Using Narrative to Investigate Foreign Language Learning Motivation

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ナラティブを利用して外国語学習モチベーションを検討する

スクワイヤーズ　トッド

Abstract

In previous studies of foreign language learning, motivation has been be firmly grounded in the thought and methodology of social psychology. In this paper, I consider how narrative analysis can add to our understanding of what motivates students to learn. My analysis is set within the growing tradition of Sociocultural Theory based on the thought of Lev Vygotsky, but I endeavor to bring a richer reading to the way in which the subject and desire are produced through language and ideology through the works of Jacques Lacan and Louis Althusser. In the second half of the paper, I use these ideas as a basis for reading the narrative of one foreign language learner.

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　外国語学習におけるモチベーション研究は、主に社会心理学や認知心理学に基づいて行われてきた。本研究では、L. ビィゴッツキによる言語の本質を検討して、J. ラカンと L. アルチュセールに従って、言語とイデオロギーから主体と同時に欲望が出現することを明らかにする。論文の後半には、学習者のナレティブを分析する。

Introduction

Being driven by a strong desire to achieve a goal is probably the single most important predictor of success in acquiring a second or foreign language.[1] Unfortunately, because of the variable nature of an individual's motivation it is often difficult to sustain it over the long periods of time that it is necessary to reach one's desired level of proficiency. Since the 1960s, researchers have proposed several theories and models to help us better understand what makes up motivation to learn another language and how to design courses and materials that will support and foster motivation.

Recently many in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) have argued that language acquisition does not take place merely in the heads of individuals, but is socially constructed (see Lantolf, 2000 for an overview); however, the set of practices known generally as "Sociocultural Theory" (SCT) has yet to be fully explored in its implications for the study of L2 learning motivation. In this paper, I will suggest how narrative can be used as a tool to investigate L2 learning motivation. In order to accomplish this, I will first review the two theories that have dominated research in L2 learning motivation. Next, I will look at the social nature of language and how it is formative of both subjectivity and desire. I will then consider how subjects are created through narrative by discussing one learner's motivation narrative in detail.

Two Approaches to Motivation

Of all the individual differences that can positively or negatively affect language acquisition, the one that has been the most widely studied within the field of SLA is motivation (for overviews see Dornyei, 2001; Dornyei & Schmidt, 2001; Oxford, 1996; Skehan, 1989; Ushioda, 1996; Young, 1999). The most influential figure in the history of L2 learning motivation research has been Robert Gardner. The Socio-educational Model (SEM) claims that if all other variables are equal, the most important factor predicting success or failure to acquire an L2 is motivation (Gardner, 1985). According to this model, motivation comprises two dimensions: it is the *energy* that the learner expends on the activity of language learning and the *feelings and beliefs* of the learner toward the activity. "Orientations," on the other hand, refer to the underlying goals of L2 learning which can be either "integrative" or "instrumental." It is *strength* of motivation, regardless of its orientation that is the key to sustaining motivation.

While Gardner's SEM and its measurement instrument, the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (Gardner & Smythe, 1981), have been influential in shaping the discourse on L2 learning motivation over the last 30 or 40 years, scholars working within other branches of social psychology have proposed alternative models to explain the various components of

motivation. The most important among these is Self-Determination Theory (SDT), first outlined by Deci and Ryan in *Intrinsic Motivation and Self-Determination in Human Behavior* (1985). Premised on the belief that all human beings are organisms that inherently strive for a sense of competency and control over their own actions, SDT has come to play an important role in explaining motivation.

According to SDT, there are two types of motivation.[2] Intrinsic motivation originates within the individual. It is motivation to pursue some activity or goal because it is interesting, enjoyable, and gives the individual a sense of accomplishment and competency. Extrinsic motivation, on the other hand, originates outside the individual. The individual is forced or coerced to do something which she would not necessarily do otherwise, and in doing this activity the individual feels no sense of competency, enjoyment or control. As the child grows and develops, extrinsically controlled behaviors are increasingly internalized through a series of steps, or "styles" of regulation.

The self-empowering and individualistic aspects of SDT theory have been embraced by a number of SLA researchers. Foremost among them is Kimberly Noels who has proposed a model of L2 learning motivation that incorporates Gardner's integrative and instrumental orientations with SDT (Noels, 2001). The orientations, she argues, make up two layers, or "substrates," in which the individual acts. Different varieties of motivation may thrive better in different substrates. For example, if a learner wants to make friends with members of the target language culture, the goal of this integrative orientation might be more easily achieved if the learner feels that he/she has control over her own learning. Noels' research shows that in general, integrative orientations correlate with more self-regulating types of motivation, i.e. intrinsic motivation. Thus, although a learner need not harbor any wish to become closer to speakers of the target language, in fact, more integrative orientations are found in conjunction with self-determined behaviors. Moreover, it is argued that intrinsic motivation is more highly correlated with advances in L2 learning (Noels, Clement, & Pelletier, 1999).

Although neither of these theories subscribes to a particular theory of SLA, they clearly embrace a commonly held position that language develops primarily within the head of the individual as he/she interacts with the outside world (Atkinson, 2002). As such, they are firmly grounded in traditional Western concepts of the self—a unified and unique being that actively thinks and engages in activities in the social world, but maintains a reality that transcends it. Because of this, the individual is inherently driven to become an autonomous and competent self.

