I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Kathryn Gray Craven-Rebelo entitled "'I Took It and I Liked It': Needs and Encouragements for Formal Spanish Study." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Science with a major in Curriculum and Instruction.

Dr. Patricia Davis-Wiley, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of the Graduate School

"I TOOK IT AND I LIKED IT":

NEEDS AND ENCOURAGEMENTS FOR FORMAL SPANISH STUDY

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Kathryn Gray Craven-Rebelo

December, 1994

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, John J. Craven and the late Carolyn Bickley Craven, without whose support this project would have been impossible. Our experience together influenced me in myriad ways, some of which I have yet to discover. What I do know is that they were an integral part of the accumulated layers of experience which, when filtered by the mysterious qualities of my inherent self, have led to an ever-renewing present marked by a great hunger to know why people do what they do.

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ABSTRACT

In order to investigate how people were motivated to enroll and persist in the formal study of a language other than their native tongue, I studied third-year university students of Spanish at a state university in the U.S. southeast with the pseudonym of Foreston State University. I attempted to discover the following: a) learners' perceptions of why they were studying Spanish at that level; b) any influences on their language study decisions; and c) whether they perceived any relationship between their interest in learning the language and their attitudes toward the cultures of Spanish-speaking peoples.

Psychological and anthropological theories formed the framework for this qualitative study that included three separate data sources: (fully participant) observation, surveys and in-depth interviews. After a pilot study of senior-level participants, data collection occurred during the second semester of 1991. Observations of two third-year Spanish classes were followed by a survey of all third-year students (62 respondents). Twelve people (chosen through a purposive sampling technique) granted me interviews. Intensive field notes recorded the observations, while the interviews were audio-taped and transcribed. After all data were inductively analyzed according to Spradley (1980), a comparison of the distinct data sources led to the final research results.

The cultural model of schooling and academic choice-making that emerged from the project had two main components. First, participants were influenced simultaneously by their pasts, futures and presents. While recycling their past experience and bringing it into the demands of their present they were always thinking of how to use their Spanish studies in that veiled future they were preparing for.

It was within recurring presents, however, that the true impelling forces were played out. Needs for Spanish study emerged from participants' linguistic and academic

contexts. In addition, learners felt "turned on" and encouraged to continue their language studies by their feelings of being "into it" (enjoyment) and/or "doing well" (success). The mystery that remained in this research refers to an understanding of just what learners' attraction was for "other peoples" and "another language."

Several conclusions follow. First, this research has demonstrated the positive contribution of new theoretical frameworks for investigating foreign language learning motivation. In this case, educational psychology has contributed with a fruitful theory including essential components of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. This framework allowed me to work simultaneously with forces within and outside of the individual that impelled and encouraged language study and persistence at it. Secondly, this study has reminded researchers and practitioners alike that language learners are first and foremost students, seeking to maximize their enjoyment, success and future applicability while navigating through academic and linguistic demands.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Intrinsic Motivation.....IM

Foreign Language Learning Motivation.....FLLM

Foreston State University.....FSU

Learners' Native Language.....L_1

Language Being Studied.....L_2

Language and International Commerce.....LIC

Second Language Acquisition.....SLA

Target Language.....TL

Target Langauge Community.....TLC

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Learning a foreign language within the formal setting is a long and painstaking process. Furthermore, the emotional cost can be high. For example, research exists documenting high levels of alienation (Stevick, 1976) and intense anxiety (Price, 1990) accompanying many beginning students. At more advanced levels, anomie threatens others (Lambert, Gardner, Barik, and Tunstall, 1963). Gardner (1985) explained part of the emotional challenge, pointing out that learning a second language requires student to adopt *foreign* behavior patterns (i.e. language). In spite of the challenges, some learners continue. Research attention in second language acquisition (SLA) is beginning to shift toward the experience of the learner and very basic questions remain to be answered. For example, who are these people who subject themselves to the long and arduous process of acquiring such foreign behaviors? What leads people to enroll in that unique and fascinating cultural event that is the second language classroom? How do they choose a specific language? What brings them past the institutional requirements to the point that it becomes reasonable to say that they actually *do have* some interest in acquiring the language?

SLA literature approaches these questions through the concept of language learner motivation. Canadian social-psychologists Wallace Lambert and Robert Gardner initiated an upsurge of research attention in this area beginning in 1959. They began with a simple hypothesis: people's reasons for wanting to learn a language might influence their achievement levels. They conducted a series of factor analytic studies into the interrelationships between individual learner variables and language learning achievement.

They proposed two types of "Motivational Orientation," or learners' reasons for second language study. The "Integrative Motive" referred to students with a "willingness or a desire to be like representative members of the 'other' language community, and to become associated, at least vicariously, with that other community" (1972, p. 14). "Instrumental Motive," on the other hand, characterized students with "a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language" (1972, p. 14).

After almost 30 years, these and other researchers have established the importance of learner attitudes in the second language learning. For example, Lalonde and Gardner (1985) interpreted their data to indicate that integrative motivation is superior to either the intensity of motivation or attitudes toward the learning situation in accounting for variation in French achievement. In the same year, Gardner compared the results of his factor analytic studies with other research. He concluded that the degree and quality of student interest in the language under study (i.e., the *target* language) is at least as important as individual language learning aptitude in accounting for variation in learning achievement.

Researchers now agree that learner attitudes towards the speakers of the language are an important variable in language learning achievement. Furthermore, most studies in this area draw on Gardner's work, especially the concepts of instrumental and integrative motivation (e.g. Chiara and Oller, 1978; Clément and Kruidenier, 1985, 1983; Ely, 1986; Myers, 1978; Speiller, 1988). This project attempted to address two areas of weakness in this line of inquiry: an inconsistency in key concepts; and a lack of empirical data on the influence of socio-linguistic context on learner motivation.

Clément and Kruidenier (1983) traced some of the difficulty Gardner and his associates have found in obtaining reliable results to ambiguities in the definitions of the basic motivational constructs. They suggested that more basic descriptive research into key variables might help clear up such ambiguities and improve multi-site reliability. In fact,

many researchers have lamented the dearth of descriptive research in language learning motivation (Gardner, 1972, 1985; Speiller, 1986, Colletta and associates, 1983; Dörnyei, 1990; Crookes and Schmidt, 1991). Therefore, I designed this project in order to address that very lack of descriptive literature. Specifically, this project targeted the influence of students' social contexts on their foreign language careers. All researchers have assumed that more knowledge about such contextual factors is necessary for a full understanding of motivation in language learning and calls for more such data abound (e.g. Gardner, 1972, 1985; Speiller, 1986; Colletta and associates, 1983; Dörnyei, 1990; Crookes and Schmidt, 1991). The complexity of social context issues calls for appropriate research methods. I chose qualitative methods in order to analyze institutional foreign language study as a specific cultural event. This allowed me to generate grounded data about language learners' socio-linguistic context which may help refine current theories of second language acquisition and foreign language learning motivation. From the practitioner's point of view, this research may increase teacher awareness of learners' experience and provide additional data for curricular planning that may better meet student needs and interests.

Statement of the Problem

In this effort to investigate why people choose to study a foreign language at the university level, I researched third-year Spanish students at an institution I decided to call Foreston State University (pseudonym). The following questions guided the research:

1) How do third year university students of Spanish perceive:
    a) how they have come to study the language at that level, and
    b) any influences they might have undergone on their language study decisions?

2) What relationships are indicated between third year Spanish students' second language learning motivation and their attitudes about the target language cultures?

Definitions

There is a growing consensus in the literature (Dörnyei, 1990; Clément and Kruidenier, 1983) that the motivational processes of foreign and second language learners are distinct due to the vast differences in their socio-linguistic contexts. This study investigated some influences which led students to try to acquire a language other than their own, which was not necessary for their daily communicative needs, and which characterized a linguistic community of which they were not members. The following definitions apply for the purpose of this study.

Culture is defined as "the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behavior " (Spradley, 1980, p. 6).

Foreign language refers to the study of a language outside of its naturally occuring community. This research targeted the study of Spanish by North American university students.

Second language acquisition (acronym SLA) is a field of academic research concentrating on the processes by which people learn non-native languages.

Language learning motivation refers to the reasons which lead students to study a foreign language.

Socio-linguistic context refers to the language learning environment both inside and outside of school. Researchers question whether the relative status assigned to the respective communities of each language will influence students' attitudes toward the

idioms in question and their speakers. This construct facilitates the investigation of the very existence of these attitudes and what relationships are suggested between them and students' language learning motivation.

Social-psychological processes are defined as the interaction between student affect and language learning within a specific socio-linguistic context. This project investigated how these variables contributed to individuals' motivation to learn a second language.

Target language is any language being studied by a specific learner.

Target language community is a group of people that speaks a language under study as a first language.

Target language country is a country where the target language is an official language.

Foreign language study is defined as a student's enrollment and attendance in a university foreign language class for academic credit.

Third year language class refers to any class offered in the institution's academic catalog with a number of 300, indicating it is intended for students in their third year of university study.

Organization of the Study

This chapter introduces the research study, while Chapter 2 reviews the literature informing the project. The research design and strategies of data collection and analysis appear in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I describe Foreston State University and its advanced Spanish students based on observation and survey data. The interview analysis appears in Chapter 5, followed by its illustration with student narratives in Chapter 6. The conclusion in Chapter 7 summarizes the research results, presents my conclusions about the

motivations of university Spanish students, and makes recommendations about research and teaching.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The attempt to discover why students study a language other than their own led me to investigate the question of motivation. This chapter first discusses theoretical approaches to the concept of motivation. I then situate this study within the literature on foreign language learning motivation.

Theories of Motivation

Freud's drive theory provided the theoretical basis for the classical psychological model of motivation (D'Andrade, 1992; Deci and Ryan, 1985). This approach studied internal, physiological drives for life preserving needs, particularly hunger and thirst. Two main shortcomings led to the adaptation of motivational theory. On one hand this conceptualization based on fulfilling deficits could not account for continued behavior beyond the point of satiation (Deci and Ryan, 1985). Furthermore, these and other isolateable drives such as (sex, pain, and less obviously physiological ones like self-esteem and aggression) proved unable to account for the full range of human behavior.

Researchers began to study how humans interacted with their environment as motive was redefined in relationship to external goals. Murray (1938) proposed a psychologically based "need" concept. According to this theory, needs such as those for achievement and affiliation served as goals which canalized the physiological drives.

Three problems appeared in the application of this external goal-meeting theory in empirical research which led to its downfall (D'Andrade, 1992). First, it proved

impossible to determine how many distinct types of goals and drives existed. Obviously, behavior can not be explained in terms of motives if researchers can not agree on the the goals of the motives. Furthermore, concerns appeared about the reliability and validity of the commonly used instruments for assessing motives. D'Andrade claimed as well that the classic tests of needs confounded general personality traits with needs specific to certain activities. Finally, Murray's (1938) theory was unable to account for variation either from subject to subject or from situation to situation. Motivation theories evolved. Two new theories of motivation enriched this study, one drawn from cognitive anthropology and the other from educational psychology.

Motivation According to Educational Psychology

According to Deci and Ryan's theories of motivation and self-determination (1985, 1991), Intrinsic Motivation (IM) is a basic characteristic of human nature. It is similar to the physiological drives described above in that it is innate to the individual and serves to energize behavior. However, unlike drives, intrinsic motivation is not based on a deficit model; it is neither periodically stimulated, nor can it be satiated. In other words, all people are predisposed to learning things that they find interesting without external reward. Furthermore, people naturally seek optimal challenges in order to more highly develop competency in such behaviors. In order for humans to fulfill their inherent possibilities however, basic psychological needs for competency, autonomy (or self-initiation of behavior) and social relatedness must be met.

Social relatedness, on the other hand, requires that people acquire behaviors that are not intrinsically interesting. Society, therefore, uses combinations of sanctions and rewards in order to teach its members their appropriate behaviors. This process is known

as socialization. Internalization refers to the process in which people acquire those behaviors and, to varying degrees, bring them into a harmonious coexistence with previously existing parts of themselves.

Figure 1 illustrates Deci and Ryan's 1991 model of motivation which describes three major categories of behavior: Intrinsically Motivated, Regulated through Internalization or Amotivated. Actors have no control whatsoever over amotivated behaviors such as being knocked over from behind. The theory divides learned behaviors into three classes, depending on the degree of internalization. Integrated behaviors are fully internalized. People acting under these motivations are not aware of the processes that regulate these activities because they work so harmoniously with the actors' inherent selves; indeed, such actions are perceived to be of personal value and freely undertaken. People identify with actions motivated out of Identified Regulation and accept the behaviors as their own. However, the full interior synthesis is not complete and conflicts between competing values may appear. Introjected Regulation refers to the stage of socialization in which the learners have taken in the pattern of behavior without fulling accepting it. It is the least autonomous state of internalization in that sense. Actors remain highly aware of the socializing agent (s) and associate behaviors with the reactions they are likely to produce. Compliance brings approval and transgressions disapproval. In this state, actors normally do not seek to engage in the behaviors themselves but, rather to avoid the negative emotions (guilt and anxiety) that might supplant them. Actors' speech often reflect the fact that these behaviors are not autonomous through expressions such as "should" or "have to."

This theory serves as a foundation for psychologists' empirical tests of how types of motivation (especially in relation to level of self-determination) correlate with positive learning experiences. They generally operationalize basic concepts through situational and

Self - Determined		Other - Determined		
INTRINSIC MOTIVATION	INTEGRATED REGULATION	IDENTIFIED REGULATION	INTROJECTED REGULATION	AMOTIVATED
Characteristics of Behaviors :	Characteristics of Behaviors:	Characteristics of Behaviors:	Characteristics of Behaviors:	Amotivated Behaviors:
a. Do not need to be taught & require no external reward	a. Learned Behaviors	a. Learned behaviors are accepted as one's own	a. Necessity of such behaviors has been internalized but not accepted as one's own.	Behaviors over which the actor has not control, e.g. being knocked over from behind.
b.Undertaken out of personal interest	b. Regulation in harmony with person's other values and behaviors.	b. Regulation free of pressure and anxiety.	b. Socializing agent is made part of person's regulation system and ...	
c. Are optimally challenging	c. Actions are experienced as autonomous. i.e. as being self-regulated	c. Conflict with other valued behaviors signals a lack of harmony with other behaviors & values.	c. Compliance is associated with a search for approval and transgressions connote disapproval.	
d. Based on innate psychological needs for competency, relatedness and autonomy.			d. Emotions of guilt & anxiety and tension are common.	
			e. "Should" and similar forms of speech are common.	
	Internalized Behaviors			

Figure 1

Deci and Ryan's 1991 Model of Socialization

inferential methods. If a person takes part in an activity without any reward, it is inferred that s/he is intrinsically motivated (operational definition). Questionnaires measuring participants interest and enjoyment serve to infer intrinsic motivation.

Deci and Ryan (1985, 1991) cite research concluding that fully internalized and intrinsically motivated behaviors bring greater enjoyment and results than other-motivated behaviors. Early studies suggested extrinsic rewards sometimes erased the positive effects of an original intrinsic motivation. In other words, learners who received external rewards for activities which they previously did without reward later reduced their tendency to pursue the activity in the absence of such rewards. In the educational arena, typical rewards might include money, grades or future career rewards. Deci and Ryan cite more recent research suggesting that external rewards do not necessarily decrease IM and their recent theoretical publications reflect this change (1991). The study of the social context variables which promote or threaten IM (and especially its basic need for autonomy) are now under study. The result is that IM is now seen to be able to co-exist with external rewards in social contexts where the actors' basic psychological needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence are nurtured.

Intrinsic motivation is cited within some SLA literature. Kamada (1987, using the earlier, 1985, version of Deci and Ryan's theory) called SLA researchers' attention to the importance of these concepts in the language classroom, since extrinsically motivated students compare negatively with their intrinsically motivated classmates. The extrinsically motivated is: more passive; less expressive; more discrete-point oriented; less experimental and more ready to quit the endeavor as soon as the examination is finished. In addition, Crookes and Schmidt (1991) talk about possible negative consequences of extremely extrinsic pressure for language learning. They cite research suggesting that students

concerned with good grades do not participate until certain that their ability level is high, for fear of negative evaluation.

Motivation According to Cognitive Anthropology

Anthropologists as well as psychologists are interested in developing a new model of motivation for their own research agendas. In 1973, Robbins suggested that the concept of identity could serve as a "missing link" by offering an explanation for a groups' members' *motivation* (my emphasis) for acquiring culturally appropriate behavior. Almost twenty years later, D'Andrade indicated that his goal (and that of like-minded colleagues) was to further understand motivation. In particular they were interested in studying individual variation in goal striving behavior and its relation to its cultural system. They proposed the following framework (D'Andrade, 1992; Strauss, 1992) to analyze motivation, which they saw "as the product of interaction between events and things in the social world and interpretations of those events and things in people's psyches" (Strauss, 1992, p.1).

According to this viewpoint, motivation depends upon cultural messages or "models." Motivation arises out of social interaction, however, the complexities of communication prevent it from occurring uniformly. This approach attempts to identify those cultural messages and how individuals constitute them. Those cultural models are seen as learned units of thoughts and emotions which form and filter people's perception of experience together with their construction of memories. Through their filtering effect, these models define the world and also set goals for their holders, even generating wishes.

This theory defines culture as the synthesis of publicly observable artifacts behaviors and symbols together with the private interpretation which gives meaning to

those public events. It stands, therefore, that understanding people's behavior requires discovering both their experiences as well as the meaning assigned to them. The vast array of possible meanings derives from the ambiguous and changing nature of social messages. Researchers seek participants' stories in order to investigate the way in which of general cultural models evolve into individuals' motivating concerns.

In summary, the anthropological and psychological theories of motivation share several key concepts which have guided this research. Both approaches are person-centered in that they study how individuals construct their own motivational systems as they attempt to synthesize personal experiences and emotions. Both frameworks contributed to this study of the common attributes of a group of people making similar choices but, maintaining the individual significance of those decisions.

Each approach lent certain strengths, as well. The psychologists' framework offers a more detailed explanatory framework for understanding the role of affect, especially interest and enjoyment, both in energizing and also for giving direction in students' academic decision making. The basic psychological needs for competence, autonomy and relatedness are especially useful in interpreting the factors of encouragement for continued Spanish study. Finally, the later interpretation of IM (Deci and Ryan, 1991) allowing for the coexistence of IM with external rewards and structures certainly allows for a closer interpretation of how IM might be related to formal school curricula.

The anthropologists' framework allowed and stimulated me to look at the cultural models and their significance, thinking more deeply about the role of formal schooling in learners' lives. This more theoretical and less applied approach seems more descriptive (rather than the almost prescriptive nature of Deci and Ryan's work) and thus appears to greatly contribute to the qualitative, hypothesis-generating goals of this work.

In this project, I analyzed the stories of Spanish students, attempting to infer the cultural schemas that led them to begin and continue their formal language studies. The following research informed this study.

Foreign Language Learning Motivation

In the following passages, I present the classic studies on Foreign Language Learning Motivation (FLLM) that began in Montreal in 1959 and which dominated the field as late as the late 1980's. I present the classic works and discuss the critiques that have been made of them in terms of results and methodology. Then, I proceeded to review more recent works which have attempted to open up the field to generating more theory with a more descriptive approach to the question of why people choose to study a foreign language.

Canadian School of Foreign Language Learning Motivation

Research on Foreign Language Learning Motivation (FLLM) began with the work of Canadian social psychologists Walter Lambert and Robert Gardner in Montreal in 1959. Their research program emerged within the bilingual context of Montreal in which questions of language and ethnicity were highly politicized. Their basic hypothesis was that people's reasons for wanting to learn a foreign language might relate to language learning achievement.

The researchers operationalized motivation as follows (Gardner, 1985). They defined FLLM as the combination of learners' goals (motivational orientation) and the amount of force they exert toward achieving them. Three components described students'

pull toward the goal: a) attitudes toward the activity; b) the strength of the learner's desire for the goal and; c) the intensity directed toward it. Motivation intensity measured the actual effort people expended in language learning. Learner desire reflected learners' emotional investment in the language learning process, independently of effort. Finally, attitudes described in more general terms students' affective attitude toward the language learning situation.

Gardner and Lambert were specifically interested in comparing language learning achievement associated with two hypothetical motivational orientations, integrative and instrumental. They defined as integratively motivated those students with a "willingness or a desire to be like representative members of the 'other' language community, and to be come associated, at least vicariously, with that other community" (the 1972 version of the definition, 1972, p. 14). Students with instrumental orientation, on the other hand, were "characterized by a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language" (1972, p. 14). Furthermore, the researchers assumed that the instrumentally-oriented students were "interested mainly in using the cultural group and their language as an instrument of personal satisfaction, with few signs of an interest in the other people *per se* (1972, p. 15)." Although the earliest investigations considered the two motives mutually exclusive, by 1972 their research design allowed them to test relative degrees of each type of motivation. The above framework guided a series of correlational studies of language learning achievement and learner variables, including motivation.

Due to the large number of variables under study, the researchers used a factorial analysis. A battery of questionnaires obtained numerical estimates of each of the variables being investigated. The factorial analysis then analyzed these values, generating a matrix of correlations both between types of learner variables as well as between learner variables and measures of French achievement. Computer programs then studied the statistical

relationships between these correlations in order to reduce the number of variables into smaller subgroups of variables called factors. Each factor was statistically independent and its components were interrelated. Researchers next analyzed qualitatively the factors to identify what the component variables had in common.

In the 1959 study (Gardner and Lambert, 1972) Anglo-Canadian high school students of French took a battery of tests of learner variables including: language learning aptitude, achievement, tests of authoritarianism and researcher-designed instruments measuring language learning motivation. According to students' rank ordering of four reasons for studying French, researchers identified them as either instrumentally or integratively motivated. Student attitudes toward the target language community (French Canadians) were measured with a seven-point Likert-style instrument, while multiple choice questions ascertained student motivational intensity. Instructor ratings of 1-5 (poor - excellent) of students' pronunciation and listening comprehension abilities represented achievement.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) interpreted the data and reported the following meaningful relationships: measures of verbal intelligence and other aptitude tests grouped themselves with French achievement; and motivational orientation, motivational intensity and attitudes toward target language groups arranged themselves together with French achievement. They concluded that the evidence supported their hypothesis that motivational orientation contributed to achievement in a manner independent of language aptitude and that integrative orientation was correlated to better French speaking skills.

In a 1960 replication study (Gardner and Lambert, 1972), Gardner tested whether motivational orientation contributed differently to different second-language skills and whether any cause-effect relationship between achievement and integrative orientation was indicated. He used a battery of French tests to identify the following aspects of

achievement: reading fluency, pronunciation accuracy, phonetic discrimination, grammar, vocabulary, accent, automaticity and number of associations in French. Gardner adapted the orientation instrument. Students indicated their perception of the advantages and disadvantages and any personal satisfactions of speaking French. The researcher then categorized such answers as either integrative or instrumental The other motivational scales remained unchanged while many other attitudinal tests were also administered.

The factor analysis suggested that integrative motive was more closely associated with the communicative language skills such as reading fluency, pronunciation accuracy, vocabulary, accent and automaticity. However, in contrast to the previous study, integrative motive did not necessarily coexist with a favorable attitude toward the target language group. Gardner concluded that integrative motive is important in SLA. He considered the results sufficient proof that motivational questions were important in second-language achievement. He ascribed the curious differences in the two studies to social context variation and a research tradition began (Gardner, 1960-1988).

A subsequent study (1972) provided the opportunity to investigate motivational variables in varying linguistic and social contexts. The researchers chose three sites in distinct regions of the United States to represent different ethnic make-ups in relation to target language groups. The Maine group had a large French-Canadian community. Acadian Louisiana also had a large ethnic French community, although researchers assumed that its French-speaking community less vital than that of Maine. Finally, Connecticut exemplified a region with neither a strong target language heritage nor a significant population of target language speakers. Gardner and Lambert used several measures of motivational orientation. A rank order question was similar to the measure used in the original study; and a short question about advantages and disadvantages of learning the target language similar to Gardner's 1960 study (1972). A third question

provided four integrative and four instrumental reasons for second language study for students to indicate their degree of agreement. This question freed the concept from the mutually-exclusive operationalization previously used.

The results varied from site to site. In Louisiana, motivational intensity was independent of intellectual capacity and positively related to language achievement. Integrative motive, however, showed very little correlation with language achievement. Furthermore, those students who combined an instrumental motive with parental support for their French study were found to be weak in French comprehension skills.

In Maine, positive attitudes toward TL speakers (French-Americans and European French) were not related to French achievement measures. On the other hand, girls with strong motivations to learn French, and who reported sensitivity to the feelings of others, showed strong correlations with achievement in the language, independent of intellectual capabilities. Instrumental orientations correlated to the fact that the children's parents had French-American friends; these same students showed positive correlations in two tests of oral proficiency. Finally, in Maine (with its more active French community) aptitude and intelligence contributed less to achievement than had been the case in Louisiana.

Several counter-intuitive results appeared in Connecticut. Positive student attitudes toward French-speaking people displayed no correlation with French proficiency of any sort. Furthermore, those students *without* outside contact with French showed higher achievement scores than those with such contact; these students appeared to reject the integrative reasons for French study. Finally, parental encouragement in this population made no contribution to language proficiency.

After comparing the results from Louisiana, Main and Connecticut, Gardner and Lambert (1972) concluded that there was evidence to support their contention that learner attitudes and motivation were relevant to achievement and that these learner variables were

independent of intelligence and language aptitude. Furthermore, the researchers concluded that strong motivational intensity and desires contributed to higher French grades.

Results about motivational orientation failed to support their hypotheses, however. Connecticut was the only site in which integrative interests in the TLC were linked to strong motivations to learn the language. Furthermore, the associated study in the Philippines found that the instrumental orientation was more closely related to achievement than the integrative.

The researchers appealed to social context in order to account for the vastly different results, using *post hoc* theorizing to make sense of the contradictions, such as in this example,

> The socio-cultural background of American communities-although not the focus of this investigation-nevertheless becomes relevant because *we see* the impact of background differences even on the attitudes and motivations of students involved in learning a foreign language (Gardner and Lambert 1972, p. 45, emphasis added).

This explanation was in fact pure conjecture, since their methodology precluded incorporating any social context data within the project. Thus, the variability of results may have been due to social context, just as it may have been due to other factors. The instrumental and integrative constructs themselves might have been questionable, for example. However, the researchers never addressed the question of the validity of their key concepts. Despite such concerns, this series of projects opened up learner affect as a valid topic of research and Gardner, especially, continued to work in a similar vein while a spate of researchers followed.

Subsequent research continued to provide mixed results about the hypothetical superiority of integrative motive over instrumental motive in predicting language learning achievement. Spolsky's (1969) study of newly arrived foreign students in the U.S. found English proficiency related to an integrative-like motive. However, study after study

identified sites in which the instrumental motive was at least as effective or even more so in predicting proficiency (e.g. Gardner and Lambert's Philippines study, 1972; Lukmani's Marathi-speaking English students in India, 1972; Chiara and Oller's population of Japanese adults studying English,1978).

The irregularity of these results begged the question of whether the instrumental versus integrative orientation was the appropriate approach to investigating motivation. Other reasons might exist for foreign language study which might prove more important in understanding students' motives. From early on, Gardner and Lambert (1972) admitted the possible existence of other orientations, citing themselves a Machiavellian motive that might lead students to learn a target language in order to manipulate the TL group. Graham (1984) proposed the existence of an assimilative motive which might stimulate TL learning as learners attempted full TLC assimilation in order to attenuate their own ethnic affiliations. Herron (1988) and Kamada (1987) called researchers' attention to the importance of intrinsic student enjoyment of language studies. However, the great bulk of research until the mid-1980's continued to investigate just Gardner and Lambert's orientations of instrumental and integrative motives with the same variation in results indicated above. Crookes and Schmidt later suggested that the hegemony of this approach to FLLM research derived from the combination of two factors. On one hand, the basic hypothesis that integrative motive predicted more achievement than instrumental was intuitively attractive. On the other hand, Gardner and associates' progressive publication and improvement of instruments rigorously tested for reliability facilitated research in the area.

