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**Motivation for Language Learning: After All We Have Been Studying
These since Primary School**

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ABSTRACT

The role of motivation in successful learning has been recognised and researched extensively. Recently the theory of self was adapted to language learning motivation, claiming one's current and possible future selves has a significant impact on their learning a foreign language. Aiming to build on the research on motivational self-systems in language learning, this study investigates tertiary level English language learners' motivational self-systems in the Turkish context. To this end, data was collected from 38 pre-school teacher trainees in a mixed methods research. The majority of the participants reported stronger and more vivid ideal L2 selves than ought-to L2 selves. Similarly, instrumental promotion motives are reportedly more influential than instrumental prevention motives in the participants' motivation to learn English. These findings support the previous research on motivational self-systems. In this research, however, it is also found out that the learners' past learning experiences play a great role in shaping their current and future selves, thus have a great impact on the learners' motivation to learn English. The results show that repetitive learning practices without an element of optimal challenge and novelty result in low motivated behaviour and negative learning experiences. Additionally, the findings also point out that the learners' intended motivated behavior does not match with their current motivated behaviour. Data suggest that this mismatch too is a result of the learners' past learning experiences.

Key Words: Foreign language learning, L2 motivational self-systems, tertiary education.

1. Introduction

The process of language learning is a complex one. In our endeavour to help successful language learning, we are constantly searching for a new and better approach to teach a foreign language, using better materials, a better curriculum, and so on. In Turkey, for example, between 1997 and 2017, the curriculum for English language teaching has changed three times to increase successful language learning (Kırkgöz, Çelik & Arıkan, 2016). Yet, all these changes assume that all the learners will respond in the same or similar ways to new approaches, new materials and so on. However, learners' individual differences are essential to take into consideration for successful language learning (Ushioda, 2011). Thus, understanding individual learners' motivation for language learning is essential in understanding a successful language learning-teaching process.

Research on language learning motivation has been influenced by motivational research in psychology, which include achievement, attribution, self-efficacy, self-worth and goal theories, among others. These theories look into learners' expectancies and beliefs about their success; their perceived probability of success and failure; their perceived capabilities for accomplishing a task, i.e. self-

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efficacy, and the causes they attribute their past success and failures to, i.e. locus of control (Dörnyei, 2001; Atkinson, 1966; Stipek, 2002). All these theories, in their attempt to understand motivation, approach learning as an external force to which learners are exposed to; a force learners have to find ways of dealing with. Self-determination theory, on the other hand, approaches learning as part of human nature. It proposes two constructs: Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and suggests that humans have an innate need to learn (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ushioda, 1996). Accordingly, intrinsic motivation is generally associated with an enjoyment of learning, feelings of pleasure and persistence in learning (Stipek, 2002; Ushioda, 1996). Self-determination theory suggests that humans persist in learning, sometimes even in the face of failures, as long as learning results in developing competence in their interactions with the outside world (Deci & Ryan 1985; Stipek, 2002). Once competence is achieved, however, individuals express boredom in engagement in that task; therefore, for learning to be motivating, there has to be an optimal challenge/arousal, and a sense of novelty (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Stipek, 2002). Additionally, for learning to be motivating, learners should feel in control of their learning, which has direct implications for learner autonomy.

In addition to these approaches to understanding motivation, Gardner and his colleagues' research in the Canadian immersion context resulted in a model specific to language learning motivation, i.e. socio-educational model. Gardner suggested that integrative and instrumental orientations are influential in motivation to learn a language (Gardner, 1985). Integrative orientation is the learners' interest in the target language, its speakers and culture. Instrumental orientation, on the other hand, is to do with practical benefits learning that language offers (Gardner, 1985; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). Gardner's studies in the Canadian context suggest that integrative motivation is more likely to sustain language learning than instrumental motivation.

Yet research from diverse settings raises concerns about the integrative – instrumental dichotomy especially in English as a foreign language (EFL) contexts. For example, Kimura, Nakata and Okumura's study (2003) reports that for Japanese learners of English, instrumental and integrative motivation are not at opposite ends of language learning motivation, but are found in a complex relationship where integrative, instrumental and intrinsic motivation are all influential in learning English. Indeed, it is repeatedly reported that integrative and instrumental motivation are not dichotomous but are both influential in EFL learners' motivation (Lamb, 2004; Irie, 2003); or that instrumental orientation is the main source of language learners' motivation (LoCastro, 2001). In addition to the concerns about the dichotomy of integrative and instrumental motivation, there are studies which report that language learners' motivation to learn a foreign language do not always readily fall into the constructs of instrumental or integrative motives (Oxford & Shearin, 1994). And in some cases, integrative orientation does not emerge at all from data collected in EFL contexts (Cid, Granena & Tragant, 2009; Nikolov, 1999).

