Motivations, identities and selves in the here-and-now of learners of a foreign language

Elizabeth Anne-Marie Machin

TESI DOCTORAL UPF / 2020

Thesis supervisors
Dra. Carmen Pérez-Vidal
Dra. Elsa Tragant

DEPARTAMENT DE TRADUCCIÓ I CIÈNCIES DEL LLENGUATGE

Universitat Pompeu Fabra Barcelona

Dedication

To my parents

"Time present and time past

Are both perhaps present in time future,

And time future contained in time past."

T. S. Eliot, Burnt Norton (1944)

"How can we know the dancer from the dance?"

W. B. Yeats, Among School Children (1926)

In appreciation

I would like to thank my thesis directors, Dr Carmen Pérez-Vidal and Dr Elsa Tragant, for their support and encouragement during the course of my doctoral education at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra. It has been a learning journey that I have found challenging and enjoyable in equal measure. Carmen, I am very grateful for your infectious spirit, your pragmatic approach and, as I also said in the acknowledgement to my Master's thesis, your generosity of time and knowledge. Elsa, I have very much appreciated your calmness, your light but apposite steers along the pathways of the qualitative research paradigm, and the time you have put aside for me at the Universitat de Barcelona. I have been blessed to have had such dedicated directors.

I would also like to thank my parents, who have relentlessly supported me in this endeavour, and indeed in all of life's challenges and adventures. And to my family and friends, who have tolerated my absence during some of this time, who have indulged my musings over, to name but two examples, the Theory of the Possible Selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and the notion of habitus (Bourdieu, 1991), and who have been part of my personal, doctoral and Spanish / Catalan learning journeys. Well, thank you all too.

I would also like to thank Dr Alex Alsina, who was the Director of the Department of Translation Language Sciences when I embarked on my PhD programme, and supported this decision through, in particular, offering me teaching experience within the Department. I take this opportunity to extend this thanks to all of the teaching and administrative staff of the Department who have made this research undertaking possible.

Thank you goes too to Dr Jennifer Ament, the second named author of the article representing Study 3, namely for her work in relation to the collection of the dataset for that study. In this respect I would also like to thank Dr Pérez-Vidal for allowing me to be in touch with an established research group, ALLENCAM, and for the SALA Project permitting me access to this SALA corpus for my Study 3, which was supported by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation under Grant number FFI2013-48640-C2-1-P.

Finally, I would also like to thank the participants of the three studies which make up this thesis, without whose words there would have been no research.

Abstract

The main aim of this doctoral research was to explore the motivations of foreign language learners / users, and to offer insights into what a foreign language means to them in the here-and-now, and how they experience this. To do so, three distinct studies were carried out, in different contexts, exploring the motivations of: (i) learners of English as a foreign language in a formal instruction university classroom in Spain, and the effect on them of an imagery-intervention (Study 1); (ii) former international study abroad sojourners in Spain, who were back home and no longer at university (Study 2); and (iii) university students in Spain, who had elected to study their degree through English medium instruction (EMI) (Study 3). There were three separate data-sets, which included: (i) group-composed imagery scripts of a future ideal L2 self, collected during an Exploratory Practice (a form of practitioner research), with template analysis adopted (King, 2004) (Study 1); (ii) individual written imagery scripts of an ideal L2 self, followed by semi-structured interviews, with thematic analysis adopted (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013) (Study 2); and (iii) oral monologues on topics including motives to take an EMI degree, with the thematic analysis again adopted (Study 3). Two main theoretical lenses were chosen through which to view the data: the psychology-oriented L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) (Dörnyei, 2009) and the sociology-inspired model of investment (as expanded) (Darvin & Norton, 2015). A third construct, the person-in-context relational view of motivation (Ushioda, 2009), acted as a bridge between the L2MSS notions of the mind and the more grounded model of investment.

As for the results of the first study, the findings showed that the students demonstrated L2 motivated behaviour in co-constructing a plausible, socially-recognisable future ideal L2 self, that their peers could identify with, and an emotional investment in the classroom imagery-intervention. In the second study, the meaning-making about how a foreign language is experienced post-sojourn revolved around four dominant themes: (1) ‘identity echoes’; (2) ‘a pivotal experience’; (3) ‘to sustain or not to sustain’; and (4) ‘enduring value’ (economic, sociocultural, and linguistic capital factors). Finally, in the third study, three dominant themes emerged for what the choice-to-EMI means and how this is experienced, namely: (1) ‘the right fit for me’; (2) ‘to practise my L2’, and (3) ‘English as a lingua franca (ELF) comes with benefits’ (communicative and economic).