SEM and SDT also share a particular attitude toward language—the object toward which motivation is directed. First, language is an object to be acquired. While neither of these theories articulates any comprehensive view of how languages are learned and used,

the learning of language, it would seem, is the same as learning any other subject. In fact, any method of learning a language would appear to be equally efficacious if the learner's attitudes toward learning the language and the context were appropriate for that learner's individual psychological makeup. Second, language as a system of communication is assumed to be a neutral "code" that is used by speakers to interact with each other and to accomplish their goals. They overlook how this code is socially constructed and maintained, and how it is used by individuals interacting with each other in particular cultures and social contexts. Each of these models by failure of omission and adherence to the principles of scientific inquiry treats language and the desire to learn it as quite separate phenomena.

Language and Motivation as Social Practice

Despite its deep entrenchment within academia, quantitative approaches to understanding the development of the human mind have not been without its critics. Some have even been bold enough to question whether psychometric testing of emotions and attitudes has really produced any useful results (Polkinghone, 1988; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). In response, researchers working under the umbrella of SCT have been exploring the possibilities that qualitative methods might offer to the understanding of the diverse aspects of L2 learning.

One of the most important tools that has yet to receive sustained use in this field has been narrative. Given that theories of narrative have been developed in a number of academic disciplines, it will be impossible in the space here to discuss all of them in detail. My own approach to narrative comes from three sources: literary criticism, psychoanalysis and Marxist criticism. In this section, I will begin with the social nature of language and how subjects and desire are created through ideological signs. Following this, I will discuss how these relate to narrative.

Language and Consciousness

A central figure in SCT is the Soviet psychologist, Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934). According to Vygotsky the individual and the social environment are mutually embedded. The mind of the individual develops as he/she or she interacts with other individuals in the social world. Language as the medium through which individuals engage each other is social in the first instance, and through learning, language is internalized as "inner speech." Thought, therefore, is always mediated by culture, both its physical tools and its non-material signs.

While Vygotsky wrote almost exclusively on how the individual's mind and intellect develop in interaction with the social and cultural environment through assisted

performance, Valentin Vološnov (1895-1936) was particularly interested in unmasking the relationship of language and ideology to the mind. Vološnov's analysis of the language and the mind as outlined in *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (1973) stands in stark contrast to the traditionally maintained position of mainstream psychology, namely that there is a clear distinction between the individual consciousness and the social environment. Vološnov believed that this division is untenable. Culture is constituted of ideological signs, and language, which is an essential part of culture, is shot through with ideology. If human thought develops by internalizing language from social interaction, then there can be no division between the psyche (what he calls "inner signs") and ideology since "consciousness itself can arise and become a viable fact only in the material embodiment of signs" (Vološnov, 1973, p. 11).

Because consciousness is not independent of ideological signs, it is in the sign that the individual confronts the social world. For us to understand the human mind, its emotions, feelings and desires we must always approach them through the ideology of the sign. This means that we can never know the "real" mind of any other individual, and the only true site for examining it is in the realm of the symbolic—within everyday forms of communication.

Language and the Subject

Both Vygotsky and Vološnov show how language is internalized as thought, but I would like to consider more deeply how it is through language that we become subjects. In "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the I as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience," Jacques Lacan (1901-1981) explores how subjects and their desire are produced through language (Lacan, 1977). While in this essay Lacan focuses on the moment in the child's life when he/she recognizes his/her own image in the mirror, this instant is the central metaphor that defines the individual's relationship to society. The child seeing his/her image in the mirror wants to be like this image of wholeness, but this is never possible, because he/she will never be able to fit perfectly with that image. This illusory image represents what Lacan calls the imaginary order. This order is part of our psyche that refuses to accept the distinction between subject and object, and continually a demands us to make the other part of ourselves. The image of wholeness is, however, a misrecognition of a stable and coherent self.

What comes between the individual and his/her attempt to maintain this illusory image is language. The symbolic order, language, is the means through which the individual becomes a social being and tries to recapture the image of wholeness. This project is only doomed to failure; language is never exact (seen clearly in the tropes of metaphor and metonymy) and there is always a loss or lack as we are continually forced

to follow the rules and restrictions set upon us by language in maintaining that subjectivity. Thus, our becoming a subject through language means that we are continually trying to satisfy our desire to recreate an original wholeness. Language, however, does not permit this, and in the end, as Lacan argues, speaking kills the ideal self. In other words, we want to think of ourselves as unique and ahistorical beings, but this is never possible because it is language that has already constituted the way that we interact with other people in society before our birth.

It is specifically the lack—the disjunction between what we imagine our relationship to the other is and what we are forced to be in the social world—that is produced in language. Thus, in a single instance, both subjectivity and desire are created on the boundary between the imaginary and the symbolic. All desires are efforts to recapture the original spectral image of unity between the subject and the object, and these desires reveal themselves in the construction of subjectivity in language. Thus, to understand desire we must look to language itself and how the individual uses it to construct his/her subjectivity.

The Subject and Ideology

If we accept with Vygotsky and Vološnov that the mind develops by the internalization of language and makes itself known through language, then desires and motivation are only observable when they become ideological sign. Experience is never completely subjective since it can never escape the ideological system in that even when we reflect upon our experience we engage our experience by using signs. Thus, both inner reflection and outward expression of experience is always ideological (Vološnov, 1973, p. 36).