In spite of the concerns about the integrative and instrumental motives' ability to explain motivation for language learning in EFL contexts, research also points out that, an interest in communicating with English speakers is usually an important aspect of learners' motivation, an aspect akin to Gardner's integrative orientation. Yet, the 'English speakers' that learners imagine communicating with are not necessarily native speakers. In other words, rather than identifying with or wanting to be part of the L2 community, the learners imagine a global community of English speakers (Peng, 2015) and imagine

themselves as part of this community. These learners are considered to have an ‘international posture’ (Yashima, 2009; Ushioda & Dornyei, 2009) rather than integrativeness in the narrow sense of the term.

In fact, how language learners imagine themselves has become the focus of motivational research recently. Building on Higgins’s, Markus and Nurius’s studies on the impact of individuals’ self-systems on motivation, Dörnyei proposes a new theory, L2 motivational self-systems (Dörnyei, 2009). L2 motivational self-systems (L2MSS) theory suggests that, ‘possible selves’, i.e. learners’ visions “of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming”, is key in one’s language learning motivation (Dörnyei, 2009, p.11). Since they are future oriented, possible selves function as future self-guides for the learners (Dörnyei, 2009). Following Higgins’s discrepancy theory, the premise is that a discrepancy between one’s actual self, i.e. their perception of who they are currently, and future self-guides is a motivating factor as individuals are likely to act in order to reduce such discrepancy (Ushioda & Dornyei, 2009).

Dörnyei’s framework of the L2 motivational self-system proposes two main constructs as components of language learners’ possible selves: ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self (Dörnyei, 2009). Ideal L2 self “refers to the representation of the attributes that someone would ideally like to possess” while ought-to self refers to “the attributes that one believes one ought to possess” (Ushioda & Dornyei, 2009, p. 4). Thus, ought-to L2 self is associated with obligations, responsibilities, requirements and duties that come from outside the individual, e.g. from significant others, educational institutions or society in general; while ideal L2 self is associated with how the individual envisions himself/herself in the future with regard to his/her L2 competence (Dörnyei, 2009; Papi, 2010; Moskovsky, Assulaimani, Racheva & Harkins, 2016; Csizer & Magid, 2014). However, it is not uncommon for one’s ought-to self to be internalised and to become part of ideal-self (Dörnyei 2009, Moskovsky et. al., 2016).

Dörnyei’s motivational L2 self-systems build on also Gardner’s socio-educational model. Thus, integrativeness, instrumentality, cultural interest, and attitude to L2 community are explored in language learners’ L2 motivational self-systems. Building on Higgins’ studies, for example, two types of instrumentality are investigated: preventional and promotional (Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009). While promotional instrumentality is to do with the gains one associates with learning a language, preventional instrumentality is to do with avoiding negative outcomes one would have, usually related to the others, in case of failing to learn L2. Studies show that promotional instrumentality correlates highly with ideal L2 self while preventional instrumentality, together with family influence, correlates with ought-to L2 self (Taguchi et. al., 2009; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Papi, 2010). Both Kormos and Csizer (2008) and Taguchi et.al. (2009) found that motivated learning behaviour was predicted most significantly by ideal L2 self.

Kormos and Csizer investigated instrumentality in relation to two additional different orientations: Travel and knowledge orientation, “i.e., learners’ wish to enhance their general knowledge about the world through mastering a foreign language” (2008, p. 338). They found that international posture, ideal L2 self and integrativeness were related to knowledge orientation (Kormos & Csizer, 2008).

Dörnyei’s motivational self-systems theory also includes a third component: Learning experience, which concerns elements of learning such as the curriculum, the teacher, classroom practices and so on (Dörnyei, 2009). Indeed, studies indicate a relationship between learning experience and motivated behaviour. Lyons (2014), for example, found that learning experience has a great impact on learners’

motivated behaviour. Similarly, Lamb's research (2012) points out that learning experience had the greatest impact on learners' intended learning effort.

It is possible to see learners' age as an important variable in studies investigating the role of learning experience and construction of ideal L2 self. Nikolov's study (1999) with three different age groups, 6-8-year-olds, 8-11-year-olds and 11-14-year-olds indicate that learning experience plays a greater role in younger learners' motivation to learn a foreign language. Ninety percent of the 6-8-year-olds in her study reported that they learned English because they enjoyed the classroom practices or that they liked their teachers. For the oldest group, however, the impact of the teachers decreased and 41% of these learners reported learning English for utilitarian reasons, such as travelling. Similarly, Csizer and Kormos (2009) found that learning experience contributed most significantly to Hungarian secondary school students' motivated behaviour while ideal L2 self was the most influential construct on university students' motivated learning behaviour. Papi and Teimouri (2012) found that learning experience was more influential for high school students compared to university and secondary school students, who had higher scores for ought-to self. These studies suggest that learning experience plays a more prominent role in language learning motivation for younger learners while ideal L2 self predicts motivated or intended motivated behaviour of older learners.