Resumen

Esta tesis se propone explorar la motivación de aprendices o usuarios/as de una lengua extranjera, y así mismo profundizar en lo que les supone dicho aprendizaje desde la perspectiva del 'aquí' y el 'ahora' y en lo que experimentan al hacerlo. A tal fin se han llevado a cabo tres estudios, en tres contextos diferentes y con tres tipos de aprendices: (i) aprendices de inglés como lengua extranjera en un aula universitaria de instrucción formal en España, sus datos han permitido examinar los efectos que supone una intervención basada en la visualización de imágenes en el aula (Estudio 1); (ii) estudiantes universitarios de intercambio en España, ya de vuelta en sus países de origen y una vez finalizados sus estudios (Estudio 2); (iii) estudiantes universitarios residentes en España que habían escogido un grado íntegramente impartido en inglés (*English Medium Instruction-EMI*). El corpus incluye tres grupos de datos independientes: i) datos recogidos durante una Práctica Exploratoria (*Exploratory Practice*) (una modalidad de investigación en acción, a partir de textos elaborados en grupo sobre el autoconcepto futuro ideal como hablante de una L2 (*future ideal L2 self*), y analizados a partir de la creación de protocolos (Estudio 1); ii) textos elaborados individualmente sobre el autoconcepto futuro ideal como hablante de una L2 (*future ideal L2 self*), y entrevistas semi-estructuradas, para las que se ha adoptado un análisis temático (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013) (Estudio 2); (iii) monólogos orales sobre los motivos para elegir un grado íntegramente impartido en inglés, de nuevo analizados temáticamente (Estudio 3). Se escogieron dos perspectivas teóricas para la aproximación a los datos: la perspectiva de orientación psicológica denominada Teoría dels autoconceptos posibles en una L2 (*L2 Motivational Self System- L2MSS*) (Dörnyei, 2009), y el modelo de inspiración sociológica denominado de 'inversión en el aprendizaje lingüístico' (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Un tercer constructo, la visión de la motivación con una orientación relacional denominada de la 'persona-en-contexto' (Ushioda, 2009) se utilizó a manera de puente entre las nociones propias de la teoría de los autconceptos posibles del L2MSS y el modelo de inversión en el aprendizaje lingüístico de corte más contextual.

Los resultados del primer estudio muestran que los/las aprendices fueron capaces de co-construir un autoconcepto en L2 plausible y reconocible socialmente, con el que sus compañeros/as pudieron identificarse e implicarse emocionalmente. En el segundo estudio los datos retrospectivos sobre la experiencia de aprendizaje de una lengua

extranjera se estructuran en cuatro temas: (1) ‘ecos identitarios’; (2) ‘una experiencia clave’; (3) ‘continuidad o discontinuidad’; (4) ‘valor enriqucedor’ (económicamente, socioculturalmente, y a nivel lingüístico). Finalmente, el tercer estudio permitió identificar tres razones para la elección del grado impartido en inglés y la experiencia que supone: (1) ‘el programa me encaja’; (2) ‘el programa me permite practicar la L2’; (3) ‘el inglés como lengua franca *(English as a lingua franca- ELF)* comporta beneficios’ (a nivel comunicativo y económico).

Resum

Aquesta tesi es proposa explorar les motivacions dels aprenents o usuaris/es d'una llengua estrangera i aprofundir en el que suposa aquest aprenentatge des de la perspectiva de "l'aquí" i "l'ara". Per fer-ho, s'han realitzat tres estudis, en tres contextos diferents i s'ha explorat la motivació per part : (i) d'aprenents d'anglès com a llengua estrangera en una aula universitària d'instrucció formal a Espanya, i l'efecte d'una intervenció basada en la visualització d'imatges a l'aula (Estudi 1); (ii) estudiants universitaris d'intercanvi a Espanya, quan ja es trobaven als seus països d'origen un cop finalitzats els seus estudis (Estudi 2); i (iii) d'estudiants universitaris residents a Espanya, que havien optat per estudiar un grau impartit íntegrament en anglès (*English Medium Instruction-EMI*) (Estudi 3). El corpus inclou tres conjunts de dades independents: (i) dades recollides durant una Pràctica Exploratòria (*Exploratory Practice*) (una modalitat d'investigació en acció) a partir de textos elaborats en grup sobre el autoconcepte futur ideal en L2, i analitzades a partir de la creació de protocols (King, 2004) (Estudi 1); (ii) textos elaborats individualment sobre visualitzacions d'un autoconcepte ideal (*future ideal L2 self*), seguits d'entrevistes semiestructurades, i analitzades per temàtiques (Braun i Clarke, 2006, 2013) (Estudi 2); i (iii) monòlegs orals sobre els motius que van portar als estudiants a triar la modalitat de grau en anglès, també analitzats per temàtiques (Estudi 3). S'han utilitzat dues perspectives teòriques per interpretar les dades: La perspectiva d'orientació psicològica denominada Teoria dels autoconceptes possibles en una L2 (*L2 Motivational Self System, L2MSS*) (Dörnyei, 2009) (Dörnyei, 2009) i el model d'inspiració sociològica denominat 'inversió en l'aprenentatge lingüístic' (Darvin & Norton, 2015). S'ha utilitzat un tercer constructe, l'orientació relacional denominada 'de la persona en context' (Ushioda, 2009), com a pont entre les nocions pròpies de la teoria dels autoconceptes possibles del L2MSS i el model d'inversió en el aprenentatge lingüístic de caire més contextual.