Two studies in the early '80's unequivocally demonstrated the incompleteness of the integrative and instrumental approach to motivational orientation. Both Clément and Kruidenier (1983) and England (1982) presented results suggesting that in several

instances no significant integrative motive appeared to explain FLLM. I review below literature addressing the existence of other reasons for foreign language study. First, however, I discuss some methodological concerns about the bulk of research on FLLM (following in the tradition of Gardner and Lambert, 1959, 1972).

While many researchers applied Gardner's approach uncritically, others raised interesting questions. Strong(1988), for example, questioned the direction of causality implicit in Gardner's presentation. His research (1984) with Spanish-speaking children learning English in an American classroom suggested that achievement promoted motivation instead of the reverse. Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) reviewed the literature on the (related) question of learner attitudes towards target language speakers. They agreed with Le Mahieu (1984) that the most probable relationship was multi-lateral. In other words, it is most likely that positive attitudes toward target language speakers aid language learning achievement which in turn probably improves those attitudes.

I already mentioned some concerns about Gardner and Lambert's (1972) appeals to social context factors to explain the variation in his research results. Further methodological challenges include Oller's concerns (1991) about the validity of self-report instruments; participants might not always be honest in their answers. In fact, Schumann's 1976 study suggested that participants' may report behaviors very different than those observed. Self-report instruments, however, have proven irreplaceable in research on affective variables. Bacon and Finnemann (1990) concluded that rigorous testing of such instruments for internal reliability was sufficient test of such instruments. They conceded, however, that ideally researchers could test the validity of such instruments through by comparing self-report data those of other sources.

Another concern with the dominant model of motivational research emerged from the repeated use of factor analysis. By definition, this method produces inconsistent

results. Such methods bring together a number of variables into a factor and the researchers name the factor. From study to study the components of any one factor vary considerably, causing inconsistency in the definition of key concepts (Crookes and Schmidt, 1991). Ely's 1986 study, for example, produced three independent factors, two of which he concluded represented integrative and instrumental-type motivations. However, in order to name these groups of factors, the researcher had to overlook contradictions, making it appear as though he were trying to make the data fit the theory. For example, the supposedly "integrative" factor did include some logical answers such as:

> [I am studying Spanish...] "Because I want to to be able to use it with Spanish-speaking friends" and "because I am interested in Hispanic culture, history or literature" (p. 30).

However, other interests almost unrelated to any specific target language group appeared on the same factor. These include:

> [I am studying Spanish...]1) "Because I want to learn about another culture to understand the world better"; 2) "Because I want to be able to speak more languages than just English,"; 3) "Because I think foreign language study is part of a well-rounded education" (p. 30).

Finally, another reason appearing on this factor, "Because I feel Spanish is an important language in the world" (p. 30), indicated little affective or integrative interest. Thus, it appeared, in fact that this factor was more of a communication goal rather than an integrative factor. Nevertheless, the inherent variability of factors make these types of variables in FLLM theory.

I already commented above on the over-reliance on the concepts of instrumental and integrative motive. The sole use of correlational studies allowed this situation to continue for many years, since the approach relied on researcher-generated variables. Researchers proposed variables and participants merely reacted. The methodology required no empirical evidence for the importance of the variables studied (Gardner and Lalonde, 1985). Ramage (1990) pointed out that this approach precluded the generation of new

variables in FLLM theory. This critique did not invalidate the work of Gardner and his associates, just suggested that it could benefit from enrichment from other methods.

Despite such concerns, Gardner maintained his position and, in a 1985 review of his and related research, once again concluded that affect is an essential variable in accounting for language learning variation and that it is independent of language learning aptitude. Furthermore, Gardner argued that integrative orientation contributed more to achievement than other orientations. Finally, he asserted that integrative motive was a cause of achievement. In this and following works (1985, 1988), Gardner attempted to clarify his propositions through theory and research. Numerous studies continued to employ the key concepts of instrumental and integrative motive (including Laine, 1988; McGroarty, 1988; and Grigoryadis, 1989), while another series of investigators published works that helped identify other reasons for foreign language study.

Other Approaches to Foreign Language Learning Motivation

A combination of factors promoted new approaches to the research of people's motivation to study foreign languages. Previous approaches had proven unable to generate clearly reproducible results. New methods were called for. Furthermore, empirical evidence had appeared that proved that at least one of the key concepts of previous research, integrative motivation, appeared to be limited to select social contexts. It became obvious that more research was needed to unveil more learner reasons for their foreign language study. Table 1 follows, summarizing the results of eight projects identifying people's reasons for studying a foreign language. Six of them (Bartley, 1970; Clément, Smythe and Gardner, 1978; Dörnyei, 1990; Graman, 1987; Ramage, 1990; Speiller, 1988)

Table 1

Reasons for Foreign Language Study in Selected Studies[1]

Reasons for Target Language (TL) Study	Researchers and Dates						
Intrinsic Interest							
in the TL	A		C				
in the TL Culture	A	B	C				
Positive Attitude toward Learning the TL					E		G
Motivational Intensity							G
Want to Learn...the Language (in general)							G
To Speak the TL	A	B	C				
To Understand NS[2] speech	A						
To Read and Write in TL	A		C				
To Communicate with TL Speakers	A	B					
Experiences							
Outside Experience with Spoken TL						F	
Relatively Early Start in Studies			C				
Success							
Grades			C				
TL is Less Demanding		B	C				
Concern with Future Progress					E		
Teachers are Good			C				
Language Requirements		B	C				
Meeting Goals							
To Get a Good Job	A	B	C		E		
To Go to College		B	C				
To Get a Well Rounded Education	A	B	C				
To Travel/Live Abroad	A	B	C				G
To Make Friends							G
Instrumental Reasons (in general)				D			G
To Acquire Knowledge...(in general)	A	B	C				G
About Cultures (in general)		B	C				
About My Own Language		B					
About Myself		B					
Language Learning Aptitude							H
TL is Important in the World		B	C				

[1]Key:
A. Bacon and Finnemann, 1990 B. Ely, 1986 C. Ramage, 1990
D. Dörnyei, 1990 E. Speiller, 1988 F. Graman, 1987
G. Clément, Smythe and Gardner, 1978 H. Bartley, 1970

[2]NS = Native speaker

operationalized motivation as the decision to continue formal studies beyond some logical dropout point; subsequently, they investigated what factors were related to that decision. Three other studies (Bacon and Finnemann, 1990; Ely, 1986; Ramage, 1990) attempted to address the limited number of orientations by collecting learners' own reasons for their language studies.

A survey of these projects revealed little support for an integrative-type orientation. Some studies discovered interest in TL communities and cultures. However, there was no evidence to support a generalized wish for integration into those communities. Clément and Kruidenier's study (1983), in fact, strongly suggested that integrative motive was a site-specific reason for foreign language study. They studied eight locations with different compositions of dominant and subordinate languages (in Canada, English and French, respectively). They found the integrative motive to be important in only one of those socio-linguistic contexts; only those students who were native speakers of a dominant language and who lived in a monocultural setting indicated the integrative motive to be important

In contrast to the weak support for an integrative motive, these studies consistently found an instrumental motive. In other words, learners generally expected their language studies to help them meet other goals. Clément, Smythe and Gardner (1978) and Dörnyei (1990) and found commonly traditionally defined instrumental motives. Other studies identified specific learner goals that foreign language study might contribute to, including getting into college, getting a well-rounded education and getting a good job. Ramage's study of high school students' decision to continue or discontinue French and Spanish studies also identified instrumental-type motives. However, an intriguing complexity emerged. Instrumental concerns existed equally in continuing and discontinuing students. It took the combination of such pragmatic goals with other motives to distinguish those people who persisted. Some of the characteristics of continuing students included:

intrinsic interest in the language, a goal of competence and an interest in the culture. Ramage concluded that such instrumental/pragmatic reasons for language study were not sufficient to encourage learners' continued studies.

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These studies also outlined that students saw foreign language as contributing to personal as well as professional goals. Table 1 indicates that several studies found personal goals such as travel, making friends, and learning about interesting things in general.

Investigations requesting students own reasons unearthed two new motivational orientations. On one hand, many students reported a goal of acquiring foreign language competence for its own sake. This communication factor appeared in both Bacon and Finnemann's (1990) and Ely's (1986) studies. Ramage, as well, found interest in gaining

TL competence (1990). Furthermore, the type of competence aimed for differentiated her continuing students. Those that persisted wanted to learn to read and write as well as speak the language.

The second new reason for language studies was students' intrinsic interest in the language. Two studies (Bacon and Finnemann, 1990; Ramage, 1990) identified such enjoyment. These studies provided empirical evidence to support calls for attention to this factor by Herron (1988) and Kamada (1987).

Learners' experience (both academic and non-academic) proved important in accounting for some learners' foreign language studies. Formal foreign language requirements emerged as an important aspect of academic experience. Ely's (1986) factor analysis of first year university Spanish students' reasons indicated a language requirement motive which he discarded after finding it was not statistically significant. In Ramage's study, however, language study requirements were highly significant, since they were a central part of what differentiated continuing and discontinuing students. She discovered that language requirements functioned in a manner similar to instrumental motives. Most students indicated them. The discontinuing students, however, had few other reasons. In contrast, continuing students did not limit themselves to those motives. Those who kept on studying were also motived by good grades, an interest in the TLC as well as the goal of learning to speak, read and write the language. These two studies suggested that language requirements receive more researcher attention. Gardner (1985) declined to address the question of requirements. He suggested that people indicating requirements as a reason for language study are simply not motivated to learn that language; he logically argued that these students must have other goals besides language acquisition. These studies suggested, however, that language requirements must be taken into consideration. Furthermore, the use of language studies to fulfill requirements is not so different than the

use of language studies to become part of a TL community. In either case the language constitutes the means to an end or a goal.

By studying upper-division university students, Graman (1987) reduced the importance of language requirements in his students' motivations. Interestingly, his was the only study in this sequence to emphasize out of class experience as a contribution, not of motivation, *per se,* but persistence. A survey of upper-division Spanish students at Brigham Young University found that the major difference between these students and those in lower levels was their exposure to spoken TL outside the classroom. The trend was so strong that Graman concluded that such language contact is "virtually a prerequisite for reaching upper-division courses" (1987, p. 931). Other students found it difficult, he inferred, to acquire the proficiency levels demanded in advanced courses. The importance of out-of-class TL contact brings to mind Clément's secondary motivational processes in his theory of foreign language learning motivation (1980). He hypothesized that successful acts of communication with target language speakers would stimulate learners' motivation.

Success also proved important in the groups studied by Ely (1986), Ramage (1990) and Speiller (1988). Speiller (1988) investigated New Jersey high school students' reasons for continuing or discontinuing French or Spanish and found learners' concerns with the difficulty of future classes was an important distinguishing mark. Discontinuers, especially, combined a preference for other courses with worries about how difficult further language classes would be. Concerns about success appeared to influence Ely's students' choice of a foreign language as well. Many chose their TL under the impression that it was less demanding than others. Ramage's students also cited this reason. Even stronger evidence for the importance of success, in her study, was that course grade was one of the strongest predictors of continued studies.

In summary, these studies of foreign language study and persistence suggested that integrative motive was not common among large numbers of learners. Instrumental motives were more common, although at least one investigation suggested that other factors were more important in determining who continued. Aptitude for and success at language learning, outside contact with the language, an interest in reading and writing as well as speaking the TL, and an intrinsic interest in the TL were just some of the characteristics that identified learners who did not give up on the long process of formal foreign language studies.

This study owes a great deal to the research tradition begun by Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972). As Ramage (1990) pointed out, before 1959 learner aptitude was the only reasonable explanation for individual variation in achievement. Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Gardner (1985) accumulated considerable evidence that other factors are independent and important. Their research, in fact, opened the door for all current investigations of learner affect in SLA. Furthermore, they alerted the profession that learning does not occur in an academic vacuum. Students come from contexts which they bring with them. These contexts influence their motivation and evidence exists to suggest their achievement as well.

This study also followed in the wake of the methodological innovations of Ramage (1990), Ely (1986) and Bacon and Finnemann (1990) in that it targeted students' own reasons for their foreign language studies. This study went beyond those, however. It used in-depth interviews in order to incorporate empirical data about social context influences on foreign language study this is lacking in the literature. In addition, this study provided another opportunity to confirm those variables indicated above in Table 1 as it also sought others.

Conclusion

I designed this project to address several gaps in the literature on foreign language learning motivation. First of all, I chose a population distinct from most in the literature, since the university I studied (which I assigned the pseudonym of Foreston State University in order to protect the privacy of all participants) is located in the southeastern United States, from which region I have found no similar research. Within that population, I tried to discover all influences students perceived to have led them to begin and continue their foreign language studies to the advanced, university level.

In order to most thoroughly investigate students' affective states and their perceived reasons for studying foreign languages I decided to continue the recent trend (Ely, 1986; Bacon and Finnemann, 1990; and Ramage, 1990) toward studying students' own explanations for their language study. However, in order to intensify the quality and quantity of that data I chose to use in-depth qualitative interviews as my central data gathering technique. These methods promised thick descriptive data on students' reasons, thus addressing the dearth of such data in the literature. In addition, this learner-centered approach addresses Skehan's (1991) criticism of previous works that they had over-emphasized macro-level influences at the expense of micro-level ones such as classroom stimuli. Furthermore, the use of ethnographically informed methods and the incorporation of the culture theory allowed me to gather the empirical data on social context variables utterly lacking in studies of formal language learning. (Trosset, 1986 provided good social analysis of informal, second language studies in Wales). In a further attempt to improve the validity of self-report data (in response to Schumann, 1976 and Oller, 1991), I incorporated other data collection methods.

Throughout data analysis, I remained attentive to the possible appearance of any of those variables mentioned in the literature as well as any not mentioned. Finally, in answer to calls for a theoretical revitalization of FLLM research (Crookes and Schmidt, 1990; Skehan, 1990), I incorporated a theoretical framework based on anthropological and psychological theories of motivation. This framework added explanatory power by suggesting relationships between the laundry list of variables that emerged from the data. In addition, it aided the interpretation of these data in relation to other studies within SLA and other educational fields.

I comment on a few delimitations before proceeding to the description of the research design in Chapter 3. First of all, I concentrated on student perceptions of the reasons they began and continued their foreign language studies. Therefore, I have not covered theories or research on language learning in natural (non-classroom) contexts (Beebe, 1988; Clément and Kruidenier, 1985; Schumann, 1976, 1978, 1986). Neither did I address questions of learner variation in motivation. For example, Gardner's (1985) Motivational intensity and Desire to Learn the language have not been specifically addressed. Instead, I sought to contribute to the understanding of why people choose to study a foreign language in the formal context through using innovations of both methodological and theoretical natures.

The goal of this research is to inform the theory of motivation with data that is firmly grounded in language learners' experience with the aim of increasing professionals' understanding of why students begin and continue studying foreign languages. It is hoped that the results can be used to enrich the literature on the motivation of foreign language learners.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Chapters 1 and 2 presented the background behind this investigation of why students chose to study advanced, university-level Spanish and what influences they had felt on their language study decisions. This chapter outlines the methods I chose to address a lack of basic descriptive data in the literature as well as to study the effects of students' social and linguistic environments on their academic decisions. A detailed description of the three-part research design follows.

Data Collection and Analysis

I wanted to obtain a rich, culturally significant portrait of participants' cultural models of foreign language study and the influences on their decisions to pursue such learning. I therefore decided to include multiple forms of data collection. Thus, I complemented participant interviews with participant observation and survey information. The methods of data collection and analysis appear below.

Survey

Before beginning the main study in Spring of 1991, I conducted a pilot survey with 18 senior-level students in order to perfect the questionnaire (questionnaire and informational sheets are available in Appendices 1 and 2). Significant changes were necessary. I added specific questions about participants' family ties to Spanish as well as

pointed requests for participant names and telephone numbers. I inquired about participants' hometowns and the amount of time they had lived there. I reworded the section on languages spoken in an attempt to emphasize proficiency over length of language study. Furthermore, the revised questionnaire included separate questions about contact with non-native English speakers, one about family and a second one about other personal acquaintances. A new question about students' academic Spanish study history also appeared. Finally, I included an open-ended question, "Why are you studying Spanish?"

During the period of April 9-15, 1991, I visited all six 300 level Spanish classroom with the revised survey (available in Appendix 11). With the instructors' consent, I explained and handed out the questionnaire during the last 10 minutes of class. The survey results appear in Chapter 4, including the demographic make-up of the 300-level Spanish students and the inductive analyses (Spradley, 1980) of two open-ended questions: "Why are you studying Spanish;" and "Which languages do you speak and how well do you feel you speak them?" For the first question, I broke the answers down into the different component reasons. I then analyzed these data segments and a series of 14 categories of motives emerged. Comparisons of those categories revealed the relationships existing between them. Nine intermediate classifications appeared that I then organized into the four main themes that appear in Chapter 4. I returned to analyze the question about languages and linguistic ability when the interview analysis suggested that students' perceived language competence was an important factor in their study decisions. Chapter 4 presents these results.

Participant Observation

In order to discover what the experience of studying Spanish is like, I conducted approximately 12 hours of observation in two 300-level Spanish courses between February 1 and May 1, 1991. During the same period, I conducted about 10 observations of the student and instructor interactions between the two consecutive classes. I complemented intensive field notes with archival records such as classroom maps, class rolls, syllabi and handouts. In addition, I observed two extra-curricular activities.

This was truly observation by "active participation (Spradley, 1980, p. 58)." Not only was I a graduate of the university and the department I was studying, I was teaching there as well. My relationship with the participating professors was highly complex since I was at once researcher, former student and junior colleague. I had multiple role relationships with students, as well, since I had been a classmate of several of the participants. Spradley (1980) speaks of the dangers and the richness of highly participant observation (1980). Many years of involvement with this cultural group made me privy to enormous amounts of data, much of it undocumentable. On the other hand, I also needed to be consciously attentive to uncovering the patterns of meaning that might have been obscured by my very familiarity with the setting. Maintaining that balance has been a constant preoccupation.

An intensive study of the field notes yielded the contextual data presented in Chapter 4. These data also served as a basic of comparison with interview data, in a technique called "triangulation," designed to check the validity of data obtained through different sources (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984).

Qualitative Interviews

In-depth interviews with 113 students comprised this study's principal data source. (The interview schedule appears in Appendix 5). Conversations varied in length from 35 minutes to one hour and a half. All interviews occurred on campus, most at the library, two outside and one in a professor's office. I audio-taped and transcribed the interviews before preceding to the inductive analysis according to Spradley (1980). This analysis involved a back and forth process in which I read intensively participants' stories in order to discover common patterns of meaning and describe them. I always returned to the data to check the accuracy of those descriptions before continuing on to analyze relationships among new categories of data. I provide an example of the type of analysis in the following passage.

I began by breaking the data down with a series of component questions related to the research question. For example, I broke down the question, "How did students come to study Spanish at the advanced university level," into the following series of questions: a) how did they come to first take a foreign language at all; b) how did they come to choose Spanish; and how did they come to make each decision to continue their formal Spanish studies?

The domain analysis was the next step. In this process, I gathered participants' own words about an important category of data. For example, in analyzing how participants first came to study a foreign language, they provided me with the following categories of reasons: required (4 students); ran out of things to take (1 person); elementary school "programs" or lessons (3 participants); post-university, Peace Corps "preparation" (1 person); no apparent reason (4 students). Charts and illustrations often aided me to perceive the relationship between such participant categories. For example, in

the next step (the semantic analysis) I illustrated the categories previously identified in a chart and then attempted to identify the relationships between these categories. In this example, the first distinction was that some learners began their language studies in academic environments and others did not. All of the students but Harry had begun to learn a foreign language within the traditional schooling environment. Another distinction was that of voluntary versus non-voluntary studies. The three early beginners plus those who spoke of requirements suggested that they had no choice but to study a language. As is typical in this type of analysis, I went back to the data. I studied the stories of those four participants who had not mentioned formal requirements in order to find out whether they had indeed escaped them. Three of the four indicated other types of pressures originating from the academic context that created a sort of expectation that they study. I produced an analytic name for that category, the *2 year norm.* I therefore, had shown that every student except for Maria had been affected by their academic environment in whether they took a foreign language in high school or not. One further look indicated that Maria had not escaped the importance of the linguistic structure, since when she decided to take a foreign language she was faced with a limited number of options. Furthermore, although she did not specifically mention requirements at the high school level she did justify her continued college studies with that pressure. This analysis led me to the conclusion that people began to take a foreign language due to pressures that arose from their academic contexts. Later, at further levels of analysis, I realized that a certain subgroup of students had also faced demands for foreign language studies that arose from the anticipated participation in target language communities. The theory of extrinsic motivation (i.e. societal demands for certain behaviors) allowed me to unite these groups of academic and linguistic pressures under the theme of Needs for foreign language study. Once these were identified as a theme, I returned one final time to the data in order to see at what point in students' linguistic careers

these needs were most important. I found that they were absolutely necessary in getting people to begin their studies. No one began without mentioning one or the other type of need.

Other domain and semantic analyses had produced influences on students' persistence in formal Spanish study. A table in Chapter 5, for example, illustrates the importance of students' perceptions of their success in accounting for their decisions to continue in Spanish. That domain, together with that of being "Into It" (enjoyment) formed the theme of Encouragement. These influences were not enough to get people to begin their studies but were sufficient to account for language study persistence. The results of these pieces of data analysis appears with the rest of the interview data in Chapter 5.

Participants

As I described in Chapter 2, I wanted to know why people wanted to study a foreign language. Therefore, in an effort to minimize the effect of requirements on participants' foreign language study decisions, I chose to study people beyond the second university year. I decided to target the 300-level (third year or junior level) Spanish students. All third-year Spanish students present on the day of the survey participated, with the exception of one woman; I made no effort to locate absent students. Sixty-two people answered the questionnaire. Students enrolled in more than one class filled out just one questionnaire.

Two criteria guided my selection of the classes observed. First of all, I wanted one each of the two major course types offered at this level, literature and conversation. Within the possibilities for each course type, scheduling compatibility was a major deciding factor.

The student participants were those who had independently chosen to enroll in each of those courses that semester.

For the interview, I used observation and survey data as my guides when choosing 14 people to invite for interviews. I used a purposive sample, in which I attempted to include representatives of important sub-categories of participants. For example, I invited men and women in proportions similar to those of the population. In addition, I wanted both Liberal Arts and non-Liberal Arts majors. I chose both traditional Spanish majors and Spanish majors from the new Language and International Commerce program. Based on observational data, I also attempted to include students with both high and low participation rates in class. Furthermore, I invited an older, non-degree seeking student as a discrepant case (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984). The aim of this technique is to deliberately test whether the emergent patterns extended to students other than traditional college students. Finally, as I explained in Chapter 1, I deliberately excluded students with direct ethnic ties to Spanish (either family of origin or through marriage). This decision stemmed from my interest in investigating the motivations of students studying a language characteristic of a linguistic community *other than their own.*

Of the fourteen students invited to participate, one woman declined, citing her heavy work load so close to the end of the semester. Therefore, 13 students granted me interviews. Table 2 demonstrates interview participants' age, sex, major, hometown and (as quoted from the survey) their self-ratings of their Spanish speaking abilities and the reasons they gave for studying the language. In several cases the survey information was later complemented or contradicted in the interviews. In those cases, Table 2 carries the interview version.

During each stage of research, I provided both instructors and students with information sheets and asked them to give their written consent. Appendices 3, 4, 6, 7, 8,

Table 2

Interview Participants' Survey Data: Demographics, Major, Time in Spanish Speaking Countries, Spanish Self-Rating and Reasons for Studying

N = 12

Sex/ Age	Name	Hometown	Major	Months in TLC[1]	Spanish Self-Rating	Why Studying?
F 24	Carol	instate	Theatre 18		Spanish/Engl am fluent & literate in both	I like it.
F 23	Charlotte	instate	Geography (minor: Latin American Studies)	.5	English - like any American	Part of my minor ... & I wanted to
F	Danielle	instate	Economics	1	Spanish - OK	For a minor— ...interest in working in or with the Peace Corp in Latin America when I graduate.
M 19	Fred	out of state	?Broadcasting ?Spanish	0	I can hold my own with the best of them.	I love it!
M 43	Harry	instate	Spanish*	33	...I speak at the Junior or Senior level of College.	To understand the language better and be able to travel there.

[1]TLC = target language country.

Table 2 (cont.)

Sex/ Age	Name	Hometown	Major	Months in TLC	Spanish Self-Rating	Why Studying?
F 19	Julieta	Mover	?Span/?LIC	-	Ø	-
F 20	Karen	out of state	LIC	.5	Spanish - okay/not great	...really enjoy foreign language & it works w/ the LIC program.
M 21	Keith	instate	Journalism	10	English - well Spanish - well, but not as well.	I enjoy the language... plan to continue using it...
F 20	Maria	instate	LIC	1	Spanish (fair)	for business plans w/ Mexico & Canada Free Trade Agreement? gov't service?
F 22	Nicole	out of state	Psychology	0	Spanish is shaky. Need practice in speaking.	...moving back to Miami ... ...to be able to communicate w/ all the latins & Spanish speaking people there. My boyfriend is Cuban also.
F 20	Pat	instate	Spanish + ? Anthropology	1	English - fluent Spanish - so-so	I would like to learn how to speak, read etc... I like the culture.
M 19	Rex	out of state	?Classics ?Spanish ?English	.25	Spanish poorly	interested (6 years) like foreign languages & Spanish has applicability in Florida.

Table 2 (cont.)

Sex/ Age	Name	Hometown	Major	Months in TLC	Spanish Self-Rating	Why Studying?
F 20	Susan*	instate	History	0	English - very well!!	I like it... ...interesting to be able to communicate w/ people of other cultures

9, and 10 illustrate the information and consent forms participants read and signed. In addition, the department head was fully informed of the project and consented orally. As promised, I have assigned pseudonyms for all people and institutions in order to maintain full participant privacy. Finally, Appendix 12 carries a copy of the application for my sponsoring institution's approval of the project according to its Human Subjects committee.

The Researcher and the Research Process

In any qualitative study, the investigator is the principal research instrument, a lense through which data images must pass and be projected. As researcher, I therefore have a responsibility to acquaint the public with the properties of this lense, my biases. In the attempt to identify these biases, I carried on an intense self-analysis throughout the research processes. The following passage presents the results of this analysis.

My foreign language experience may be distilled into the following. My inherent nature combined a love of that which was different with both a passion and an aptitude for language. Experiences brought together those two interests and created a fascination with foreign languages, cultures and peoples. Opportunities to go abroad led to a direct and positive contact with one particular target language culture. Enjoyment and interest encouraged me to continue until success kicked in to add further impetus. During that whole process, my extroversion helped reinforce the effect of my target language contact by reinforcing my commitment to a communicative approach to language based on a holistic perspective of the indivisibility of language, peoples and cultures.

To that foreign language experience, I brought a second intrinsic interest of long-standing nature. Influenced by intimate experience, I had always been fascinated by a study of motive (i.e. I was constantly questioning why it was that people did what they did). In

college, that curiosity led me to study economics, history and anthropology. Faced with a master's thesis, this still unnamed interest in why people do what they do came together with my professional interest in language to form and inform this research project.

