The impact of language socialization in the context of family, education, and sojourn on emotional, psychological, and identity responses to language learning

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Abstract

The paper examines the impact of language socialization in the context of family, education, and sojourn on multilingual learners' emotional, psychological, and identity responses to language learning and use. Since language and culture are interwoven in second language acquisition (SLA) (Kramsch, 1998), learners respond to language learning and use on the levels of language and culture, shaping learners' linguistic, cultural, and social identities on the individual and on the collective levels alike. This classroom research is a qualitative case study involving four cohorts of learners in a multicultural classroom: 1) students having learned English only in the formal context of education, 2) learners having grown up in a multicultural and multilingual environment speaking several languages including English, 3) a learner raised bilingually by a non-native second language (L2)-speaking parent, and 4) a multilingual learner learning languages in formal contexts but also experiencing sojourn. Data were collected via a linguistic autobiography (an unstructured essay) written by the fourteen participants. The findings point out that negative experiences associated with unfavorable teaching methods, discriminative educational practices, or bullying lead to negative emotional, psychological, and identity responses to learning. Learners experience 'language socialization shock' when a sudden change occurs in their language socialization processes – irrespective of whether the change is positive or negative. In an effort to attain positive experiences and self-fulfillment via language learning and use, learners rid themselves of the old socialization context haunted by negative experiences by moving on to a new socialization context or by learning a different foreign language through which they can 'start over'. The findings also point out some of the long-term psychological and social effects of raising bilingual children by non-native L2-speaking parents and the impact of multilingual and multicultural socialization contexts on learners' linguistic and life choices that transform their lives.

Keywords: language ecology, language socialization, identity, emotions, bilingualism, multilingualism, multicultural classrooms, psychological well-being, language learning, sojourn, classroom research

Introduction

The impact of socialization plays a vital role in learners' and teachers' emotional and identity responses to language learning. Being exposed to a new language (L2) and a new culture (C2) (embedded in the L2), learners develop new linguistic and cultural identities. Moreover, through interactions with peers, teachers, and the broader community of L2 speakers, learners develop a sense of (not) belonging to a novel community, which shapes their social identities as well. These interactions provide learners with opportunities to negotiate their various identities and navigate the subtleties of social dynamics. Identity, therefore, is constructed and co-constructed in social interactions with others (De Fina and

Georgakopoulou 2012), making identity construction a subjectivity in-process (Kramsch 2009) and a process never completed (Hall 1996). Identity construction in the process of second language acquisition (SLA) is accompanied by various emotional responses, pointing out the embodied nature of SLA (Damasio 1994, Fekete 2020a). Positive linguistic, cultural, and social experiences associated with SLA can enhance learners' motivation and thus facilitate their participation in learning and their investment in their identities, possibly leading to higher attainment (Dewaele 2013, Norton 2001). By contrast, negative experiences related to language learning are likely to generate negative emotional responses to L2 learning.

However, life is more complex than that. In the 21st century, English speakers are using English as lingua franca (ELF) and as an intercultural language (Fekete 2022) to communicate, share information, release feelings, and negotiate identities. The present research was conducted in a multilingual and multicultural classroom where the students came from five different countries and from diverse academic backgrounds, spoke different languages, and belonged to multiple cultures and communities. The only thing they had in common was their English knowledge enabling them to participate in an English instruction university program in a non-English speaking country. Therefore, intercultural communication was a key feature of the classroom discourse. As the teacher of the course, I expected different responses to classroom inputs and stimuli due to the diverse backgrounds of the learners. To make learning more meaningful, engaging, and effective, I decided to map students' past language socialization experiences that may be responsible for their diverse responses and behaviors in the classroom; therefore, it was beyond my research goal to conduct an ethnographic study scrutinizing classroom interactions and social relations.

Most studies on language socialization examine socialization processes in immigrant settings (see for example, Cho 2016, Lynch 2023, von Essen 2023), in study-abroad contexts (see for example, Isabelli-García 2017, Isabelli-García et al. 2018, Jackson, Sin Yu, Sun 2019, Szentpáli Ujlaki 2008) and only a few examine classrooms as a site for second language (L2) socialization (see for example, Dragoescu Urlica 2019, Dumalo 2020, Nagao 2014, Ortaçtepe 2015). However, these studies do not focus on how past (formal and informal) learning experiences can shape learners' present responses to language learning and use. For this reason, the study's ecological perspective fills this research gap by pointing out connections and cause-and-effect relationships between past, present, and possible future processes. More specifically, the paper reveals how the research participants' different L1 and L2 socialization as well as changes in their micro-and macro-environment led to different emotional and identity responses to the various languages they speak and to the various cultures they belong to, justifying the applicability of the language ecological perspective in the study.

Literature review
Socialization and enculturation

Socialization is a process through which young individuals and novices become accepted members of a community as they learn the rules of accepted (and expected) social behavior and cultural practices. In the process of socialization new members of a given community are expected to learn and follow "appropriate forms of sociality and competence" as well as "familiar and novel ways of thinking, feeling and acting with others across the life span" (Ochs and Schieffelin 2017, 1). Language socialization is crucial in the socialization process of novices in which "routine indexical associations between verbal forms and socio-cultural practices, relationships, institutions, emotions, and thought-worlds" are deduced (p. 1). Language socialization, therefore, takes place in homes, schools, workplaces, religious institutions, sports, media use, as well as in cultural, artistic, medical, legal, political, and professional practices (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012, 2). In the same vein, language learning constructs and shapes the individual's personal and collective identity stemming from versatile socialization processes (Ochs and Schieffelin 2017, 6).