Research also shows that learning experience significantly influences ideal L2 self. Peng (2015) found that learning experience strongly affected ideal L2 self and that it also predicted international posture, which had further impact on the ideal L2 self. Similarly, Papi (2010) claims that learning experience is key in mediating Iranian high school learners' intended learning effort. He found that learning experience had the highest impact on learners' intended effort to learn English; followed by ideal L2 self, which influenced both intended effort and learning experience (Papi, 2010). It is also possible to see the relationship between ideal L2 self and learning experience reversed: Papi (2010, p. 474) reports that the impact of ideal L2 self on learning experience had "the strongest causal path found" in his study and that ideal L2 self had impact on intended learning effort both directly and indirectly, through mediation of learning experience. Papi (2010) also reports that learning experience has a very strong impact on intended effort for language learning.

The context the target language is learned in is also important in the learners' L2MSS. Comparing ESL and EFL learners, Li (2014) found that ESL learners spent more effort for and reported more positive attitudes to L2 learning while EFL learners' attitudes to learning experience were more important in predicting the motivated learning behaviour. In addition, promotional instrumentality is also important in predicting motivated learning behaviour for EFL learners (Li, 2014). In other words, Li's findings (2014) suggest that the ESL context is influential in having a strong vision of ideal L2 self, while motivated learning behaviour for EFL learners is influenced to a great extent by the learning experience and promotional instrumentality.

Additionally, Li (2014) reports that ESL learners expressed stronger ideal L2 selves while EFL learners, had stronger ought-to L2 selves. However, it should be noted that a weak correlation between ought-to L2 self and motivated learning behaviour is a common pattern (see for example, Csizer & Kormos 2009). In fact, some studies from diverse EFL contexts report failure to identify ought-to L2 self in language learners' motivational self-systems (e.g. Lamb, 2012; Kormos & Csizer, 2008). Thus, there is a need for more studies investigating the L2 motivational self-systems.

2. Method

This study investigates university students' motivational L2 self-systems to learn English in the Turkish context; to this end, it explores the answer to the research question: What is the L2MSS of tertiary level English learners in the Turkish context?

2.1. Participants

Thirty eight pre-school education teacher trainees in a Turkish university participated in this study. Convenience sampling was used to select the participants. At the time of the study, the participants had been learning English for 10 years. Upon being accepted to study in the university, as a requirement of their undergraduate degrees, the participants had been given the option to either attend one year intensive English course prior to their studies in their department or to start their undergraduate degree. Those students who choose to attend the one-year-long intensive English course study only English for one academic year and are expected to reach B1 level proficiency at the end of the year. Those who opt out are required to take two compulsory English courses in the first two academic terms of their studies and are expected to reach A2 level English proficiency. All the participants in this study had opted out of the one-year-long intensive English. All the participants were in the first year of their studies.

2.2. Data Collection and Analysis

This study employed a mixed methods research, in which a questionnaire, adopted from Taguchi et al. (2009), was used to get an overview of the participants' L2MSS. Data from the questionnaire was then used for follow-up interviews to collect data for a deeper understanding of the participants' motivational self-systems. Although quantitative research is heavily used in motivational research and questionnaires provide invaluable data on L2MSS, qualitative data is equally valuable on understanding how the learners' experiences and selves interact with each other and how L2MSS evolve. Therefore, six participants were interviewed to collect in-depth data. The participants to be interviewed were selected based on their responses to the questionnaire, i.e. participants with strong ideal L2 selves, strong ought-to L2 selves, participants with high intended motivated behavior and low intended motivated behavior were selected to be interviewed. The interviews lasted 20-25 minutes on average and questions asked explored the participants' future visions of themselves, the place of English in these visions, the roles of their families and friends in their future self guides and their current selves as language learners were inquired. Guiding questions of the semi-structured interviews are presented in Appendix 1. Interview data was then transcribed, coded and tabulated. The codes emerged from the literature review. For example, all interview data referring to the interviewee's language teacher or classroom procedures were coded as learning experience while any reference to the expectations of the participants' friends, school, university, etc. were coded as ought-to L2 self.

3. Results

To investigate the participants' L2MSS, their attitudes to L2 community, integrativeness and cultural interest were investigated along with their ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self and attitudes to learn English. The questionnaire results show that the participants' attitudes to the L2 community and integrativeness are quite high while their cultural interest is relatively lower, as presented in Table 1.