In order to proceed further, it is necessary to clarify what we mean by ideology. There are many definitions of ideology, and in its most neutral sense we can understand it to be society's collection of ideas that are a matter of course or invisible because they appear to be common sense. Although ideology can be positive—it is an important cohesive for society—it can also have an oppressive aspect. Antonio Gramsci's (1971) analysis of ideology forces us to face the fact that insofar as thought is socially produced, what we have internalized is not benign in any sense. Consciousness is always wrapped up in ideology which creates a social environment that is dominated by cultural hegemony.

What we can do, for the moment, is to fix two major superstructural "levels": the one that can be called "civil society," that is, the ensemble of organisms commonly called "private," and that of political society" or "the state." These two levels correspond on the one hand to the functions of "hegemony" which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of "direct domination" or command exercised through the state and "juridical" government (Gramsci, 1971, p. 12).

A hegemonic culture is one in which the values cherished by people help to maintain the status quo, and their values are held as somehow "natural." Thus, when we become subjects, we are not simply using language as a tool to get things done; ideology is entering and forming our psyches. Ideology not only creates subject positions, but forms our very desires.

While the traditional Marxist position endorsed by Gramsci is that ideology is a false consciousness that can be thrown off if individuals are given sufficient information (Lukacs, 1972), Louis Althusser's (1918-1990) reading of Lacanian psychoanalysis lead him to reject this assumption as too simplistic. Althusser sees ideology as an integral part of the reality that individuals create once they have entered into the symbolic order. Thus, not only are individuals subjected to the laws of language, but we also use them to construct our subjectivity. Ideology comes to define not only how we position ourselves as subjects in the world, but also it structures the way that we think about ourselves and attach meaning to our experiences.

In his work, Althusser speaks of individuals being "interpellated"[3] by ideology. By this Althusser means that the main function of ideology is to create subjects, and because ideology takes formation of subjects as its main work, ideology comes to form our very reality. Thus, ideology appears to be true and a matter of common sense, which speaks to the hegemonic power that ideology has over us. Also in line with Lacan, Althusser states that subjects exist before individuals are born. "The individual," he argues, "is always-already a subject, even before he is born...it is certain in advance that it will bear its Father's Name, and will therefore have an identity and be irreplaceable. Before its birth, the child is therefore always-already a subject, appointed as a subject in and by the specific familial ideological configuration in which it is 'expected' once it has been conceived." (Althusser, 1971, pp. 164-165). Ideology thus creates a hegemony that encompasses not only the way that subjects interact with each other, but it is also internalized and structures the way in which individuals think about themselves.

To further illuminate the power of ideology, Althusser shows how ideology surpasses its function to create and maintain the social and political structures of state organizations. Rather the real power of ideology is that it is constitutive of the very organizations, institutions and practices that permeate our daily lives, beginning with the family and extending to legal, cultural and educational. While some of these institutions make up our private realm of existence and appear to be free from ideology, this is only an illusion. Indeed, it is because ideology is hegemonic that it can invisibly influence the way that we interact with others and reflect upon our actions in society. This is not to say that we lack any agency to oppose ideologies. To do so, however, requires us to question our own existence and way of being. Subscribing to a common ideology allows us to express our

subjectivity, but at the same time serves to maintain the power of privileged classes and the status quo by reproducing the relations of production.

While SCT in SLA has focused mainly on how language is learned, we need to press further to understand exactly how individuals become socialized subjects through language. The following, therefore, is an attempt to read narrative in light of this. My approach to narrative will be guided by the following. First, thought is internalized language and as such, consciousness is never independent of the social world. Second, we become subjects through language and our desire to recapture our pre-linguistic wholeness is the driving motivation for our actions. Third, our consciousness and subjectivity is permeated by ideology, and through speaking we as subjects participate in the perpetuation of that ideology. Finally, in terms of methodology, as all of the writers would argue, a truly objective psychology must endeavor to understand learners'motivation to learn not as something that is formed and maintained in the individual minds of learners, but rather it is there in concrete instances of language.

Narrative and the Narrating Subject

Thus far we have only spoken of language in the broadest of terms. If we reflect upon our everyday lives, we realize that stories constitute a large portion of the communication that we engage in. Although narratives are an essential part of our lives, social research based on principles that originate in the natural sciences has underplayed their importance claiming that narratives are fictions or distortions of reality.

For Bruner (1986) this failure to see the importance of narrative in the construction of our social selves comes from a fundamental misunderstanding within traditional research paradigms. Narrative, as he points out, is one of two modes of thinking particular to human beings. (The other is paradigmatic.) We use stories to make sense out of the events that happen in our worlds and to convey our selves to other individuals. Narratives are central to our very understanding of our being in the world.

The desire to be a unified individual (ahistorical) and the need to maintain a coherent life-story drives us to narrate. As the subject is formed through language, it must be historical, having an existence that is situated in time―from the past, into the present and potentially into the future. As Judith Butler sees it, becoming a subject requires that we do so through language, and this process of subjectification is subordinated through power. It "form[s] the subject," but also "provide[s] the very condition of its existence and the trajectory of its desire (Butler, 1997, p. 2)." As subjects, we enjoin narrative and thus are "interpellated" by narrative, and by participating in narratives we not only construct subjectivities for ourselves, but we also engage ideologies by subscribing to them, appropriating them or challenging them.