Pel que fa als resultats del primer estudi, els estudiants van ser capaços de co-construir un autoconcepte en L2 plausible, amb el qual els seus companys s'hi van poder identificar i implicar emocionalment. En el segon estudi, les dades retrospectives sobre l'experiència d'aprendre una llengua estrangera s'han estructurat entorn a quatre temes: (1) "ressons identitaris"; (2) "una experiència clau"; (3) "continuïtat o discontinuïtat"; i (4) "valor enriquidor" (factors de capital econòmic, sociocultural i lingüístic). Finalment, en el

tercer estudi, van sorgir tres temes principals sobre el que significa l'elecció d'un grau impartit en anglès i l'experiència que això suposa: (1) "el programa m'encaixa"; (2) "el programa em permet practicar la L2" i (3) "l'anglès com a llengua franca *(English as a lingua franca- ELF)* té avantatges" (a nivell comunicatiu i econòmic).

Table of Contents

Key acronyms and definitions

CEFR	*Common European Framework of Reference.*
CLIL	*Content and Language Integrated Learning.*
EAP	*English for Academic Purposes.*
EFL	*English as a Foreign Language*.
ELE	*Español como Lengua Extranjera.*
ELF	*English as a Lingua Franca*.
EMI	*English Medium Instruction*.
EMI-ers	The term we employed for the participants of Study 3, undergraduates on an EMI programme.
EP	*Exploratory Practice.*
ESL	*English as a Second Language.*
FI	*Formal Instruction*.
FL	*Foreign Language*, limited to learning in an at home language setting, as opposed to SL and also the broader term L2.
HE	*Higher Education.*
ID	*Individual Difference.*
LLP	*Legitimate Peripheral Participation.*
LQ	*Language Questionnaire,* as employed in Study 3.
L2	*Second Language,* an umbrella term for second language, encompassing, for the purposes of this thesis, the terms SL and FL (where the context requires) and, unless stated otherwise, any language other than the native language(s) e.g., L3, L4, Lx. This definition impacts on other terminology e.g., the L2 self, and when used in conjunction with other words e.g., L2 motivation.
L2MSS	*L2 Motivational Self System*, as described in section 2.1.2.
Motivators	The term we employed for the participants of Study 1, undergraduates in a FI EFL classroom, when engaged in the key EP activity.
PEPA	*Potentially Exploitable Pedagogic Activity*, as explained in Study 1.
Post-sojourners	The term we employed for the participants of Study 2, former students who had studied abroad during their university careers.
QoL	*Quality of Life,* as explained in Study 1.
SE Model	*Socio-Educational Model of L2 acquisition*, as briefly described in section 2.1.1.3.
SL	*Second Language*, limited to learning in a target language setting, as opposed to FL and also the broader term L2.

SLA	*Second Language Acquisition.*
SLQ	*Sociolinguistic Questionnaire,* as employed in Study 2.
UPF	*Universitat Pompeu Fabra*.
Y2 / Y3	*Year 2 / Year 3,* as relevant in Study 3.

Table of figures

List of original publications

Chapter 3

Machin, E. (2020). Intervening with near-future L2 selves: EFL students as peer-to-peer motivating agents during Exploratory Practice. *Language Teaching Research.* https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168820928565

Chapter 4

Machin, E., & Tragant, E. [Submitted June 2020]. The L2 self and identity: exploring what Spanish as a foreign language means for former study abroad sojourners. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad.*

Chapter 5

Machin, E., Ament, J., & Pérez-Vidal, C. [Submitted July 2020]. The L2 self and identity: exploring what the choice of English as the medium of instruction means for undergraduates on a degree programme in Spain. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Personal motivations

Reading about second language (L2) motivation, I first encountered the possible selves, future self-guides from social psychology, when researching a direction for this thesis, as they are embedded, in their L2-specific form, within the model of the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009, p.29). I quickly found Markus and Nurius's (1986) seminal paper setting out their possible selves theory, and was hooked by the potentiality, the possibility of becoming, through the force of our own imaginings. These ideas were relevant, it seemed, not just in learners' motivations to become better language speakers, but also, from a personal perspective, to my own language learning and indeed, other areas of my life, not least completing a PhD in linguistics. And so, here began my journey in considering L2 motivation through the lens of the L2MSS.