Table 1 – Student Attitudes to L2 Community, L2 Culture & Integrativeness

	Very much		Quite a lot		So so		Not really		Not at all	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Attitudes to L2 community										
Would you like to travel to English-speaking countries?	19	50,0	14	36,8	4	10,5	0	0	1	2,6
I like meeting people from English-speaking countries.	21	55,3	8	21,1	7	18,4	0	0	2	5,3
I would like to know more about people from English-speaking countries.	17	44,7	11	28,9	5	13,2	0	0	5	13,2
I like the people who live in English-speaking countries.	16	42,1	7	18,4	7	18,4	4	10,5	4	10,5
Integrativeness										
How important do you think learning English is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers?	14	36,8	17	44,7	4	10,5	1	2,6	2	5,3
How much do you like English?	12	31,6	18	47,4	5	13,2	1	2,6	2	5,3
Cultural interest										
Do you like the music of English-speaking countries (e.g., pop music)?	9	23,7	12	31,6	7	18,4	6	15,8	4	10,5
Do you like English films?	12	31,6	6	15,8	6	15,8	8	21,1	6	15,8
Do you like English magazines, newspapers, or books?	4	10,5	11	28,9	6	15,8	8	21,1	9	23,7

The majority of the participants also report motivated intended behaviour as presented in Table 2. However, while the first three items in criterion measures show that the majority of the respondents report intended motivated effort, only 14 report current motivated behaviour for their English course and only six think they study English relatively hard.

Table 2 – Criterion Measures & Attitudes to Learning English

	Very much		Quite a lot		So so		Not really		Not at all	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Criterion measures										
If an English course was offered in the future, I would like to take it	12	31,6	13	34,2	10	26,3	2	5,3	1	2,6
I would like to spend lots of time studying English.	10	26,3	13	34,2	8	21,1	5	13,2	2	5,3
I am prepared to expend a lot of effort in learning English.	7	18,4	14	36,8	12	31,6	5	13,2	0	0
I think that I am doing my best to learn English.	6	15,8	8	21,1	11	28,9	9	23,7	4	10,5
If my teacher would give the class an optional assignment, I would certainly volunteer to do it.	4	10,5	10	26,3	14	36,8	6	15,8	4	10,5
Compared to my classmates, I think I study English relatively hard.	2	5,3	4	10,5	14	36,8	12	31,6	6	15,8

<i>Attitudes to learning English</i>										
I really enjoy learning English.	15	39,5	15	39,5	6	15,8	0	0	2	5,3
I like the atmosphere of my English classes.	10	26,3	16	42,1	9	23,7	1	2,6	2	5,3
I always look forward to English classes.	10	26,3	16	42,1	10	26,3	0	0	2	5,3
I would you like to have more English lessons at school.	8	21,1	3	7,9	20	52,6	2	5,3	5	13,2

The difference between intended learning effort and current learning effort also resonates in the participants' answers to the questions inquiring about their attitudes to learning English. As shown in Table 2, participants' attitudes to learning English are positive overall. Yet, when asked if they would like to have more English lessons, only 11 participants reported that they would.

The low number of participants expressing current motivated behaviour and willingness to take more English lessons was inquired in the follow-up interviews. The interview data show that the learners' past learning experiences cause them to have low expectancies from their English lessons and from themselves as language learners. Thus, past learning experience emerges as a theme in the interviews in the participants' reports of their current motivated behaviour:

Researcher: How long have you been learning English?

Participant 1: I started learning in year 4 (of primary school), if you can call it learning. Come to think of it, I've studied English for 5 years until high school, and then 4 more years in high school. That's 9 years. I'm in my tenth year. And I'm not sure if I can actually communicate with a foreigner.

Researcher: Did you not want to take the one-year-long intensive English course?

Participant 1: No, I mean... I was not able to learn it (English) in ten years; I didn't think I could learn it in one year.

Similarly, when Participant 2 was asked why she does not want to take more English lessons, she reported that she has been studying the same things for many years and that her current knowledge of English is sufficient to meet the university requirements, referring again to her past learning experiences:

Participant 2: I think I already have enough knowledge of English to pass the end-of-year exam (of this compulsory English course).

Researcher: So does it mean that you don't think this course will help you improve yourself?

Participant 2: No, I don't think it will help.

As Participants 1 and 2 point out, the number of years they have dedicated to learning English, without success, indicate to these students that additional English lessons will not have a different outcome. However, although these students report low willingness to extend effort to their English lessons, the questionnaire data show that the majority of the learners have strong ideal L2 selves. Twenty five students report that they can imagine themselves as speakers of English and 20-22 students can see themselves either living abroad or communicating with prospective international friends and colleagues (Table 3).