Although a direct reading of narratives is the best way in which to see how individuals use and bend the rules of narrative genre as they construct their subjectivities, before we proceed it will help us to review the levels of narrative in light of the previous section.[4] Studies of narrative, typically make a distinction between three levels: the story level, the discourse level, and the communication level. At each of these levels we can see how culturally shared set or rules enable narrative, while at the same time allowing the author to deviate from these rules to produce specific effects on the reader. We will also see that although narratologists tend to depict these levels of narratives and their concomitant rules as being separate, the levels are quite porous, so much so that we might argue that one of the narrator's primary tasks is to skillfully write between these levels.

The *story* level is made up of structures that are combinations of plot elements and characterization. Any culture will have a number of prototypical stories, or "story patterns," which are culturally and historically embedded and therefore underwritten by ideology. For example, cautionary tales have a limited range of possible emplotment and character features yet they are embedded in and are intended to enforce conformity to a specific ideology and perform socially-acceptable behaviors. When constructing stories such as these, the author relies upon the readers' knowledge of these prototypes, and by relying on pre-formed story types and characters, the writer reproduces its "subjugation to the ruling ideology or... the 'practice' of that ideology" (Althusser, 1971, p. 128).

In addition, this level also includes specific uses of language, including grammatical elements such as tense and aspect, the ordering of elements in the story, the manipulation of story time, the way of presenting actions, and the mode in which the story is presented. All of these can be manipulated by the author to present the story either with minimal narrator mediation or with the narrator's analysis more obviously displayed. The author's choice of style will have subtle effects on how the reader constructs meaning through his/her interpretation.

The second level of narrative is the discourse level. All narratives are mediated by the narrator, and we must consider the discourse level in two ways. First, we must ask, "Who is speaking?" Not only is the narrator telling the story, but he/she is also revealing things about himself/herself. As the narrator tells his/her tale, the reader not only comes to understand the narrator's age, gender and relationship to the characters in the story, but the reader witnesses how the narrator is positioning himself/herself in the social class system. In addition, the narrator also controls how the content matter of the story is presented to the reader and gives subjective expression to his/her characters. As a product of the narrative, the narrator may be projected as being more of one level than another: either as a specific character or as an omniscient viewer of the events in the story. In homodiegetic narratives, the narrator simultaneously asserts his/her ontological status as an

individual in the real world and makes claims about the truthfulness of the events being narrated and his/her recollection of them.

At the *discourse* level we must also consider the question, "From what perspective is the story being told?" We can think of point of view as both as a place or position from which the events are viewed and as a mental attitude. For Japanese (the focus of our analysis below), the language itself favors narratives that are centered on the narrator's point of view and his/her overt presence spills over into the other levels of narrative more readily. At the story level, the Japanese language is a "speaker-oriented" language, and consequently narratives are filtered through the narrator's subjective lens. Take as an example, the adjectival system. The unmarked *hoshii* indicates the speaking subject's perception of a situation or the desirability of some object, as is the case here; if the speaker is asserting the desire of a third person, however, the morpheme－*garu* must be appended to the base adjective. This speaker orientation of the language extends to almost all grammatical features of the language, including the tense and aspect system, verbal categories, and even syntax. Thus, because the Japanese language is inherently more subjective, it is difficult to maintain a distinction between narrative levels. We might also argue, therefore, that ideological structures penetrate deeply into and consequently seem to radiate out from the speaking subject.

Finally, there is the *communication* level. We can think of communication as the act of sending and receiving of messages. This entails a number of things including the encoding and decoding of these messages as well as dealing with non-linguistic variables. In order for smooth communication to take place, both the sender and receiver of the message must share knowledge of the common codes (linguistic and non-linguistic) which are culturally and socially constructed. Communication can have a number of purposes and each of these purposes has a combination of motives and intended results. One of the most common purposes of narrative is entertainment, however narratives are also enlisted in a wide variety of communicative events. Narrative can have persuasive force. We might use a narrative to influence someone to take action. Narratives can also be used to increase knowledge by providing a concrete example of a more general situation; thus narrative can serve the purpose of acquiring knowledge or skills.

Yet the boundary between the communication level and the other two levels is not impermeable. The point of view of the narrator can also be directed out from the discourse level toward the context of narration. For example, in Japanese narrative discourse, the author must choose between the formal (*desu*/*masu*) and informal (*da*) style of predication. At the communication level the choice of style constructs a specific author/reader relationship that is based upon the social hierarchy system. But style choice filters down into the discourse level as well. Politeness is also a discourse modality

(Maynard, 1993). The *da*-style presents the events in the narrative as seen internally, thus representing the narrator's self-reflected thought. The *desu/masu*-style, on the other hand, indicates both stasis politeness (i.e., it is used to maintain social status relations between the author and reader), and a direct narration of the events of the story to the reader.

Reading L2 Learning Motivation Narratives

In this section, we will briefly review some of the general characteristics of L2 learning motivation narratives and then look in detail at one learner's narrative. In doing so we will attempt to uncover the ways the subject and motivation emerge through narrative and language.