Throughout the development of this study, I discovered that my unique interests and experience had created in me expectations quite different than those of my participants. Few students, for example, had shared my wealth of contact with target language speakers. With one exception, they had not come to incorporate the language and its peoples in their self-image. Most had lacked the opportunity to fully hone their language skills. Instead of a holistic approach to language, theirs had been highly analytical one.

Not surprisingly, few participants thoughts of Spanish speakers in the same terms I did. An accident of experience had sent me to Brazil and that country's history was further compounded by academic experience to create in me two things: an American bias and certain connotations with Spanish. I thought of Spanish speaking societies as being marked by the politics of colonization, saddled with unequal income distributions and newly industrializing economies. I began this project partly curious about what would lead people in a prosperous society to be interested in a language which typified people in poverty. This was one bias of which I was quickly disavowed. My students shared neither my Latin American bias nor the image of a language of poverty.

I slowly came to realize that my experience was unique from that of my participants and that they therefore saw things in different hues. They, too believed that they were learning in order to speak to target speakers. However, most still felt that their experience had denied them that opportunity.

Chapter 4 follows with the first descriptions of the experience and cultural models of third year Spanish students at Foreston State University.

CHAPTER 4

OBSERVATION AND SURVEY DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter draws on observation and survey data in order to describe Foreston State University, its junior-level Spanish students and a typical day in Spanish class. I begin with a portrait of the university and a typical day in two upper-division Spanish classes. Then, armed with survey data, I describe the students according to their demographical breakdown, majors and contact with Spanish speakers. Subsequently, I present their reasons for studying Spanish and their self-ratings of their Spanish speaking ability.

Sociocultural Context

I drew the following description of Foreston State University and two Spanish junior-level Spanish classes from observation data. The goal is to let the reader in on the sites, sights and sounds of foreign language study at the college level.

Foreston State University

From my office window in the tallest building on campus, I was able to survey the setting for this project. I looked out on Forestville's downtown, nestled in spring trees between the river, the mountains, the university. Commerce in the area was struggling to survive as this medium-sized city grew ever westward, towards the suburbs.

The mountains and the region's relative poverty had sheltered this city and its people. At this state university, professors and staff from other regions were often shocked by the intellectual shelter the students had suffered. At least one of the professors from the Language Department suggested that all new faculty members receive cross-cultural training in order to help them better understand their Appalachian students.

I had been one of those Appalachian students. I was from there. I had studied there. I was teaching there. As I looked out at the mountains I wondered what had drawn me beyond those hills long enough to learn the languages and cultures of those different from me. What, in turn, was leading our students to attempt to master the tongues of peoples whose homes lay far from this river valley?

In order to find out, I waited for a slow elevator to carry me down from Norris Tower to its Siamese twin, Innis Hall, the home of most foreign language classes. In counterpoint to the narrow height of the office building, Innis was a long short structure facing north to south in the middle of campus. On the top floor, west side, was the language laboratory. This complex of rooms provided audio and video materials both for instruction as well as for students' use outside of class. Classroom 277 was directly across the hall. Many Spanish classes occurred there, including the two portrayed below.

A Typical Day in Room 277

Literatura/*Literature*

It was about 1:10 on a spring afternoon. The bell had just signalled the end of the preceding class. Several young women were sitting outside the door, waiting for Literature class to begin. They had out packets of xeroxed class materials and were talking about that day's Spanish assignment, in English. Another young woman walked up and sat down

with them, while an elderly classmate appeared to listen to them as she leaned against the far wall of the corridor.

The students from the previous class slowly emptied the room, leaving the seats in a rough horseshoe shape. The previous professor erased the chalkboard as the women wandered into Literature class, singly or in pairs. There were only two men enrolled in this literature class and one of them, Nick, brought a can of Coca-Cola and peanut candies with him. Most of the students sat quietly. Others spoke in English as they discussed the local production of a Spanish play they were required to see. It was a world premier of a new English language translation of Garcia Lorca's Blood Wedding. "I'm getting tickets for Thursday," said one. "I was disappointed in the death scene," commented another.

The English chit chat continued until Dr. Rodrigues entered the room. Although only one student answered her Spanish greeting, the professor continued on in Spanish, writing an announcement on the board about an academic presentation. Two Mexican scholars would speak the next week about Latin American Theater. After several minutes of small talk in Spanish, the instructor called the students' attention to the lecture. The talk, she said, was not about Spanish Literature, but Mexican. But, she added, "vale la peña/ *it's worth going to see.*"

For the first time since she had come into the classroom, Dr. Rodrigues switched into English, asking, "Does anyone of you mind putting up a flier about the symposium?" Several of the students took some of the xerox copies. There were no more announcements and the teacher began discussing that day's reading.

Several students would later tell me that they felt inhibited in this literature class. For many, it was the first time they had taken a class in which all the material was taught and discussed only in Spanish. Several reported feeling intimidated by this fact. Many complained about the great variation in the level of students' fluency. Weaker students felt

frustrated when they were unable to understand the lectures or the readings. More fluent students (usually who had lived abroad) were also frustrated by the lack of challenge. The result was a class marked by uncomfortable silences. In this sense, the following description was typical.

Dr. Rodrigues did most of the talking as she discussed a play's plot and narrative structure. Lectures alternated with periods in which her questions were answered with student silence. For example, at one point she asked if anyone one had any questions. When none were forthcoming, she asked one herself, "¿Por qué tenemos una sopresa en el final del acto?/ *Why do we have a surprise in the end of the act?*" When no one answered, she continued in Spanish, asking if they were surprised at what happened in the end of the act. When no one said anything, she must have assumed that the answer was negative. She answered her own question, "¿No? Ustedes son muy inteligentes./ *No? [you were not surprised?]You all are very intelligent.*" Finally Nick broke the awkward silence, saying, "Hemos hablado de esto./ *We've already talked about this.*" Dr. Rodrigues switched into English, with a sad sound to her voice. "Oh, I spoiled it, didn't I?" There was no surprise.

When the professor asked about the writer's style, infrequent student answers shortened to two words or less. Vickie volunteered, saying the style is "Muy descritivo/ *very descriptive.*" Dr. Rodrigues echoed the beat, asking, "¿De qué/ *descriptive of what/?*" Vickie's answer, "De todo/*descriptive of everything..*" After a few examples, the teacher returned to the two word rhythm, with "¿Algo más/*Anything else?*" Nancy then broke the staccato rhythm suggesting that they look on page number 138, paragraph one.

Near the end of class Dr. Rodrigues returned to the previous question "del lenguaje de las palabras/ *about the writer's linguistic style.*" She switched into English. "Every time I ask this I never get the right answer." She laughed, looking nervous. There was no

answer offered to her inquiry about whether they needed to look up more words in the dictionary than usual. When no one said anything, she did, "Bueno. La verdad es que el lenguaje es bastante simple...común...y corriente....No es lenguaje muy literário/*Well, the fact is that the style is quite simple...everyday...and up to date....It is not a highly literary style.*"

The bell rang signalling the end of class. As she often did, Dr. Rodrigues asked the class's permission to continue on for a bit more. She must have interpreted the silence to indicate a lack of objections since she lectured for a few extra minutes. She then signalled the end of class by making another announcement as people got up to leave, gathering book bags, purses and drinks. A couple of students walked up to the table to talk to the teacher as others wandered out as they had wandered in, singly or in pairs.

La Clase de Conversación/*Conversation Class*

Students leaving Literature class passed those waiting for Conversation in the hallway. Danielle walked purposefully by and joined Nanci and Derek in the language laboratory. They had gone to listen to the Spanish radio soap opera they would take a quiz on as soon as class began.

Inside the classroom, the Conversation students talked to each other more than the Literature students had. They often greeted each other in Spanish, and then switched into English to talk about their personal lives, the weather or their courses. Kevin and Fred, were talking about Spanish. John asked Susan a vocabulary question and then turned to the other classmates, asking, "Does anyone have the February issue of Life?" In a combination of Spanish and English, he explained that he was looking for "dos artículos/*two articles*" about a public figure.

Once the instructor entered the classroom the language became almost exclusively Spanish as he led students in the period of small talk with which he typically began class. Dr. Goodson asked, "¿Están ustedes cansados/ *Are you all tired?*" Several answered, "Sí/*Yes*?" "¿Por qué?/*Why*," he inquired. One of the men commented, "Porque hay muchos examenes y papeles/ *Because there are so many exams and papers.*" The professor then explained that you can not use the straight translation for paper, "papel," for an academic paper. He suggested situations in which you might call a 'paper' an "informe/*report*," "investigación/*investigation*", or a "composición sobre un tema de la literatura/*a composition about a literary topic.*"

Students participated a lot in this class. The introductory talk continued and most were very attentive and laughed at the instructors' constant jokes. The teacher had a typical stance with his legs flexed with his body bent forward toward the students. He would often say something to the class and wait, usually smiling, to see if their reaction indicated their comprehension. It generally did.

For example, Dr. Goodson asked why Derek was happy that day. The students said maybe it was because the "fin de semana/*week end*" was arriving. The professor shook his head in an exaggerated manner and said sternly, "Equivocado/*Wrong!*" Several students laughed. Dr. Goodson asked Susan why Derek was happy. She smiled and said, "No conozco Derek muy bien/*I don't know Derek very well.*" His and Susan's playful exchange continued until she said that Derek must be happy because he "está en el clase de español/*he is in Spanish class.*" Dramatically mimicking an expression of relief, the instructor replied, "Claro, en fin/*Of course, at last..*"

After a few more minutes, the instructor made the transition into class by asking if anyone had any announcements. Norma announced that there would be an International Dance at a local discotheque with Latin American music. Then, as always, they discussed

the weekly audio-taped soap opera before the quiz. They briefly reviewed the plot, although most of the questions referred to vocabulary. Derek asked, "¿Cómo se dice 'bribe'?/ *How do you say, 'bribe*?" The professor wrote two possibilities on the board. Harry (who had lived in Central America in the Peace Corps) asked if there was not a "palabra diferente que se usa en America Latina/*a different word, used in Latin America*?" Dr. Goodson answered that there is another word, "mordida/*bite*" that is used in Mexico. Harry said that that was the word he was thinking of. They talked about how common bribes were in Latin America before Dr. Goodson signaled the beginning of the quiz, saying, "Saquen ustedes una oja de papel / *Take out a piece of paper.*"

After the quiz, they reviewed the answers question by question. Students volunteered or sometimes the instructor called on someone. The conversation often spun off to related subjects. Dr. Goodson periodically corrected people's grammar or vocabulary. After one such correction, he commented in English that language learning is a life-long process. "It gives us the opportunity to always be learning something," he said.

Shortly thereafter, Dr. Goodson signalled the next activity by saying, "Bueno/*Well*," and picking up a textbook. In a vocabulary lesson about homes, students used the new words by answering the teacher's about what social class the owners of the pictured house might belong to. They pretended they were real estate agents and described that house to clients over the phone. One of the students tried to say that the house had a garage and called it the "cuarto de coche /*car's room.*" Dr. Goodson reminded the class that an important skill as one advances in language is that of "circumlocution." He asked for a volunteer to define it and someone explained that it meant describing the thing that you did not know the word for.

The bell rang and Dr. Goodson gave assignments. Students should be ready to talk about their ideal house for Monday. He reminded them to be working on the first draft of

their compositions due next week. Students began to wander out. Three walked to the table at the front of the class to talk privately with Dr. Goodson. Nicole asked about a composition. He complimented her work, saying, "You obviously have a good ear for languages." Mary Lynn asked for suggestions for an elective Spanish course that she could take that would improve her speaking skills. He suggested two courses. She told him a funny story about working at the university radio station.

Harry chose to speak in Spanish as he explained that he would have to miss a class. "No hay problema/ *That's alright,*" Dr. Goodson replied. Harry wanted to know what the assignment would be for Wednesday, "además del borrador/*Besides the rough draft.*" Dr. Goodson told him and then erased the chalkboard before heading out the door and back toward his office on the sixth floor of Norris Tower.

Susan, Kevin, Fred, Nicole, Derek and the others headed away from room 277 to unseen parts of their lives. Twelve of those students from Rodrigues's and Goodson's classes in 277 agreed to be interviewed. The themes of those interviews appear in Chapter 5 and each of their stories appears in Chapter 6.

Presentation of Survey Data

A sketch of Foreston State's Spanish students follows that is based on information culled from their surveys. In addition to the group's demographic make-up, it presents their self-ratings of Spanish proficiency and some reasons for studying the language.

As Table 3 demonstrates below, the typical Spanish student was a young woman from within the state of Foreston who was studying within the College of Liberal Arts. Students' average age was 22.

Table 3

Third-Year Spanish Students by

Age, Sex and Hometown

N = 62

Age[1]			Hometown			Major		
	M	F		M	F		M	F
18	2	2	International	2	1	Communications	5	5
19	6	14						
20	3	8	Out of state	3	6	Business	2	2
21	3	9						
22	1	3	Instate	13	34	Liberal Arts:		
23	1	0				-Non Spanish	2	13
24	0	2	Movers[2]	0	3	-Spanish minor	1	1
25	0	1				-Spanish major	2	4
26	2	0				-LIC[3]	4	8
27	1	0				-Potential Spanish major	2	3
31	1	1						
43	1	0				Education:		
82	0	1				-Spanish	0	3
						-Non Spanish	0	2
						Miscellaneous:	1	2
N=62	19	43		19	43		19	43

1 Average age was 22; median age was 20.

2 Students who indicated several hometowns with no one city more heavily represented in time.

3 Language and International Commerce program majors.

I was particularly interested in discovering how much contact each student had had with Spanish native speakers. I defined such contact in three ways. First, I defined a family tie to Spanish as having a native Spanish speaker as a blood relation or related by marriage to one's own siblings or parents' siblings. Second, students with any Spanish-speaking acquaintances besides an instructor were counted. Finally, one question asked about their international travel experiences. I arbitrarily chose to divide the students according to the following categories: at least a continuous month; less than a month; no time; and no answer. Table 4 displays the results of this analysis of target speaker contact. Most students had had a minimum of contact, although a sizeable minority said that they had had neither travel nor Spanish-speaking acquaintances. A substantial minority had never traveled in a Spanish-speaking country, while over half had had that opportunity. Finally, 10 students had family ties to Spanish (16%), while the majority (52 of 62) did not. The amount of target culture contact, therefore, varied considerably. The same classrooms brought together people who were born in Spanish speaking families and those who had never known a native speaker other than a teacher. Some students had never spoken the language outside of the classroom while others had spent over a year living the foreign tongue.

There was one thing, however, that all these people shared. They were all students and all but two women (Sara, the 82 year-old and one younger woman) said on their survey's that they were enrolled in degree-granting programs. (Two of the men indicated on their survey that they were seeking a degree at FSU, but were not in fact doing so.) Figure 2 illustrates which colleges participants were enrolled in. Of FSU's ten divisions, or colleges, just five were represented. None of the third-year Spanish students came from the Colleges of Engineering, Nursing, Agriculture or Social Work. The College of Liberal Arts housed most students, followed by the College of Communications. Smaller numbers

Table 4

Third Year Spanish Students'

Target Culture Contact

N = 62

	Experience Abroad[1]				Spanish Speaking Family[2]		Spanish Speaking Acquaintances[3]		
	Mth. Min.	Some Time	No Time	No Answer	Yes	No	Yes	No	Indeter-minate
N =	20	15	26	1	10	52	42	16	4
%	32	24	42	2	16	84	68	26	6

[1]Experience Abroad is divided into four response categories: a) Mth Min = One continuous month's stay in one country; b) Some Time = Less than one continuous month, or an unspecified time period; c) No Time = No indication of any travel in a Spanish speaking country; d) No Answer = Question left blank

[2]Spanish-Speaking Family constitutes two categories: a) Yes = any indication of blood relation to a native Spanish speaker or relationship by marriage to students' immediate family or that of their parents.

[3]Spanish-Speaking Acquaintances has three categories: a) Yes = any mention of any acquaintances besides an instructor; b) No = no mention of any acquaintances besides a teacher; c) Indeterminate Answer = no answer or no mention of the languages spoken by acquaintances.

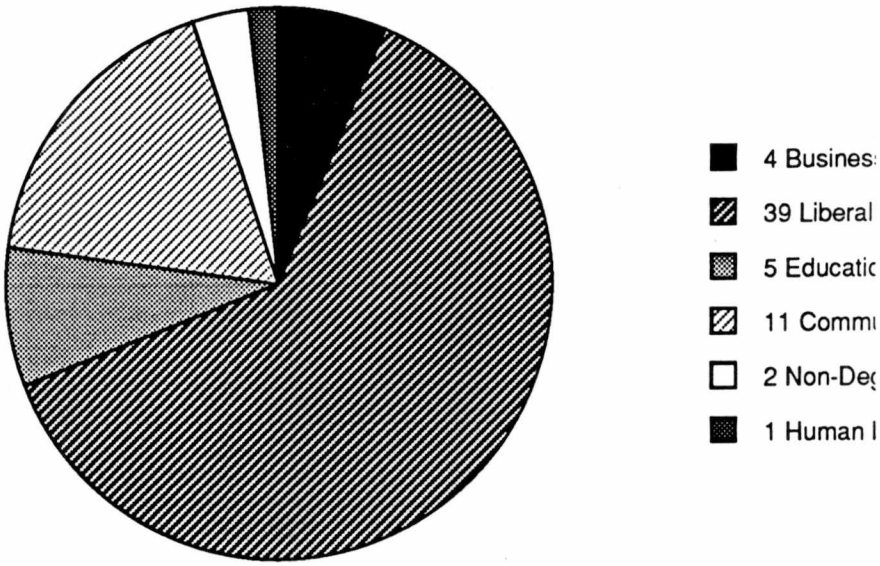


Figure 2

Third-Year Spanish Students' Distribution by College and Major

of students came from the Colleges of Business Administration, Education, and Human Ecology. One woman in the Language and International Commerce (LIC) program of the College of Liberal Arts was also considering switching to the College of Architecture.

Independently of which college they were in, just under half of the students were either actively pursuing or considering switching into a Spanish concentration (major or minor). Most of those came from the College of Liberal Arts, although the College of Education contributed three Spanish Education majors, while one young Communications student was considering a switch into Spanish. These numbers indicate, of course, that more than half of 300-level students (about 55%) did not intend to obtain either a Spanish major or minor.

A significant number of students came from outside the college of Liberal Arts to complement their studies, independently of any official Spanish concentration. They came from Communications, Business, non-Spanish Education majors, Human Ecology and Hotel and Restaurant Administration.

The Language and International Commerce (LIC) program contributed the largest number of majors to 300-level Spanish classes. It was a relatively new, multi-disciplinary major offered by the College of Liberal Arts by the Language Departments. Available to French and Spanish students, of the Language Department, the Foreston State University catalog described the program in the following terms:

> Students who wish to prepare for careers in international business may complete (a) a special major in either French or Spanish, (b) a professional emphasis in either International Business or International Logistics and Transportation, and (c) some form of practical experience related to the concentration. Admission is by permission of the program director (1990, p. 114).

In addition to the LIC students, an additional six people were pursuing traditional Spanish majors while four more were also Liberal Arts students considering a switch into that major.

In summary, almost half of the third-year Spanish students were pursuing (or considering pursuing) an academic specialization in the language. That fact begs the question of how they came to choose their majors and minors. In fact, that curiosity applies just as well to the slightly larger number of people with no apparent academic requirement for their language study. The results of an inductive analysis of the open ended questions about students' reasons for their linguistic studies follows.

Reasons for Studying Spanish

Figure 3 outlines the reasons students gave for studying Spanish, using illustrative quotes. When an appropriate quote was not available, I coined a category name and these researcher-generated titles are *in italics*. The numbers to the right refer to the absolute number of students indicating that reason for and the percentage they comprised of the responding 60 participants. Since many students mentioned more than one reason, the absolute numbers far exceed the number of total respondents. In fact, 110 individual reasons were coded for 60 participants. Two people left this question blank.

The analysis of students' responses yielded four types of reasons: to communicate with people; *experience*; en*JOYment;* and educational goals.

To Communicate with People

This first category united people interested in one of two types of communication. The first category, "To Talk to People," emphasized the use of language in order to communicate with individuals. In the sub-category called "and my mom's Columbian", students mentioned a particular individual (Moms, pen pals, boyfriends and general family members) who had prompted their interest in Spanish. In contrast, answers in the sub-

EXAMPLES OF REASONS TO STUDY SPANISH	N	% of Total Students
I. To communicate with people		
Talk to people		
...and my mom's Columbian	6	10
...I also love to communicate w/ people of different cultures.	9	15
Spanish has much applicability		
I think I might have a great deal of opportunity to use it	10	17
...the shrinking world we live in...	5	8
II. *Experiences*		
In school		
...have to take a foreign language	1	2
...made it a part of my major	9	15
...I pick it up easily	3	5
...I didn't see any reason to stop	6	
...my Mom took Spanish (*anticipatory socialization)*	1	2
In the country		
I learned it in Venezuela...	2	3
III. I love It!		
I love to travel	2	3
I like the culture..		
...of Spain *(or any specific Spanish speaking peoples or regions)*	3	5
...enjoy learning about other cultures	1	2
I like the language		
I love Spanish	26	43
I really enjoy foreign language	6	10
IV. One of my educational goals is... *(expected gains)*		
Future Jobs		
...language work among tribal groups (*specific job goal)*	9	15
...get a good job	8	13
Proficiency acquisition and maintenance		
I want to keep my proficiency	2	3
I would like to become fluent	7	12
I feel it is important to know another language	9	15

Figure 3

Students' Reasons for Studying Spanish

category "I also love to communicate with/ people of different cultures" emphasized a more generalized cross-cultural interest.

The category titled, "Spanish has Much Applicability" united answers referring to world demography and global sociolinguistic contexts. In "The Shrinking World We Live in", five students cited an increasing global contact and the desirability of learning a foreign language, as one student said,

> Due to the shrinking world we live in, knowing a second language is vital rather than a luxury. Since Spanish is the language I would be in contact with most, I feel it is necessary to develop my capacity for it so I can better fit in to the world.

I named the second group, "I might just have a great deal of opportunity to use it." These people also cited social context factors, emphasizing the usefulness of the language over any moral obligation for speaking it.

Experience

Some students traced their Spanish studies back to some related experience. Two students hoped to maintain or improve the Spanish proficiency they had acquired abroad. In the words of a 27 year-old Pre-Veterinary student, "I learned it in Venezuela at 16 and want to retain it."

Schooling experiences were more commonly cited, however. Within that context, influences included family members' examples, language requirements, and the need to choose academic specializations. Furthermore, language learning successes encouraged some students, while an interesting group spoke of sort of linguistic inertia. These people mentioned that they had been studying for years (e.g. "since middle school") as though that history were enough explanation. One 19 year-old LIC major summarized these academic influences (all but the language requirements) when she wrote,

> I began taking Spanish as a freshman in high school. I enjoyed it (& still do) and my teachers all told me I had an innate ability for it. So, after taking honors Spanish for 4 yrs. in h.s. I didn't see any reason to stop so I made it part of my major.

I love it!

Pure enjoyment was the most common reason for studying Spanish. "I love it!" comprised three taxonomies. A love of travel or culture or languages in general attracted some students. However, the most popular reason (26 of 60 people), was a love of Spanish, as Fred said, "I love it!"

My Educational Goals

Many students framed their reasons Spanish study in terms of what they wanted to get out of it, either future jobs or language proficiency. Two ways of speaking about vocational goals differed according to the degree of specificity. Those with clear goals requiring Spanish appeared in the "Language Work among Tribal Groups" section. The "Get a Good Job" domain brought together learners with more vague goals like the student who said, "...having a foreign language as a major open (sic) a lot of doors for your career."

The title of the *Proficiency Acquisition and Maintenance* category is self-explanatory. The subgroups united people according to the level of proficiency they hoped to obtain. Some hoped to maintain, while others hoped to obtain fluency. Those in the last group did not appear to have such ambitious goals, since just knowing another language appeared to them sufficient.

After identifying the four types of reasons for studying Spanish, I investigated the relationship between students' majors and the reasons that they gave. Table 5 displays (in absolute and percentage numbers) the frequency with which each group of majors gave

Table 5

Students by Major and Their Reasons for Spanish Study

N= 60

Majors	n	To communicate	Experience	I Love It!	Goals
Business Majors	4	0 (0.0)	2 (.50)	2 (.50)	2 (.50)
Non-Spanish Education	2	1 (.50)	2 (1.0)	1 (.50)	1 (.50)
Communications	10	7 (.70)	1 (.10)	5 (.50)	4 (.40)
Miscellaneous	3	1 (.33)	0 (0.0)	2 (.66)	2 (.66)
Non-Spanish Liberal Arts Majors	15	8 (.53)	6 (.40)	6 (.40)	8 (.53)
Liberal Arts With Spanish &/Related Minors	2	1 (.50)	1 (.50)	2 (1.0)	0 (0.0)
Possible Spanish Majors	5	1 (.20)	1 (.20)	4 (.80)	1 (.20)
Spanish majors	5	2 (.33)	1 (.16)	5 (.83)	3 (.50)
Spanish Education Majors	3	2 (.66)	0 (0.0)	2 (.66)	2 (.66)
LIC majors	11	2 (.17)	4 (.33)	8 (.67)	5 (.42)
All Students:	60	25 (.42)	18 (.30)	37 (.62)	28 (.47)

each reason for Spanish study. Many students gave multiple reasons and therefore the number of reasons far exceeds the number of respondents (60).

Two interesting relationships emerged from this analysis. First of all, the "To Communicate with People" theme was preferred by the Communications students more strongly than average (70% of its majors versus a 42% average of all students). The Business and LIC students, on the other hand, indicated this communication motive in numbers markedly below the average (0% and 8%, respectively). Other majors mentioned this reason in numbers close to average.

A second relationship referred to the enjoyment theme. Although it was the most common reason for Spanish study, only 40% of the Liberal Arts students (with neither Spanish majors nor minors) justified their language this way. On the other hand, 100% (two of two) of the Liberal Arts majors with a Spanish minor, however, indicated this *enJOYment* factor. This might suggest that those who most enthusiastically enjoyed the language went to the extra trouble to get a language minor.

In conclusion, why did these people tell me they were studying Spanish? The largest minority said they were doing it out of enjoyment of the language itself (43%) or an interest either in the travel or the cultural knowledge they associated with the language. Others were led to Spanish by either academic or travel experiences. Several had specific vocational or language proficiency goals that the Spanish study contributed to achieving. Finally, quite a few hoped to use the language for communication: with someone they knew or people in general; some mentioned specific regions (Miami, Fl, US) but others appeared to anticipate opportunities to use Spanish in many places, apparently basing their idea on the much commented increasing global context in the world today, "the shrinking world."

Perceived Competence in Spanish

Whether born in the classroom or Venezuela, most of these students' interest concentrated on the spoken use of the language. Another open-ended survey question asked them about the languages they spoke and "how well" they thought they spoke them. I discuss their answers below.

The interview analysis drew my attention to the ways in which learners assess their own foreign language proficiency. When I returned to analyze this question, I found answers similar to three of the measures of Spanish speaking ability from the interview analysis. For example, three people appeared to be using external, or recognition, measures to rate their Spanish. They used external measures of their abilities such as test results, "intermediate high," or the number of years of study "I speak at the junior or senior level of college.". Another three students attempted to express their ability levels by comparing themselves to others. Examples include "I can hold my own with the best of them," or "average." Finally, seven learners communicated their perceived proficiency levels by describing their competence, in other words, what they felt able to perform in the language. One person, for example, said "I could get around Mexico" while another said, "My Spanish is good enough for me to converse and at least understand the general idea of the conversation." These categories are of interest to the degree that they parallel self-measures of language learning success (specifically, recognition, comparison and competence) that emerged out of the interview analysis and that will appear in Chapter 5.