Table 3 – Ideal L2 Self & Instrumentality Promotion

	Very much		Quite a lot		So so		Not really		Not at all	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
<i>Ideal L2 self</i>										
I imagine myself as someone who is able to speak English.	13	34,2	12	31,6	8	21,1	3	7,9	2	5,3
I can imagine myself speaking English with international friends or colleagues.	13	34,2	9	23,7	10	26,3	4	10,5	2	5,3
Whenever I think of my future career, I imagine myself using English.	11	28,9	10	26,3	8	21,1	5	13,2	4	10,5
I can imagine myself living abroad and having a discussion in English.	14	36,8	6	15,8	10	26,3	6	15,8	2	5,3
I can imagine myself speaking English as if I were a native speaker of English.	7	18,4	11	28,9	9	23,7	7	18,4	4	10,5
The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.	9	23,7	4	10,5	10	26,3	10	26,3	5	13,2
<i>Instrumentality promotion</i>										
Studying English can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job	19	50,0	17	44,7	1	2,6	1	2,6	0	0
Studying English is important to me because with English I can work globally	15	39,5	13	34,2	5	13,2	2	5,3	3	7,9
Studying English is important to me because English proficiency is necessary for promotion in the future.	13	34,2	11	28,9	10	26,3	3	7,9	1	2,6
The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.	18	47,4	6	15,8	7	18,4	4	10,5	3	7,9
Studying English is important to me in order to achieve a special goal (e.g., to get a degree or scholarship).	14	36,8	9	23,7	8	21,1	3	7,9	4	10,5
Studying English is important to me because I am planning to study abroad.	17	44,7	3	7,9	9	23,7	4	10,5	5	13,2

Interview data also show that the interviewees with the strongest images of their ideal L2 selves, Participants 2, 3 and 4, have images of themselves studying abroad or using English for communicating with an imagined international community in the future. Thus, instrumentality promotion and international posture are prominent themes in these students' reports of their ideal L2 selves. For Participant 2, English is instrumental in realising her ideal self, i.e. someone who lives life to the fullest and makes use of the opportunities available to her:

Researcher: Why do you want to learn English?

Participant 2: I want to go abroad. I want to use my time at the university wisely. I would like to study abroad with Erasmus programme, or some other exchange programme. I would like to live life to the fullest. I enjoy the subject I am studying and I would like to be good at it.

Travelling abroad is central for Participant 4's ideal self too and English is instrumental in achieving her goals:

Researcher: Do you consider yourself a good language learner?

Participant 4: I read in English a lot. I try to translate as much as I can. And I memorise 15 words before I go to bed. I have goals I must achieve. If I don't achieve them, I will lose.

Researcher: What are those goals?

Participant 4: I must travel the world. I will only take my diary with me. I don't care about taking anything else.

Similarly, Participant 3 expressed that she wants to learn English to be able to travel abroad, which is a means to fulfil her ideal self; i.e. someone who is capable of adapting to new contexts and improving herself. In this respect, learning English and travelling are means to her self-discovery:

Participant 3: ... And I really want to go abroad with a student exchange programme. ... I feel like I need to express myself in a foreign language. I want to see how well I can adapt to a new culture. (I want to see) if I will come out more qualified at the end of it, or if I will hide in the corner and become a wall flower in a new county. (I want) to challenge myself and to improve myself.

However, Participant 3's ideal L2 self is not only shaped by travel orientation but also her past experiences:

Participant 3: My parents do not speak English and they could not help me with my school work in English. I want to be able to help my children in the future. ... (When I was at school) my friends used to host exchange students in their homes. I couldn't because no one could speak English in my household. Now, I'm thinking... if my children would like to host exchange students, I will be able to speak English enough to be able to communicate with them.

Participant 3's past experiences of not being able to host exchange students was important in shaping her ideal self as a parent who can do this for her children in the future. Thus, it is not only instrumentality but also her past experience that influence her ideal L2 self.

Past experiences were also influential in shaping Participant 4's current self. In her response to the question inquiring about her future plans, she moves back to reporting her past experiences. Her response shows that she sees learning English as deeply rooted into her sense of self and as a process intertwined with accomplishments and social relationships:

Participant 4: ... I used to be terrified of flying. Because I did well in English in an exam and was sent abroad by the school, I overcame that fear. One of my teachers praised me, honoured me because I was good at English. (English helped me) make up with friends I wasn't talking to at school. English contributed a lot to my life. I became more sociable. My family started trusting me more. That's why I think if I lose English, I will lose a lot more.

Studying abroad was not the only instrumental promotion motive that consistently came up in the interviews of the learners with strong ideal L2 selves. Professional development was another instrumental promotion motive:

Participant 2: ... in the future I would like to work in a preschool abroad for a while to learn how they teach there. I think it will help me improve myself a lot. That's why I would like to learn English.

Participant 4: ... I will open a language school, for young children. I can employ people like me who want to teach in English.

Participant 3: I will be a teacher, more likely, in a private kindergarten. The employers want teachers to speak a foreign language.

The interviewees' responses are consistent with the findings of the questionnaire in which 36, out of 38, participants responded that they thought English will be useful in getting a job (Table 3). Interestingly, however, the number of students who expressed that whenever they think of their future career, they can imagine themselves using English, is lower, i.e. 21 (Table 3). This can be because in Turkey, speaking English is often a requirement in job applications. Not all jobs, however, which have this requirement for application, will require the employees to communicate in English in practice. Nonetheless, the responses to questionnaire items inquiring about instrumentality promotion returned the highest scores among those inquiring about ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, family influence and instrumentality prevention motives.