L2 Learning Motivation Narratves

Over the past several years I have been collecting motivation narratives from Japanese learners in a variety of post-secondary education contexts. As I have worked with these, a number of similarities began to emerge. Here I will describe their similarities in terms of the three narrative levels outlined above.

At the story level, these motivation narratives all contain common structural elements that roughly correspond to those William Labov has identified in personal experience narratives (Labov, 1997; Labov & Waletzky, 1967). These levels include the *abstract* (brief summary of the narrative), *orientation* (introduction of setting and characters), *complicating action* (the main events of the narrative), *resolution* (release from the tension created in the narrative), *evaluation* (narrators expression of significance of the events), and *coda* (brief recap of the main points of the narrative). Of these elements, the evaluation level is invariably the most elaborated in that the narratives were elicited as explanation for how learners'motivation has changed over time or at certain key points in their learning histories. These elements are organized with an initial situation, transformative event(s) and a final reintegration episode.

At the discourse level, motivation narratives also show similarities. Since they are forms of personal experience narratives, we can assume that the narrator is meant to be the actual learner. However this is not to say that the narrator IS the learner in an ontological sense. The narrator remains a construct of the narrative and it is the work of the reader to interpret who the narrator is and from what perspective he or she is speaking. Overall, the narrator's presence in motivation narratives is most obvious in the statements about the import of specific events, thus much of our work with narratives tends to focus on the evaluative level.

Finally, since these narratives have been collected by teachers and researchers, the narratives are typically overtly oriented toward a specific purpose. When the teacher

himself/herself is eliciting the narrative, often the narrative becomes a way for the learner to persuade the teacher that the learner is more motivated now than before. This is often true even when a researcher is collecting the narrative, but perceived by the learner as to be part of an abstract group of "teachers." Language used in the narratives as well can reflect this disposition. Since the narratives that I have been using are all in the learners' L1 (Japanese) the use of politeness and honorific expressions (even when not directed at the listener/reader) can be seen as indications of the learners' deference toward those in higher social positions and to the social positions which they belong.

Narrative Analysis

At the time when this narrative was collected, "Ayumi" had recently graduated from a national university of foreign studies in Western Japan. While there, she majored in comparative culture and studied Vietnamese during her first two years. In her narrative, she describes herself as becoming more motivated to study Vietnamese during her first year of study as the result of the experiences that she had both inside and outside of the classroom. These events made her more aware of the value that learning Vietnamese had for her life and gave her the motivation necessary to persevere in her study of the language.

The first section of Ayumi's narrative sets the context for the development of the entire narrative. It situates the narrative within a specific time and space and provides a culturally specific interpretive frame that makes it possible to understand the events of the entire narrative. It also allows us to read how the narrator constructs her subjectivity in relationship to other characters.

Clauses 1 through 7 orient the reader to the narrator's relationship to the university and delineate the relationships that the institution establishes between subjects. The

Section 1

Clause	Narrative Text	English Gloss
1	ええと、大学が○○大学で	Uh, my university was such and such University and
2	私の行っていたその大学では、	this university which was the one I was going to
3	えと、全員、生徒全員が専攻語を持たなくてはいけませんでした。	uh, everyone, every student had to have a major language.
4	えと、専攻語、を選んでいる人もいれば、	uh, there were people who had had chosen a major language when they entered,
5	専攻語ではなくて専攻を選ぶ人もいて	there were also those who chose a major without having a major language and,

Clause	Narrative Text	English Gloss
6	えとう、専攻ではなくて専攻を選んで入った人は	uh, those people who chose a major without having a major language,
7	自動的に専攻語を学校側から決められるシステムになっています。	it was a system in which their major language was chosen automatically by the school.
8	私は比較文化という専攻を選びました。	I chose a major called comparative culture.
9	そのときに24カ国語を書いた紙をわたされて	At that time a sheet with 24 languages written on it was passed out and
10	それに順番を付けて	there I marked my preferences
11	一番はフランス語	first was French
12	二番は英語だったと思います。	and second was English I think.
13	ええとう、ベトナム語を何番につけたかは覚えてはいませんけれども、	uh, I don't remember what number I marked Vietnamese, but
14	その、ええとう、専攻語は成績順に決められるので、	uh, major language were decided according to one's grades so
15	私の成績がそれほどよくなかったため、	because my grades were not that good,
16	ベトナム語に回されました。	I was put in Vietnamese
17	特に、なくて、えっと、	In particular, I didn't, uh
18	ゴールというものはなくて	I had nothing called a "goal,"
19	ただ単位を取って卒業	it was just that I wanted to get credit and graduate,
20	えっと、そのベトナム語の授業が決まっていたのは一年と二年の間だけだったので	uh, they determined promotion in the Vietnamese language class only during the first and second years, so
21	その間の単位をすべてとって、	during that time I thought I would get all the credits and
22	で、三年から自分の専門の授業に入れればいいと思っていました。	From the third year if I could take classes in my major it would be great.

"system," as the narrator tells us in Clauses 3 and 6, separates students into two groups, those who enter with a chosen major language and those who enter with a major subject but not a major language. Furthermore, it is a system that operates "automatically" to determine what language each student is to learn.