Most students, however, limited themselves to answering the question of which languages they spoke and how well they spoke them. Table 6 displays the results of an inductive analysis of those answers. Four categories of self-ratings appeared in ascending

Table 6

Students' Self-Ratings of Spanish Competence,

Citation Frequency and Selected Examples

N = 50 Responses

CATEGORIES	NOT COMPETENT	POOR AT BEST	FAIRLY COM-FORTABLE	I SPEAK SPANISH WELL
NUMBER OF RESPONSES IN CATEGORY	4	10	19	17
SELECTED EXAMPLES OF RESPONSES	English very well! English I have dabbled in French, Italian & Portuguese, but don't speak them. English - like any American	Spanish. Poor, at best. Spanish - basic, rudimentary I sort of speak *Español.* Spanish is shaky. Need practice in speaking.	Fairly comfortable Intermediate As well as can be expected Fair Ok/ not great Mas o menos bien/ *more or less well*	Pretty well I am able to communicat e myself pretty well in Spanish. I speak English like a native and Spanish well.

order of competence. The *Not Competent* category included the four students who refused to rate their Spanish abilities at all, as if they did not speak the language. Poor at Best includes students whose answers emphasized the limits on their competency. Nineteen students indicated that they felt fairly comfortable with their Spanish competence, while 17 people felt they spoke pretty well, well, or fluently.

It must be remembered that these self-ratings may or may not correspond to external measures of fluency. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that 34 per cent of students thought that they spoke "pretty well" or better, while, on the other hand almost thirty percent (28%) felt that they spoke not at all or "poor at best." Chapter 5 follows revealing the importance of these self-ratings. A brief preview reveals that learners' perceptions of their success in learning Spanish emerged as one of the key variables in language study persistence. Most students felt encouraged by their success and discouraged in its absence. Thus, Table 6 suggests that most students felt fairly or quite successful,while 14 were at risk for getting discouraged at studying Spanish.

Conclusion

This chapter presented a rough outline of FSU's 300-level Spanish students. Some slight patterns emerged to describe these students. They were more likely to be women than men. Most were young. There was a strong tendency for them to be studying within the colleges of Liberal Arts or Communications. A substantial minority was contemplating a specialization in Spanish. They most frequently cited their enjoyment to justify their studies, although other commonly mentioned reasons included: concern with future use, vocational or otherwise; academic specializations; the goal of foreign language competence. In spite of those tendencies, variety described this group in key factors. Their contact with

Spanish-speaking cultures varied from nil to intense and their perceived Spanish competence ranged from the very low to fluent. Indeed, it was their participation in Spanish class that united these students from small towns and metropolises, from Foreston and Venezuela. Chapter 5 follows with an analysis of what Spanish study meant to these young people, how they felt they had arrived at an advanced university level of foreign language and what had influenced them to continue to that point.

CHAPTER 5

INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the analysis of participant interviews. I was particularly interested in how learners' social context might have influenced their motivation to study a foreign language. Previous research called my attention to the potential importance of the greater sociolinguistic context in affecting students' attitudes toward target language speakers and, consequently, their language learning motivation. These stories, however, alerted me to the weight of the more immediate context, that of the formal academic environment. In fact, the common patterns of influence on these peoples' lives only began to emerge when I attended to their experience within rather than that outside of the institution. I had to concentrate, first of all, on participants' concepts of schooling itself. Once those were identified, the common traits of their journeys toward advanced university Spanish study began to appear.

Cultural models (Strauss, 1991, D'Andrade, 1991) are social messages that guide the behavior of the group which produced them by acting as mental filters which aid people in interpreting their perceptions and are even capable of stimulating action. Considerable variation exists, however, in the quality and degree of influence that the messages have on individual group members. Some of the factors which determine the effect of a cultural model on the behavior of individuals include: the degree to which they internalized particular messages; and their previous experience and emotions associated with that experience. The next section discusses aspects of a cultural model of schooling which emerged as influential in explaining how a group of disparate people made a series of

separate choices which led them to share a similar experience. Their particular stories appear in abbreviated form in the following chapter.

More important than their enrollment in Spanish class, what made sense of these peoples stories was their common participation in the cultural process of schooling. (With the exception of Harry, each of the interviewees was enrolled in the university with the intention of getting a diploma.) Their participation in that formal, educational context created two major patterns on influence on their language study decisions. The following section discusses the idea (or cultural model) that schooling serves as a preparation for the future. This idea of schooling as preparation created a unique pattern of time which (once understood) helped clarify my perception of other influences. After illustrating the pattern of academic time below, I outline the shape of the motivational influences felt defined by the students as needs for Spanish study and encouragements for language study persistence.

"To Prepare Me...": Patterns of Academic Time

A chronological analysis of participants' foreign language decisions revealed that influences on those choices spread themselves over three time periods. In explaining their decisions students appealed to past experience, present conditions and anticipations of their futures. Therefore, I had to interpret each student narrative as a story about the process of schooling and how it related both to people's experience and their anticipated futures. The importance of such futures originated in a cultural model of schooling as preparation. Spanish study, as a component of schooling, was supposed to prepare people as well. Few students knew specifically what they were preparing for and that opened up the opportunities for diverse influences to work on their decisions that I detail below. The

important thing was that schooling was seen to lead to something else, something unknown. Consequently, students simultaneously suffered influences originating in three separate points in time.

To the demands of every present, students brought the color of their experience while they worked toward preparing for that hidden future. Past influences included personal and academic experiences. Present-time influences included demands arising from students' social contexts as well as participants' positive feelings arising from their enjoyment and successes about academic activities. All students projected into that veiled future. Future vocations were the most common future influence on language study decisions, while others mentioned diverse applications of their current language studies. But all mentioned that future as an influence. In other words, these people were navigating their way through the demands of their academic and linguistic contexts on their way from a past and into an anticipated future.

Figure 4 illustrates the polychronic nature of each decision-making moment. Each decision about studying Spanish suffered the influence of the actor's experience and was aimed at the future. Two characteristics of this framework are especially important: the recyclical nature of experience; and individual variation.

For these students, time was dynamic and constantly updating itself. What was once present was always recycled into tomorrow's experience. Furthermore, even yesterday's expectations about the future became part of a person's experience whether they came true or not. Fred, for instance, was discouraged about Spanish at the end of his third year in high school. However, a new teacher led to a great increase in motivation. He described the change, saying, "...I did a complete turn around. I liked my teacher. I got along with him very well. He motivated me..." The sharp contrast between frustration and discouragement one semester and success and motivation the next created a special

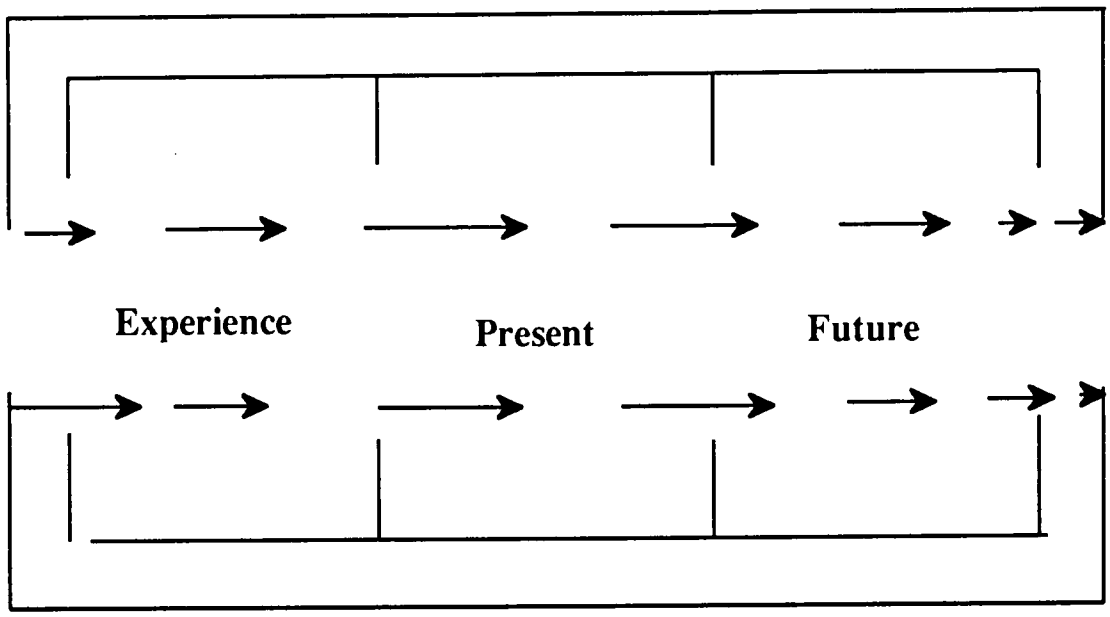


Figure 4

Structure of Time in Academic

Decision-Making

sense of excitement for Fred. Through memory, that experience stayed with him and would later color the way he looked at future decisions.

The second characteristic of experience involves individual variation in the application of cultural models of schooling. These students differed, for example, in the strength they accorded to similar experience. The student-teacher relationship was a telling example. Each person must have multiple teachers over the years. For example, Rex had been studying Spanish for nine years, yet he might never have mentioned any of his instructors unless I had probed about the influence of people on his Spanish interest. In clear opposition, teachers were a important motivating factor for Charlotte, who analyzed each instructor in terms of his/her level of "caring", "interest" and "fairness". She described an important teacher this way,

> She kept me wanting to learn more Spanish. And she was always interested in my family and me. And I think that means a lot, especially in high school, when you have a teacher who cares. It makes you want to excel and stuff.

Teachers were much more important in accounting for Charli's motivation than they were for Rex's. Similarly, every influential factor on Spanish study motivation described below will have a different role with distinct weights for each individual learner.

Before presenting the specific influences on people's Spanish study decisions, two individual choices illustrate the polychronic nature of time below.

Two Examples

Figure 5 illustrates Danielle's decision to first take Spanish. She was in Junior High School in a small town in Foreston State. She brought with her the experience of having lived in New Mexico where her parents had worked in V.I.S.T.A. (the national service corps). She did not refer to her past, however, when justifying this particular

EXPERIENCE	PRESENT	FUTURE
Geographical Personal Lived in N. Mexico People Example Parents moved to N. Mexico Relationship Friends in N. Mexico	School Offered only Spanish	School Requirements

Figure 5

Danielle's Decision to Begin Spanish Study

choice. Instead, she firmly placed the decision on the future demands of the formal school curriculum. Danielle summarized that choice by saying that she was "kind of being thrown into it [Spanish] because that was the only language offered and I knew I was going to have to take it."

Figure 6 describes Keith's manipulation of curricular demands. In his case, the curriculum discouraged his continued study, since he was unable to receive academic recognition for it in the form of a minor. Another student might have quit studying. However, Keith had decided in sixth grade to become a missionary and ever since that goal had became a highest level motive, capable of encouraging his persistence throughout many language study frustrations. Thus, in spite of the lack of extrinsic encouragement (the minor), the young man was guided by his long-standing goal (and encouraged by linguistic successes and enjoyment) and he decided to continue.

In the examples above, Keith was intimately guided by his future goals in his Spanish study decisions. Danielle, on the other hand, lacking that compelling vision, used her academic present and future to help her decide to enroll in the language while in junior high. The future was always there and always important, although in vastly different ways. School was always a preparation. Every participant spoke about future applications of their language studies, in teaching Spanish (Susan) or future travel (Harry) or educational psychology (Nicole). That orientation towards the future created the pattern of time just outlined, in which participants simultaneously underwent influence of factors from their present moments, their past experience and their ability to imagine the unknown.

Influences on Spanish Study: Needs and Encouragements

Once the structure of time in students' decision-making became apparent, patterns

EXPERIENCE	PRESENT	ANTICIPATED FUTURE
Geography Lived Texas Traveled Mexico El Salvador People Opportunity relief work in El Salvador Example Dr. North church missionaries Witness Friend, personality change in Spanish School Requirements Doing Well Into It Vocational Plans in X Missionary Pilot Latin America Foreign Church work, Pastoring in Latin America	School Structure Requirements Journalism major Offered Spanish minor Spanish and Its Speakers Linguistic Goals "saber hablar/*to know how to speak it*"	Vocational Plans in X Foreign Church Work Latin America = Need - Spanish ability, not minor

Figure 6

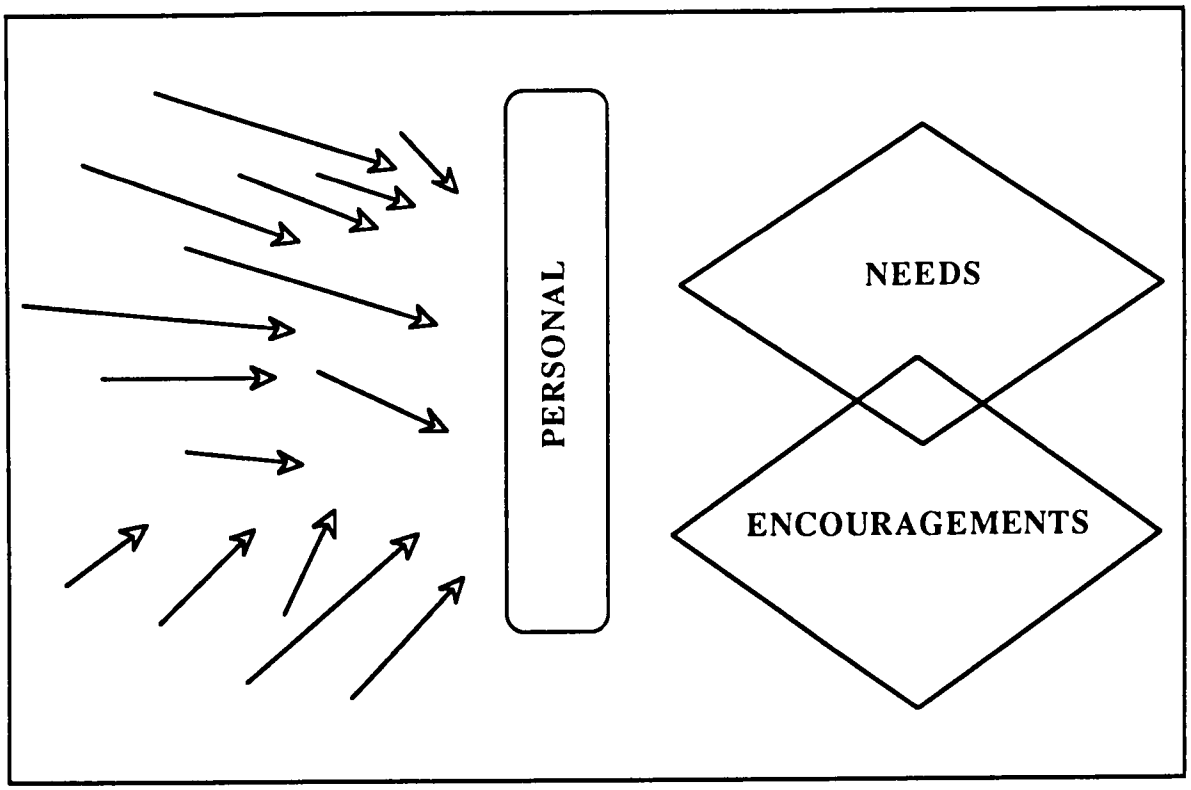
Keith's Decision to Continue Spanish Study

Without Academic Recognition

of influences revealed themselves. Figure 7 below illustrates a representation of motivation (based on a combination of the theories of motivation D'Andrade, 1991, Deci and Ryan, 1985, 1991 and Strauss, 1991 described in Chapter 2) that made sense out of thirteen stories of academic decisions. As D'Andrade and Strauss proposed, people receive from society a combination of experience and cultural messages, which they bring inside themselves for interpretation. Figure 8 details the components of that internal process and interprets such stimuli together with learners' own personal interests and talents (Deci and Ryan, 1985, 1991). Memory accumulated such interpretations and their associated emotional charges over time to form a type of filter. This filter not only interprets future experience, it also helps set personal goals.

I studied 13 people, trying to find out what common aspects of their experience and personal interpretations had led them to come together in room 277 for upper-division Spanish class. Once again, Figure 7 displayed that these participants took in myriad inputs and produced two classes of influences on their Spanish study decisions. One set of influences were strong enough to get these people to begin their foreign language careers; they called them needs. A second group of influences led participants to continue their studies. They were the factors of encouragement.

The chart in Figure 9 summarizes the structure of influences on decisions to enroll in formal Spanish study. The left column presents factors that sometimes appeared in individual filters, based on unique experiences. The other columns display all possible types of common influences, including linguistic and academic needs as well as the encouraging factors of success and enjoyment. This structure of the chart highlights what is common in these people's experience. Their unique mix of elements appears in the individual versions of the chart that begin each individual narrative in Chapter 6.



NEEDS

LINGUISTIC "Being There"				*ACADEMIC*	
Living In...	Missions	Peace Corps		They Required	They Offered

ENCOURAGEMENTS

ENJOYMENT "Into It"			*SUCCESS* "Doing Well"			
Related Disciplines	*Peoples and Cultures*	Spanish	"I Really Learned" *Accomp-lishment*	"That's Good" *Recogni-tion*	"I've Got My Bananas" *Compe-tence*	"Best in the Class" *Com-parison*

Figure 7

Influences on Formal Spanish Study

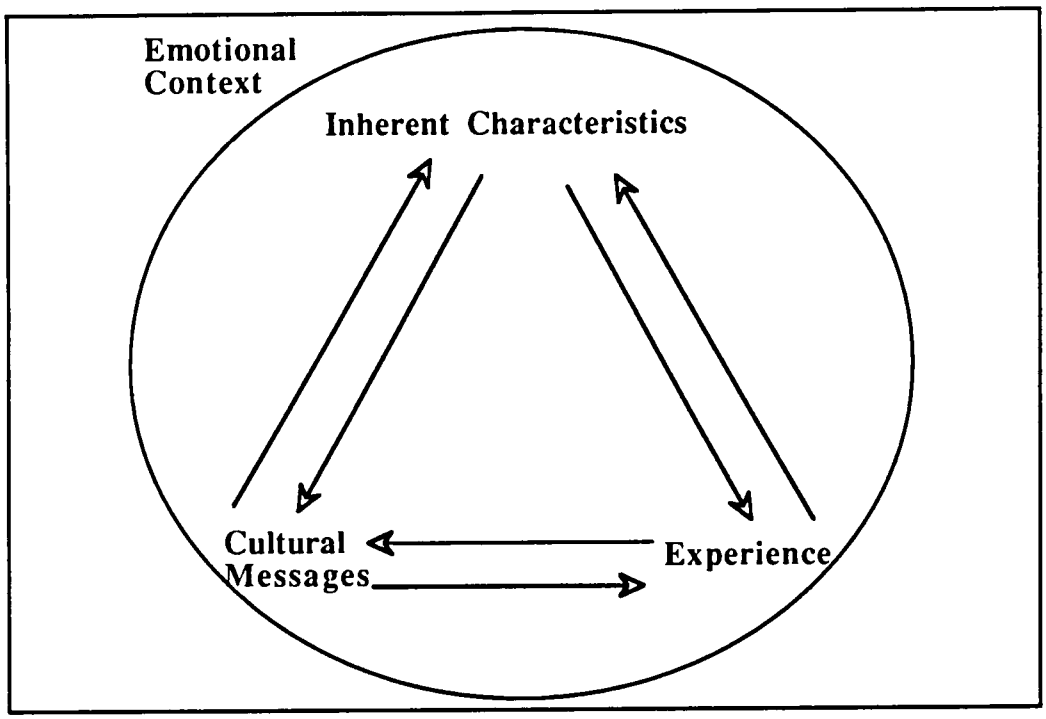


Figure 8

Internal Motivational Processes

FILTER	NEEDS		ENCOURAGEMENTS	
Personal[1]	**Academic**	**Linguistic**	**Into It**	**Doing Well**
Interpretation of Cultural Models Inherent Self Experience Academic early exposure Special Teacher Church Travel in TLC Work " " missions Peace Corps Relationships Family influence TLS[2] friends, etc Identification with the language native speakers other speakers	Lang. Requirements Limited Offerings	Working Abroad Missionary Peace Corps Intern. Business Living in... Miami Florida Los Angeles	Parallel Interests Academic Economics Linguistics Anthropology Other Travel Culture and cultures Language in General Spanish	•Accomplishment •Recognition •Competence •Comparison

Figure 9

Factors Influencing Formal Spanish Study

[1]Due to the individual nature of these influences, this list is far from complete. I chose to include those which appeared with a minimum of regularity among participants.

[2]TLS = native target language speakers

The rest of this chapter presents a detailed description of the influences of needs and encouragements on participants' Spanish study decisions. I hope to demonstrate that the paths to room 277 were complex but that there were certain common guiding elements. In effect, these students attempted to compose a personally satisfying mix of enjoyment and success while navigating their way through contextual demands towards that veiled future. Chapter 6 then illustrates the individual variation that existed in people's application of this formula to individual experience and how that led them to advanced Spanish studies.

"Well, I'll Need to Learn Spanish:" Extrinsic Motivation

These participants uniformly referred to some external demand for Spanish study when explaining their first decision to enroll. Keith, for example, said, "Well, I'll need to learn Spanish." Deci and Ryan's (1991) definition of extrinsic motivation is thus satisfied. These demands arose out of the individual's interaction with society and were spoken of in terms of obligation. Two types of context led people into foreign language study: the linguistic and the academic. Academic needs were generated by the schools' curricular structures, while linguistic needs were felt by people planning to enter a Spanish speaking community. For clarity's sake, I have described these two needs separately. In practice, however, they frequently co-existed, as the student narratives will later demonstrate.

"Being There:" Linguistic Needs

A person's presence (or an anticipated one) in a Spanish speaking community was enough to create an extrinsic demand for language study. For example, as soon as she received a missionary assignment in Chile, Carol felt the need to return to formal study. She described her increased motivation, saying

> I guess really the main thing was just really being there...I think if I hadn't gone down there [South America], then I'd probably just have a nice working knowledge of Spanish. I could probably pass any test on it, but I wouldn't be able to comfortably carry on a conversation or read or anything like that in it. But actually going down there definitely gave me the desire to learn it right...

Several other students shared Carol's plans to work abroad. However, Nicole's case illustrated that linguistic need was not limited to international travelers. She described a need for Spanish speaking skills prompted by her imminent return to Miami in this way,

> ...being in places and certain Hispanic areas that are...very Latin, very...you know, Cubano, and if you're there and they're speaking Spanish all around you, the tellers, bank tellers and stuff. And they just assume you speak Spanish. And you don't and you feel really alienated.

"Our High School Required...": Academic Needs

With varying degrees of intensity, several students felt a linguistic need for Spanish. However, Harry's and Carol's were probably the only two cases where linguistic need acted alone in explaining someone's decision to take Spanish. Instead, it was these people's common susceptibility to academic requirements for language study that defined this cultural group as such. Thus, as a group, academic demands were a much more potent influence than the linguistic ones. Examples of such academic needs follow. The demands created by language requirements were obvious, those born of school defined options were perhaps less apparent.

"Take Two Years to Get Out of High School": Language Requirements. The strongest single influence in introducing people to foreign language study was the high school foreign language requirement. Nicole described the strength of such requirements when she said, "our high school required two years of a foreign language to graduate from high school." Her case was similar to those of many students who reported that they "had to" study a foreign language as part of their curricular requirements.

Several students did not talk about requirements explicitly, instead citing a vague expectation for language study I have called the *Two year norm*. Allusions to such a norm included Fred's comparison of himself with other students who "only graduated with a year of foreign language" (researcher emphasis). Other examples of references to the *norm* included participant suggestions that they were unusual in continuing more than two years. For instance, Pat spoke of teachers having to organize a "special class" for students wanting to continue. This norm appeared to be enforced by peers, since both Danielle and Pat reported having to explain to classmates why they took more language than was required. Both women did exceed their minimum requirements for high school language study as did many (five) of the other participants. The extrinsic motivation of foreign language requirements served as an important introduction to students' linguistic careers, it did not limit them to those minimums. This is an example of how individuals were able to participate in academic structures while seeking the maximum personal satisfaction within them.

Language requirements continued to be mentioned at college. However, at some point long past generic foreign language requirements, several people would voluntarily assume further Spanish study requirements when they chose major or minor courses that necessitated Spanish classes. Nine (out of 13) interview participants were enrolled in or were considering declaring majors or minors that required Spanish studies.

High school language requirements, in summary, were an essential first step for many students in their linguistic careers, leading people to the language waters. Once there, factors of need and encouragement helped them soak up the language.

"They Only Offered Spanish.:" Limited Offerings. Another way in which school curricula created the need for Spanish study was less obvious but just as effective. The limitations on course options, served to steer learners toward Spanish rather than other

possibilities. Susan, for example, would not have taken a language at all except, as she explained, "...my senior year in high school I just kind of ran out of things to take, so I took Spanish."

More common was the way in which high school curricula limited "foreign language" to just five of the hundreds of idioms spoken in the world: three modern European languages (French, German and Spanish) and two archaic ones (Latin and Greek). Furthermore, like Danielle above, the four people who began their studies before high school had no choice but Spanish.

The importance of those early limitations was reinforced by the fact that once they had begun, students intrinsic enjoyment in language learning created a sort of inertia. As one of the survey participants expressed it,

> I enjoyed it (& still do) and my teachers all told me I had an innate ability for it. So, after taking honors Spanish for 4 yrs. in h.s. I didn't see any reason to stop so I made it part of my major.

Most of the students remained indifferent to the way which the school curricula limited their choice of languages. Two women, however, spoke explicitly about feeling limited. Karen would have preferred Italian, while Charli's interest in the American frontier might have been just as easily combined with the study of American Indian languages, as she explained,

> 'Cause I liked the Indians just as much. You know, native American Indians but, what good would that do me to learn the languages? They're not being taught or anything. Spanish was the closest thing.

With the exception of Harry, all participants had begun their language studies under the demands of the traditional schooling environment. Language requirements were a key component of that contextual need, as were limitations on language options and other disciplines. These demands formed a structure through which students navigated on their way to the future. However, these students were not limited to a reactive stance. They

tried to maximize their enjoyment and the future applicability of their studies as they chose among curricularly defined possibilities for meeting the demands of their academic present.

[It's] Encouraged Me to Do More: *Factors Encouraging Spanish Studies*

Academic needs served to introduce most people to foreign language studies and this section portrays the role of success and enjoyment in keeping them there. The importance of these factors of encouragement was more active and essential than their name might suggest. It has already been established that school was seen as a series of present-time demands that required repeated student choices (paths which would in turn create their own, novel demands). The greatest influences on those decisions were these two factors of encouragement: student enjoyment and their self-definitions of success. There was an explicit rule that one should follow the guidance of enjoyment in making key academic decisions. Juli was divided between business and Spanish majors when a classmate suggested she follow the path of joy, as she recounted,

> What's my favorite subject in school? Somebody asked me that and I said "Spanish", and they said, "So what are you going to major in?" and I said "Business" and they said, "You're nuts". And I said "You're right."

Nevertheless, Juli's dreams for the future revolved around working in international business. There was a tension established, therefore, in this student between following her present-day enjoyment (toward Spanish) or her possible future applications (toward business). In Juli's case, the school structure provided a compromise in the form of the LIC (Language and International Commerce) major. For others that tension would be less easily resolved.

The following section illustrates how two principle categories of encouragement, "Doing Well (*Success*)" and "Into It (*Enjoyment*)" helped them decide to continue their language studies after academic or linguistic needs had brought them there.