Table 4 – Ought-to L2 Self, Family Influence & Instrumentality Prevention

	Very much		Quite a lot		So so		Not really		Not at all	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
<i>Ought-to L2 Self</i>										
Studying English is important to me because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak English.	16	42,1	11	28,9	7	18,4	3	7,9	1	2,6
It will have a negative impact on my life if I don't learn English.	8	21,1	10	26,3	4	10,5	6	15,8	9	23,7
I consider learning English important because the people I respect think that I should do it.	4	10,5	11	28,9	8	21,1	6	15,8	9	23,7
I study English because close friends of mine think it is important.	5	13,2	9	23,7	5	13,2	12	31,6	6	15,8
Learning English is necessary because people surrounding me expect me to do so.	1	2,6	10	26,3	3	7,9	9	23,7	14	36,8
<i>Family influence</i>										
My parents encourage me to study English.	14	36,8	19	50,0	1	2,6	2	5,3	2	5,3
My parents encourage me to take every opportunity to use my English (e.g., speaking and reading).	13	34,2	18	47,4	4	10,5	2	5,3	1	2,6

Being successful in English is important to me so that I can please my parents.	7	18,4	13	34,2	4	10,5	7	18,4	7	18,4
My parents/family believe(s) that I must study English to be an educated person.	5	13,2	10	26,3	5	13,2	13	34,2	5	13,2
My family put a lot of pressure on me to study English.	2	5,3	1	2,6	2	5,3	13	34,2	20	52,6
I have to study English, because, if I don't do it, my parents will be disappointed with me.	1	2,6	1	2,6	5	13,2	13	34,2	18	47,4
<i>Instrumentality prevention</i>										
I have to learn English because I don't want to fail the English course.	12	31,6	10	26,3	2	5,3	9	23,7	5	13,2
I have to study English because I don't want to get bad marks in it.	13	34,2	7	18,4	3	7,9	11	28,9	4	10,5
I have to study English; otherwise, I think I cannot be successful in my future career.	11	28,9	9	23,7	5	13,2	7	18,4	6	15,8
I have to learn English because without passing the English course I cannot graduate.	4	10,5	10	26,3	6	15,8	12	31,6	6	15,8
Studying English is important to me because I don't like to be considered a poorly educated person.	8	21,1	5	13,2	8	21,1	9	23,7	8	21,1
Studying English is important to me because, if I don't have knowledge of English, I'll be considered a weak learner.	3	7,9	6	15,8	8	21,1	12	31,6	9	23,7

Questionnaire results regarding the participants' ought-to L2 selves show that 27 respondents believe an educated person ought to speak English. However, this number goes down drastically for the items inquiring about the role of the expectations of family and friends. Similarly in the interviews, the participants were asked about the expectations of their family and friends regarding their learning English. According to the interview data, none of the participants' friends had any expectations or influence on the participants. However, the majority of the participants report that their families supported their decisions to learn English or encouraged them to learn English; but did not have high expectations from them.

Participant 1 reports that although her family members were not interested in learning a foreign language, they encouraged her to learn English. Yet, their expectations from Participants 1 regarding English learning were not high:

Participant 1: ... When I consider my family, there is no one that ... is interested in learning a language. Same with my friends... (wanting to learn) is also a little bit about the people around you.

...

Researcher: Did your friends encourage you to learn English?

Participant 1: No.

...

Participant 1: My family, especially my uncle, encouraged me to attend a language school but I couldn't find the time between school and private lessons to prepare for the university exam.

Researcher: Why not?

Participant 1: They encouraged me but at the same time they had high expectations about other subjects. They wanted my grades to be high in all subjects. Yes, they encouraged me to take English lessons but at the same time they thought Maths and Science subjects were more important. As a result, I think, I thought those subjects were more important too.

Similarly, Participants 2 and 4 reported that their families too encouraged them to learn English.

Participant 2: My parents always encouraged me and gave me every opportunity that I asked for (to learn English). Like myself, they also really wanted me to learn English.

Participant 4: My parents encouraged me a lot. They supported me when I wanted to attend a language school and when I wanted to take a school trip abroad.

Yet, neither of these interviewees' families had strong expectations regarding speaking English. Instead, their role was that of a supporter of the learners' decisions. Similarly, the questionnaire results show that the majority of the participants' families actually encourage them to learn English but do not put pressure on the participants to learn the language, as presented in Table 4.

There was only one participant who expressed that her family had a determining influence on her motivation to learn English and their influence was negative:

Researcher: Why do you think you never liked English?

Participant 5: I think it might be because of my family. In my family, my brothers, uncles and aunts used to say they didn't like English; that it was difficult to learn. I'm not sure if this has affected me or if I really couldn't learn it because it (English) is genuinely difficult.

Finally, responses to the statements investigating instrumental prevention in the questionnaire show that the majority of the students believe that they have to learn English to avoid being unsuccessful in their English course or their future careers. Whereas, graduating from their degrees and being considered poorly educated people or learners are not important for these learners to the same extent (Table 4).