The structure of this system as narrated by Ayumi is founded on two opposing dyads: the university and students, and two types of students. The tension within these two oppositions will become important for how the narrator's motivation emerges from this system. As the narrator tells us, there are only two subject positions available for students at this university. As such, we will see below that these already-made subject positions and desire emerge not independently within the individual, but through the limits that are

established by the ideology of university institutions.

In order to illustrate this, let us look more closely at how the narrator constructs her subjectivity in relation to the university in this section. The narrator explicitly situates herself in opposition to the other students majoring in a foreign language and given this environment, she initially saw her only "goal" (clause 19) as to "get credit and graduate" so that she could move through the institutional system and be allowed to take classes in her major in the third year.

The ideology of institution is not limited to the story level; true power is to be found in the use of language. First, the narrator constructs an epistemic stance toward the institution as something that just is and defers from making any qualifications about its truth, as indicated by predicating the first sentence with になっている. This system is just a part of "the way things are."

Second, the power of the institution and the relative passivity of students within this system become clearer through a closer reading. When describing the events (clauses 8-16) that led to her placement in Vietnamese, Ayumi uses several passive constructions. The Japanese passive, unlike many other languages, uses this construction for more than forming direct passives; it can also be used to index subject adversity or subject honorification. Thus, this section of the narrative requires more careful reading, for not only is the passive used to maintain the focus of the story on the narrator, but language itself is part of an underlying ideology that restricts the way in which subjects can emerge in relation to these institutions.

The first use of the passive (clause 5) is predicated with the verb 渡す "pass out/ distribute." This is a transitive verb, however this is not a direct passive since the object of the clause is still marked as accusative. As the narrator has already constructed "I" as a deictic center of the narrative, we might be inclined to read the subject as "I" (or students like "I") which would be the indirect object of the matrix sentence and produce an adversative passive reading. From the context, however, this still does not give us who is the directing force of the verb, unless the reading is that the narrator was negatively affected by this event.

Oshima (2003) reinterprets the central meaning of the Japanese passive as "out of control." He argues that the passive encodes that the referent of the grammatical subject lacks controlling force on the core event. The added subordinate subject, on the other hand, refers to an identity to which the absence of controlling force is attributed. In Ayumi's description of the passing around of the questionnaire, clearly the subordinate subject is the university.

However, this sentence contains more than just an "out of control" reading. As Wierzbicka (1988) argues, the Japanese passive is mutiply ambiguous. While the clause

may hold an adversative passive reading, the passive also indicates the narrator's deference to the institution. The honorific use of the passive here notes that it is the subject who controls the core event without any intervening force that prevents or prohibits its actions (Oshima, 2003). In other words, the narrator uses the passive constructions to further implicate that it is the university that is the primary actor in education and it is the structure of the institution that creates subject positions.

Moreover, I would argue that the absence of the university at the surface level of these passive sentences continues to be felt at a discourse level. The textual level involves thematization and discourse cohesion, and Japanese discourse, unlike languages such as English, requires less overt marking of the theme. Instead, Japanese places a greater burden upon the reader to actively participate in the construction of texts by supplying the missing discourse anaphora. By effacing the institution at the surface level of these sentences, the narrator forces the reader to rely upon textual and contextual clues. For meaning to be constructed, a null anaphora must be recovered from the text (Hasegawa, 1984), and by forcing the reader to do this the narrator constructs a text in which the institution comes to have an unspoken authority over the narrative; its very erasure at the surface level obliquely emphasizing it. The language of the text draws the reader into its ideological world and obliges the reader to recognize the underlying social hierarchy system in order to interpret the text correctly.

In the opening of the narrative, the narrator establishes on the linguistic, structural and discourse levels, what Bakhtin (1981) calls a *monologic* text. A monologic text is the effect that is created when all of the voices sound basically the same. Because of the monologic text's unitary voice, this type of narrative (in contrast to a *dialogic* text with multiple voices) speaks with an authoritative tone since such discourse "is directed toward its referential object and constitutes the ultimate semantic authority within the limits of a given context" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 189). It is narrative, which we will see, is one site where all meaning is tied directly to the ideology of the institution. It is within this all-powerful institution that individuals take up their already-made roles through which desire is produced.

In experience narratives of learner motivation, following the initial scene-setting, there is an event (or events) which transforms the narrator and makes him or her more motivated to pursue the goal of language acquisition. In the next two sections of her narrative, Ayumi relates how she was transformed into a student who was motivated to study Vietnamese. The first transformative event explains how her attitudes toward Vietnamese changed when she visited Vietnam during spring break.