"Doing Well"

All of the participants expressed some type of concern for "doing well" at language learning, using one of four methods displayed in Table 7 to do so, including: feelings of accomplishment; comparisons with other speakers; and, recognition from teachers or laypersons. Finally, for many of these learners, their best moments came, when, like Maria, they felt competent in the language. She described the feeling euphorically, saying, "I went, 'Yeah! That's what I'm studying it for!'" Students' examples of doing well at Spanish follow.

"I really learned": *Accomplishment.* Students experienced a feeling of accomplishment when they felt that their interaction with the teacher had produced real learning. They appeared to charge the instructors with the responsibility of establishing a level of "optimal challenge" (Deci and Ryan, 1991) and for helping students achieve those expectations. In fact, in several cases a special teacher was highly responsible for students' continued studies. Since just five participants cited such a teacher-guide as an important factor in their persistence, this relationship has not been presented in the bulk of the paper. Nevertheless, the "I Really Learned" type of success calls attention to the importance of the student-teacher relationship in motivational studies and those students who benefited from such guidance are indicated in their individual narratives in chapter 6. Juli's was an apt description of the stimulating power of a challenging instructor, as she told me,

Table 7

Student Measures of Doing Well

CATEGORIES	ACCOMPLISHMENT	RECOGNITION	COMPARISON	COMPETENCE
HOW THEY TALKED ABOUT IT	I really learned!	He said, "That's good!"	One of the best in the class.	I've got my bananas now!
HOW THEY FOUND OUT ABOUT IT	*Feelings* *Self-Evaluation*	Dr. Evers told me... Grades Exams Awards *Outside Evaluation and Communication*	Natives Classmates Teacher Family *Self-Evaluation*	*Feelings:* Enjoy it *Communicate:* I was able to... *The Successful Act*
WHAT WAS JUDGED	Speaking Reading Writing Grammar	Speaking Reading Writing Grammar	Speaking Writing	Speaking Reading Writing Listening
WHERE IT OCCURRED	Classroom	Classroom *Natural Context*	Classroom *Natural Context*	Classroom *Natural Context*

> she would...not pick on me but she'd be like "You should know more. You should know better." And I would know this better because she told me I needed to know it better.

This feeling of accomplishment did not follow upon getting good grades. For example, in spite of her A, Dani had felt frustrated by a lack of accomplishment, as she complained, "I never ever prepared and still made a good grade."

"He said, 'That's good':'" *Recognition*. Students routinely felt increased motivation when they received recognition for their abilities. Inside the classroom, grades, exams and even awards were some forms of formal recognition for students progress. Grades were an important form of recognition but not, by far, the most important encouragement to continue. For example, several students reported getting less than top grades in their early years, but being encouraged to persist by other forms of success or especially strongly perceived needs.

Direct comments was an especially exciting form of "feedback". In one case, Susan felt highly encouraged by a comment from her instructor. When she answered his inquiry by telling him she was a Spanish minor, he replied,

> 'Well at least you're minoring because otherwise I wanted to convince you [to major in Spanish].' And he said, you know, all stuff that I won't say because it embarrasses me.

Outside the academic context, recognition from family and friends was also encouraging. Juli was especially pleased whenever her parents acknowledged her language skills, while Keith was inspired by a non-Spanish speaking friend's approval of his Spanish abilities and of a personality change that occurred when he spoke Spanish, as he recounted,

> ...And she said, my eyes would change. The countenance on my face was different...something was clicking in Spanish. Something was different. Which Jean would encourage me before about the Spanish. That things were different.

The recognition was a social form of influence that occurred either inside or outside the classroom, from either Spanish instructors or from non-Spanish speakers. The next measure of doing well also depended on social interaction.

"I've Got My Bananas Now!:" *Competence*. Juli laughed heartily while telling me about the joy she felt in her competence at getting her way in an argument with a native speaker in a Miami market. In other cases as well, the data clearly portrayed the energy people gained when they felt in command of their language skills. Keith explained how feelings of competence related to his enjoyment of the language, saying:

> ... you reach a certain level of competency and enjoy it and find it fulfilling. If you're good in the kitchen, you can really enjoy cooking. And, if you enjoy eating and you enjoy the process of making something, then working in the kitchen can be a lot of fun. And I guess Spanish is sort of like that. It's putting things together and I enjoy that. I enjoy the end product. And I enjoy the eating. I enjoy the communicating, the flow of the language and the using of it.

That feeling of competence was most often felt and frustrated in acts of oral communication. These communicative events could occur in the classroom, as Pat exemplified, "If I have a good day in class, it's just that I participate a lot and I'm, understanding, and like the teacher let's me know that I'm understanding." However, natural communicative events were the most potent. Maria was thrilled at being able to help a Spanish-speaking woman in the New York subway. Furthermore, both she and Juli agreed that accomplishing a goal in Spanish was exciting. In the banana story, Juli narrated the joy of getting her way,

> But I [said], 'Damelos/*Give them to me*' or whatever what I said, it probably didn't make any sense, but she just looked at me like this. So I said 'Give me the fucking bananas.' I said this in Spanish so my Mom wouldn't hear it 'cause she, she'd go off. 'Give me the fucking bananas or I'll rip your fucking head off...' 'And I outweigh you.' I said that in English 'cause I didn't know how to say that in Spanish. She dropped them and walked off. "I've got my bananas now."

Whether inside or (more frequently) outside the classroom, it is important to note that this form of success was especially important to students, since it was often cited as one of the most motivating moments in people's language study careers.

"One of the Best in the Class:" *Comparison*. Keith began to "have fun" in Spanish when he perceived that he could favorably compete with other Spanish speakers. This form of success was very commonly cited. Learners compared themselves to other speakers constantly, both inside and outside the classroom and with all speakers, other students and teachers alike. To a person, they felt encouraged by positive comparisons and discouraged by negative ones. For example, when he wanted to describe how poorly he had done in his Peace Corps training, Harry compared himself to classmates, saying,

> every week they tested you and they put you according to your development rate. And it wasn't long before I was in the back of the class, so to speak. And I stayed there through out my whole term.

Some, like Harry, used formal evaluations as a basis of comparison. Others measured their abilities independently of outsider feedback. For example, Fred demonstrated the great advances he made during his senior year of high school by measuring his skills against those of his mother. His comment was, "Right then is when I passed her."

Some learners aimed extremely high in their standards of comparison. Maria, for example, was frustrated because she did not sound like a native speaker, while Juli had been highly motivated by the fact that she knew more Spanish than her fifth grade teacher, as she told me,

> ...our teacher came in and she...hadn't the slightest idea. She maybe had an elementary school teaching degree, picked up a Spanish book and started teaching it. Joke. Joke. Within six months, I was teaching the class and that was it...and she sat there and went, "Oh, Very good, very good." And I'd get up and she'd just sit down ...

The boost of energy received from positive comparisons was counterbalanced by the frustrating effect of negative ones. Karen described how muted she felt in literature class, saying,

> I mean the people that are in there with me, the things that they say. I'm like, I could never say something like that. So I just stay quiet. 'Cause I know, anything that I do try to say, it never comes out right.

These students were engaged in an ever present process of comparing their abilities with their classmates, teachers, and Spanish speaking acquaintances, feeling encouraged by positive comparisons and discouraged when they came up short.

Although all students voiced concerns about doing well, there was considerable variation in how they used these measures of success. They did not use each measure equally, as neither Rex nor Pat talked about comparing themselves to other students. Variations in the role of success over time were common as well. Fred and Keith started out weak in grade recognition but did better as the years went on. On the contrary, Maria and Juli were motivated at first by positive comparative success and later traumatized when they were unable to excel.

The continued learning of Spanish then appeared to be a process in which students' perceptions of success varied over time. During such variations, continued need was always sufficient to keep them studying. In addition, when they felt "into it" students were energized and enthusiastic about continuing. The following section outlines this second encouragement of foreign language study, which, when strongm was enough in and of itself to explain students' continued enrollment.

"Into It"

Nicole traced her continued Spanish studies (beyond that required) to the pure fun it brought her:

> So, it was always fun, very fun...If I had had a bad experience in high school I probably would have hated it [Spanish] and wouldn't wanted to take it. 'Cause a lot of kids don't. A lot of people that I talk to, they like just dread it...

Students accepted without question that they should be in preparation. Yet since few knew what they were preparing for, they used more immediate criterion to help them make decisions. Curricular requirements were immediate as the section on academic needs demonstrated. The second most immediate influence on students' decision was their own enjoyment and its importance was magnified by the energy it imparted to learners. In this section, I provide examples to the various types of joys which stimulated students to continue their Spanish. A discussion of the intimate relation between enjoyment and success then follows before the chapter's conclusion.

The energy of enjoyment was so great that a direct relationship was not necessary. Three types of enjoyment emerged as important from the analysis of the encouraging role of enjoyment. A love of activities tangentially related to Spanish encouraged the studies of several students. Cultures in general, and specific target language peoples and cultures attracted others, while the strongest promoter of continued studies was a love of the language itself.

Parallel Interests. Several parallel interests stimulated people to persist in their Spanish studies. For example, Charli's interest in Geography led to her Latin American Studies minor and, consequently, her presence in the Conversation and Composition class. Other parallel interests that created an extrinsic interest in the language included: plans for working abroad as a missionary or a Peace Corps volunteer; a passion for travel; determination to work in Third World Economic Development; and a linguistical curiosity about the relationship between language and culture.

One specific type of parallel interest was that of people's love of culture in general or specific cultures. Rex's on-going curiosity about the relationships between languages

and their cultures had sparked an interest in majoring in linguistics. While in Susan's case, it was the strange cultural "tid bits" in her high school Spanish class that created her first flash of interest.

While some students spoke of an interest in cultures in general, others described developing a more specific love of some Spanish speaking cultures through some sort of contact. This factor, however, proved to be much less important that the literature would have suggested. Although most students had had at least some contact with some target language culture before beginning Spanish studies, Charli was the only person who consciously based her initial choice of Spanish on that interest. Another fact weakening the importance of learner attitudes toward the target language peoples as a possible explanation for continued studies is the fact that several of these advanced students had quite lukewarm attitudes toward the language's speakers. Karen's only expressed interest in Spanish speakers was the opportunity they provided her for language practice. Furthermore, even very positive opinions were never cited as enough, in and of themselves, to account for a decision to begin or persevere in a student's language studies. On the contrary, the role of other encouragements together with those of needs were essential.

Nicole's case suffices as example. A native of Miami, she felt a relatively strong linguistic need for the language as well as strong emotional ties due to her relationship with friends and a Cuban-American boyfriend. Nevertheless, those factors would not have led her to take the 300-level class if she had not also felt an academic need for it. When I asked whether she would have taken more Spanish, if she had not been graduating, Nicole replied by citing the academic demands saying,

> ...if I was like, a junior and I had two more semesters and I definitely...I'd try and, I would definitely take more, if I had electives, you know. If I had electives where I could, where I'd be able to.

Each of the students had positive (or at least neutral) opinions about native speakers and their cultures, however, these opinions were never singly sufficient to explain language study decisions. The opinion about the speakers of the language, therefore, counted as one significant form of encouragement for some people. It was, however, less pervasive than either love of Spanish, encouragement from success or linguistic and academic needs. However these opinions often appeared to accompany the learners along their way which led them to the achievement of goals which included or required Spanish.

"I think it's so fun:" Intrinsic Interest in Spanish. Karen attributed her continued studies to her love of Spanish, saying, "I just think it is the neatest thing to be able to speak another language. I mean I think it's so fun." Indeed, it was a pure, intrinsic interest in the language itself that most stimulated people. Almost everyone (with the exception of perhaps, Charli) spoke of enjoying the language itself. I discuss two aspects of this enjoyment here: a) the link between enjoyment and success; and b) the motivating force of speaking (versus reading or writing) the language.

For most students there existed a link between their being into it and doing well. A few were able to achieve a limited amount of autonomy between their enjoyment and success, as Karen's words suggest:

> in high school I didn't make great grades, I mean I got C's and B's in Spanish. And that was fine because I really enjoyed what I was doing and it didn't really bother me.

More common, however, was when learner enjoyment increased with increasing knowledge, as Dani exemplified,

> It just, the more, farther and father I went, you know, it gets harder and it's a pain. It's a lot of busy work, too, to memorize verb forms and stuff but...the further and further you get into it, the more and more you learn, the deeper and deeper you get into it, the more I enjoyed...you know, I knew more.

Harry was a significant exception, since his enjoyment was unaffected by his perceived linguistic inability. But most students, when asked to talk about when they felt most motivated to learn the language talked about one of the measures of success outlined above.

Whether linked to their success or not, enjoying languages (and Spanish in particular) was a strong motivator and appeared to energize every student. Students partitioned language learning into types of activities (speaking, reading, writing and grammar) and often had especially strong interests for one or more of these areas. Two students (Rex and Harry) talked about an interest in writing in Spanish, while several spoke of coming to appreciate reading literature (Keith, Pat and Susan). However speaking the language was the most common source of joy. Maria, for example, talked about the thrill of talking to native speakers on campus,

> I can hear their accent and I say, "¿Habla español?/*Do you speak Spanish*" and they say "¡Si/*Yes*!" ...I'm not that fluent or anything but I can like carry on little small talk. That gets me excited about it more than anything.

Most shared Maria's love of speaking the language. On the other hand, the negative side of the speaking coin was that students appeared highly frustrated when their speaking skills did not meet their expectations. Nicole, for example, still felt handicapped, as she told me,

> You think that you've learned a lot an you can't really speak it and sometimes you can't even understand what they're saying. And you want to tell them, 'Slow down.' Say each word individually...everything's jammed together. It's impossible.

Many students expressed a need for more practice in their speaking skills. Susan and Pat wished that more extracurricular activities were available for such practice, while others felt that spending time abroad was necessary to fully develop their oral skills. Along these line, Dani expressed her frustration, complaining,

> ...one thing that's really bummed me out is I've really realized that I'm not ever really going to learn it fluently until I am forced to speak it in that country, I believe. I don't believe. I believe you could study for twelve years and not ever become as good as spending a couple of weeks, you know, where you are forced to speak it.

Whether, like Dani, they still felt frustrated with their level of spoken skills, or, like Harry, they were content to study the language independently of their successes, almost every student enjoyed speaking Spanish and appeared to find that particular skill to be the essential part of language learning.

The energy that arose from enjoyment contributed to everyone's language study decisions. Some were energized by an intrinsic enjoyment of the language. For others, language study benefited from some related interest. Finally, some learners developed an interest in the speakers of the language through contact (either personal or academic). Either way, enjoyment was key in many students decision to begin and continue their Spanish studies.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the analysis of interviews with 13 university students about how they had come to study advanced Spanish. It argued that the experience of schooling is the primary one and that foreign language study can only be truly understood when studied through the interpretative lense offered by these people's cultural models of schooling and academic choice making. These people saw school as a process intended to prepare them for a future that was not fully known. That academic process was shaped by curricular structures which created a series of demands on students, including repeated opportunities for participants to choose between optional paths. Students came to each of these decisions armed with information and experience culled simultaneously from their

present, past and their suppositions about the future. In the end, the key influences on those decisions were the demands that people perceived as emanating from their academic and linguistic contexts and the guidance provided by their own feelings of success and enjoyment toward past and present experience.

Chapter 6 presents a series of student narratives exemplifying both the common patterns and the individual variation in the way that students composed their own personal mixes of needs and encouragements that guided them into Spanish class in room 277 of Innis Hall at Foreston State University.

CHAPTER 6

STUDENT NARRATIVES

This chapter demonstrates in narrative form how thirteen people came to pass one another on the way into and out of Spanish class in room 277 of Innis Hall at Foreston State University. Amid their diversity, two major similarities emerged. First of all, they were willing participants in the formal educational system and approached it in similar manners. All of these students brought accumulated layers of experience with them as they negotiated the demands of the present while preparing for futures imagined. Secondly, all of the learners created their own special recipe for Spanish study based on their unique combination of the following ingredients: a) unique characteristics and experiences; b) Needs (linguistic and academic); and c) Encouragements (Into It and Doing Well). A table synthesizing each participant's unique combination of needs and encouragements for Spanish study accompanies each student's narrative.

Carol

At different moments throughout her linguistic career, academic requirements, linguistic needs, and enjoyment played key roles in Carol's Spanish study decisions. However, the most consistently important influence was Carol's family and their three-generational tradition of missionary work abroad.

For example, Figure 10 below illustrates that when Carol faced the decision of which language to take to meet her high school requirements, a suggestion from her favorite brother helped her choose Spanish. His influence was not enough, however, to

make up for the lack of academic need. Discouraged by a teacher she did not like, Carol quit studying as soon as she completed her two year norm.

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
- Teacher Family missions **Identification:** **•Spanish speaking brother & fiancé**	*2 Year Norm*	**Being Sent** **missions** Chile	Spanish speaking reading	Competence Comparison Recognition

Carol's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 10

Family tradition set the example for Carol's missionary work abroad and her assignment to Spanish America created a linguistic imperative for the language, as she indicated,

> the main thing was just really being there...I think if I hadn't gone down there, then I'd probably just have a nice working knowledge of Spanish. I could probably pass any test on it, but I wouldn't be able to comfortably carry on a conversation or read or anything like that in it. But actually going down there definitely gave me the desire to learn it right, correct.

Finally, long after Carol returned to Foreston, her family continued to encourage her continued studies. Although Carol explained her decision to take the Literature class in terms of her enjoyment of speaking and reading the language, the truth was that she used the language more within her family than anywhere else. Furthermore, Carol's reported Spanish use had a more symbolic than communicative function. Within her large family, she used the language to mark special relationships. For example, she was relieved that her fiancé spoke Spanish, otherwise, "He wouldn't get any of my jokes." He did understand

them, however and the two of them used Spanish, not for communication as much as for signalling a connection. She explained it thus

> And I use it with Nelson a lot, my friend that I'm marrying, just kind of as a joke. We don't have sustained conversations. It's usually just insults or commands..."

With her brothers, as well, Carol appeared to use Spanish in a similar symbolic rather than communicative function, as she laughingly described,

> But generally we don't have sustained conversations in Spanish unless someone else in the room doesn't speak Spanish and we're ridiculing them. Usually another family member. And they usually say, "Oh, speak English. Knock it off." That kind of thing. Tormenting the rest. Which makes all that studying worth while (Carol's emphasis).

This woman did not like Spanish class enough to take more than two years in high school. However, once she had been there (Chile) and had begun to "learn it right", Carol was heartened by her successes and developed an appreciation for the language. In fact, by the time of our interview she was enrolled in Spanish class purely for fun. Thus, Carol's fun in Spanish appeared to depend on her feeling successful at it. Oral competence appeared extremely important to her. For example, her most frustrating language incident was a case in which she felt native speakers had refused to understand her Spanish. She giggled her way through this description of an unsuccessful attempt to order catchup in a Chilean restaurant.

> And I'm like, "Yeah. That's exactly what I said." And it was so funny because I mean, "catchup". It's not that hard. You can say, "catchup" or "catchoop" and it's really not that different a word. And the girl just looked at me like, "What could you possibly be saying?" It was ridiculous.

In spite of some troubles getting her sauces, by the time Carol arrived in room 277, she considered herself both fluent and literate and was enjoying the opportunity of taking Spanish classes. She also enjoyed tremendously playing around in the language with her fiancé and Spanish speaking brothers.

Carol, then, awaited contextual demands (first academic and then linguistic needs) before studying a foreign language. Only upon returning from Chile feeling fluent and literate did she begin study without any need, encouraged only by her enjoyment. Throughout those waves of need and encouragement, Carol's family provided a consistent influence, by suggestion and example and identification, both in promoting her international contacts and in directing her toward Spanish.

Charli

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Teacher **Missions** **call** Experience: Travel Mexico missions	Requirement language - H minor Offered	Being Sent missions ?	Cults./ Peoples L.America **adventure** Disciplines **Geography** **maps**	Accomplishment Comparison Recognition

Charlotte's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 11

Figure 11 demonstrates that Charli was in her first year in high school, when institutional requirements demanded her first foreign language decision. As would be the case in each of her choices, Charli brought to bear several influences born of her experience and future plans. The first was a long-standing love of Latin America born of her fascination with the adventure of the American frontier. In her words,

> I grew up romanticizing about Indians and cowboys and the Mexicans. Zorro was my hero. I loved Zorro. And stuff like that.... I always liked the adventure things. You know I had a little Lone Ranger doll and Tonto and stuff.

To that passion, she added the "calling" to do "Christian missionary work" that she had felt since 12 years of age and, together, those interests pointed her toward Spanish, as she reported to me,

> And because if my love for Latin America, that's where my thoughts were. That if I ever went I'd go to South America or something to help out...
>
> Spanish was the first, I mean, when I thought of a foreign language, that was it. I don't care about German. I don't really care about French. And Portuguese just didn't seem like a big enough thing.

From the beginning, Charlotte's appreciation for Spanish was secondary to and dependent on the church plans. That goal, on the other hand, waxed and waned in intensity over the years, with other influences taking turns at affecting decisions. As a results, Charli's Spanish study history marked by considerable discontinuity.

For example, the call was intense during high school and she felt Spanish study was, in her words, "a way that I could prepare myself...that God was allowing me time and the opportunity to prepare myself with the language." She was further encouraged by a special teacher. Charli felt close ties to (family and church ties) Mrs. Quirkle, but it was in the area of personal relations that instructor most strongly encouraged Charlotte. She told me,

> ...she's just always interested...she'd ask questions, you know. "How are you doing?" She wasn't afraid to give someone compliments...If that day she thought I deserved a compliment, she'd give me one. The next day, someone else. She made stuff fun...But, always interested. That's the biggest thing that she was always interested in us. You know, cared about us in particular.

At college, Mrs. Quirkle's absence and a challenging pre-medical curriculum led Charli to abandon Spanish until her junior year. She explained, saying, "I was taking Calculus, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, English...So it was like Spanish..."I'll have to take it next year, next year, next year."

Those academic demands were not enough to drown out the young woman's interest in geography, however, and Charli did find time to take that course. In fact, that intrinsic interest served her with valuable guidance when the young woman decided she no longer wanted to be a doctor. Disappointing results in science courses combined with a revelation led to that option. Faced with a decision about which major to choose, Charli followed two sources of guidance to opt for a geography major: teacher recognition of her map-making skills; and a love of the discipline. Old sympathies were not left behind, however, and Charli's old curiosity about Latin America led her to compliment the geography major with a minor in Latin American Studies. Once again, academic need came into play; Charli's two Spanish courses were requirements for that minor.

The semester that we talked Charli was facing one more academic crossroads: graduation. She hoped to find a job using the computer design skills she had learned doing Cartography. Her attention to foreign languages and missions had receded a bit into experience. In the meantime, she prayed, re-evaluating her motives for doing mission's work. She described the inner debate in these words,

> ...as I've gotten older...I've had to ask myself, what were my motives?...So am I just wanting to go because of adventure?...or am I going because I really love the people and want to share with them the life that I've found? You know, so one motive's wrong, one's right. And before I go, I have to make sure I have the right motives.

Danielle Page

Figure 12 belows that Danielle's parents laid the seeds of her linguistic interests years before the academic environment prompted her initiation. They had joined V.I.S.T.A., the domestic version of the Peace Corps, and moved out west. Dani maintained fond memories of living in New Mexico, the hot weather, her best friend

Esperanza and the experience of growing up in a multi-ethnic neighborhood. She explained the latter in this way,

> ...we were not wealthy and so we were in that lower income area of the city where it seems that most Hispanics get shoved..I just remember...growing up with mixed cultures and not ever being taught that there was any kind of reason to act different to anyone.

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Teacher **Family** **Example** ***service,*** ***Vista*** ***travel*** Experience: Lived N. Mex Travel Venezuela Relationships Friend TLS Opinions "I'm just such a huge liberal."	Requirement language Offered only Spanish	Being There P. Corps future?	Spanish speaking reading writing **Disciplines** **Economics** **Cult./People** **L.America** **Travel**	Accomplishment **Competence** Comparison Recognition

Danielle's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 12

Back in Foreston, her parents later nurtured her foreign language interests when they prompted her to travel abroad. She related that,

> ...my mom saw a flier or something. And she said, "Oh I would love for Danielle to go to a foreign country." And they didn't even know what country it was. And it turned out to be Venezuela. And I went another year to France.

The South American trip rekindled her positive opinion of Spanish speaking peoples and both trips convinced her that she liked to travel. Finally, her parents influenced Dani by example. Their model of social activism piqued Dani's interest in that program's international cousin, the Peace Corps. This parental influence was strong but not sufficient to explain this young woman's path. Her younger sister, for example, showed no inclination to service nor foreign travel. It took Dani's joys to extend her parents' example overseas. Furthermore, it took the academic context to bring out the joy.

Dani was the student mentioned in Chapter 5 who began her language studies while in junior high school, anticipating future language requirements. She was also the one who choose Spanish because it was the only language offered. "It's exciting to learn a different language," she said. "If I wouldn't have studied Spanish, I would have studied <u>some</u> language." She did study Spanish, however, and after a frustrating first year she fell under the spell of the first of two highly influential teachers. In high school, her Spanish teacher stimulated the youngster's love of the language by helping her create a sense of accomplishment by setting and maintaining clear goals. Dani described the teacher this way,

> We knew every single day what was expected of us...So you always did your Spanish homework because you knew if you didn't do it you would sit in class and feel like an idiot...And after having her for three years I knew what was expected of me. I knew I could do the work and I did it.

These positive results stimulated Dani's love of the material, as she said,

> ...it gets harder and it's a <u>pain</u>. but...the further and further you get into it, the more and more you learn, the deeper and deeper you get into it, the more I enjoyed [it]. You know, I knew more.

That feeling of success, coupled with her love of travel and interest in other (especially Spanish speaking) cultures almost led Dani into a Spanish major. She found, however, an even stronger love: third world economic development. Once again, a special teacher guided her; Dr. Delmonte, in fact, named her passion.

> He's my Buddha...I started listening to what he was saying and just really got turned on to it...it was always there in me, but I just never knew what it was called: Developmental Economics...I was thinking a lot that I wanted to work with the welfare system in the United States but then...this is just so much more what I'm interested in.

With this love named, Dani brought it together with experiences in travel and a love of Spanish speaking cultures and, led by her parents' example, made a commitment to attempt to get a Peace Corps assignment "anywhere, south of Miami ."

That commitment, in turn, created an linguistic need for Spanish. However, at the time of the interview, her high school confidence in her Spanish had turned to frustration as expectations had changed.

> I was completely unprepared for any type of conversation class. I'd never had to speak it. That was one thing about high school. I learned the grammar and I knew it well....But I was completely unprepared to converse.

Dr. Aranda García's Latin American Literature class, she complained, "...is putting me in my grave." She continued, "I was completely unprepared to take a class in Spanish American Literature completely spoken in Spanish. It's a hard thing to study in English....." Her confidence was further undermined by the disadvantage she felt relative to students who had lived abroad. In fact, Dani was so frustrated as to declare classroom learning useless, saying,

> One thing that's really bummed me out is I've really realized that I'm not ever really going to learn it fluently until I am forced to speak it in that country, I believe...I believe you could study for twelve years and not ever become as good as spending a couple of weeks where you are forced to speak it.

In the meantime, she faced potentially tough competition to get into the Peace Corps. She had this fear where someone would speak to her in Spanish and she might be unable to answer, being only able to say,

> "Well let me write that down and, and, and, you know, make that grammatically correct." Instead of going, "Oh yeah! urh, urh, urh, urh," back.