In addition to the findings presented above, learning experience was a theme that kept emerging as an important aspect of these students' L2MSS throughout the interviews. The accounts of learners with strong ideal L2 selves included positive learning experiences, at least at some stage of their learning; while learners with weaker ideal L2 selves reported negative learning experiences. For example, Participant 1, with a reported weak ideal L2 self informed dissatisfaction with both the classroom procedures and the teacher:

Participant 1: Perhaps I wasn't a good (language) student either at school; but I don't think my English teachers were good at teaching.

Researcher: What were the lessons like?

Participant 1: We had course books and just followed those. We wouldn't speak at all (in English). It was just "good afternoon" in English when the teacher first came into the classroom and after that the entire lesson was done in Turkish.

...

Participant 1: Pronunciation (in lessons) was an issue... Although they haven't done it to me, some of my teachers would make fun of my classmates if they mispronounced some words. I mean, when they humiliated those classmates, I withdrew myself from the lessons.

Researcher: Did you have teachers that used to do this?

Participant 1: Not to me but to my friends, yes. And then they (the teachers) would say that they didn't expect us to pronounce correctly.

Researcher: But they made fun?

Participant 1: Yes. So what they said didn't matter much.

English teachers were reported as an important part of these learners' early learning experiences by other students too. The learners with stronger and more vivid images of ideal L2 selves, reported positive learning experiences:

Participant 2: When I first started learning English, I thought it was fun. I think it was due to my teacher. She was a very nice lady ... she was very helpful and approachable. I think that affected me in a good way. She was good for me.

Participant 4: In middle school, I had an English teacher, he had a very good accent ... I said to myself "I must speak like him". I'm still in touch with him. He told me that he knew I would be good at learning English. He had a big impact on me.

For one student, Participant 3, however, a negative learning experience with her teacher had a different impact than that of Participant 1. Participant 3 had a similar experience where her teacher was not happy with her and her classmates' pronunciation. Yet, Participant 3 was not discouraged or withdrawn:

Researcher: What is your earliest fun memory of learning English?

Participant 3: In middle school, (my classmates and I) confused the pronunciation of 'cheese' with 'chess'. Our teacher got very annoyed with us for not being able to learn two simple words. She made us write cheese and chess many times in our notebooks.

Researcher: Is this your earliest fun memory?

Participant 3: Yes, it is. I mean it's about pronunciation. I still like making mistakes while speaking. It's more interesting. The more mistakes I make, the more I want to practice. That's why, for example, if in English lessons there are unusual words in the book or in the sentences we make, I raise my hand to practice saying them.

Thus, although teachers are a big part of the learning experience, how teachers' practices will impact learners' L2MSS will also depend on the students' perceptions of their selves. It should be noted that challenging herself was a common theme in Participant 3's interview:

Researcher: Are there any other fun memories you can tell me?

Participant 3: In high school, the first time I wrote a paragraph. We were learning grammar and we were able to make individual sentences. (When I wrote a paragraph) was the first time I produced something that I could read to my friends, that I could stand up, read (to the class) and just test myself. ... I really liked it, I felt happy. Maybe I thought that I learned English, I felt happy.

Yet, her English lessons were not challenging enough for her and this was a problem:

Researcher: Did you experience any difficulties or failures while learning English?

Participant 3: The first thing that comes to mind is doing the same things every year. Every year we learn the same things but at the end of the year, we still have to sit down and memorise the same things all over again. Every year it's the same curriculum, every year it's the same tenses but we still cannot speak it.

Optimal challenge, or rather lack of it, was an important part of Participant 3's learning experience. Lack of challenge and novelty were also important themes as part of Participant 1's learning experience:

Researcher: Do you think you are a good language learner?

Participant 1: Yes, I do. I didn't even take the English exemption exam. I wanted to study English for two terms to improve myself but I must say that I was disappointed when the course started. We started as beginners. I wasn't aware of this. I wanted to improve myself but we are only studying what I already know. I'm not improving; I'm not making any progress.

Such lack of challenge and novelty throughout long years of the learning process has had significant consequences on her motivated behaviour:

Researcher: You didn't want to study one year intensive English course?

Participant 1: No, I didn't.

Researcher: Why not? Did you want to start your studies at the department without delay?

Participant 1: No, I thought, 'I wasn't able to learn (English) in 10 years, so I won't be able to learn it in one year.' ... Simple present tense, present continuous tense, introducing oneself... After all we have been studying these since primary school.

In fact, lack of challenge and novelty in learning experience are common themes in other participants' reports too:

Participant 2: I was shocked when our English lessons started at the university. Present continuous tense, simple present tense, introducing oneself... We've been studying these since the primary school.

...

Researcher: How long have you been learning English?

Participant 3: Since the primary school actually but our school lessons do not really help, to be honest. Considering I have been studying English for years, I should be able to communicate in this language but I cannot.