Ayumi's hesitancy and passivity continue to strike the reader at the beginning (clauses 2-5) of this section, yet we find out that when she arrived in Vietnam and saw that people

Section 2

Clause	Narrative Text	English Gloss
1	春休みの間に初めてベトナムという国を旅行する機械があって、	During spring vacation I had the opportunity to travel around the country called Vietnam,
2	友達に誘われて、	I was invited by a friend,
3	まああ、言語をやっているから	well, since I was doing the language,
4	国も見ておこうかなっていうような気持ちで、	it was with the feeling like I should see the country,
5	ちょっとした旅行にでかけたんですけど、	and I left on a brief trip.
6	えっと、そこでベトナム語を使う機会があって、	uh, there I had the opportunity to use Vietnamese,
7	で、ええと、実際にそのネイティブの人たちが皆、そこでベトナム語を使っている様とかを実際に自分で見て	and, uh, in fact all of those native speakers, actually seeing for myself that these those people using Vietnamese
8	で、ベトナム語に対して	and, in regard to Vietnamese
9	なんか、結構それまでは、それまではやらなきゃいけないものとか	somehow, well, until that point it was something that I just had to do or
10	強制的にやらされているものっていうような、	it was something that I was forcibly made to do,
11	ええと、科目でしかなかったですと	uh, it was only like a subject,
12	言語とか、私ももともと文化に興味があって、	the language or, originally I had an interest in the culture and
13	文化をずっとやりたいと思っていんで	I thought that I wanted to continue doing the culture
14	えっ、言語も文化の一端っていうか、	uh, the language too is a part of culture,
15	その文化の背景として言語って絶対に存在するものなので、	the fact that because the language absolutely exists as the background of that culture
16	すごくそういう意味で興味が沸いて、	really it was for this reason that my interest grew
17	で、英語で話すよりも、	and, more than speaking English
18	ベトナム語で話をするほうが全然話が弾むし、	speaking in Vietnamese was totally stimulating and
19	そういうことをしてたら、	because I did that
20	ベトナム語がすごく好きになってきて、	I came to really like Vietnamese
21	友達もできるし、	I was able to make friends
22	帰ってきてから	and when I came back home
23	もう一回行きたいって思うようになって、	I thought that I wanted to go back again
24	で、次行くときまでにはもうちょっとうまくなりたいって思ったのがきっかけだと思います。	and until the next time I could go I wanted to get a little bit better, I thought, that was the beginning.

actually use the language for communication, she discovered that Vietnamese is more than just a school subject (clauses 9-11). The language became real to her as a tool for communication, but more importantly she realized that it is a part of the culture. The connection between language and culture is, as she tells us, what stimulated her desire to study harder when she returned to the university so that she could speak a little better when she visits Vietnam again.

Section 3

Clause	Narrative Text	English Gloss
1	あるとき、一人の先生が、厳しく有名な先生なんですけれども、	Once, one teacher, he was strict and famous teacher,
2	私が発表する順番の日に、たまたまやる気がなかったのか	the day when it was my turn to give a speech, from time to time may he didn't feel in the mood
3	私の発表が、私の発表は確かに悪かったんですけれども、	my speech, my speech in fact was bad but
4	全く態度、聞く態度ではなくて、	it wasn't that his attitude toward listening at all and
5	だんだん私の発表が進むにつれて、	little by little as my speech went on
6	タバコとかを吸われてしまって、	he started to smoke a cigarette
7	で、ええと、相当腹がたったので、	and, uh, I was plenty angry so
8	ええと、最終、発表、多分その授業では3、4回発表する機会があったと思うんですけど、	uh, in the end, my speech, perhaps in that class we had the chance to make speeches three, four times but
9	絶対、絶対、認めてもらおうとおもって、	definitely, definitely I wanted him to approve
10	えとう、それまでよりはその授業に関しては、真剣に勉強するようになりました。	uh, from that time on, as regards that class, I started to study seriously.
11	いいレポートを書こうと思ったら、	I thought, "I'm going to write a good report," and
12	人の意見をよく聞くようになるので、	because I started to listen to people's opinions
13	自分の勉強もそれまでよりは進んだと思います。	my own study, more than before, it progressed I think.
14	ええと、その授業は文法解釈の、えとう、首相の演説を文法的に解釈して、	Uh, it was the kind of class in which we analyzed grammatically the speeches of the prime minister and
15	発表うるというものだったんですけれども、	gave speeches but
16	最終的に「正確です」というお褒め言葉を、頂きました。	in the end, "correct" were the words of praise that I received.

The third section provides an interesting contrast to Ayumi's discovery of value in learning Vietnamese. Although the narrator has transformed internally in terms of opinions and attitudes toward the target language, when she returns to the university, the institution as represented by the professor, does not recognize this change. Neither does its fundamental ideological structure allow for subject positions in which desire to develop individuated competency and autonomy over one's actions is recognized as a mode of motivation. Indeed, the university seeks to maintain the status quo by fostering extrinsic forms of motivation, in the form of grades, credits and ultimately a diploma. Having no means of carving out a subjectivity with intrinsic desire to learn and master Vietnamese, the narrator turns to licensed activities concomitant with what she sees as being a good student: studying seriously, writing good reports, listening to others, and most importantly getting the approval of the teacher, the gatekeeper who ultimately determines students'progress through the institutional system.

Within these two transformational episodes, a particular narrative stance becomes clear. In analyzing first person narratives, Stanzel (1984) reminds us that the "I" can have multiple references. The "I" of a homodiegetic narrative refers to the author as well as a character (the protagonist) in the narrative (Genette, 1980). This duality provides the author with two options for narration. The first option is to narrate the story from the point of view of the "narrating I." This external focalization (i.e., viewpoint) presents the events as if the narrator were looking in hindsight endowed with the awareness that this entails. Conversely, the narrator can present the story as internally focalized. In this case, the narrator constructs an "experiencing I" who is naïve to the events as they are unfolding. Thus, we are "shown" the events rather than "told" them.