Fred

By his freshman year at FSU, Fred spoke Spanish so well that teachers recommended he skip ahead and enroll in senior-level classes. Figure 13 illustrates how he came to begin and continue his successful studies. His family had originally led him to the

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Teacher **Family** **Example & influence** ***•mother & sister liked Spanish***	*2 Year Norm* Requirement major future?		**Spanish** **speaking**	Accomplishment **Competence** Comparison **Recognition**

Fred's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 13

language and encouraged him to continue. His senior year teacher contributed to significant success, at which point Fred's enjoyment of the language blossomed.

Until he arrived at college, all of Fred's Spanish experience had been academic. Nevertheless, he did not appeal to extrinsic needs in order to explain how he began or continued language studies. It was his sister and his mother, Fred reported, that

> ...tended to steer me away from French when I started high school. Said that French is a lot more challenging. "Don't listen to what anyones says about French being, you know, the most used language or the language of now, the language of the 80's."

His father's example of German study failed to compete and Fred chose Spanish. His family's influence continued; they helped him study and incited him to continue despite

early disappointments. In addition, his family was a benchmark that Fred surpassed during his senior year. At that point, he compared himself against his mother to illustrate his leap ahead, saying, "and that's when I passed my mom!"

Fred's enjoyment seemed to consistently follow his successes. When asked to describe what the early Spanish studies had been like, Fred answered in terms of success, saying,

> I took the first year and I did okay. I didn't set the world on fire or anything. I made a B. I did above average but I wasn't great. It was just okay. It wasn't really anything special. And then I took the second year. More of the same.

A school change his junior year left him comparing negatively with his classmates and frustrated. His lack of success was such that Fred considered quitting Spanish after high school. However, "a complete turn around" occurred his senior year and left him highly energized and excited about Spanish. Fred credited his teacher, saying

> I got along with him very well. He motivated me. And my grammar stayed the same and just got better. And where I had been lacking in vocabulary and my writing skills they seemed to pick up and follow behind.

That teacher motivated Fred in several ways. On one hand, he chose class activities that brought out Fred's talents in oral communication. Second, the instructor both set high standards and helped students achieve them. The students, in turn, felt like they had accomplished a lot, as Fred told me,

> You had to work or you were sunk...He made it interesting, fun. Hard but fun. Even though you'd make a lot of mistakes and he would come down hard on you. But still you learned a lot. He was a hard teacher and he made you...he forced you to learn. And he's just, he's one of the best teachers I've ever had. He was probably the reason I choose to stay in Spanish.

Fred recounted the search for that elusive "A" in these words,

> for three six weeks I was one point away from an A and the rest of them I was one or two. So it was like border line A all through the course. But I never got an A.

Although he never lowered his standards for grades, the instructor never hesitated to give students feedback and recognition for their strengths. In addition to informal comments, the teacher recognized Fred's energy and motivation by giving him the high school Spanish award. These were his words,

> I'll admit right now, this student doesn't have the highest grades in my class...But he works hard and he's motivated and he's one of the best, most enthusiastic students that I've ever had.

At the time of the interview, Fred was sufficiently excited by his successes that he was considering trading a disappointing major in Communications for one in Spanish. Fred's parents spoke to him about the decision using enjoyment criteria and he answered with a judgement based on success, saying,

> I told them [my parents] I was thinking about changing about it [my major]. ...And they said, you know, "Well, whatever makes you happy." And I told them, "Well, I think I could do a lot better in Spanish." 'Cause I've been doing really well.

Still a freshman, Fred was taking his time about choosing a major. In the meantime, he was trying out future vocational scenarios which would combine his interests in sports broadcasting and languages.

> that opens a lot more avenues for me, if I stay in the Broadcasting area, knowing that second language. And if I decided to study French, knowing a third. It just opens up internal, some international communications for me so... Even if I do stay in Communications...I'll keep the Spanish...

In the meantime, Fred spent much of his free time with Spanish speaking friends, who also recognized his strong speaking abilities. These friends told him that,

> the only thing that's left for me now is just being there. And picking up the accent and trying to polish up things, my accent and stuff. They say that otherwise I speak fairly well...for never having traveled. I really shocked them. ...So I think that that's the last hill to climb, is to travel.

Looking into his linguistic future, Fred's goal was to further perfect his skills and to be speaking Spanish at a graduate level before his undergraduate graduation. In the meantime,

he enjoyed his Spanish, summing up his reasons for studying the language on his survey, saying "I love it!"

Harry

Harry was different than his classmates: he was older, 43; he was not seeking a diploma; and he had never taken a foreign language due to an academic requirement. Instead, Figure 14 shows that experiences abroad had stimulated his love for travel and

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Non-degree student **Experience** •*Viet Nam* •*Peace Corps*	ø	Being There P. Corps	**Cult./People** **C. America** **Caribbean** **Spain** **Travel**	Comparison Recognition

Harry's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 14

experiences abroad had stimulated his love for travel and languages. From then on his joy led him: into the Peace Corps; on repeated trips to the Caribbean and Central America; and, finally, into FSU's foreign language classes.

By the time I interviewed him, Harry was fascinated by travel, cultures and languages. He explained his trips to the Caribbean, saying, "I'm enthralled with both, really, both Spanish and French cultures." He described the cultural attraction in Honduras this way,

> ...[there are] just various aspects of the culture...that I find interesting and enjoyable. It's a more laid back. It's a slower pace than in the United

> States.... once you get into the flow of things with them, you find that you can live quite well with it. [Don't] expect everybody to be on time for appointments. They say they'll be three at three and they might be there at four. It's no big deal, once you learn to.....get used to that type of a situation. It works out quite well.

Language study had followed his love of travel and culture. His curiosity was such that he told me "if I had the talent I might go into nine or ten languages. But I simply know that I don't have that kind of talent to do that." In fact, Harry perceived himself to be a very slow language learner whose eventual success depended on great tenacity. He used negative comparisons with other learners to illustrate his initial difficulties in learning Spanish, for example,

> And every week they tested you and they put you according to your development rate. And it wasn't long before I was in the back of the class, so to speak. And I stayed there through out my whole term. In fact, I had to have a waiver to fill out to go into the country after the period.

In spite of a lack of success, he never gave up and he eventually did achieve full Spanish speaking competency, as he described it,

> I've never really been particularly good at Spanish. Just through the years I've picked up quite a bit, just by being pounded in the head with it, just through repetition, but I've not found a magic formula or anything that particularly made it easy.

Therefore, Harry was also distinct from many of his classmates in that his interest was strong enough to encourage him even in the absence of success. "It's kind of like a hobby to me," he explained. "Even though I'm not good at it, I really enjoy whatever development and enhancement I do have."

Harry's interest was strong enough to make up for a slow success rate, yet how did it come about? Though a bit mysterious, Harry's love of cultures, languages and foreign travel followed (at least chronologically) his going to Viet Nam and then to college. He had been to Panama in training for Viet Nam but he downplayed any possible relationship between that fact and his application for Spanish American Peace Corps assignments. He

intimated, instead, that it was luck that he received the assignment to Honduras which created his first linguistic need for Spanish. He continued saying about the appointment,

> I know that when I received the opportunity to go, I jumped at it. And I know I was not disappointed...I'd never been there and I had limited prior knowledge of the place. And I really didn't know what I was getting into. But it was challenging and exciting. My assignment came and I went ahead and took it.

Positive experiences there and in subsequent travel encouraged him to return to formal language study. He was taking Spanish and planned to study French as well; three factors influenced that new linguistic interest. Travel in the Caribbean left him wanting the linguistic skills, as he described,

> I enjoy the opportunity to talk to other people in their native tongues. You get so much more out of that than simply looking and seeing. I've been in several French speaking countries and I've always felt at a loss that I was never able to communicate first hand.

Secondly, Harry felt that French, in his words,

> it will open up a considerable part of the world to me. Quebec, Martinique, Guadeloupe in the Caribbean, Haiti, in the Caribbean. French Guiana. North, portions of North Africa, of course France itself.

The third reason for him to take French harked back more than twenty years to his experience in Viet Nam. "I've always had a longing to someday return to Viet Nam," he explained, "as a civilian, not as a soldier." He continued on, saying, "it was a very important episode in my life and I'd like to go back and see what changes have developed there through the years."

> It's a very beautiful place. Of course it was a terrible killing field, but it's a very beautiful place and the most beautiful beaches you ever laid your eyes on...

He hoped the French would help him communicate,

> ...especially the old timers are going to speak French. And I don't <u>know</u> (Harry's emphasis) it to be the case, but I believe that if I spoke French, I possibly could get by there, still today in Viet Nam...

In the meantime, while learning French, Harry sought an internship in Spain. "I'm not as enthralled with Central America anymore," he said. Older now, he was "more interested in going to an opera or a ballet or a show or something like that..." He reasoned that "Spain offers ...those opportunities much more."

Harry, therefore, appeared to have carried a nascent interest in foreign peoples and languages which was first stimulated in war time experiences. Once piqued, that curiosity led him to continue to travel and to keep studying languages despite a perceived handicap in talent and easy successes.

Juli

Figure 15 follows illustrating Juli's story. She had lived in several different part of the U.S. including New York, Chicago and her hometown of Miami. Contact with the immigrant communities in these cities stimulated the woman's love of foreign languages both by sparking her innate curiosity, as well as contributing to future linguistic success.

Her introduction to Spanish occurred long before Juli entered the classroom. In Miami, she reported,

> ...when I was little I could speak Spanish fluently because all my friends were Spanish. I was three and four so I was learning to talk ...but then I moved to New York and then to Chicago so I didn't get exposed to it for a long time so I forgot it

Later contact with Italian-Americans and led her to appreciate that group as well.

> ...when you're staying with an Italian family, you got things that'll really piss you off, that will really make you feel good, that'll make you laugh, that'll make you smile, that'll make you sad when you see...it's all, it's almost like it's all powerful.

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Teacher Experience: Lived Miami •spoke Sp. with childhood friends Academic Early Intro: Relationship boyfriend Mexican Family •ambivalent support	Requirement major		Spanish speaking Culture/People Mexico C. America	Accomplishment **Competence** **Comparison** **Recognition**

Juli's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 15

Her school structure never allowed her to study Italian and she was left curious. She did study Spanish, however. During that process, several instances of informal contact with native speakers encouraged Juli's continuation by giving her the chance to prove her linguistic competence. For example, she felt power and elation when her parents witnessed her ability to help some lost women in the airport, as she narrated,

> I went and asked what flight was going to Miami and found it and took them to the gate...And my parents were like, 'That was really great, that was neat." And I thought, "this was something that my parents will actually like for once."

Later, Juli was further encouraged by the fun she had using Spanish with her Mexican-American boyfriend, either in anger or in romance.

However, despite the romantic attachment and a genuine interest in foreign languages and peoples, success was Juli's strongest motivator. Her story illustrated a circular relationship between enjoyment and success. Interest facilitated success and

success generated more interest. She stated the first part of that equation explicitly, "I retain things I'm interested in." In fact, out of pure interest this woman taught herself Japanese by listening to a Shogun video.

The influence occurred strongly in the other direction as well. Her pleasure in languages intensified with her successes. In her elementary school class, for example, Juli reveled in the fact that her Spanish was better than the teacher's,

> our teacher came in and she was Joe Bloe Housewife...hadn't the slightest idea...Joke. Joke. Within six months I was teaching the class and that was it...and she sat there and went, "Oh, Very good, very good."

In junior high, Juli continued to be successful and to be encouraged by it. Her teacher recognized her abilities and always challenged her to more, as Juli's words expressed,

> .....she'd be like "You should know more. You should know better." And I would know this better because she told me I needed to know it better. She acted like, "You've got to use it. Your talent. You have the aptitude for it, use it."
>
> ...She wanted me to be able to talk. She shared my dream. Which I thought was amazing. That really, that really turned me on...

Further instances of informal contact continued to prove her competence. In addition to the successful verbal sparring over bananas in the Miami market, Juli also felt encouraged by being able to understand native speakers gossiping about her hair dye in the following situation:

> And you see people in shops and you can tell what they're saying and they start talking about you...
>
> ...'Cause they were looking at my hair and they would say something about her hair. And I went, "Oh man! I forgot to dye my hair before I came down here." They followed me around the store talking about my damn hair, trying to decide which color I'd put on it. They were sure it was Miss Clairol, though.

Even Juli's future dream of helping Spanish speaking countries belied the woman's need for success through comparative advantage, as this quote suggested,

> ...you just need to plant a seed there. Get some people...that are Mexicans that have been to college. And get them together and say, "Look you've got a mind on you. Use it. And use it for the welfare of your country. Because you're not making any money for yourself down here anyway. If you want to make money, you've got to start an economy going." So, maybe play Johnny Appleseed. That would be my dream...

Juli's linguistic successes continued unabated until college when her very success placed her in a situation of great challenge. The FSU diagnostic exam placed her into junior-level classes and her interest waned as Juli found her Spanish skills compared negatively with those of her classmates.

> I'm like the biggest dummy in all my Spanish classes. I mean, I'm the most inferior. I'm the worst speaker there...And I'm sick of feeling inferior in my classes. I'm really, it pisses me off.

She chaffed under the negative comparisons, was frustrated and even began to skip class. However, real-life language contact helped to counterbalance that frustration and kept her vocational dreams alive. She described them like this,

> ...the perfect job would be to go to Mexico or another central American country as a representative of whatever company I worked for and actually be able to help that country develop its own...marketing...it's own advertising...it's own this that and the other.

At the time of the interview, Juli was hoping that her parents would eventually offer her positive recognition both for her foreign language major and romance. Meanwhile, she hoped to get into the Language and International Commerce program to help her further that dream of worming her way into an overseas business job. There, she could continue to have contact with people of other cultures and practice getting her own way in a foreign language.

Karen

Karen had never felt any linguistic need for Spanish. Figure 16 demonstrates that academic demands and limitations explained her initial decision to study Spanish. Once she had begun, the mere joy of speaking a foreign language, together with success (especially oral competence) encouraged and directed her continued studies.

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Teacher Family Italian G.mother Experience Travel Italy early Spain	Requirement language - H major Offered - Italian		**Spanish** **speaking**	Accomplishment **Competence** Comparison Recognition

Karen's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 16

Karen's interest was born on trips back to Italy with her immigrant grandmother. Those trips (at ages eight and twelve) piqued her interest in languages, as she explained,

> I made my first trip to Italy when I was eight...I really liked listening to the Italians and learning some words and phrases and stuff...I think that was the first language experience I had and I mean I always enjoyed that.

Her schools were unable to develop the interest at that time, as Karen told me, "there was no opportunity for me anywhere to take any courses in language because of the way my... private school was set up."

By the time the school offered (indeed required) foreign language study, some of the initial interest had dissipated. She talked about her linguistic enrollment in terms of obligation rather than opportunity, saying, "In high school...we had to take a language (my emphasis)." Karen would have liked to have taken Italian but the school was (once again) unable to satisfy her interest. She described to me the process of elimination which led her to Spanish, saying,

> ...German, French, Latin and Spanish. And of the four Spanish was the only one. I was just taking it because everyone said it was easy. Because I am not an academic, I'm not academic at all (Karen's emphasis) and that's why I started taking it.

Although she had faced high school foreign language as a requirement, Karen found that she enjoyed Spanish, especially speaking it. The following words expressed her delight,

> I mean this is so silly but I just think it is the neatest thing to be able to speak another language...My dad, he took a little bit of Spanish and he remembers some and I like to call him and just at work and just harass him in Spanish and stuff. I mean I just have fun with it.

A high school trip to Spain was the most stimulating part of her language study career since she reveled in practicing, as she recounted,

> And that's what the trip to Spain was, it's just a whole application process. I mean I learned through error but making some mistakes, getting some things right. I guess that was the biggest reward for everything that I had gone through in Spanish [class].

That quote reveals the complex relation between Karen's enjoyment and her success. In the beginning, her enjoyment appeared quite independent of success as she stated,

> ...in high school I didn't make great grades, I mean I got C's and B's in Spanish. And that was fine because I really enjoyed what I was doing and it didn't really bother me. And I don't think...and it didn't bother them [my parents] either just because I really did enjoy the class so very much.

With time, however, that success became more important to her. For example, at college Karen was finally able to take Italian. By that time, however, she had already had four successful years of high school Spanish and the struggle in beginning Italian was disappointing. She felt unable to separate the two languages and felt intensely frustrated, as these words express

> I was making B's in Italian but I wasn't getting any knowledge from the class. I don't know how I was making B's because everything, <u>everything</u> came out in Spanish. And it was just a real struggle. And I was making myself miserable.

Finally Karen's need for competence outweighed the intrinsic interest in Italian and she dropped the former language and concentrated on Spanish. Even in her Spanish studies, however, Karen was not free of frustration.

The transition into upper division classes was stressful. Her required Spanish Literature course was the first class taught totally in Spanish and it was very demanding. "It takes me a good six and seven hours to get an assignment done," she recounted. Furthermore, her Spanish fluency did not compare favorably to her classmates, leaving her feeling unsuccessful and mute, as she described,

> I just feel so incompetent in that class because everyone, a lot of people have had some major stay time in some Spanish speaking country. And they're just so much more fluent. I'm, oh I <u>hate</u> to talk in that class...it's not that I don't know what's going on but it's just that I don't like to speak and I've never had that problem in any of the other Spanish classes.

Karen's total lack of interest in literature aggravated the situation; there was not enjoyment to make up for the frustration. She tried to convince herself of the usefulness of this requirement, saying, "I know that you've got to learn, go through this to learn, to make your speaking and grammar skills better, but, I hate it." However, she remained ill at ease in the class. She thought going abroad again would help her gain proficiency, as she explained,

> I honestly don't feel like I can put anymore in my brain, I mean just as far as rules and stuff like that. I mean the only way that's it's going to start sticking in my mind is for me to go and try to use it.

However, her interest in developing her language (target cultures for her represented merely the opportunity to develop her skills) had to compete with her highly enjoyable campus social life. Taking an internship abroad at that moment would mean sacrificing other enjoyable activities.

In the meantime, she sat quietly in literature class. However, a comment while eating gummy bear candies before class betrayed her frustration. "I like to bite their heads off, personally," she said.

Keith

Figure 17 illustrates that Keith's Spanish study had two main motivators and one important consequence. He decided to become a missionary in sixth grade. That commitment strengthened over the years and had become Keith's central life theme by the time I spoke to him on the eve of graduation. That goal created a linguistic need for Spanish. Once he began his studies, Keith's love of communication and his increasing Spanish proficiency combined to encourage him to continue formal study. Finally, the strength of his call, together with the joy of his competence and significant experiences forged a Spanish speaking identity distinct from his English language one.

Keith felt that home and church experiences contributed to his early interest in foreign lands and peoples. He spoke warmly about being from Texas and the contact with Spanish speaking peoples there. However, the strongest influence came from stories about missions' activities. In third grade, he already sat spell bound as people spoke of foreign missions. The adventure attracted him, he recounted,

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Teacher Experience: Church Travel missions Mexico El Salvador **I was interested in being a missionary pilot.** **Identification** to Spanish	Requirement language	Being There Missions past future	**Spanish** **speaking** Literature Culture/People	Accomplishment **Competence** Comparison Recognition

Keith's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 17

> ...I remember Dr. North, who was in Honduras, talking about the intestinal worms and all those strange, strange ailments that they've got. Not strange, but strange to a child in Foreston.

Furthermore, the wish for adventure made him think of "piloting". The regional choice seemed "logical" since,

> ...the majority of the contact with people who'd worked overseas would be people who'd been to Latin America. And for some reason or another, that was the focus.

In high school, he brought his future plans together with the demands of his academic context, and began to study Spanish.

> And my understanding at that time was that I would head to...likely to South America and be a pilot... I was supposed to study some language. I mean it was kind of expected that you'd start taking some language. And Spanish was just the obvious choice, it seems (Keith's emphasis).

Immediately after graduation, Keith went to El Salvador as a relief worker where he found his four years of high school Spanish sufficient to satisfy his immediate linguistic needs. He described those needs, saying,

> I was left in Guatemala City, spent the night there and got a visa the next day. Made it on the bus. Got back to the capital. Didn't know my address. And finally figured out how to get to the house and got there. And that was with four years with Spanish. And that was a real, you know, freak out experience.

Despite having his linguistic needs met, Keith continued studying throughout college. His intrinsic interest in communication combined with the excitement of his increasing proficiency to keep him in the classroom. Before feeling that competence, however, Keith suffered disappointments. In El Salvador, for example, he felt frustrated that his Spanish was not good enough for him to engage in the linguistic puns and jokes that he felt were a central part of his personality. Over time, however, as he alternated classroom studies with travel in target language countries, Keith's Spanish improved. Finally, he reported,

> ... there came a point where in my Spanish it and I became one, much more so. To where I was able to joke around. I was able to throw some puns around. And I was able to carry on some deep conversations.
>
> my sophomore year when I had del Valle, it started being kind of fun. And I started realizing that, "Yeah." I was communicating pretty well. And, learning the poetry and the culture a little more.

With that increasing proficiency his frustration turned to joy and his love of communication developed into a love of Spanish as a language and a culture. Keith came to identify intensely with the language and its speakers. About El Salvador , he said, "...there's a great <u>bond</u> that exists between myself and El Salvador." He continued, saying,

> ...But almost any time I talked about El Salvador, it was, "In El Salvador we do such and such"...and I was part of that. I was given several nicknames but one of those last summer was "El Gringo Latino/ *The Latin Gringo*". And I liked that. I liked that a lot.

The identification was so great that Keith reported feeling his personality change with the language. "Something else comes in," he told me, when he spoke the language. "My English is more of an intellectual English....My Spanish is more, um, Latin in a sense..."

In spite of the strong identification with El Salvador, Keith's "calling" evolved over the years, leading him from piloting to pastoring and from Central America to Spain. He explained the regional shift this way,

> over and over Spain kept coming up last summer as a, spiritually a very needy place. A place with a lot of spiritual void, and a great deal of need. A country under a lot of pressure and a lot of change.

Throughout two interviews Keith was an extremely active participant, trying always to answer my research question for me. He identified personal and vicarious experience that contributed to his missions commitment. He exposed his love of communication and the pleasure of developing competency when talking about the pleasure of speaking Spanish. He thrilled at discovering aspects of his personality that a new language had given voice to. Yet this future pastor always came back to the importance of his inherent nature, that which he called internal and spiritual, when explaining his life and language decisions, as the following quote suggests.

> It would be as though a soil scientist came in and put within you the exact right soil and the right nutrients, and everything, set up perfectly, so that when a particular seed fell, it would take root. I would offer that as best an explanation as I could come up with.

Maria

Figure 18 demonstrates that ever since her childhood, Maria's contact with Spanish speakers had left her with a positive impression of "Latins" that she described like this,

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Teacher Experience: Travel Mexico 7 times Barcelona **Relationship** **Family** **father** **Boyfriend -** **Advisor** Opinion TLS are 'beautiful people'	Requirement language - U major	Being There P. Corps future?	- Latin Spanish speaking Culture/People	Accomplishment **Competence** **Comparison** Recognition

Maria's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 18

> Cubans and Latin people all have a certain air about them, you know. They're real robust about life and everything and I kind of admire that in them as far as that goes. I'd love to be a part of that culture...and they're laid back, you know, as far as things that aren't really important.

Multiple pleasure trips to Mexico reinforced this positive image, especially when time spent with well-educated Mexican youths dispelled some negative "preconceptions". She found out, she said, that "they are on the ball. I mean they're wanting to do things in the world." However, those positive opinions were not enough to lead Maria to choose Spanish.

Once Maria did begin to study the language, she found that her enjoyment waxed and waned according to her success. Her freshman year, teacher recognition and positive comparisons with her classmates excited her, as she reported, "I was really into it you know?" However, when she switched into an honors class, she found it harder to compete and her enjoyment suffered. In Spain, her ability to achieve a goal in Spanish motivated her again, as she described,

> I was able to go up to the little head dude and say, in Spanish. "I'm sorry, we missed it. But we need to get on the next train even though it's not covered by the Eurorail pass, will you let us go?" And I think, partly because I spoke in his language, he let us get on the train...That kind of made me excited about knowing Spanish it kind of made it seem worthwhile for a minute or two

The last part of that quote illustrates that once Maria came back to school, the frustration returned. In her literature classes she felt unsuccessful on two fronts. On one hand, she often failed to understand the lectures, while on the other, her language skills were weaker than more experienced students.

Aggravating Maria's frustration were the high standards of comparison she chose for herself. "It's very humbling," she said, "I mean you'll never be as good as the natives. You know, you'll never be fully proficient." Despite the frustrations, Maria continued actively trying to meet her goal of being "fluent by the time I get out of here." She hired a private Spanish tutor to train her speaking skills. Then she half jokingly suggested a romantic solution to her language struggles, saying about the Spaniards, "But they were great people. I could see working with them, marrying one of them . That would help my Spanish, wouldn't it?"

That appeal to an unknown male to solve her lack of Spanish fluency, paralleled Maria's tendency to follow masculine influences that had led her to major in the language to begin with. It was her dad's suggestion, after all, that led Maria to select Spanish when she decided not to continue the Latin she had studied in high school. She explained the force of his opinion, saying,

> Dad... he'd always kind of influenced <u>everything</u>...but not everything but pretty much everything. You know, you want his approval and things like that. So when he suggested Spanish I went with it...blindly

Her father found Spanish a good choice because he thought it was the "fastest growing language in the world...United States and everywhere else." Once she began to study, it was neither her successes nor her attraction for native speakers that led Maria to continue

on to a Language and International Commerce major. Instead, she based her decisions on the influence of two more men: first a boyfriend and then an academic advisor.

In the first instance, it was the breakup with her boyfriend that led Maria to abandon an English major and look elsewhere. In her words,

> This is kind of silly but, at the time I was an English major I was going on the track of teacher, home life, babies, husband kind of thing. And the big thing was I broke up with my boyfriend of three years...So no longer...did I need that teacher kind of security kind of job. I wanted to do something else.

The LIC program advisor was her second guide to this major. Looking for "something else" and enjoying a wave of success in her Spanish studies, the new combination language and business major attracted Maria's interest. When she interviewed for the program, the professor's personality so captivated Maria that she immediately decided to join the major, as she narrated,

> ...and I loved Dr. Merriweather . He was the greatest, you know. He was a great advisor and really cared and for the first time I had a laid out plan of what I was going to do in my college career..."This is what you're taking this semester and this is what you're taking this semester." And it made me feel really good about...knowing where, what direction I was supposed to go. So, I decided then that that was my major.

She continued, saying, "If it wasn't for him I don't think I'd be in this program." Furthermore, she added, "it's just in that program that I'm a Spanish major. I mean I never would have been one otherwise."

At the time of the interview, Maria was thinking of applying her major in the Peace Corps. She could offer business training and agricultural experience. "So," she said, "Why not?" There were no men pointing out alternative paths, as she illustrated,

> I mean, I have no commitments, I have no husband, no children, and as far as traveling, I love to do that. And living in another country would be great. It sounds like a great thing to do.

Some one else had told her that the government and non-profit sectors were a good place to begin a career. So Maria was being guided once more on to her future.

Nicole

Nicole had all the characteristics imaginable of a continuing Spanish student. Yet, she had never taken a single class beyond the minimum requirements until her graduating semester at FSU. Even that class had been prompted by an academic need for an elective to complete her psychology major. In other words, Figure 19 illustrates the fact that this young woman appeared to follow academic guidance very closely.

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Experience Lived Miami Academic early intro. Relationship **Boyfriend** **cubano** **his family** **friends**	**Requirement** language - H **elective -U**	**Being There** **living** **Miami**	Spanish class	Competence Recognition

Nicole's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 19

When Nicole found out that she needed an elective, she reported being dismayed, saying, "...And I was like 'Oh no!,'" she told me. Only at this moment did she bring to bear all of her experience favorable to Spanish study: being from Miami; having a Cuban-American boyfriend and friends; highly enjoyable and successful previous studies. Recommendations from previous students led her to choose Dr. Goodson's class.