Researcher: What was the biggest challenge for you?

Participant 3: The first thing that comes to mind is the repetitiveness of doing the same things every year. I mean, every year we used to learn the same things but every year we would need to sit down and memorise everything we learned from scratch. It is the same curriculum every year, though. The same tenses every year. But you still need to memorise it all over because there was no putting the language into practice (communicating in it).

Novelty in learning experience was also important for Participant 6. In her case, however, novelty was present in the classroom:

Participant 6: I started learning English in my second year in primary school. It wasn't part of the curriculum but my teacher would teach us numbers, colours, fruits in English. It was exciting to learn something new, to learn English. It was like in my second year, we had already learned Turkish, we had learned to read and write in Turkish too. So in a way, learning Turkish was over and we were moving on to a new language. It was exciting.

It should be noted that in spite of her positive past learning experiences, Participant 6's ideal self did not include a vision of herself as an English speaker. Therefore, it is not possible to claim either that positive learning experiences will always translate into strong ideal L2 selves.

However, novelty as part of the very first memories of motivation for learning English is a recurrent theme, which is also visible in the encounter of Participant 4 with an English speaker when she was a small child:

Researcher: Do you remember why you wanted to learn English?

Participant 4: We had foreigner guests, there was a 5-year-old child, I was 6. She asked "what is your name?" I couldn't answer. My parents tell me that after this incident I told my mum I wanted to take English lessons.

Overall, the participants' learning experiences contributed to the learners' attitudes to learn English and their ideal L2 selves, negatively or positively, through their perceptions and relationships with their teachers, optimal challenge and novelty.

4. Discussions and Conclusion

The data shows that the majority of the participants reported strong ideal selves. It is common for the university students to report stronger ideal L2 selves than ought-to selves (Csizer & Kormos, 2009; Papi & Teimouri, 2012). Although the participants reported strong ideal L2 selves, their ought-to selves are reported to be less influential. A weak, or sometimes no, correlation between ought-to L2 self and motivated learning behaviour is a common pattern in research on L2MSS (Csizer & Kormos, 2009; Lamb, 2012; Kormos & Csizer, 2008). In the context of this research, family influence includes encouragement from the family but not strict expectations from the learners. Thus, instrumental prevention is not a strong motive for these participants while instrumental promotion is much stronger. This is not surprising considering that the participants had strong ideal L2 selves and that previous research demonstrate a high correlation between instrumental promotion and ideal L2 self (Taguchi et. al., 2009; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Papi, 2010). The participants also reported positive attitudes to L2 community and high scores for integrativeness. The findings show that especially travel orientation and international posture merge with the learners' ideal L2 selves. Finally, these students' past experiences were also found to be influential in shaping their ideal L2 selves indicating the dynamic nature of one's sense of self.

The data also shows that there is a discrepancy between the learners' intended learning effort and current learning effort. Data from the interviews point out that this is mostly due to the learners' past experiences. While learning experience was influential for younger learners in Papi & Teimouri's research (2012), it is found to be an important aspect in this research too. One finding regarding learning experience is that the teachers themselves were reported to be influential in these students' motivation, similar to the L2MSS model suggested by Dörnyei (2009). It is found that positive learning experiences include teachers that were encouraging and approachable.

The participants also reported their past learning experiences to be repetitive and failing to achieve competence in learning the language. In other words, the participants' past learning experience failed to provide novelty and optimal arousal (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Stipek, 2002) in the classroom setting. In addition, the repetitive learning experience over a decade reportedly failed to develop competence, i.e. the ability to communicate in a language classroom (Ushioda, 1996). Consequently, although the participants expressed intended effort to learn English in the future, they also reported disbelief that any effort put into learning English in the language classroom would be fruitful. Considering that learning experience greatly influences ideal L2 self (Peng, 2015) and mediates intended learning effort (Papi, 2010), it is not surprising that in this research, learners with more vivid ideal L2 selves reported positive learning experiences. This finding has implications for both language teachers and curriculum developers. It is of great importance that the language teachers design classroom procedures that provide novelty, optimal arousal and a sense of competence, i.e. communication in L2. Curriculum developers should also be mindful of designing a programme which will aim developing a sense of achievement and improvement.

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Appendix 1

Interview Questions

- Can you tell me how you imagine yourself in the future?
- Is English part of this vision? If yes, how? If yes, why?
- Does your family and friends encourage you to learn English?
- Do you think you will disappoint family or friends if you fail to speak English?
- Is there a specific culture you are interested in? If yes, which one(s)?
- Why do you learn English?
- Can you describe what a good language learner should be like in your opinion?
- When did you start learning English?
- Can you tell me about your earliest memories of learning English?
- Can you describe your history of learning English?
- Have you ever experienced failure in learning English? Did you carry on learning? Why/ Why not?
- What is your view of your current self as a language learner/ speaker?