Similarly, individuals become cultural beings in the process of enculturation, which shapes how people think and act similarly in each culture (Sussman 2002). The micro- and the macro-environment of the individual including, for instance, family, friends, education, the workplace, media, and spare time engagements, teach individuals to follow the ways of behavior, thinking, and speaking that other people in each community and in each country follow. These learned perspectives settle on people like invisible glasses, acting upon how they perceive and make sense of the natural and human phenomena surrounding them. Enculturation becomes complete before one comes of age. The cultural perspectives learned in the process construct and shape the person's identity. These cultural processes along with the emotional and identity responses associated with them remain invisible to the individual unless they encounter a new culture or a new language in which new cultural perspectives are inherently embedded. By consciously or unconsciously comparing the two cultures in the process of foreign language (FL) learning, individuals become aware of their L1 culture and identity. Since language is a fundamental medium of socialization and enculturation, language and culture are intertwined in language learning (Kramsch 1998), including the L1 and any other additional languages. Therefore, learning an L2 shapes and constructs learners' linguistic, cultural, and social identities, since with the new language comes a new consciousness as well (Lacan 1977). In the paper, I use the terms socialization and enculturation interchangeably, as they refer to the processes and experiences encountered by novices in a new real or imagined community.

Language ecology

More recently, the ecological perspective has gained momentum in various academic fields including psychology, anthropology, and L1 socialization. Consequently, SLA has also been linked to and studied from the perspective of language socialization, linguistic anthropology, and then language ecology (Ochs and Schieffelin 2017, 2-9). The ecological perspective; therefore, has become a bridge to link SLA to language socialization (Kramsch 2002, Kramsch and Steffensen 2017, 3). The major tenets of language ecology provide a holistic look at learners and their learning environments proposing that the language, the learner/speaker of the language, and the environment cannot be separated from one another, nor can they be examined in isolation. Instead, they should be scrutinized as a dynamic and interacting relationship (Kramsch 2002, Kramsch and Steffensen 2017). Language and language use, therefore, are perceived as naturally emerging from interactions between individuals and the individual and their environments. Thus, language learning has a mediating function in education and in society between different cultures (Kramsch and Steffensen 2017, 1).

Ecological linguists seek to learn about how natural and social processes act upon linguistic patterns and how these patterns, in turn, affect natural and social phenomena. Educators and linguists taking on an ecological stance take a keen interest in how adolescent and adult L2 learners socialized in their L1 culture perceive second language socialization (SLS). The ecological view of SLA is dynamic, temporal, and is characterized by changes. It is also a multiscalar approach considering not only the individuals learning/speaking the language but also the educational, social, and historical context in which they learn and utilize their languages. Regarding the learner's biographical timescale, the learner being taught the L2 is also the former child having been socialized in the L1 and the future adult wishing to use his/her languages in multiple ways (Steffensen and Kramsch 2017, 5-6). The study draws on the language ecological perspective, as it examines language learners and their language learning experiences in their complexity and entirety, shedding light on their linguistic, cultural, and emotional responses to languages over time and in response to environmental stimuli.

Identity and emotions in SLA

Identity construction is crucial for the individual in perceiving themselves as unique and distinct from other individuals as well as in recognizing similarities between themselves and others (Rummens 2003).

Language plays a key role in the individual's social, cultural, and linguistic identity construction. Therefore, learning an L2 shapes the individual's cultural, social, professional, and linguistic identity construction in versatile ways. Consequently, identity is constructed and reconstructed in interactions, and in the practical and material processes of identification (Jenkins 2008, 201). Identity is inherently linked to both the micro- and the macro-context of the individual; thus, it emerges and is produced and shaped in and via social interactions; therefore, identity is understood as social behavior characteristic of an individual or a group (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012, 156-159). Finally, identity now is perceived as a perpetually changing, diverse, heterogeneous, and often fragmented, incomplete, or contradictory entity (Hall 1996, Kramsch 2009, Norton 2013).

The post-structuralist view of L2 learning perceives successful learning as a transformative and highly emotional experience (Fekete 2020b, Kramsch 2009). Success in SLA is, thus, understood as how meaningfully language learning is lived by learners and how it shapes and transforms their lives. This points out the embodied nature of language learning involving learners' brain, mind, and body (Damasio 1994, Fekete 2020b, Kramsch 2009).

Language learners invest in their identities by learning and using a new language, which points out their desire for self-fulfillment via languages (Kramsch 2009). Some learners cherish the linguistic, emotional, and psychological transformation offered by the new language and the social/cultural perspectives embedded in it. Learners desiring to fulfill themselves via language seize the transformative potential of the new language to become a 'different' person in the L2 and consequently dispose of the linguistic and cultural constraints implanted in their L1 and L1 culture. Fekete (2020b) coined the term the *language learner's imagined L2 habitus* to point out how some learners speak, think, and act differently in the L2 compared to how they would do so in their L1. However, other learners may reject the transformative potential of the L2 and choose to draw on the familiar meaning-making processes of their native language and culture. These learners find that their linguistic, social, or cultural identities are endangered by the transformative potential of the new language and the social and cultural perspectives that come with it. This only pinpoints the magnitude of the threat imposed by the transformative potential of SLA on the integrity of the learner's identity (Kramsch, 2009).

Fekete (2018) has pointed out that more meaningful and transformative experiences associated with SLA are linked to intrinsic and integrative motivation, pointing out a connection between motivation and emotions. She (2020b) has also found that learners' powerful emotions include desire, freedom, and pain experienced in the process of English language learning and socialization. These emotional responses are in line with the findings of other studies (Kramsch 2019, Ótott 2022) confirming the recurring nature of these emotions.