Having attempted, as a native English speaker, with various degrees of success and otherwise, to learn other languages whilst teaching English as a foreign language (EFL), I was keen to find out what learners have to say in their own words about their L2 motivations. (I have taught English in formal instruction (FI) classrooms in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, Slovakia, Spain, and the United Kingdom.) In addition, not having stayed for long on any of my overseas sojourns, nor having managed to acquire more than a basic level of French whilst at school in England, I was particularly drawn to finding out about L2 motivation when the learner is not immersed in a target language environment. For me, context had mattered. I had returned home in 1992 from what was then Czechoslovakia, having learnt little Slovak whilst teaching English and living outside Bratislava, not least because English-Czech / English-Slovak dictionaries did not exist (according, that is, to the London bookshops I tried on a Christmas trip home). This was in a time before the world wide web, and whilst I had imagined myself motivated to find a way to learn more Slovak once settled back home (as I planned to return regularly), this learning did not happen. I went on holidays to Slovakia to visit my native English-speaking boyfriend and see other friends, but I did not learn Slovak. Also, much more recently, whilst I progressed from A1 to C1 Spanish during my Master's in Barcelona and into the first term of my doctorate, when I returned to England to finish my PhD, my L2 motivation flagged, despite attending a local meet-up where we all attempt to speak

Spanish. I have resigned myself for now to the process of attrition, interspersed with occasional bursts of enthusiasm, for instance my motivation was boosted significantly when a native Spanish-speaker came to stay in town for a few months to improve his English, and joined our meet-up group. For these personal L2 learning context related reasons, I have found myself increasingly drawn to the person-in-context relational view of motivation (Ushioda, 2009).

The present research began as an idea to run an intervention study directed at developing images of positive successful ideal L2 selves through writing. The phenomenon was L2 motivation and the theoretical framework the L2MSS. In a visit to Nottingham to see family, I contacted Professor Dörnyei to ask if he was available to have a chat about my research. I am very grateful to him for his time that day and reading my research plan in advance, and also his suggestion that I might be excited by the work of Dan McAdams on narrative identity (e.g., McAdams & McLean, 2013). I had already cited other papers from the field of psychology in my research plan on the temporal dimension (e.g., Karniol & Ross, 1996) and was drawn to the words of T.S. Eliot, which appear at the front of this thesis, taken from his poem '*Burnt Norton*' (Eliot, 1944, pp. 3 - 9). I have returned to read the words of this poem on numerous occasions whilst writing this thesis.

As the three studies evolved, the psychological dimension did not prove enough to understand what the participants were writing about and saying to me, in particular in connecting their language identity with the capital value of their linguistic assets. My attention was drawn to the work of Bonny Norton and the now expanded model of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

Finally, having experienced first-hand each of the educational contexts within which L2 motivation is explored in this thesis, namely: FI, study abroad, and EMI, and in the same location, Barcelona, I now elaborate in brief on this here, as these experiences added to my personal motivations to carry out this research.

In particular, I taught English in FI classrooms and as a foreign language in Barcelona, including being the teacher-practitioner in the Exploratory Practice of Study 1. I also studied Spanish in FI classes at my university's language school, taking classes from A2 – C1, and attended, as a volunteer student, Spanish FI classes at an international language school in the city, run as part of their in-house teacher training programme. I attended

Catalan FI A1 classes, run by the Generalitat de Catalunya's Consortium for Linguistic Standardisation, and by my university for its doctorate students who were engaged in running seminars on undergraduate programmes.

In relation to my personal educational experience in Spain of study abroad, I studied my Master's degree abroad in Barcelona. Indeed, I studied abroad at the same time as the participants in Study 2. The participants were known to me in as much as they had been on study abroad at the same time in Barcelona. In this sense, there was an element of "indwelling" (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 27), if considered in this retrospective sense, as the participants were drawn from a pool of former fellow sojorners in Barcelona. We had attended the same language school; had taken advantage of the same student cultural excursions organised by the university's *Voluntariat Lingüístic* (set up at the beginning of the millennium to welcome international students and foster internalisation amongst Catalan students); had lived in the same student residence; and/or had studied on the same Master's programme. My Master's classmates were from Catalonia, the rest of Spain, and other locations including Argentina, Canada, China, France, Germany, Ireland, and the United States. Generally, the language of communication for group work was English. At break times, it was a mix of Spanish, Catalan, and English. My housemates were from Catalonia, the rest of Spain, Taiwan, Serbia, and England. The main languages spoken in the house were Spanish and Catalan. To be able to communicate across the group we would use English. On the weekend cultural trips I attended, I would listen, in English, to other students tell me that study abroad had changed their lives. I heard first-hand the different undergraduate experiences of students from Europe, who were sometimes in Barcelona with no-one from their home university and occasionally sounded a little lonely; those from the United States, who in some cases had travelled with their teachers, were on cultural studies programmes with their fellow North Americans, and regretted they did not have more opportunities to meet local students; and those on doctoral programmes, who had no taught classes and had to work hard at making friends who they had often found from their own part of the world. Finally, my university's *Voluntariat Lingüístic* helped me find language exchange partners (known locally as '*intercambios'*), with whom I spent time swapping my English for their Spanish in cafés across Barcelona.

