety is likely to continue to flourish. Teachers might create student support systems and closely monitor the classroom climate to identify specific sources of student anxiety. As students appear to be acutely sensitive to target language corrections, the selection of error correction

techniques should be based on instructional philosophy and on reducing defensive reactions in students. The impact of these (or any) corrective practices on foreign language anxiety and ultimate foreign language achievement must, of course, be studied in the classroom. How much current teaching practices contribute to foreign language anxiety and how much is due to the intrinsic nature of language learning are important issues to be addressed before firm conclusions regarding optimal interventions can be reached.

CONCLUSIONS

Scholars are only beginning to understand the role of anxiety in foreign language learning; we do not yet know how pervasive foreign language anxiety is nor do we comprehend its precise repercussions in the classroom. We do know that individual reactions can vary widely. Some students may experience an anxious reaction of such intensity that they postpone required foreign language courses until the last possible moment or change their major to avoid foreign language study. Students who experience moderate anxiety may simply procrastinate in doing homework, avoid speaking in class, or crouch in the last row. Other students seldom, if ever, experience anxiety or tension in a foreign language class.

The effects of anxiety can extend beyond the classroom. Just as math anxiety serves as a critical job filter, channeling some women and some members of other minority groups away from high-paying, high-demand math and engineering careers, foreign language anxiety, too, may play a role in students' selections of courses, majors, and ultimately, careers.²¹ Foreign language anxiety may also be a factor in student objections to foreign language requirements.

In recent years there have been signs of a revival of interest in foreign language study both as an applied skill in conjunction with business study, for example, and for its intrinsic humanistic value as an essential part of a traditional liberal education. With an increasing number of schools establishing or re-establishing foreign language requirements, teachers will likely encounter an even greater percentage of students vulnerable to foreign language anxiety. The rise of foreign language requirements is occurring in conjunction with an in-

creased emphasis on spontaneous speaking in the foreign language class. Since speaking in the target language seems to be the most threatening aspect of foreign language learning, the current emphasis on the development of communicative competence poses particularly great difficulties for the anxious student.

Foreign language anxiety can probably be alleviated, at least to an extent, by a suppor-

tive teacher who will acknowledge students' feelings of isolation and helplessness and offer concrete suggestions for attaining foreign language confidence. But if we are to improve foreign language teaching at all levels of education, we must recognize, cope with, and eventually overcome, debilitating foreign language anxiety as a factor shaping students' experiences in foreign language learning.

NOTES

¹These quotations have been collected by counselors at the Learning Skills Center at the University of Texas, Austin.

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¹⁰E. K. Horwitz, "What ESL Students Believe About Language Learning," unpubl. paper presented at the TESOL Annual Meeting, Houston, March 1984.

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¹³J. C. McCroskey, "Oral Communication Apprehension: A Summary of Recent Theory and Research," *Human Communication Research*, 4 (1977), pp. 78-96.

¹⁴The practice in suggestopedia of providing students new target language identities may also capitalize on this phenomenon.

¹⁵E. M. Gordon & S. B. Sarason, "The Relationship Between 'Test Anxiety' and 'Other Anxieties,'" *Journal of Personality*, 23 (1955), pp. 317-23; *Test Anxiety: Theory, Research and Application*, ed. I. G. Sarason (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1980).

¹⁶D. Watson & R. Friend, "Measurement of Social-Evaluative Anxiety," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 33 (1969), pp. 448-51.

¹⁷E. K. Horwitz, "Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale," unpubl. manuscript, Univ. of Texas, Austin, 1983.

¹⁸See E. K. Horwitz, "Preliminary Evidence of the Reliability and Validity of a Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale" (forthcoming), for correlations between the FLCAS and other specific anxieties and details on the construct validation process.

¹⁹See I. R. McCoy, "Means to Overcome the Anxieties of Second Language Learners," *Foreign Language Annals*, 12 (1979), pp. 185-89, for a discussion of dealing with student anxieties in the foreign language classroom. Techniques for teaching relaxation are included in Benson's *The Relaxation Response* (New York: Morrow, 1973) and E. Jacobson, *Progressive Relaxation* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938). Behavioral contracting is an anxiety reduction method for students having difficulty attending to the learning task. The student agrees to spend a specific amount of time on a task, such as going to the language lab, and then reports back to the teacher on her or his success.

²⁰When an anxiety reaction is both specific and severe, psychologists typically use the term "phobia."

²¹F. C. Richardson & R. L. Woolfolk (note 3 above).