Language socialization and language learning/teaching

Language socialization is an integral part of socialization. In SLA, the L2 socialization of one language learner differs from that of other learners or native speakers. Hence, L2 learners' identity construction drawing on L1 linguistic, emotional/psychological, social, and cultural experiences is not a clean slate; thus, their past experiences as former children acting upon their social, cultural, and linguistic identity are to be borne in mind when teaching them the new language which is intertwined with L2 cultural, social, historical, and ideological dimensions.

In the past, the examination of how English speakers with different linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds who have been exposed to diverse (language) socialization and enculturation processes make meaning in English language exchanges was an under-researched field in English applied linguistics. In this globalized world, English language interactions occurring between native English speakers and non-native English speakers or between non-native English speakers shed light on the versatile backgrounds of English speakers. Moreover, the interlocutors' past experiences, future goals, desires, dreams, and anxieties also affect these interactions and consequently act upon their moment-by-

moment identity construction. This impacts their language learning processes and, oftentimes, their decisions shaping their present and future lives via language. Therefore, it is not surprising that research exploring language learners' emotional and identity responses to SLA has gained momentum in the past twenty years (Fekete 2016, 2020a, 2020b, 2022, Kramsch 2009, Norton 2013, Pavlenko 2003, Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004).

More recently, Horváthová (2022) explored young learners' cognitive, emotional, and social responses to learning English via picture books. Chaparro (2020) looked at the interactional dynamics of a multilingual and multicultural kindergarten classroom with learners of versatile backgrounds using ethnographic discourse analysis. Regarding university students, Dumlao (2020) explored how English teacher trainees at a Thai university negotiated competence and identity in oral academic activities with many students developing identities characterized by struggle, resistance, and inactivity. Nagao (2014) pointed out the paramount role that active participation plays in the socialization of a Japanese student at an Australian university. Fekete (2020b) examined Hungarian English majors' linguistic and cultural identity responses to language learning from a language ecological perspective. This approach pointed out how learners' various past L1 and L2 socialization processes led to very different identity responses pointing out some special cases. These differences could only be explained by the holistic look afforded by the ecological perspective that takes into consideration learner's various timescales including their past experiences shaping their present and future identities, emotions, goals, and aspirations. In the field of teaching English for specific purposes (ESP), Dragoescu Urlica (2019) proposed an eco-linguistic approach to communication in natural/health sciences. Later, the author and her colleagues proposed an eco-holistic perspective for developing English learners' communicative competence in the field of life/natural sciences (Dragoescu Urlica et al. 2022b) as well as an ecosemiotic perspective in communicative language teaching and learning (Dragoescu Urlica et al. 2022a).

Regarding teachers' identities shaped by different socialization contexts, Uştuk (2021) examined how teachers socialized in conflicting educational cultures experienced and handled identity conflicts. Similarly, Ortaçtepe (2015) explored how two Turkish teachers reconstructed their linguacultural identities after moving to the U.S.A. Fekete (2021) pinpointed how a drastic change in the educational context due to the COVID-19 pandemic affected teachers' identities. Despite the fact that the participating teachers came from various countries, the sudden shift from (traditional) offline education to online education fundamentally changed teachers' self-perception and thus their identity construction that was characterized by success and self-fulfillment in offline education and by struggle, anxiety, and a sense of loss in online education. In the same vein, the online environment impacted learners' psychological and identity responses negatively resulting in a general tendency characterized by enhanced anxiety and decreased intrinsic motivation and willingness to communicate levels (Fekete, in press). These recently published papers indicate the growing academic interest in the various applications of the ecological perspective in the broader field of education.

Raising bilingual children by non-native L2-speaking parents

This section is a good example of how emerging themes inform the literature review in qualitative case study research. I have sometimes heard anecdotes from friends and colleagues about children raised bilingual by non-native English and German-speaking parents in Hungary. English and German have been the most important foreign languages since the 1990s; therefore, it is not surprising that highly proficient, non-native English and German-speaking parents toy with the idea of raising bilingual children in a monolingual environment by either or both of them speaking to the children in the L2 in an effort to facilitate their children's L2 acquisition in a way that an L1 is acquired and thus preventing critical period hypothesis to kick in in L2 learning. This raises not only linguistic issues such as perpetuating non-native pronunciation and fossilized mistakes (Lozano-Martínez 2019) but also psychological matters between parents and children that can have a long-term effect on the children's

language learning trajectory and on the parent-child relationship. Upon hearing these stories, I was always intrigued by how such linguistic decisions become family matters shaping social relations within the family. In one anecdotal case, which was supposed to be the basis of a Ph.D. dissertation but was never completed and submitted, the data collected pointed out how the child was manipulating the Hungarian mother, who was only speaking to the child in English, to get what she wanted when showing willingness to speak in English with her. Therefore, English use by the child became an effective tool to manipulate the mother who as an insider did not detect the problem. The mother-researcher was only pointed out this issue by another researcher (an outsider), as her insider (and emotional/intimate) perspectives as a mother hampered her objective judgment as a researcher. Thus, when this topic was raised by Tamara in her linguistic autobiography, I decided to learn more about what empirical research findings say about raising bilingual children by non-native L2-speaking parents.