Finally, on my personal experience in Barcelona of academic studies taught through the medium of a non-native language, my university, the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF), had, at the time I studied my Master's, a three language policy (Catalan, Spanish and English). My Master's programme was taught in what were then the three official languages. The modules I selected were taught entirely through EMI, with the exception of one, which was taught through Spanish-mediated instruction. (I had arrived in Barcelona with A1 Spanish and discovered then that it was a requirement to be B2 level, or at least enrolled on a B2 Spanish course, by the time the module began.) I ran seminars on undergraduate degree programmes in Applied Linguistics and also in Translation during the period of my doctoral programme, at my university, through the medium of English. I also spoke at conferences in Spain, through the medium of English, on my prior research in the field of second language acquisition (SLA).

1.2 Organisation of this thesis

This doctoral thesis is presented in six chapters. In this Chapter 1, we have provided the background for the three studies which make up this thesis. In section 1.1, the author's personal motivations for undertaking doctoral research in the field of L2 motivation have been set out, placing the primary researcher within the three studies of this thesis in the micro-contexts of our enquiries. In this section 1.2, we provide a roadmap to orientate the reader through each of the Chapters and their sections. In section 1.3, we outline the rationale, objectives and paradigms of the thesis. In section 1.3.1, we explain our rationale for undertaking the research; in section 1.3.2, we set out our objectives, and include a presentation of the questions which guided us through the three studies; in section 1.3.3, we position our approach to this research within the relevant paradigms. In section 1.4, we situate the three studies within their higher education (HE) context. Finally, in section 1.5, we discuss the position of English as it relates to our three studies. We discuss the place of English within Spanish/Catalan society at large (section 1.5.1), language learning in Europe (section 1.5.2), and within the Spanish/Catalan educational context (section 1.5.3).

Following the Introduction (Chapter 1), Chapter 2 is devoted to an overview of the relevant literature on the topic under examination (i.e., L2 motivation), in the fields of SLA and L2 motivation research, along with the sociologically-inspired complement to

motivation, namely, the poststructuralist construct of investment. This provides the background to the three studies in this thesis. In section 2.1, we offer a brief introduction to the construct of L2 motivation, the phenomenon at the heart of this thesis. We put L2 motivation and the L2MSS (Dörnyei, 2009), one of the main theoretical models through which L2 motivation is viewed in the three studies which make up this thesis, in the context of prior work within the fields of L2 motivation research, SLA and, more widely, within the field of psychology. First, in section 2.1.1, we present the key precursors to the L2MSS. In section 2.1.1.1, we outline the Possible Selves Theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986). In section 2.1.1.2, we set out another theory which heavily influenced the L2MSS, the Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins, 1987). In section 2.1.1.3, we discuss the Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition (SE Model) (Gardner, 1985) as a key forerunner to L2MSS. Then, in section 2.1.2, we introduce the construct of the L2MSS. In section 2.1.2.1, we summarise the constituent parts of the tripartite L2MSS, which include the L2 self. In section 2.1.2.2, we explain how the component of instrumentality is included within the L2MSS. In section 2.1.2.3, we outline the prerequisites for the future self-guides within the L2MSS to motivate action. In section 2.1.2.4, we discuss whether the notion of vision is implicitly embedded within the L2MSS, and discuss a number of related studies which have explored visions and the L2 self through imagery interventions. In section 2.1.2.5, we outline the relationship, albeit arguably limited, between the L2MSS and emotions. Then, we finish this part of the presentation of prior work, in section 2.1.3, with a summary of section 2.1, where we emphasise the notions of desire and vision within the theorising of the L2MSS. In section 2.2, we explore the process of meaning-making across time and space, and place two complements to the L2MSS in the context of prior work. In section 2.2.1, we focus in on the temporal domain and explore the notion of meaning-making in a temporal sense; we outline two studies which have focused in on the past self; and we provide an overview of the psychological construct of narrative identity (McAdams & McLean, 2013). In section 2.2.2, we move onto the spatial domain and begin to explore ideas around the fluidity of social identity (e.g., Darvin & Norton, 2015). Here we introduce the 'person-in-context relational view of motivation' (Ushioda, 2009), to aid our understanding of L2 motivation in here-and-now and within the micro- and macro- contexts of meaning-making, and also to provide a possible bridge between the psychological notions of the L2 self and motivation into the world of identity and the more grounded sociological reasons for action. We follow this, in section 2.2.3, with a summary of this section 2.2,

where we have emphasised the dimensions of time and space. In section 2.3, we provide an introduction to the construct of investment (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000), which has been offered by its author as a complement to the construct of motivation. We set out the model of investment (as expanded) (Darvin & Norton, 2015), the second of the main theoretical models through which the findings of the three studies which make up this thesis are approached, along with its constituent parts, which include identity, considered to be integrally related with investment (Norton, 2013). We place this poststructuralist and sociology-inspired model in the context of prior work on investment, social identity and, more widely, within the field of sociology. In section 2.3.1, we present the key influences on and around the investment model. In section 2.3.1.1, we discuss the Bourdieusian-inspired notion of capital (Bourdieu, 1991) within the investment model. In section 2.3.1.2, we briefly outline the notion of subjectivity and the room that this allows for the movement from one identity position to another. In section 2.3.1.3, we mention the direction of related research into the realms of imagined communities and future identity, as possible parallel constructs to the imagined future self of the L2MSS. We then, in section 2.3.3, summarise section 2.3 of this presentation of prior work, which leads us into the three distinct scenarios of the three studies which form this thesis.