Nicole had always enjoyed Spanish. She reported that, it had been "the more fun of my classes that I've had to take, even in high school." Furthermore, she was successful

in her studies, ever since elementary school, where, she described, "They would teach Spanish because of all the Cubans coming over and stuff. So I already had a pretty good background in it. As far as little vocabulary words and stuff." Dr. Goodson's praise of her talent or "ear" for Spanish suggested that her abilities continued on into her college studies. And yet, Nicole only took one course beyond her requirement.

Justifying that one course, Nicole talked extensively about the linguistic need in Miami for Spanish. She felt "really handicapped in a city that's as big as Miami where two thirds of the people, it seems like, speak Spanish and you don't know what's going on." She continued, citing

> ...certain Hispanic areas that are very Latin...very, you know, Cubano, and if you're there and they're speaking Spanish all around you...bank tellers and stuff. And they just assume you speak Spanish. And you don't and you feel really alienated.

The force of the language was such, she reported, that it was "becoming increasingly difficult to get a job if you don't have any knowledge of Spanish." In addition to the public pressure for the language, Nicole wanted to use Spanish within her boyfriend's family. She wanted to protect herself, she reported, telling me,

> And his whole family speaks Spanish. So I thought it would be better if ...when they were talking about me if I knew what they were saying. It would make me feel better anyway.

She wanted to establish bonds with them as well, as she said,

> And plus, his great grandparents are old and they don't speak much English. And trying to get to know them, is <u>very</u> hard when you don't speak any Spanish...I speak a little bit but I wanted to learn more of conversing. To be able to tell them things and try and talk with them at least a little bit so they would know I was making an effort. That was important.

Nevertheless, here, as in public or professional uses of the language, Nicole seemed to set low proficiency goals for herself. Two possible explanations existed. On the one hand, in spite of her academic successes, her real life contact with the language left

her feeling embarrassed, like she " can't say anything that's...above what a little two year old could say." She complained further, saying,

> But it's frustrating. You think that you've learned a lot an you can't really speak it and sometimes you can't even understand what they're saying. And you want to tell them, "Slow down." Say each word individually ..... everything's, you know, jammed together. It's impossible.

Furthermore, although she never made the link explicit, Nicole's descriptions of her latino friends indicated a linguistic ambivalence. Their difference was attractive as long as they were really "Americanized". For example, she repeatedly stressed that her friends spoke perfect English. Therefore, she could find the difference attractive, as she described it,

> But you can always tell a Latin person because they're...they have this neat little way of saying certain things. When they'll take some American sayings and say them different.

This difference was fun as long as it was tempered. She continued,

> It's not like a Cuban accent or a Spanish accent that you can pick up, like that. You'd think they were totally American. It's just this neat way that they have of saying this stuff. But it's funny.

The same pattern appeared as Nicole spoke about her boyfriend, Joseph (she used the Anglicized version of his name, José). In her own words, "and then my boyfriend speaks Spanish. And, I mean he's totally American. He only speaks Spanish if he <u>has</u> to, you know (Nicole's emphasis)."

Whether Nicole limited her Spanish goals out of dissatisfaction with her competence or a need to not appear too "Latin" the truth is that, she consistently limited herself to those studies demanded by her academic context. Although she highly enjoyed high school Spanish, she quit as soon as she had fulfilled her requirement. In college, again, she took the minimum necessary. In fact, faced with the hypothetical question of whether she would take more Spanish if she were not graduating, she limited herself again with academic demands, saying,

> if I was like a junior and I had two more semesters...I'd try and...I would definitely take more, if I had electives, you know. If I had electives where I could...where I'd be able to.

At the time of the interview, Nicole was already anticipating academic demands in graduate school in educational psychology. Meanwhile, she was content knowing just enough Spanish to speak to her in-laws and answer the "little people...Spanish people [who] will stop and ask you what time it is in Spanish and you don't want to be rude, so you tell them."

Pat

Figure 20 follows demonstrating Pat's Spanish study decisions. This young woman had never felt a linguistic need for Spanish. Her learning had taken place almost

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Experience: **Travel** **Spain**	2 Year Norm Requirement major		- Latin **Spanish** **speaking** reading **Cults./People** Disciplines Anthropology	Accomplishment **Competence** Recognition

Pat's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 20

exclusively in the academic context, where the two year norm guided her to language studies. Once she began, Pat faithfully followed her enjoyment all the way to a Spanish major at Foreston State.

From her academic options of Spanish, French and Latin, Pat first chose the latter. However, the lack of enjoyment quickly led her out of that language. She did not like Latin, she explained, because "I didn't see any sense out of it. It's a dead language". She continued, saying, "so I decided I wanted to take a language and I decided to take Spanish (my emphasis)". To Pat, it appeared that a language was only a language if it could be spoken.

Pat could have stayed in Latin and quickly finished her academic needs. Instead, she switched to Spanish, where she reported being content. Indeed, she was encouraged to continue past the two year norm and take a third year of high school Spanish. She talked about this decision in terms of relative enjoyment, comparing the language courses to the other options offered by the academic context. These were her words,

> I took all the math I needed and I had extra time. I took all the science that I needed. Had extra time. And I didn't want to take anything like home economics or anything like that.

A similar type of "process of elimination" guided Pat toward a Spanish major at college, she told me,

> So basically, it was kind of just taking more classes and then I came to like it and then I wanted to just major in it. But not quite knowing what I was going to do, just knowing that I was going to major in it.

Two central interests undergirded Pat's appreciation for Spanish. Her wish to learn to speak a foreign language appeared early, explaining her switch from Latin to Spanish. It also figured into her decision to take that third year of high school Spanish, as she explained,

> ... I wanted to be able to speak it. That's what, I mean my main goal is, I'd like to be able to speak it. Just communicate with people. So, I just thought that I'd be more interested in that than anything else, really.

In college, Pat's fascination with speaking did not abate. Indeed, successful communication with native speakers in their own environment one of her most exciting language learning moments. Half of the excitement of being in Spain on a summer study program, she explained, came from "when I talked to people, like the first time, and they understood me."

Pat's joy in her oral competence was such that other forms of success paled in comparison. She rarely measured her abilities by comparing herself with other speakers and made just quick references about "doing well" in terms of grades or having learned a lot. Pat's thrill came from feeling competent in oral communication, as in her description of a "good day in class" indicated,

> If I have a good day in class, it's just that I participate a lot and I, understanding, and like the teacher let's me know that I'm understanding. If I can communicate and let people understand without like, "Repeat that please," or whatever. I mean that makes me feel better about it.

She also felt bad when unable to say what she wanted, as she confessed,

> Because learning a language you get real insecure 'cause you never know quite, you know, what you're going to do with it, or, you never know quite what you're saying so you get real insecure about it and kind of don't want to talk and stuff. 'Cause I'm that kind of person, when I <u>do</u> talk, and I <u>do</u> make sense, that it kind of makes me feel better about it.

In addition to reveling in her ability to communicate in another language, Pat's second interest had also first appeared in high school. Those culture projects, she told me, made the class "more interesting". However, it was once more that trip to Spain that fanned the flame of Pat's interest in other cultures. She sounded joyful she related finding out that linguistic and cultural differences were more than academic abstractions.

> I'd never been to a foreign country, even Mexico or anywhere. And you just see every day life. And people use this and this is their culture. And that...I mean that got me really excited. Because I was like, "Wow!" For

> the first time I'd seen the foreign country, a Spanish foreign country. And they really talk like this. And that kind of thing. It finally hit me.

At the time of the interview, Pat's cultural curiosity was strong enough to tempt her to get a second major in Anthropology. Meanwhile, she was thinking forward, trying to imagine future applications of her present joys. Graduate school in Archeology was a possibility, she was thinking, so that she could "use my Spanish like doing research in South America?" The question mark was hers. She reasoned, "it would be good practice for both Spanish and Anthropology."

Rex

Figure 21 charts Rex's story. As he worked his way toward room 277, passing through eight years of Spanish study, heartened by successes and frustrated by disappointments, Rex was most encouraged by an intellectual interest in language and linguistics. He explained how an early introduction to Spanish stimulated his curiosity, saying,

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Experience **Academic** **early intro**	Requirement language Span. major future?	Being There Living Florida	**Languages** **General** **Spanish** speaking reading writing **Disciplines** **Linguistics**	Accomplishment Competence Recognition

Rex's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 21

> ...I was in Florida in about the fifth grade, there was a program for the mentally gifted that I was in. And one of the aspects of that was I had the opportunity to participate in Spanish. So I had to study that for about a year in the fifth grade and that ...sparked my interest in it, so to speak.

Once piqued that interest never waned. Once he decided to continue with Spanish in eighth grade, Rex never quit studying the language. However, his interest was in foreign languages (in general) rather than Spanish itself. He explained his selection on a sort of language inertia; he had already begun it. Furthermore, Spanish promised to be quite applicable when he returned home to live in Florida. In another example, Rex explained his goal of fluency without mentioning which language interested him.

> I'd like to just become fluent in it...I'm interested in being able to speak it with foreigners. I think that'd be really interesting to be able to train in a different language and write effectively.

In high school he branched out, picking up three years of high school Latin and one of ancient Greek. Other modern languages failed to interest him; in fact, he was afraid another spoken language might slow down his search for fluency. He explained the fear thus,

> ...I really want to focus on Spanish and I want to become fluent. I don't want to jumble it up on the way by getting into French or anything else like that.

In sum, Rex liked foreign languages; the choice of Spanish had been an accident of history. The fascination led him to plan a linguistics major at a prestigious university. The interest in linguistics arose during his high school Greek class, where the culture lessons awoke a intense curiosity about the relationship between languages and their cultures. He described the interest this way,

> Every other Friday we'd do like a cultural thing, so I thought it was kind of cool....I really enjoyed learning the cultural aspects along with the language. Just because it made it more immediate and didn't seem so, you know, arcane or whatever, esoteric. ...It was interesting to see how the language intertwined with like the culture and how it evolved. I liked that a lot.

A mysterious "pretty bad incident" his senior year contributed to rejection letters from those famous schools. Although he was originally from Florida, his father had recently moved to Foreston State and thus Rex began (mantled in a heavy disappointment) to study Classics (Latin) at FSU. At the end of his sophomore year, however, he dropped the Latin. There just was not enough culture. He hesitated between English and Spanish majors.

Rex complained about the lack of challenge in his FSU Spanish classes. He felt there was not enough emphasis on vocabulary and that he was slipping. "Sometimes I'll find myself going back over my numbers," he reported, "and that's not good." But Dr. Goodson's class that semester was stimulating and Rex appeared to be leaning more toward the "foreign" language major. Another part of the attraction was his plan to study culture up close in a semester abroad program in Spain.

Whichever major he chose, Rex planned to continue studying Spanish as his mother had encouraged him to do. He was thinking ahead about how to apply his current joys in future vocations. He wanted to return to Florida. Although he had never had any personal contact with the Spanish-speaking community there, he kept in mind the opportunities it promised. Of the professional possibilities, he said,

> I'd like to go back to Tampa and Tampa has a pretty large Hispanic population, so... I think I'd like to get into, hopefully, get into the law and I'd like to maybe do something, either like internationally or just with like the Hispanic community.

Susan

This young woman might never have become interested in foreign peoples and languages if her academic context had not guided her there. Figure 22 shows that Susan had had no contact with foreign languages and lacked any personal interest in the subject.

However, once her high school curriculum drew her into Spanish class, she became intrigued. Enjoyment and success prompted her to continue. At the moment of the interview, in fact, Susan was agonizing over the decision of whether to change her major from History to Spanish. Instead of direct language requirements, Susan cited the limitations of her high school curriculum for leading her (reluctantly) to foreign language

PERSONAL	ACADEMIC	LINGUISTIC	INTO IT	DOING WELL
Teacher	Offered Requirement minor major future?		Spanish **Cults./People** **difference**	Accomplishment Competence **Recognition**

Susan's Spanish Study Decisions

Figure 22

study. Amid characteristic self-conscious laughs, she explained that "I just kind of ran out of things to take, so I took Spanish." About the other linguistic choices, she said, "I had heard horror stories about French and I thought German sounded really disgusting. So I just took Spanish..." Despite an unenthusiastic beginning, her teachers stimulated Susan's enjoyment by presenting interesting information and recognizing her successes; she kept studying.

In fact, Susan's curiosity was immediately engaged in Spanish class. It was, "something a little different. Something not quite as boring as everything else I was taking." The teacher impressed her because, "she would talk to us in Spanish all the time. And I thought, 'Wow! That's pretty weird.'" Susan relished the difference between Spanish and other classes and especially appreciated the culture lessons. She loved the

"interesting little tid bits" such as television commercials or strange idioms that her high school teacher brought in. The cultural interest continued to stimulate her at the university where one of the main criteria for her positive evaluation of the FSU Spanish program was the cultural diversity of the faculty, as she explained,

> ...it seems like they do a good job of getting a lot of different people, different types of people. I mean we have people from Spain and people from Latin America and people from everywhere.

She emphatically appreciated cultural differences, saying

> they say people are the same anywhere but I don't believe it. 'Cause I mean we don't have bullfights...most people would think, in the United States, would think it's inhumane. You know, people are not the same everywhere.

That cultural difference appeared to offer her a sense of freedom that she explained to me in these words,

> it is a good thing to be able to communicate with other people...it makes you more than just this person that just lives in their own isolated world, who's going about doing their Forestonian things. That just seems like it's not enough. That seems very closed.

Despite her growing fascination with language and culture, Susan had found History even more enticing than Spanish and was majoring in that discipline at the time of the interviews. However, the Spanish promised greater levels of success. For example, Susan appeared to feel that her goal of Spanish competence was a reasonable one; that goal led her to pursue a minor in the language, as she explained,

> I'm doing pretty well. There's no point in doing a half-way job. If I'm going to learn it, I might as well learn it to where I could actually speak to someone. If it ever arose. So I thought I could just get a minor in Spanish and that would, you know, be better than two years (my emphasis).

In addition, passing references suggested that Susan also felt like she had accomplished a lot in her Spanish classes. However, Susan's most important form of success was teacher recognition. The lack of such recognition was the principle reason for Susan's disappointment in her history major, as she described,

> last semester and this semester I've taken Dr. Mars's class on the Ancient World and it is making me nuts. I can not please that man. I'll never know what he wants out of a paper. I will just can't figure it out. But I've turned in my last paper for Dr. Mars. I'm not taking any of his classes again.

She explained that the Spanish instructors were much more positive. "It seems like I've gotten a lot of positive feedback and that's good. Because I certainly haven't gotten any from Dr. Mars!" Dr. Goodson's attempt to talk her into a Spanish major was especially encouraging, she reported,

> I was in the Language office for something, I don't remember what. And, he asked me what my major was, and I said History. And he said, "Have you thought about majoring in Spanish?" and I said, "Well, not really," [No, I lied.] "but I am minoring in Spanish". And he said, "Well at least you're minoring because otherwise I wanted to convince you."
>
> And, you know, and he said, you know, all stuff that I won't say because it embarrasses me.

In Spanish Susan found felt an encouragement (through teacher recognition) that History had been unable to offer her. Even so, Susan hesitated painfully about that change in a major. On one hand, she reported, "I keep thinking that I would like to, that I might be happier." On the other hand, she resisted the change, as this quote indicates,

> Well, I wonder "What am I going to do?" And I, like I said, a few months ago...sometime last semester it just kind of struck me that I would like to teach Spanish. And I thought, "Where did that thought come from? Go away, thought." You know, that's not what I'm supposed to do.

Whether she ended up switching to Spanish or not, Susan owed her discovery of an unsuspected intrinsic interest in foreign languages and cultures to the demands of the academic context that first led her there. That interest when further stimulated by the promise of success appeared to be winning over this young woman.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated how the each student came to form an individual recipe for formal Spanish study out of the two reasons that justified foreign language study, need and encouragement. It illustrated the great variety of combination of types of need (linguistic and academic) and encouragement (enjoyment and success) that each participant manipulated in individual journeys to the same classroom while awaiting for a third-year Spanish class at Foreston State University. Chapter 7 follows with a discussion of these results and their implications for teaching and further research.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This project investigated how a group of people came to be studying Spanish in a junior-level, university classroom at Foreston State University. I wanted to understand learners' perceptions of how they arrived there and any influences on their decisions. I was curious whether they had felt influenced by their opinions of Spanish speakers. The data analyses appeared in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. In this chapter, I summarize those results, discuss their significance in relation to other literature and suggest their implications for teaching and research.

Summary

The following section compares and synthesizes the survey and interview data analyses presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Survey and Interview Analyses Compared

Chapter 4 presented the survey data analysis, while Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrated the picture of foreign language learning motivation that emerged from the interview analysis. An initial comparison of the two suggested that the interview analysis had produced the better explanation. Where the survey analysis yielded a "laundry list" of unrelated justifications for Spanish study, the interview analysis clearly illustrated the major influences on learners' decisions to study Spanish as well as the relationships between

those variables. The theoretical framework helped identify those interrelationships and should facilitate future comparison of these results with other research. Finally, the interview segment alone was successful at incorporating students' social context as an essential part of the empirical data.

Not content with such a superficial comparison, I conducted an empirical test. I took the structure summarizing influences on Spanish study motivation (Figure 9 in Chapter 5 and illustrated in Chapter 6) and attempted to see whether it could absorb all the data from the survey. The basic structure was validated. Nevertheless, the survey data continued useful for a full understanding of FLLM.

Figure 23 below illustrates, for example, how the re-organized survey data confirmed the frequency of learner preoccupation with future uses of their language studies. At the same time, however, few language students had any clear ideas of where or how they anticipated using the language. This combination of factors suggests that these students felt an obligation to project their studies into the future and supports the assertion in Chapter 5 that successes and enjoyment were the stronger motivations for continued Spanish studies; the future use was limited to vague expectation.

The rare mention of international sites for future vocational use of Spanish combined with explicit statements such as "Spanish is becoming more and more useful in america today (sic)" combined to suggest that the language gained many adepts (relative to other languages) due to its pervasiveness within the U.S. In a sense, Spanish was a *domestic* foreign language. The effect of Spanish's strong national presence did not appear in the model of motivation as an major factor. It did figure, however, in the case of several individual students' initial choices between language options.

Finally, the re-organization of survey data uncovered a new and frequently cited category of reasons for foreign language study, as illustrated in Figure 24. Forty-two

JOBS, SPECIFIC	JOBS, NOT SPECIFIED	LIVING	UNSPECIFIED ACTIVITY	LOCATION
4 •...working in S. America in Resource Management and Conservation...	–	–	–	TARGET LANGUAGE COUNTRY
4 •...to teach it in secondary schools.	1 •Mexican-American population is growing at a rapid rate in the U.S. ... & I think their buying influence will grow	–	1 •...and Spanish is becoming more and more useful in america today.	U.S.A.
1 •...would like to practice law someday in Florida...	–	1 •moving back to Miami...to be able to communicate w/ all the latins there.	1 • ...& Spanish has much applicability in Florida.	FLORIDA
–	7 •...I could get a good job with this major ...	–	5 •...plan to continue using it, therefore I keep studying it.	UNSPECIFIED

Figure 23

Students' Anticipated Spanish Use by Activity and Location

N = 25 (42% of Survey Respondents)

8 (13%) Other Peoples	17 (28%) Another Language
•I would like to work cross culturally ... •because I enjoy learning how to communicate in another language •I have always found it interesting to be able to talk with people from other countries ... •I find it very fascinating to be able to communicate to someone who is a non-English speaker. •I think it [language] opens the doors to other peoples. •I find it interesting to be able to communicate w/ people of other cultures." •I also love to communicate w/ people of different cultures. •...enjoy learning about other cultures.	•I feel it is important to know another language... •I want to know a 2nd lang... •I want to know another language besides French... •because, I like knowing another language... •I love Spanish and really want to make it my second language.... •I like to be able to speak 2 languages, and ... •I would like to learn how to speak, read etc.... •To understand the language better and ... •I enjoy knowing another language and ... •because I enjoy learning how to communicate in an other language •I've been fascinated with foreign language since I was little. •Because I really enjoy foreign language ... •like Foreign Languages ... •I enjoy...language in general I find linguistics very interesting •knowing a second language is vital rather than a luxury. •Because I feel it's important to learn and master another language in this day and age... •...I feel American unilingual arrogance is aberrent (sic) and disastrous.

Figure 24

Spanish Students' Interest in

"Other Peoples" and "Another Language"

N = 25 (42% of Responses)

percent of respondents cited such an interest in "other peoples and/or another language" as justification for their studies. This new category is as commonly cited as the central components of Chapter 5's analysis, future usage and enjoyment. Therefore, I returned to the interview data to search for it and found that it seemed to pertain to most of the interview participants. Therefore, I had to explain why it had not emerged as an important influence. I discovered several reasons.

First, in contrast to the factors of need and encouragement, students were generally unable to talk in specific terms about this interest in "other peoples and another language". Neither was this interest generally able to generate behavior outside of the classroom. Finally, when their interest in other languages competed with other influences, those included in the model generally won out. It seems that these students' attraction for "other peoples and another language" similar to the goal of success for working class men in Strauss's 1992 study. Her participants often cited the value of success and then just as often reported behaviors which went contrary to those values. So too, interview data suggested that participants valued other peoples and languages in general terms. Yet, in the absence of a linguistic need for Spanish in a target language community, such interests often remained inside the classroom. These people's academic demands, their enjoyment of Spanish itself and their successes at it exerted more influence on their language study decisions than a vague interest in "other peoples and another language."

Results

The comparison described above led me to conclude that the description of Spanish study motivation that emerged from the interview analysis was both validated and enriched

by the survey data analysis. The picture of motivation that emerged suggested that the primary influences on learner's decisions to study a foreign language emerged from people's ways of thinking about the process of schooling itself. Specifically, the idea that school exists as a preparation created a time structure in which students' decisions were simultaneously affected by their past experiences, present conditions and anticipations about the future. Within that academic context with its unique time structure, the concrete influences on Spanish study decisions came from influences that learner saw as "needs" and "encouragements." Needs emerged from learners' linguistic or academic contexts and were necessary and sufficient to explain formal studies. Once they had begun their language learning, the greatest influences on persistence came from learner's enjoyment ("Into It") and success ("Doing Well"). Students measured their language abilities according to a combination of four different methods: recognition; accomplishment; competence and comparison with other speakers. The greatest energy, however, emanated from participants' pure joy. Enjoyment in parallel interests in cultures, travel, economics or linguistics encouraged some students to continue but it was a pure love speaking the language that got most students "into it".

Nevertheless, enjoyment and success were never alone sufficient. That future always beckoned and learners always felt the need to justify their studies with an anticipated use for the language. Spanish was relatively easy to justify, since (as Maria's dad had said) "Spanish is more widely used in this country". One could communicate with other peoples, enjoy the learning, feel competent at using the developing skill, employ it in your work and do it all without ever leaving the country.

Discussion

The following passages discuss the results just summarized in the light SLA literature. First of all, the fruitful application Deci and Ryan's theories of motivation and self-determination (1985, 1991) substantiated the need for a theoretical revitalization of motivational research (Crookes and Schmidt, 1991) in SLA. As a theoretical framework, the theory helped identify patterns of relationship between different variables. The result was a model of language learning motivation with greatly improved explanatory power which may orient future investigations. In addition, the close fit between data and theory provided mutual support for both.

As presented in Chapter 2, Deci and Ryan's theory (1985, 1991) explains that extrinsic motivation results from society's attempts to engender socially approved activities in its members. Similarly, the "needs" type of influences on participants' language studies were demands that arose from people's participation in either linguistic or academic contexts. This project provided empirical proof that social context must be taken into account for a full understanding of foreign language learning motivation, as has so often be asserted in the literature (Colleta and associates, 1983; Crookes and Schmidt, 1991; Dörnyei, 1990; Gardner, 1972, 1985; Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Lambert, 1974; Speiller, 1986). However, in contrast to much of the literature, this project illustrated that the immediate, schooling context was a stronger influence on this particular group than the linguistic one outside academic confines. Together with the results of Ely (1986) and Ramage (1990) (and in opposition to Gardner's 1985 assertion) this study effectively demonstrates that the demands of formal curricula (especially language requirements) must be taken into serious consideration when studying FLLM. I have found no other empirical studies of the effect of curricular choices on foreign language learning motivation.

However, this research suggests that this is one of the few areas of effect on the greater ethnolinguistic context on this group's language study decisions. The presence of a significant Spanish-speaking community in the United States helped several students make their initial choice of that language. Furthermore, Spanish was the only language always offered in official school curricula. This provided a guiding force leading students to begin their studies with this language. Few other effects of the greater ethnolinguistic context appeared important in participants' language study decisions.

When I looked for previously investigated factors of influence in my study, I found that the primacy of academic over non-academic contexts in motivating language studies helped explain the consistent appearance of instrumental-type reasons for foreign language study (according to classic Gardner and Lambert, 1972, definitions) in FLLM studies (e.g. Bacon and Finnemann, 1990; Chiara and Oller, 1978; Clément and Kruidenier, 1983; Clément, Smythe and Gardner, 1978; Dörnyei, 1991; Ely, 1986; Gardner, 1985; Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Lukmani, 1972; Speiller, 1988). To the extent that learners adhere to the idea that they are in school in order to prepare them for the future, they are naturally led to think that all their studies should help to "prepare me". It may therefore be, that the cultural model of school as a preparation is the source of the ubiquitous appearance of an instrumental-type motive in survey based investigations. Ramage's work suggests that the preoccupation with future applications is not specific to language learners, since both her continuing and discontinuing students were equally concerned with future applications of their language studies. In addition, this project suggests that the composition of instrumental motive needs further clarification since I discovered at least two types of instrumental motives with differing effects on learner behavior: linguistic needs; and vague plans for future language use.

The extrinsic demands for and influence on FL study deserve more researcher attention and I present several specific questions below. Although it was the intrinsic interests that guaranteed learners' continued studies, the recognition of that intrinsic interest required some contact with foreign languages. That was the great contribution of the extrinsic demands for foreign language studies. I discuss the energizing effect of student's being into Spanish and doing well below.

The factors of encouragement (students' being "into it" and "doing well") correspond closely to the view of intrinsic motivation presented in Chapter 2. This study provides clear support for both hypotheses (Crookes and Schmidt, 1991; Herron, 1980; Kamada, 1987) and evidence (Bartley, 1970; Clément, Smythe and Gardner, 1978; Ramage, 1990) that students' attitudes toward and enjoyment of target language learning is a central component of FLLM. The goal of obtaining TL competence for its own sake appeared in this study as well, supporting that reason in studies by (Bacon and Finnemann, 1990; Clément, Smythe and Gardner, 1978; Ely, 1986; Ramage, 1990).

These results also complement the literature by further emphasizing the support that Spanish study motivation received from participants' love of related activities. The interest in travel had already appeared in the literature as contributing to motivation (Clément and Kruidenier, 1983; Dörnyei, 1990; Speiller, 1988) and these results echoed that. Other research identified the motivational contribution of participants' interest in the target language cultures (e.g. Ely, 1986). This study supported that and added another type of related interest capable of stimulating language studies, a love of related academic disciplines (e.g. Linguistics, Economics or Geography) that in Charli's words, "fit in well" with Spanish studies.