Bowlby (1985) (cited in Lozano-Martínez 2019) proposed that the kind of attachment that is established between the primary caregiver (e.g., parent) and the child may determine the psychological and mental health of the child and the caregiver pointing out the long-term implications of family dynamics. In a fully quantitative study conducted by Lozano-Martínez (2019) with 735 Spanish families out of whom 45.7% used at the time of the research or had at some point used English in the family for some time, the statistical analyses indicated that such mental health concerns were not perceived as a problem by over half of them. The challenges, however, addressed in the research included expressing emotions in English, insufficient vocabulary, sounding non-native-like (i.e., not sounding natural when using English), fluency issues, social isolation in the L1 speaking environment, and sustaining the use of English consistently over the years. The results indicated that these challenges were more saliently raised by families of lower English proficiency levels. Therefore, the higher English proficiency levels the parents reported, the less they worried about such linguistic and social issues. However, the study being quantitative did not explicate why and how parents and children were or were not concerned about mental health or linguistic issues. Also, the results of the study should be interpreted with caution, as no information was provided on participant selection criteria, and it was not explained what parents meant by using or having used English (and for how long) in the family. Although the discussion of the results is often lacking in the study, it does point out important aspects to consider in this research area and the results can be construed as a tentative starting point to compare findings with.

A thesis written by an Italian university student (di Laurea 2015) pointed out that only 15% of the children involved in a questionnaire study examining raising bilingual children by non-native L2-speaking parents preferred speaking in the L2 while 85% favored using the mother tongue, Italian. This finding is in line with the above anecdote I heard as well as with Tamara's case in the research, pointing out 1) children's unwillingness to speak the L2 with their non-native L2-speaking parent in a monolingual environment and possibly their feeling of social exclusion/alienation in the L1-speaking, monolingual environment.

Most studies that I found on the topic addressed bilingualism by parents speaking two different native tongues and there is very little empirical research on raising bilingual children by non-native L2-speaking parents. The one by Lozano-Martínez (2019) outlines some insights but fails to provide the details of family dynamics, attitudes, and emotions. Therefore, the present study sheds light on some important aspects of raising children by non-native L2-speaking speaker parents. However, general conclusions cannot be drawn from a single case; rather, it stresses the L2 gains and benefits experienced by the child but it also stands as a cautionary tale about the potential psychological and educational drawbacks such a decision may entail and its possible consequences for the future.

Background to research
Research context

The research was carried out at a Hungarian university, offering two different programs to English majors: a five-year MA program in English teacher education and a BA + MA program in English Studies (3+2 years) in compliance with the Bologna education system. In the English teacher education program, the language of instruction is English, but all participants are Hungarian because the program is only recognized within Hungary. The students have a high proficiency level in English but do not have the opportunity in the classroom to interact with international students using English as a lingua franca. Such communication for them is limited to their leisure activities. On the other hand, the BA and MA programs are available to both Hungarian and international students, allowing authentic ELF use in the classroom. International students can be full-time students living in Hungary or visiting students spending only one semester in Hungary on scholarship. The courses in the BA/MA programs for visiting students are elective, while they are mandatory for full-time students. The *Intercultural Communication* course taught by the author is compulsory for full-time BA students and elective for visiting students.

The two different educational systems contribute to different language socialization processes in the two cohorts at the university; moreover, students' diverse backgrounds also result in very different language socialization processes. In the past, I oftentimes observed that despite the linguacultural diversity of the students attending this BA course, Hungarian and international students tended to stick to their own cultural groups and did not seek out interactions with other students. Nevertheless, during the research period, this tendency gradually changed resulting in more and more intercultural communication between students of diverse linguacultural origins.

Research questions

The paper answers one complex research question:
How do the participants' past language socialization experiences shape their emotional, psychological, and identity responses to language learning and use?

Participants

The study involved fourteen students who attended the course called *Intercultural Communication*. The students came from various countries, including Hungary, Indonesia, Ukraine, Spain, and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Approximately half of the students were international (N6), while the other half were Hungarian students (N8). The cultural microcosm of the classroom included five different countries. The gender distribution in the class was balanced, with eight female and six male students. The age range of the participants was between 21 to 25. All Hungarian students and one international student were enrolled in the full-time BA program in English Studies, three international students were enrolled in the same program in their home country, and two international students majored in a different subject at their home university. Save one full-time student, all international students took the course as an elective.

Regarding languages, all participants had learned English in formal settings achieving a C1 proficiency level in the language by the time of the research. However, their language socialization showed great differences as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1. Languages learned by students

Languages learned by students	Number of students
English	14
German	7
Bahasa Indonesia, Korean	2
French, Russian, Swedish, Galician, Italian, Serbian, Polish, Latin, Sundanese, Karonese, Japanese	1

International students grew up in multicultural and multilingual environments, learning both the local/ethnic language and the country's official language. In contrast, Hungarian students grew up in monolingual Hungarian families, exposed only to the Hungarian language and culture. While international students formed an international community and communicated using ELF, Hungarian students mainly interacted with Hungarian speakers and used English as a foreign language (EFL). However, during the semester, both cohorts were encouraged to engage in intercultural communication with students from various linguacultural backgrounds using ELF.

In addition to the two distinct cohorts of Hungarian and international students with different language socialization processes, two special cases must be mentioned. Tamara was born into a Hungarian family, but her father, having lived in Germany and having attained a native-like proficiency in the language, decided to talk with Tamara and her younger brother in German while the children talked in Hungarian with the rest of the family and the outside world. This had a crucial impact on the psychology of the children and on their language socialization in the family and in the educational context as well. Sarah had learned English and German as an FL in a formal school context in Hungary, but unlike other Hungarian students, she experienced a sojourn while working as an au-pair in Sweden. The experience was transformative for her. She learned Swedish and had a Swedish boyfriend while staying in the host country, and upon returning to Hungary, she took up learning Russian and decided to complete a minor in Russian as part of her BA in English Studies Program.