In Chapters 3 – 5, we include the three stand-alone studies, with their own introductions, literature reviews, methods, findings, discussions and conclusions.

In Chapter 6, we discuss the overall findings of the three studies and conclude this thesis. In section 6.1, we offer brief summaries of the findings of the three studies. In section 6.2, we provide a synthesis of the motifs across the three studies which relate to why these particular learners acted / were motivated / invested, and we discuss these overall findings in relation to previous studies in the field and through the lenses of the theoretical models we chose for this thesis. In section 6.2.1, we discuss our findings as they relate to the temporal dimension, in particular the past in the present. In section 6.2.2, we focus on the spatial dimension, in particular on language and social identity. In 6.2.3, we turn to the symbolic dimension, referring to the valuing of power. In section 6.3, we briefly highlight our main contributions to our fields of research. In section 6.4, we offer our thoughts on areas for future research and the implications for stakeholders of our research. In section 6.5, we identify limitations to the three studies in this thesis. In section 6.6, we provide a

conclusion to our research, offering our final thoughts on the motivations, selves and identities of foreign language learners.

1.3 Rationale, objectives and paradigms

1.3.1 Rationale

Even amongst the most committed of students of an L2, enthusiasm to the process of learning, improving and sustaining an L2 might flag. Motivations for having embarked on the L2 learning journey might not be clearly defined or easy to articulate. Indeed, in a review of studies investigating perceptions of new teachers in relation to difficulties encountered at work, motivating students ranked second after classroom discipline (Veenman, 1984, as cited in Magid & Chan, 2012). This having been said, clearly some learners enjoy the process of language learning (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014), but investing time now in acquiring new skills or becoming more proficient in existing ones is about reaping benefits in the future. The opportunity costs of studying a language include the time that could have been spent on or pleasure that could have been experienced from doing something – anything – else, for instance: going out partying, taking up yoga, or spending more time with family. The further away the potential pay back, the tougher it is likely to be to stay motivated.

Little is known about the here-and-now motivations to acquire, to improve and / or to maintain an L2 in certain foreign language settings i.e., in certain non-target language environments. In the course of the research for this thesis, specific gaps were identified in this respect in the literature, namely in the contexts of: (a) FI during practitioner research (Study 1); (b) post-study abroad (Study 2); and (c) English Medium Instruction (EMI) (Study 3). The review of prior work of these scenarios is set out, as appropriate, in the relevant literature review for each of Studies 1, 2 and 3. These study specific literature reviews therefore deal with L2 motivation within the social / socio-educational contexts which are relevant to the three empirical studies included in this thesis, namely: (a) L2 motivation in FI university learning classrooms, where there is an imagery-intervention; (b) L2 motivation beyond study abroad learning; and (c) L2 motivation within the EMI learning setting. We have, however, in section 1.3.2, both to orientate the reader, and to lay the ground for describing the situational contexts of the three studies, set out the study specific guiding questions which evolved, along with summaries of the three studies. It

is also against the backdrop of the paradigmatic shift away from L2 motivation being viewed as a language learner characteristic (Dörnyei, 2017; Norton, 2013; Ushioda, 2009), that our research sought to explore what a foreign language means in the here-and-now to L2 users, and how they experience this.

1.3.2 Objectives

As alluded to in section 1.1, we approached the ideas of motivation articulated by L2 learners / users in our three studies, through the lenses of the L2MSS and the expanded model of investment. We also focused in on the notions of self and identity expressed by our participants, constructs as embedded within our two key models. As our enquiries progressed, the construct of a person-in-context relational view of motivation increasingly provided a route to explore, in the discussions of our findings, the socially-oriented meaning-making of the participants, whilst also acting as a bridge between the psychological notion of motivation and the sociological construct of investment. Indeed, having embarked on our research journey with the L2MSS as our primary theoretical model, we initially focused on the L2 selves and language identity, but over the course of the research, it was a more generic self and a broader notion of identity which came into view.

The overarching guiding question for this doctoral research:

> How do L2 users, who have recently crossed a threshold in their L2 learning, account in the here-and-now for what their L2 means for them and how they experience this, in terms of the models of the L2MSS and investment?

This was a guiding question only, as opportunities to explore the three scenarios in Studies 1 – 3 arose at different times and in various ways. Indeed, Study 1 was constrained by the principles of Exploratory Practice. However, the aim to provide insights into here-and-now L2 motivation remained consistent across the studies.