In addition to the predictable and clear relationship between enjoyment and Spanish study, the factors of success (or "doing well") stimulated intrinsic motivation by nuturing

learners' interest. Deci and Ryan's (1991) theory explains that in order for intrinsic motivation to survive the threat of extrinsic imposition, a number of criteria must be present. These include: learner competency, optimal challenge, autonomy and social relatedness. Thus the theory explains the highly encouraging nature of the student measures of success (which, incidentally emerged, purely inductively since I had the analysis ready before reading this part of the theory). Figure 25 demonstrates the ways FSU's students judged their own language learning successes, how those measures appeared to nurture intrinsic motivation (according to theory) and which of those types of successes had been validated in previous research.

I have not identified any research relating to the accomplishment measure of success. This type of success was most easily indentifiable in its absence when frustration (too high levels of challenge) or boredom (lack of challenge) occurred. Literature dealing with recognition is limited to Ramage's (1990) identification of the contribution of grades to language study persistence. For this study, however, the grade-type recognition was not by far the most important. The types of recognition related to social relatedness (especially comments of teachers, family and others) seemed stronger. These types of recognition have the advantage of being less authoritarian (i.e. other-oriented, less extrinsic) quality than grades or exam results. I found no research investigating such types of recognition. As far as comparisons are concerned, Schumann and Schumann (1977) identified a comparison type of success, which they called competition, as an important measure of success and variable in motivation. The form of success most energetically referred to was learner success in real communication events. These incidents offered learners the opportunity to test their competence in a situation which supported intrinsic motivation in several ways. Communicating with native speakers addressed learners' needs for social relatedness. In addition, by making the learning seem real, it was freed from the sterile and

Craven's Doing Well Variables	Deci and Ryan's Concepts	Research Validation
Accomplishment	Optimal Challenge Social Relatedness through the role of the teacher	--
Recognition course grades standardized exams ... comments teachers others	 ... Social Relatedness	 Ramage, 1990. Grades ... —
Competence	Competency Optimal Challenge Autonomy Social Relatedness	Bacon and Finneman, 1990. Goal of being able to... Ely, 1986.
Comparison	Social Relatedness more complex than theory leads to believe.	Schumann and Schumann, 1977. Competition.

Figure 25

Types of Spanish Success in Relationship

to Motivational Theory and Research

other-directed nature of classroom learning. Furthermore, out of classroom tests allowed participants to test themselves independently of any outside evaluator, increasing the amount of self-determination in the act. The force of these communicative acts supports Clément's theory (1980) about the motivational reinforcement offered by successful communication between learner and TL community members. This study is the first empirical evidence I have found that out-of-class communicative language use stimulates motivation, although Graman's (1987) work identified such contact as the major characteristic distinguishing his continuing and discontinuing Spanish students.

Teachers were extremely important in the motivational history of a significant minority of students. The theory of the nuturing of intrinsic motivation suggests why. Within the extrinsic structures of formal foreign language learning, the instructor is an essential determiner of levels of challenge, defining and achieving student competency, social relatedness and autonomy. In other words, theory explains that teachers helped motivate students to the extent that they were able to awaken and nurture intrinsic interest. These results about the role of success clearly agree with those of Strong (1984), illustrating that language learning success can promote motivation as well as vice versa.

Finally, this research follows in the wake of others (Bacon and Finnemann, 1990; England, 1982; Ely, 1986; and Ramage, 1990) that found that learners do not spontaneously justify their language studies based on an interest in becoming part of the target language community (i.e. an integrative motive in the conception of Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1985). Positive opinions about the target language group (which, as Larsen-Freeman and Long alerted in 1991, are similar to integrative but not the same) did appear as influential in several individual cases. However no attitudinal variable was as important to the group as their school and linguistic contexts, their enjoyment of Spanish and their "doing well" in it. This does not, of course, invalidate the hypothesis (Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1985) that variation in levels of integrative motive correlates with variation in achievement; it does suggest that there are more important motivational processes that account for foreign language study. Indeed, Clément and Kruidenier's 1983 study suggested and Ramage's work (1990) supported the idea that integrative motive tends to be limited to very distinct social sites.

Before ending the discussion and continuing to the outline of the implications of this study, I would comment on the characteristics of individual experience that influenced significant minorities of students. In addition to the motivational contribution offered by

positive student attitudes toward the teacher (which Clément, Smythe and Gardner in 1978 also found to help explain persistence), Gardner and Lambert 1972 found mixed results about the contribution of parental support for FL studies in language learning achievement, while a later study (Clément, Smythe and Gardner, 1978) found such support did correlate with language study persistence. Support exists that an early start in academic studies favors persistence (Ramage, 1990). As for the importance of communicative TL use (as supported by Graman, 1987), I discussed that above.

Implications

This study suggested that the formal academic context of foreign language learning is key in understanding why students make the choices they do. This investigation suggested that such an academic context is more immediate and more influential that the greater sociolinguistic one. This study went on to identify the essential role of learners' perceieved needs (both academic and linguistic) in initiating language studies. Once involved in language acquistion, however, young people's internal judgements of their enjoyment and successes were the most important influences explaining their continued formal Spanish studies. The essential role of the academic context in students' motivation means that student-teacher and student-student relations need more attention both from researchers and, perhaps, teachers themselves. The following section outlines this implications for teaching and research that resulted from this project.

Future Research

One of the unique contributions of this project was its methodology that was able to complement and verify the existing research data. Similar studies with even more research methodologies would be a productive test for motivational research. A longitudinal study of foreign language learning motivation would prove especially helpful. In addition to searching for other influences on FLLM, such an approach would allow the study of motivation over time. This would allow a close look at the question of direction of causality mentioned above. The following section proposes research into specific influences on FLLM.

Sufficient evidence now exists to prompt a major research campaign into learner enjoyment of foreign language study. Basis descriptive data is needed to address two questions: what aspects of language learning do students enjoy and what influences exist on their enjoyment. Based on these firmly grounded categories, correlational studies could investigate the relationships between these components and their influences, such as: a) what influences might be associated with the enjoyment of each part of language learning, and b) to what extent does the enjoyment of these different aspects of language learning explain variance in either language learning achievement and/or study persistence? Specifically, factor analysis could help to determine whether its contribution was independent and stronger than other learner variables in accounting for language learning achievement. Other methods would be necessary to address the question of causality between enjoyment and achievement.

This study has forcefully illustrated the need for a closer look at students' own perceptions of language learning success. Further descriptive work is necessary as well as investigations of the relationship between language learning success and enjoyment. Key

questions include: To what extent does enjoyment promote success and vice versa? Can we establish which if either is primary? How does the relationship between enjoyment and success develop over time and in relation to increasing proficiency?

I would also suggest research into the extrinsic motivation for language learning. The central importance of academic requirements in initiating foreign language study begs the question of the origin of those requirements. Marckwardt (1988, originally published in 1945), Herron (1980) and Stengel (1939) discuss academics' perceptions of the role of foreign language within formal curricula. Further documental research might address the historical question more intensely while surveys of former foreign language majors would make an interesting study of the future applications of such training.

The role of linguistic need for language study begs attention as well. Would other sites (with different ethnolinguistic make-ups) show a stronger influence for this type of contextual demand? That is the logic behind Gardner and Lambert's 1972 series of studies with their contradictory results. More research into students' own perceptions would allow that question more direct scrutiny.

Still within the academic context, descriptive research could study whether the decision to pursue a foreign language major differs from other similar choices in students' perspectives. The role of teachers in FLLM needs attention as well, especially those teacher-guides who are able to motivate learners to continue, even specialize in their academic discipline.

In order to study the effect of non-academic extrinsic demands for language learning, research outside the conventional schooling context might be profitable. For example, a motivational study of language students planning for foreign service work (missionaries or peace corps volunteers in training) would assure a strong linguistic need. These people might just help me address the one basic question which remained

unanswered in this study: just who are these people who are interested in peoples of other cultures? speakers of other languages?

Implications for Practice

Students made it perfectly clear that they wanted to know how to communicate in foreign languages. Furthermore, an increasingly global economy demands such language skills in American youngsters. Language requirements emerged from this study as an invaluable contribution to creating student interest in foreign languages. For many it meant their first experience with other peoples and another language, representing an opportunity for people to see the importance of foreign language and feel its joys. The two year, high school norm, however, was shown to be too little and a bit too late to insure proficiency at the college level. If young people are to learn to effectively use languages, they need to study it like they study mathematics, over many years, beginning early.

Furthermore, I suggest setting firm proficiency tests for entrance into advanced studies levels. That would help address the problem of heterogeneous fluency levels that is so frustrating to students and instructors alike. Furthermore, it would establish a clear goal for students and teachers to work toward. Teachers, then would be highly encouraged to teach for proficiency. The following suggest ways in which individual teachers can motivate and challenge students toward achieving true competence.

First of all, Juli's words serve to remind teachers about their potential for encouraging language students. She said about her special teacher,

> ...she'd be like, "You should know more. You should know better." And I would know this better because she told me I needed to know it better. She acted like, "You've got to use it, your talent. You have the aptitude for it, use it."...she wanted me to learn this language because she wanted me to excel in it. She wanted me to <u>be</u> able to talk. She shared my dream, which I though was amazing. That really turned me on. I was just like, "Oh yes!"

Although instructors can not manufacture such intrinsic enjoyment, this research does suggests some possibilities for nuturing it. First of all, students were the foremost proponents of a communicative approach to language learning; they wanted to be able to *use* the language rather than mere meta-language. Two suggestions follow. First, this project strongly supports the attempt to include the maximum number of opportunities to demand and enable students to get their ideas across. The literature abounds with suggestions for in class, communicative activities. In addition, real-life instances of target-language communication were one of the strongest motivators. Therefore, instructors need to strongly encourage out-of-class target language contact through travel, festivals or weekly gatherings of students. We are challenged to help the students transcend classroom borders and to find out, as Pat said, that "they [the Spanish] really talk like this."

Inside the classroom, instructors can promote the feelings of accomplishment by establishing high and clear goals and working with students to prepare them to meet those goals. Additional encouragement came in the form of informal recognition of students' gains. Sincere compliments were often more instrumental than a good grade in leading learners to continue.

Students' tendency to measure themselves against all other speakers has been referred to as competition (Schumann and Schumann, 1976) in the literature. This form of measurement is a double-edge sword, promising discouragement for the weaker as well as encouragement for the stronger (when the difference is not too great as to promote boredom). Since individual variation in proficiency seems inherent to language classrooms, learners constantly risk being bored (being held back by weaker students) or frustrated (not being unable to understand teachers and other students). Strict proficiency guidelines might help promote a level of optimal challenge for groups. In the absence of such curricular revolutions, instructors can benefit by training in co-operative learning (e.g.

Slavin) so that they might re-design their classrooms so that weaker and strong students work together instead of against each other.

Finally, this research suggests also that learners' interest in culture, literature, geography and other academic disciplines can encourage their continued studies. A curiosity about other peoples, their cultures and their ways of life was almost universal. This project alerts instructors to make time for those "extras".

Conclusion

I began this investigation by asking why people left their homes (linguistically speaking) to engage in the long and frustrating process of foreign language learning. I hope that these research results may help remind researcher and teachers alike what it is like to be a foreign language student and how some learners came to interpret that experience and choose to continue until arriving at advanced university language study. Three hundred-level students of Spanish were my participants. I observed them; I surveyed them and I interviewed them. I found that contrary to what some classic literature suggested, these students were not motivated by an urge to integrate into a Spanish speaking community. On the contrary, a significant number of them had had very limited contact with native Spanish speakers. They were curious and they were anxious to try out their developing language skills. For this group as a group, their decisions to study Spanish had developed out of (or in conjunction with) their participation in the process of schooling. They entered the classroom in order to meet a perceived need for Spanish study (that arose either from academic needs or linguistic ones, in the case of a minority who anticipated working abroad). Once there, their enjoyment and successes encouraged them to continue. Their enjoyment was highly energizing. Their successes were not necessarily those

measured by exams and grades. The feeling that they had gotten a lot out an optimally challenging class was success. Recognition from family or friends was also success. Speaking as well as or better than other speakers was success. Finally, the ability to get their ideas across in the target language was success.

This study has unearthed a vision of motivation to study foreign languages in which social context is the central influence of learners' decisions. However, it was the academic context, the needs it established and the motives it sanctioned, that was paramount to these people's actions. I therefore remind researchers on FLLM and teaching professionals to remember that students' motivation can not be isolated from its academic context. That context provides the demand for the language study, and provides the available choices. Therefore, theories of motivation and second language acquisition can ill afford to ignore either the importance that the curricular requirements and limitations have on creating demands and options or the strong emphasis on future application that the perceived goal of schooling implies. Neither can teachers afford to downplay the importance of beginning language classes. In many cases they may spark an interest; in others they are an essential element in nuturing a previous interest in foreign languages that students may have brought from their unique combinations of experience.

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APPENDIX

(Pilot) Survey Information Sheet

I am conducting research for my master's thesis on why students study Spanish and I would appreciate your help. The goal of the research is to help teachers know more about what interests students in foreign languages so that we can better motivate new students.

Your answers will be kept strictly confidential and can not be used in any way for grading purposes, since your teacher will not have access to your completed questionnaire. Please indicate if you would be willing to talk to me personally at a later time and, if so, include your name and telephone number.

Thanks a lot!

Katie Craven
M.S. Candidate
Foreign Language Education
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University of Tennessee, Knoxville

4002 Holston College Rd.
Louisville, TN 37777
615/984-9234

(Pilot) SURVEY

Would you be willing to talk to me personally? If so, leave your name and number.

name _____ phone number _____

---

1. Age: _____ 2. Sex: _____

3. College: _____ 4. Major _____
(or potential majors) _____

5. Do you speak any languages besides Spanish and English?

Which ones?

6. Describe any foreign travel experiences you've had (Include where you went, why, how long you stayed and the language you mostly used while there):

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

7. How many people do you personally know that are not native English speakers? Tell me about those you know best. What is the relationship? What languages do they speak?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Please answer the following multiple choice questions by circling the letter to the left of your answer.

8. I actively think about what I have learned in Spanish class:
   A. very frequently
   B. hardly ever
   C. once in a while

9. When it comes to my Spanish homework, I:
   A. put some effort into it, but not as much as I could
   B. work very carefully, making sure I understand everything
   C. just skim over it

10. Considering how I study Spanish, I can honestly say that I:
   A. do just enough work to get along
   B. will pass on the basis of sheer luck or intelligence because I do very little work
   C. really try to learn Spanish

11. If I had the opportunity to speak Spanish outside of school, I would:
   A. never speak it
   B. speak Spanish most of the time, using English only if really necessary
   C. speak it occasionally, using English whenever possible.

Thank you, thank you, thank you.

¡Hasta luego!

Interview Information Sheet

I am inviting you to participate in a study that is part of the requirements for my M.S. degree (with thesis) in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. I am interested in knowing about how university language students perceive the influences on their interest in studying foreign languages.

In case you decide to participate, I would like you to know in advance the following things about the process.

The Interview. There will be an interview given by myself, Katie Craven, that is estimated to take about one hour. It will be audio-taped, transcribed and analyzed.

Your protection. There are no risks anticipated to you as a participant and your responses can in no way be used to evaluate you academically. For example, all interviews will be kept confidential through the use of code numbers and pseudonyms instead of real names. The audio-tapes and subsequent transcriptions will be locked in my office for a period of seven years at which point they will be destroyed. Finally, if any of the research were to be published, no data would appear that could be identify yourself or any other participant.

Benefits. I hope that you will benefit from insights gained during the interview process. The results of the study will available to you upon request. In addition, your participation in this study will help language teachers to better understand and motivate students of foreign languages.

Your participation is totally voluntary and you may refuse to answer any questions, without penalty. You can withdraw from the study at any time.

I would be happy to answer questions about the research project or your participation in it. Thank you.

Katie Craven
M.S. Candidate, Foreign Language Education
Dept. C. and I. Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville

3236 Fairmont Blvd.
Knoxville, TN 37917
615/521-7439

Interview Consent Form

By signing this form I agree:

- to participate in an one hour, audio-taped interview about my perceptions of the influences on my interests in foreign languages
- that my interview be audio-taped and then transcribed and analyzed
- that the audio-tapes be kept in a locked office during a period of seven years before they are destroyed
- that my confidentiality be maintained through the use of code numbers and pseudonyms instead of my real name

Furthermore, I understand:

- that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary
- that I may withdraw at any time without penalty
- that there are no risks involved
- that I can expect to benefit from insights gained during the interview process as well as from the results of the study's findings
- that I may contact the researcher at any time if I have any questions about the study or my participation in it

Signature (real) _____

Name (please print) _____

Date _____

Interview Schedule

1. Why are you studying Spanish?

2. How did you come to begin your Spanish study?

3. How did you come to study Spanish instead of another language?

4. Tell me about your previous experiences in studying Spanish.

   a) Describe a specific incident that has gotten you really excited about learning Spanish.

   b) Describe an incident that has made you less interested in studying Spanish.

5. How did you come to continue your Spanish study into the third year?

6. Think about any experiences that influenced your interest in foreign languages. Tell me about one.

   probes:
   - What other factors have influenced your interest?
   - What people have influenced your decision to study Spanish?
   - What experiences have influenced you?
   - What interests have influenced you?
   - What other influences are you aware of?

OBSERVATION INFORMATION SHEET

I am inviting you to participate in a study I am conducting as part of the requirements for a M.S. degree (with thesis) in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. I am interested in knowing about how university language students perceive the influences on their interest in studying foreign languages. It is hoped that this study will benefit yourself and others as it should help language teachers to better understand and motivate students of foreign languages.

In case you decide to participate, I would like you to know in advance the following things about the process.

The Research. I will attend approximately six to ten Spanish classes during the semester, during which I will observe and take notes. These will be analyzed as part of the thesis research.

Your protection. There are no risks anticipated to you as a participant. These observations can in no way be used to evaluate you academically. Also, no data will appear in the thesis or any subsequent publications that could identify yourself or any other participant since pseudonyms will be used instead of your real name.

Your participation is totally voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time.

Please contact me with any questions about the research project or your participation in it. Thank you.

Katie Craven
M.S. Candidate
Foreign Language Education
Department of Curriculum and Instruction
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615/521-7439

INSTRUCTORS' OBSERVATION INFORMATION SHEET

I am inviting you to participate in a study I am conducting as one of the requirements for a M.S. degree (with thesis) in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. I am interested in knowing about how university language students perceive the influences on their interest in studying foreign languages. It is hoped that this study will benefit yourself and others as it should help language teachers to better understand and motivate students of foreign languages.

In case you decide to participate, I would like you to know in advance the following things about the process.

The Research. I will attend approximately six to ten Spanish classes during the semester, during which I will observe and take notes. These will be analyzed as part of the thesis research.

Your protection. There are no risks anticipated to you as a participant. Any presentation of the data (the thesis or subsequent publication) will be altered to prevent that anyone one could identify yourself or any other participant. For example, pseudonyms will be used instead of your real name.

Your participation is totally voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time.

Please contact me with any questions about the research project or your participation in it. Thank you.

Katie Craven
M.S. Candidate
Foreign Language Education
Department of Curriculum and Instruction
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

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615/521-7439

Observation Consent Form

By signing this form I agree:

- to allow the researcher to observe my behavior in Spanish class
- that notes be taken and analyzed

Furthermore, I understand:

- that in any subsequent presentations of this research, my confidentiality will be maintained through the use of code numbers and pseudonyms instead of my real name
- that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary
- that I may withdraw at any time without penalty
- that there are no risks anticipated
- that I may contact the researcher at any time if I have any questions about the study or my participation in it

Signature _____

Name (please print) _____

Date _____

(Main) Survey Information

I am conducting research for my master's thesis on why students study Spanish and I would appreciate your help. The goal of the research is to help teachers know more about what interests students in foreign languages so that we can better motivate new students.

I have requested your names and addresses so that I might invite some of you for a private talk at a later date. Nevertheless, I want to assure you that your answers will be kept strictly confidential. Furthermore, since your teacher will not have access to this information, the questionnaire can not be used in any way for grading purposes. Finally, your anonymity is guaranteed since pseudonyms will substitute for students' real names in the thesis and any subsequent publications.

Feel free to contact me at any time with any questions. Thank you.

Katie Craven
Masters' Candidate
Foreign Language Education
Department of Curriculum and Instruction
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

601 McClung Tower
University of Tenn.
(office) 974-2311
(home) 521-7439

(Main) Survey Consent

By signing this form I indicate that I voluntarily agree to participate in this survey about students' perceptions of their Spanish language interest.

Furthermore, I understand:

- that my confidentiality will be maintained through the use of code numbers and pseudonyms in any publication or presentation of this research data
- that I may withdraw from the project at any time without penalty
- that there are no risks involved
- that I may contact the researcher with any questions about the study or my participation in it

Name _____

Signature _____

Telephone _____

Date _____

(Main) Survey

1. Age: _____ 2. Sex: _____

3. College: _____ 4. Major _____

potential majors _____

5. Hometown(s) and the amount of time you lived there:

6. Why are you studying Spanish?

7. Which languages do you speak and how well do you feel you speak them?

8. Describe any foreign travel experiences you've had (including where you went, why, how long you stayed and the language you mostly used while there):

9. Do you have any family members that are non-native English speakers?

   What relation are they to you and what are their native languages?

10. How many other people do you personally know that are non-native English speakers?

    Tell me about those you know best. What is the relationship? What languages do they speak?

11. Where have you studied Spanish previously? How long and which courses?
high school:

college:

other:

Circle a letter to the left of each answer.

13. I actively think about what I have learned in Spanish class:
    A. very frequently
    B. hardly ever
    C. once in a while

14. When it comes to my Spanish homework, I:
    A. put some effort into it, but not as much as I could
    B. work very carefully, making sure I understand everything
    C. just skim over it

15. Considering how I study Spanish, I can honestly say that I:
    A. do just enough work to get along
    B. will pass on the basis of sheer luck or intelligence because I do very little work
    C. really try to learn Spanish

16. If I had the opportunity to speak Spanish outside of school, I would:
    A. never speak it
    B. speak Spanish most of the time, using English only if really necessary
    C. speak it occasionally, using English whenever possible.

¡Gracias y hasta luego!

Human Subjects Form 2.18.91 Form A

A. Project Director(s) and/or Co-Director(s):
Kathryn G. Craven and Dr. Kathleen P. Bennett de Marrais

B. Mailing address and phone numbers project director and co-director:

K. Craven:
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tel: 974-2433

C. Title of Project:
"'¿Por qué español?:' The Emic View of Why University Students Study Spanish."

D. Department
(M.S. Candidate)
Department of Curriculum and Instruction
College of Education
University of Tennessee

E. External Funding Agency and Id Number:
n/a

F. Grant Submission Deadline:
n/a

G. Starting Date:
March 26, 1991

H. Estimated Completion Date:
Data Collection: May 15, 1991
Write up: September 30, 1991

I. Objectives of Project:

This study will use qualitative methods (observation and interviews) to study third year university students of Spanish in order to better understand: a) their perceptions of why they are studying Spanish at this level; b) any influences they have undergone on their language study decisions; and c) whether they perceive any relationship between their their interest in learning the language and their attitudes toward the cultures of Spanish speaking peoples.

II. Subjects:

The population for this is defined as those University of Tennessee students enrolled in 300-level Spanish courses during Spring semester, 1991. The entire population will be asked to participate in the survey phase of the research, in which they will be asked about their experience with Spanish and their reasons for studying the language. Those students

enrolled in Spanish 323, section 75941, and Aspects of Spanish Literature 311, section 75912, will be observed on the occasion of at least six classroom observations. These sections have been chosen as examples of the two major types of classes offered at the third year, conversation and literature. Finally, based on their replies to the survey I will invite eight to twelve of the students (without direct ethnic ties to the language in question) to participate in one hour-long in-depth interview each.

III. Methods or Procedures:

A. DATA GATHERING:

1. Observation: In order to discover what the experience of studying Spanish is like, I will conduct at least twelve hours of observation in two 300-level Spanish courses during the period of March 26-May 1. I have chosen to split my observations between two classes so that I might observe the two major types of classes at that level, conversation and literature.

I will visit each class at least six times and will take intensive field notes which will be later complimented by the study of archival records such as classroom maps, class rolls and syllabi and handouts. In addition, I will observe pertinent extra-curricular activities such as out of class lectures, plays and movies. Any other school related activities that are given importance by the participants will also be observed.

2. Survey: A brief survey will gather information from all 300-level students of Spanish about their background, interests and international contacts. The survey will specifically request: a) student demographics; b) the amount of student contact with native speakers of Spanish through family ties, travel or friendships; c) the Spanish academic history; and d) reasons why these people are studying Spanish.

3. Interviews: Since I am more interested in the school's role in motivating interest in studying Spanish, the surveys will help eliminate students with family or ethnic ties to the Spanish language. Eight to twelve of the remaining students will be invited to participate in a one hour, in-depth interview.

B. DATA ANALYSIS: The interviews and field notes will be transcribed and inductively analyzed according to Spradley (1980). This method entails a circular patten of readings and analyses in which the researcher begins with intensive reading of the data, from which higher and higher levels of abstraction are attempted. In one of the prime tools of this type of analysis, "asking questions of the data," the researcher poses questions about the relationships among the categories that emerge and reviews the data to answer them.

This process occurs in phases, the first of which Spradley calls a domain analysis. Here the researcher collects the participants' or "folk" terms referring to the subject under study. When necessary, researcher generated "analytic" terms are substituted to complete domains, or groupings of related terms. These groupings are achieved by analyzing the semantic relationships between the various folk and analytic terms of the domains.

When the relationships between the various domains begins to be clarified, a taxonomic analysis is attempted in which the relationship between the various domains is determined. This will be then diagramed in a tree form. The structure of these categories

and their inter-relationships will be defined through a process of contrasting elements against each other (term against term, category against category).

The contrast technique will also be used during the phase of componential analysis during which the distinguishing features of the different terms within the various categories of the taxonomies are searched out.

Once the domain, taxonomic and componential analyses are completed, the researcher will compare the domains that have emerged in order to discover the relationships, or themes. These will constitute the major findings of the research. They will be highly general and will apply to "numerous situations and recur in two or more domains" (Spradley, p. 141). Once the themes have been discovered the final writing phase of the project will proceed.

C. PARTICIPANT PROTECTION: In each of the research phases, the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants will be protected by the use of code numbers and pseudonyms. No one except the myself, the advising committee and research associates (members of Dr. Kathleen de Marrias's graduate course in Ethnographic Research Methods, see appendix) will have access to the field notes, tapes or transcripts. Furthermore, each of the above will sign a pledge of confidentiality (see appendix) before they are granted access to the data. In addition, any subsequent publication or academic presentation of the data will will be carried out in such a manner to prevent the recognition of individual participants.

Audio tapes of the interviews will be locked in the researcher's office, 610 Mc Clung Tower, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, where they will be kept for a period of seven years before being destroyed.

The following items will be explained to the participants before they indicate their consent to participate: the objectives of the research; benefits and risks: the measures taken to protect their confidentiality; that their participation is voluntary, and; that they have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty (see appendix).

IV. Category for exempt research per 45 CFR 46:
3 & 4

VITA

Kathryn Gray Craven-Rebelo was born in Knoxville, Tennessee where she attended elementary school, junior high and high school. A foreign exchange experience in Brazil preceded her entrance into The University of Tennessee at Knoxville, where, between trips abroad, she earned two Bachelor of Arts degrees with three majors: Latin American Studies, Economics and Portuguese. She has taught English, Portuguese and Spanish as foreign languages in university and private language school settings in the U.S. and abroad. She received a Master of Science degree in Curriculum and Instruction from The University of Tennessee with a concentration in Foreign Language Education in December, 1994. She currently teaches English as a Foreign Language at Cambridge School, Lisbon, Portugal.