Research instruments and procedures

The study does not follow the ethnographic tradition usually drawn on by research into (language) socialization, as it was a classroom research project aiming to learn more about students' past experiences and thus enabling the researcher-teacher to better tailor the course to their needs. To achieve this goal, students were invited to write their linguistic autography discussing their linguacultural journey in life and their emotional responses to learning and speaking all the languages they had ever learned including their mother tongue. In addition to collecting data for this research, the task facilitated the participants' introspection and self-understanding, which was a reported benefit of the task and a novel approach that the students had not encountered before (personal and email communication with students). The task was described to them in speaking in class and in writing using a Microsoft Teams group that could only be accessed by the students and the teacher. To facilitate their participation in the task, they were awarded course points for their work which was calculated in their final grade. They submitted their unstructured essay via email. Students' names were only used to administer course points. For research purposes, pseudonyms are used to protect their identities.

Research methods and data analysis

Although not embedded in ethnographic research, the present classroom research project follows the qualitative research tradition which aims to provide an in-depth understanding of phenomena by focusing on subjective meanings, subtle details, and individual differences (Dörnyei 2007, Griffee 2012). This classroom project is also action research where the teacher and researcher are the same person, and this type of research is conducted with the dual purpose of improving teaching practice and publishing the findings (Nunan and Bailey 2009). The research instrument used in the study collected textual data, which were then analyzed using qualitative content analysis. Data analysis following Saldana's coding manual (2013) was an iterative process that informed the literature review of the study, as the researcher could not predict prior to the research what topics students might address in their linguistic autobiographies. Data analysis started with reading the unstructured essays followed by highlighting relevant information that was coded as follows.

1. Facts about languages including languages learned (see Table 1), the onset of learning, proficiency level achieved, and language exams passed.
2. Facts about the context of learning and/or using languages such as in school, at home, or in a different country (e.g., during a holiday, sojourn, or study abroad).
3. Information about interlocutors, for instance, with whom these languages were used.
4. Important life events that impacted learners' life including language learning and use.
5. Emotional and psychological responses to the above facts and events such as happiness, frustration, anxiety, guilt, low or high self-confidence or motivation, and so on.
6. Identity responses to all the above topics, especially first- and second-type of desire, and language learning as a transformative and life-changing experience.

In the last coding cycle, the hierarchy of themes was established to answer the research question about the participants' emotional, psychological, and identity responses, which resulted in three main themes including struggle, pain, and desire associated with different languages in three socialization contexts: family, school, and sojourn. The sojourn experience of the international students was disregarded as the long-term, future impact of their sojourn in Hungary on students' life could not be examined at the time of the research (i.e., during the sojourn). The analysis pointed out (1) how similar emotional and identity responses were caused by very different socialization contexts and processes and (2) the long-term impact of past experiences with languages and interlocutors.

Due to the low number of students, generalizations could not be made, but two groups with distinctly different socialization processes were detected including Hungarian and international students. Although all students had learned English as a foreign language in formal contexts, the linguistic and motivational profiles of the students belonging to the two cohorts were entirely different. While Hungarian students only learned the required number of foreign languages in school contexts and were socialized in monolingual Hungarian-speaking families, international students were socialized in ethnically diverse, multilingual communities in which they became bilingual or multilingual in addition to learning foreign languages later in school. Furthermore, international students (and one Hungarian student, Sarah) were all exposed to the linguacultural stimuli of at least one sojourn. How the different socialization processes of these two cohorts acted upon students' linguistic (see Table 1) and motivational profiles are discussed in a different study (Fekete forthcoming). In the present paper, the socialization processes and contexts of two special cases along with two recurring patterns detected in the research are presented in an effort to (1) point out the paramount role that context plays in language learning and use and (2) reveal how past experiences can have a major impact on language learners' linguistic and life choices that transform their lives.

Discussion of results

The emerging themes in the datasets center around the participants' identity construction shedding light on their linguistic and cultural identities both on the individual and on the collective level. Themes that emerged in the linguistic autobiographies but were related to topics beyond the foci of this paper are not discussed herein. Students' various identities were characterized by three main themes including (1) failure, (2) struggle, and (3) success/self-fulfillment. German as a foreign language was unanimously associated with failure and struggle, while English was mostly linked to success and self-fulfillment – sometimes preceded by phases of struggle. Struggle was associated with limited proficiency levels and unfavorable teaching practices negatively affecting the psychology of the learners.

Struggle associated with learning English

But now here comes the not-so-fun part. In high school, I had to learn the fundamentals of grammar [of English]. I was pretty much stressed because the academy I went to for years didn't really stress much about grammar. (Sue from Indonesia)

I was tested whether I had memorized the vocabulary at home or not and received a bad grade if I took a grammatical mistake or misspelled a word. Language learning started to look like other classes I was generally tired of, such as Math, which made me dislike English. … [Later in high school] I can recall feeling incredibly anxious to make a grammatical mistake not only in front of the native speakers but the English teacher too. In that period of my language-learning journey, I started to connect the English language with the anxiety of performing well, of not making any grammatical errors. (Sarah from Hungary)

[The English teacher] never used indirect speech acts or applied principles of politeness in her sentences, she just gave commands and made us learn and translate seemingly useless texts at home. (Joe from Hungary)

The statements above pinpoint how L2 socialization based on unfavorable teaching practices in the context of formal education led to negative emotions, stress, low linguistic confidence, and negative attitudes towards (learning) English, ultimately causing once intrinsically motivated learners to shift towards extrinsic motivation in the process of SLA. Negative emotions in this instance are associated with learner-inappropriate teaching methods and techniques that also generate psychological conditions (e.g., anxiety, frustration, or low linguistic confidence and motivation) inconducive to successful learning. However, despite these initial hardships, these students did not give up learning English but continued their studies at university majoring in English Studies and finally became successful learners of the language.