Guiding question for study 1: There were three stages of anticipated "puzzles" (Allwright, 2003, p. 117) in this Exploratory Practice. Stage 1: Who are the students' ideal L2 selves? Stage 2: Who are the students' actual L2 selves? i.e., how do they account for their L2 motivation in the here-and-now? Stage 3: How can we enhance L2 motivation

in our classroom? i.e., can we find a possible selves enhancement activity which works for us?

Guiding question for study 2: How do former sojourners, who have recently crossed the threshold into their working lives back home, account for what Spanish, their study abroad L2, means for them and how they experience this in the here-and-now, in terms of the models of the L2MSS and investment?

Guiding question for study 3: How do undergraduate students, already well into their EMI experience, account in the here-and-now for what their choice of an English-mediated degree programme means for them and how they experience this, in terms of the models of the L2MSS and investment?

1.3.3 Paradigms

Our research falls within the qualitative paradigm. Whilst research using the L2MSS as the theoretical framework has dominated the field in L2 motivation (Boo, Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015), and the majority of that research has followed a quantitative methodology, a notable shift in research orientation towards qualitative / mixed methods has been noted (Ryan, 2019; Boo et al., 2015). By adopting a qualitative approach within the studies which make up this thesis, we hoped to be able to provide an emic, a descriptive (rather than prescriptive) picture (Murahata, Murahata, & Cook, 2016), of individual learners, within three distinct educational settings. Indeed, we were cognisant of the call for qualitative research which had been made even prior to the theorising on the L2MSS (e.g., Ushioda (2020) reflects on her early draw to this paradigm).

In an agenda calling for research to take a look at learner motivation "through a small lens", Ema Ushioda (2016, p. 564) repeated her call for "a contextualised angle of inquiry". In fact, by way of example, classroom-based studies of L2 motivation were identified as in short supply, particularly those "…shaped by teachers' own pedagogically oriented research inquiry" (p. 566). For the research task of investigating the motivations of teacher and learner participants during critical events in a lesson, Exploratory Practice was highlighted as the most likely framework for this, as it is a "collective enterprise" (p. 573). There was also a call for investigations into how learners co-construct their motivation in collaborative language tasks. In answering these calls, this is where we

focused our research for Study 1. In Studies 2 and 3, we have also taken a qualitative approach and have addressed further gaps in the research, something we shall explain further in each of the individual studies. In brief, in Study 2 we focused in on an area of study abroad research – the post-sojourn period – which Plews (2016, p. 3) has described as follows: "the post-sojourn remains another frontier for us to cross and explore in greater depth". In Study 3, we responded to the call to explore students' motivations for enrolling on an EMI programme, Macaro, Curle, Pun, An, & Dearden (2018, p. 55) having suggested this as being required "before attempting any kind of overall conclusion of where the EMI phenomenon is going".

So, across the three qualitative studies which make up this thesis, our hope was that in endeavouring to understand how L2 learners / users perceive themselves to be motivated (or not), along with learning more about their selves and identity, this would lead to a position where we could present insights relevant at pedagogical, curriculum design, and student support levels, across our chosen socio-educational contexts.

We intentionally selected individuals for our research who had transitioned from one language learning setting to another i.e., we selected participants with, we hoped, their own sense of different learning contexts, and we took these contexts into account (Pavlenko, 2007; Ushioda, 2009). In addition, having crossed a temporal as well as spatial threshold, these participants had an L2 past as well as the prospect of an L2 future.

Indeed, there were elements within our designs of the three studies which approached the past as well as the here-and-now, and this was particularly the case for Studies 2 and 3. These were not retrospective studies *per se*. Our interest was not focused on uncovering an accurate picture of the past, a quest for truth. We acknowledged from the outset that truth could be distorted through meaning-making (Pavlenko, 2007). There were, however, intentionally uncovered, fragments of the L2 learners' pasts.

Although quite what narrative research is, is not agreed (Barkhuizen, 2014), we took a narrative angle to our research in the three studies, in the sense that we explored the stories that L2 learners recount "about their lived and imagined experiences" (p. 450). We focused on these experiences. In this sense, we exhibited "an epistemological commitment to narrative" (p. 450). Within this broadly narrative agenda, we assumed a small story / small lens viewpoint. Where possible, we were interested in giving voice to

our participants. We took a learner-centred approach, reflecting the move to this approach within language education (Ryan, 2019). We were interested in capturing these individuals' personal organisation and representation of their self-concept (Coffey & Street, 2008, p. 454). Indeed, we were increasingly drawn to the approach taken in relation to the analysis of life history accounts and as articulated by Coffey & Street (2008, p. 452), an approach which allows for both the place of an individual but within a social context: "…using language learning histories to extend our understanding of the learner as a social actor who derives and acts upon different identity positions that are institutionally and culturally situated but that are also dynamic and individually interpreted". Although clearly, we were focusing in on a shorter time fame than a life history, as our here-and-now window of interest was essentially socio-educationally determined – our participants were at or recently beyond university.