In the narrative under consideration here, Ayumi constructs her story not to draw the reader directly into the events so as to make them unfold as if we were actually there experiencing them with her; rather the narrator is always there, mediating our interpretation of the events through the particular ideology of institutional structures. Thus, we are continually engaged by the narrator at the level of evaluation. This stance continues through the end of the narrative.

In the final excerpt of Ayumi's narrative we come to a description of how the narrator became reintegrated. As part of the work of narrative, we recall that the individual wants to present a psychological unity. In the first section, Ayumi constructed herself as a powerless entity within the system. In this conclusion to the narrative, Ayumi in complete contrast to the situation at the beginning of the narrative presents herself as one of those students (the only other subject position available) who was motivated to study Vietnamese. In Clauses 1 to 7 Ayumi makes several evaluative statements that present herself as a reflective and active participant in her L2 learning.

Section 4

Clause	Narrative Text	English Gloss
1	それまでは辞書も、えっと、日本語ベトナム語の辞書しか使った、	As for before this time, I only use a Japanese-Vietnamese dictionary,
2	使う気もなかったし、	I had no desire to use one
3	複数の辞書をみて、	I looked in several dictionaries
4	正確さを求めるとか、	Looked for exactness
5	「宿題はやっていけばいいや」と思っていたんですけども、	I was thinking that, "Oh, its enough just to do the homework," but
6	やるだけではなくて、	Not only did I do that
7	フォローとかはすごくするようになりました。	I also started to follow the lesson.
8	後、それまで、ベトナム語を選んだ子と選ばなくて入った子の、ちょっと溝みたいなものがあったんですけれども、	Later, until then, those students who chose Vietnamese when they entered, a little, there was something like a ditch, however,
9	私はベトナム語が好きになったんで、	Because I had come to like Vietnamese
10	その選んだ子と話が合ったりするようになって、	Those students who had chosen Vietnamese, I started to talk with them,
11	仲良くなったこともあって、	We became close and
12	勉強を一緒にしたりとか	We studied together
13	そいうふうに勉強すること自体が楽しくなってきて	And in that way studying itself became enjoyable
14	で、クラスの中に入っていても	And even when was in class,
15	今まで自分が望んでやった言語ではなかったので、	Because it was not the same language that I had faced myself until this time
16	結構違和感とかも覚えてたんですけど、	I remember having the feeling of being rather out of place but
17	やる気、になったら、	When I had the motivation
18	そいう違和感とかも消えてきて、	This feeling of being out of place disappeared
19	で、そのクラスがもうちょっとまとまったような気がしました。	And the class became a little bit more close-knit.
20	結局その、さっき、お話した、タバコを吸った先生の授業では、冬休み返上で宿題をしたおかげで「A」を取れました。	Finally, before, for the class with teacher who smoked, I forwent winter vacation and due to my performance on the assignment, I was able to get an "A."

This change in behavior she attributes to her being able to cross over a ditch (clause 8). Within this metaphor we are able to grasp the essence of how she sees her experiences contributing to her changed self. Ditches separate. But they can also be traversed. It is a key cultural metaphor for explaining how individuals have become integrated into society

by moving from a *soto* (outside) to an *uchi* (inside) position. Bachnik (1994) sees the *uchi /soto* dimension as an axis along which individuals in Japanese society relate themselves to context and society. Here we can see it being used by the narrator to express her shift from one subject position to another—a movement from the "outside" to the "inside."

 As Ayumi herself tells us, her motivation to learn Vietnamese had the most significance for her life in that it allowed her to become a good student. Her desire is tied up with her transformation from a student who was placed in the Vietnamese language class by the university into a student who was like one of those who had actively chosen to study the language. The two sides of the metaphor are, as Ayumi tells us, quite different. On the outside, students are passive, they are peripheral to the core class and are content if they can get credit for the core members of the class. On the inside, students are active. Each performs their scripted role as a "good student" by studying hard, working together, trying to please their teacher and ultimately getting good grades.

Conclusion and Further Directions

 If we are to accept that thought is internalized language, then the distinction made by mainstream approaches to L2 learning motivation between intrinsic-extrinsic, integrative-instrumental will need to be seriously reconsidered. As I have attempted to argue in this paper, selves are historically situated. They emerge within a specific time and cultural matrix which places limits upon the types of subjects. If desires and needs are produced by social systems, then is intrinsic motivation really spontaneously generated within the human organism? As Ayumi's narrative reveals, value in pursuing a goal for its own sake is really subsumed under larger desires to conform to prescribed subject positions within the social system.

 In the future, research using narratives has the potential to be very fruitful. We may use narratives to analyze learners'motivation over time, to compare different learners' narratives on the same classroom task, and to compare teachers' narratives with learners' narratives. Analyses such as these will help us to paint a richer picture of the complexities of learner motivation.

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Notes

1 As a convenience I will use the abbreviation "L2" to cover both second and foreign language learning in general, however the context for this paper is foreign language settings.

2 There is also "amotivation."

3 From the French verb *interpeller* meaning to "call out (to someone)" or "yell at."

4 This section is based in part on Bal, 1985; Genette, 1980; Genette, 1988; and Todorov, 1981.