Struggle linked to learning German

Although Tamara was a successful German learner, language learning was a major source of struggle for her. As a child, she did not enjoy having to speak in German with her father who had decided to raise his children only speaking in German to them while everyone else was speaking in Hungarian around her. Later in elementary school, being the best student in the German class made her a target of bullying. In the English class, she struggled for a while because of one teacher's unfavorable/ discriminative attitude towards her but enjoyed learning English outside school, and finally, she was placed in an advanced English group where she enjoyed learning again with a teacher she looked up to. Since her German learning was a family affair, her German use was always shaped by family dynamics and family events.

From the moment I was born my mom talked to me in Hungarian and my dad in German. I have to be honest, I did not always enjoy the situation. Though I never had any real problems with being bilingual, I did refuse to answer in German to my dad (most of the time) because I was naïve and stubborn as a child. It did not bother him that much, the point was that I was able to speak German whenever I felt like it and I understood everything I had to. … It was very difficult for me to enjoy German classes since I already knew everything… So, she [the teacher] gave us a simple task, which was to write a sentence in German, containing the vocabulary we were learning at the time. When everyone was ready, it was time to read out loud a couple of them and I was asked to read mine as well. I did, and after I finished, my teacher sighed. Then she proceeded to scold me in front of the whole group for "using a sentence structure we will be learning next year". I was really surprised and honestly, it made me feel guilty and bad. I am being one hundred percent honest when I say I did not want to brag or show off how good I am in German. … Most of the time I was teased for being "a nerd" when it comes to languages, so I would rather stay quiet unless I was asked. … I haven't spoken any German in years. I am kind of ashamed of this and haven't really talked about it to anyone, but my German got really rusty in the past three years. My dad passed away in 2019,

a couple of days after I phoned him to tell him I got into university. Ever since that I have been actually avoiding German and I sort of refuse to use it at all. … I hope to have children in the future, and I most definitely want them to be bilingual, just like me and my little brother. Unfortunately, I doubt I will be able to use German like my dad did, but I think English will work perfectly as well. (Tamara from Hungary)

Tamara's problems associated with SLA were not linguistic but rather linked to her German language socialization in the family and then in education. Therefore, environmental factors including family interactions and later classroom dynamics had a huge impact on Tamara's refusal to use German. Tamara's unwillingness to speak in German with her father resonates with the findings of di Laurea (2015); however, without a follow-up interview, the reasons for these children's and Tamara's reluctance to use the L2 remain unexplained. I think the issue of social isolation or alienation may be at play, as these children may perceive it as unnatural that their native L1-speaking parent refuses to speak in the L1 with them while showing a willingness to talk in the L1 with other people. This might make them feel special generating pride, or it might make them feel embarrassed, different, or alienated resulting in an unwillingness to speak in the L2. These linguistic and social dynamics within the family may impact the child's relationship with the other parent with whom the mother tongue may be freely used, possibly generating different bonding levels with the two parents. However, such ratiocination remains only hypothetical without empirical evidence.

The educational context in Hungary is often unprepared to receive students like Tamara who are much more proficient in the L2 than their peers – especially at lower levels such as in kindergarten and in elementary school. When these children are placed in the same language class as beginner L2 learners, formal education often becomes a source of demotivation for them. Also, being the best student may make the learner the teacher's pet, which, in turn, might make the student a target of bullying by peers. Sometimes "too smart" students, like Tamara was in that particular German class, may also be disliked by teachers. Such an awkward classroom atmosphere can make the learner demotivated and anxious, resulting in mentally giving up learning or participating in classes (Bailey, 1983) like Tamara did in language classes after a while. Therefore, parents should be made aware not only of the linguistic benefits of raising bilingual children but also of the potential challenges that the child may face in a regular school that cannot offer more advanced language classes to the child to maintain their L2 learning motivation and thus enhance their investment in learning, leading to higher attainment, positive emotional and identity responses, and ultimately a successful educational experience.

The negative emotional responses associated with German use in the family, especially after the father's passing, coupled with demotivating and stress-producing classroom dynamics in German classes drove Tamara away from German and motivated her to embrace English – a new language offering her a new identity not haunted by old, negative experiences. Tamara ended up majoring in English Studies and not using German at all either in her personal or in her academic/professional life. Instead, she embraced the transformative potential of learning English and the new identity the new language offered to her. She also chose a profession related to English by enrolling in a post-graduate Hungarian-English translation program as well as an MA program in English Studies at the same time at university. Therefore, the English language and the favorable emotional, psychological, and identity responses associated with it transformed her professional, personal, and social life and generated such favorable linguacultural, professional, and social identities in her that the German language could never have done. Despite the psychological and social hardships that she encountered, Tamara viewed her bilingual upbringing as a model to follow as a future parent raising bilingual, English and Hungarian-speaking, children. The findings pinpoint that past experiences associated with language socialization in the family and in education have long-term consequences for the individual, shaping their present life choices and future goals and thus transforming their lives.

Struggle and desire associated with English

In addition to being a source of struggle, SLA was also a source of success and self-fulfillment for the participants. Since language and culture are interwoven in SLA (Kramsch 1998), students can experience both linguistic and cultural self-fulfillment in and via a new language. Speaking ELF and becoming multicultural via English was a transformative experience for Sarah.

> I was tested whether I had memorized the vocabulary at home or not and received a bad grade if I took a grammatical mistake or misspelled a word. Language learning started to look like other classes I was generally tired of, such as Math, which made me dislike English. … [Later in high school] I can recall feeling incredibly anxious to make a grammatical mistake not only in front of the native speakers but the English teacher too. In that period of my language-learning journey, I started to connect the English language with the anxiety of performing well, of not making any grammatical errors. … I moved to Sweden to become an au pair. … not only the level of my English proficiency started to enhance significantly, as I could only use English to express myself, but I also started to 'think in English'. … Influenced by the culture and the people I had spent time with, this other self was imbued with ideas of feminism, the importance of community, and positivity. What is more, while in Hungary I used to remain in my comfort zone by preferring to communicate with the circle of my friends and family, in the foreign environment by encountering people from various ethnicities and countries with diverse ideas and beliefs, I noticed that I was acting like an extrovert when I used English. (Sarah from Hungary)

Sarah's English language socialization was a typical Hungarian experience. She had learned English in formal settings and associated English learning with anxiety due to the dominant teaching method of the time being grammar-translation. Language examinations and thus teaching practices prioritized grammatical appropriateness and accuracy over communication and linguistic confidence. This idea permeated classroom activities and therefore often generated anxiety (and sometimes perfectionism and competitiveness too (Fekete, 2018) in learners. Thus, leaving behind the Hungarian environment and entering a new socialization context in Sweden that focused on successful communication and novel ideas including linguacultural diversity and intercultural communication were transformative and highly emotional experiences for Sarah. The sojourn decreased her English use anxiety and enhanced her linguistic confidence and self-efficacy. Moreover, it boosted her international posture, acquainted her with intercultural communication, and allowed her to get to know the world from different perspectives. This experience made her sensitive to issues that were more salient in other cultures than in her L1 culture. Therefore, it was not surprising that both her Hungarian culture poster and culture presentation (which were course requirements) in class addressed issues of feminism, social justice, and other social issues, as these ideas had shaped her linguistic, social, and cultural identity. The following testimony points out how these different identity types are intertwined in using different languages.

> I was struggling to identify myself with either the Hungarian or the English self: I could neither entirely associate myself with my former Hungarian self, constrained both linguistically and culturally, nor assimilate with the people of a country that were also constrained by their worldview. My English self was different from the Swedish people because it adopted ideas and beliefs from various cultures. At that time, I also managed to learn Swedish on an elementary level and dated a Swedish boy, thus I was constantly struggling to identify myself. I was not satisfied with my Hungarian self nor my English (or multilingual) self and desired to be identified with the Swedish people. (Sarah)

Sarah's testimony provides evidence for a conflicted self that is struggling to find its place in the once-familiar world triggering identity responses in her. Returning home, she experienced repatriation shock and a subtractive identity response (Sussman, 2002) pointing out that "some repatriates feel as though they no longer fit into their home country" and "the once-familiar ways of behaving appear strange and cherished values seem unimportant, irrelevant or negative" (p. 6). These individuals usually find it difficult to relate to other people in their community, as they recognize in what ways they have become different from other members of their community due to the sojourn. She also experienced an additive identity response by coming home with "a secret about something that other Hungarians, people who are monolinguals, cannot comprehend" (Sarah). This may be a frustrating experience when the people around her cannot relate to her new mindset/self. By allowing these ideas to become integrated into her identities, Sarah embraced the transformative potential of SLA associated with the first type of desire.

Pain via code-switching

Code-switching by the participants was influenced by social and cultural phenomena beyond linguistics. It indexes their identification with certain languages and cultures, and it gives their lives and identities a sense of continuity and history. It also pinpoints the "fluid" nature of identity constantly shaped by the context in which the person uses the language. It also shows that various types and levels of identity such as individual, social, cultural, and national identity are in constant dialogue with one another, shaping people's thoughts, emotions, actions, and language use.

Code-switching may be driven by unconscious processes like in the case of Tamara where the intimacy of home was cherished and disrupted by the code-switching dynamics initiated by the father. Since code-switching was not her choice, it resulted in Tamara's unwillingness to respond to her father in German. It also made her isolated (by being different) in the public domain (e.g., in the playground or in school) compared to other Hungarian children who were only exposed to Hungarian at home. This also made her an outsider in the context of education due to her high proficiency level that her peers did not have and her teachers did not always appreciate.

Desire and self-fulfillment via code-switching

Code-switching may be a consciously adopted activity – a choice – when the new language is learned as a foreign language. Since identity construction signals how one is similar to other people as well as how one is different from others, code-switching may be seen as a new mode of self-expression and a new means of self-fulfillment via two languages. In this case, code-switching is used in a way to give maximum linguistic and cultural freedom to the speakers while allowing them to get rid of the linguistic and cultural constraints embedded in the two languages.

> Me and my friends in Jakarta, the place where I'm from, we mixed our own mother tongue language, which is Bahasa Indonesia, with English. So, a lot of times, when we're talking with each other, a sentence can be more or less like this: "*ya tapi* I just don't feel like doing that. *Kayak buat apa nggak sih?* Right?" Which can be translated into "but I just don't feel like doing that. For what? Right?". We talked like this every day (even up until now I still do this; I can even say up to 80% of the kids who live in Jakarta, especially kids from the southern area do this mixing language thing religiously but it's clear that there's no usage of grammar whatsoever, so most of us don't really understand much about grammar. (Sue from Indonesia)
>
> I always thought that it is hard to learn a new language, but after I learnt the Korean language, I found that there are languages that are easy to learn and comprehend. It took me 2 days to learn the alphabet and it blows my mind how easy it is to learn this language. Then my parents took us to visit Seoul, the capital city of South Korea. I got the chance to use a little bit of this language when buying souvenirs, street food, etc. It made me excited

when I saw their expression when I spoke Korean. Though my Korean was not that good, they were appreciative of it. From then on, I like to use Korean phrases in my daily conversation. For example, I rather use "싫어" (read: shireo) than use "gak mau" (Indonesian language) or "I don't want to" (English) because it's easier and simpler. (Amelia from Indonesia)

The testimonies of the two Indonesian students confirm the post-structural understanding of successful language learning that is not measured in terms of proficiency levels but in terms of how transformative SLA is for learners (Kramsch, 2009). For Sue and Amelia, learning English and Korean, respectively, was a transformative experience despite their limited proficiency level compared to their native language. Indonesian is used in complex and sophisticated ways depending on the context and the interlocutor; therefore, using English without considering grammatical appropriacy and politeness makes communication easier and less limiting. Switching between English and Indonesian may involve a "coolness" factor signaling to other Indonesians that these speakers are unique, and unlike non-English speaking Indonesians they are acquainted with Western ideas and thoughts embedded in a globalized Western language.

The feeling of ease and freedom for Amelia was experienced via Korean, particularly because the ease of learning it made language learning a successful and liberating experience. Moreover, a sense of uniqueness for Amelia comes from knowing and using a language that is 1) a smaller, non-lingua franca language, 2) a language that is considered difficult to learn – but it was easy for her, and 3) a language that she could use successfully despite her limited proficiency level. To experience self-fulfillment via language and a sense of uniqueness, she chose a language that is not spoken proficiently by as many people as English in Indonesia. Both students exhibited the first type of desire pointing out in what ways these learners embraced the transformative potential of SLA.

Conclusions and pedagogical implications

The findings of the paper confirmed that negative language learning experiences lead to negative psychological, emotional, and identity responses while positive experiences trigger positive responses. These experiences are part of learners' L2 socialization processes. For most students, the fundamental socialization context is education where they learn the L2 in a formal and public domain. In the context of language classes, unfavorably teaching methods, discriminative teaching practices, and bullying are usually responsible for learners' negative emotional, psychological, and identity responses, often leading to demotivation or giving up learning either mentally (attending classes but not participating in them actively) or physically (giving up learning altogether).

In addition, sharp changes in teaching methods, classroom techniques, and evaluation/exam practices - occurring usually when students change schools, or a new teacher arrives) – mean a sudden change in the familiar L2 socialization process. This may be experienced as 'language socialization shock' triggering distress in learners. If the change is too sudden, students may experience debilitating anxiety and may not be able to adapt to the changed context as expected. Learners' feeling of lagging behind, and their inability to perform well or to meet expectations can result in learners' motivation shifting from the intrinsic to the extrinsic end on the motivational scale.

However, language socialization shock can also be a positive experience allowing learners to rid themselves of the negative experiences associated with the old socialization context and embrace the positive experiences, emotions, and identities offered by the new socialization context. Sarah underwent this positive change when she moved to Sweden from Hungary but experienced repatriation shock when she returned to her homeland as a changed person with new, often conflicting identities. Tamara also found refuge in a new socialization context; however, she had to leave the world of German behind and start over in the realm of English. In her case, moving on to the educational context from the private

domain of the family did not provide her with solace. She found self-fulfillment, transformation, and thus success in the world of English.

Although the linguistic benefits and gains of raising bilingual children by non-native L2-speaking parents are undeniable, parents should be aware of how this form of child-rearing may have a long-term impact on the children's and on the parents' psychological and emotional responses, their bonding mechanisms, and the family dynamics altogether. Social alienation/isolation seems to be an issue if the child is raised bilingual in a monolingual L1-speaking environment where apart from the child and their parent(s), the rest of the world speaks in the L1. Related to this, the child's (un)willingness to speak in the L2 should be examined more thoroughly to find out what psychological and social processes drive her linguistic and social behavior. Furthermore, educators and teachers should be made aware of the special linguistic background of such bilingual children to sustain the continuity of their linguistic progress (and motivation) in school.

To conclude, learners' past L2 socialization experiences have an immense impact on their current language learning motivation, emotions, identities, attitudes, and their ultimate learning attainment, which then shapes their life choices and their future and thus transforms their lives. By understanding learners' L2 socialization experiences, teachers can better help learners experiencing language socialization shock by resorting to more favorable teaching practices and thus generating classroom dynamics conducive to learning.

Limitations and future directions

The study is limited in many ways. Being a qualitative case study, general conclusions cannot be drawn from the findings. The main goal of the research was to provide information to the researcher-teacher on the versatile language socialization processes and experiences of her students to better adjust the course to their needs and to enhance their motivation via introspection and self-reflection; therefore, the research is not an ethnographic study but a classroom research project. Data come from a single source, which does not allow the triangulation of the results; thus, as a future direction, making follow-up interviews with students and possibly with their family members would enrich the data and provide more details on issues that are left unexplained in this research. Finally, to arrive at generalizable findings, more participants with similar experiences (based on pre-determined selection criteria) should be involved in a quantitative or mixed methods study.

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