1.4 The three higher educational contexts

The phenomenon to be explored in this thesis, L2 motivation, is considered in three studies which were carried out within, or recently beyond, Spain. In particular, within or recently beyond the bilingual Spanish-Catalan autonomous region of Catalonia, in the north-east of Spain, at, or post-sojourn at, universities in the city of Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia.

Our research is situated across the spectrum of three distinct language learning settings in Barcelona, namely: FI (Study 1); study abroad (Study 2); and EMI (Study 3). Specifically, the three studies explore HE language learning motivations:

- during FI of English as a foreign language in a university classroom in Catalonia, Spain (Study 1);
- after study abroad in Catalonia, Spain, with sojourn FI and/or naturalistic learning of Spanish (Study 2); and
- in choosing EMI, i.e., relating to an election to take a degree programme taught entirely through English in Catalonia, Spain (Study 3).

The participants we recruited for our studies were attending or had attended a number of different universities in Barcelona. The relevant Spanish HE settings for the three studies are detailed in Figure A below. In particular, Figure A shows: (i) in the first column, the

L2 of the participants; (ii) in the second column, the number of participants in each study, and their relevant L2 Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) levels; (iii) the third column, the HE setting; and (iv) in the fourth column, the timing of the research and the recent educational thresholds crossed.

Figure A: The three Spanish higher educational contexts

L2	Number of participants CEFR level	HE setting: universities in Barcelona	Timing of the studies Recent threshold crossed
STUDY 1 ENGLISH (EFL)	34 (A2 – C2)	Compulsory EFL FI on a degree programme for future primary school teachers, otherwise taught through Catalan and Spanish.	During an Exploratory Practice (first term, first year) at university. Threshold: from secondary education to HE in Spain.
STUDY 2 SPANISH (ELE)	10 (A1 – C2)	Voluntary study / internship abroad on undergraduate and Master's degree programmes; a mix of English, Spanish and Catalan mediated instruction; and a voluntary FI and / or naturalistic approach to Spanish.	Back home, in the post-sojourn period beyond academic studies. Threshold: from study abroad in Spain to the working world back home.
STUDY 3 ENGLISH (EMI)	34 (B2 – C1)	Voluntary EMI of an academic degree subject (Economics).	Second term of the second or third year at university. Threshold: from secondary education to HE in Spain.

Our participants were either Spanish students studying at universities in Barcelona (Studies 1 and 3, bar, that is, four visiting Erasmus students in Study 1), or were international students who had previously studied abroad in Spain (Study 2). At the time of data collection, and intentionally, the participants in Study 2 were beyond the immediate period of return home and the Spanish context, as it was the post-sojourn period, rather than that of initial adjustment, which was under the spotlight.

It should be noted that, in defining the terms within this thesis, we have specifically given the term L2 a broad scope. Unless otherwise stated, it means any language other than the

native language(s). This definition has been necessary to work with the terminology for the future-oriented self-concept within the field of L2 motivation (i.e., a language learner's L2 self) and for one of the main models used in the studies i.e., the L2MSS. However, for the participants, particularly those of Study 2, the L2 under the spotlight was actually an L3, L4, Lx.

1.5 The position of English in the three studies

The L2 under the spotlight in Studies 1 and 3 is English. Whilst the object of enquiry in Study 2 is L2 Spanish motivation post-study abroad, English as a lingua franca (ELF) interference experienced during study abroad may well have been a factor which impacted on post-sojourn perceptions of the study abroad experience. Indeed, it has been observed, in relation to clusterings of international students: "English turns out to be an easily available lingua franca to the student sojourner for many types of social contact, which makes accessing and using other languages more challenging" (Mitchell, Tracy-Ventura, & McManus, 2015, p. 8).

It is then, the position of English in the education system in Spain/Catalonia, particularly at the HE level, which provides a unifying linguistic context across the three studies. It is worth pointing out here that each of the three studies in this thesis details their individual and particular settings and so, the intention here is to describe the overarching context of this research. We therefore turn in this section 1.5 to present a succinct socio-educational and sociolinguistic overview of English in the Spanish/Catalan context, as a backdrop to this thesis. In section 1.5.1, we first offer some observations about English in Spanish/Catalan society, and more specifically in the now internationally known city of Barcelona, to which the following sub-section is devoted. In section 1.5.2, we provide a skeleton outline of the position of ELF from a global perspective, quickly drilling down to the context of foreign language learning in Europe. In section 1.5.3, we consider briefly, ELF in the Spanish/Catalan educational system, as this pertains to English language learning through the settings of FI, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), EMI, and study abroad.

1.5.1 English within Spanish/Catalan society

In this era of globalisation, few sectors remain untouched by the global lingua franca (Crystal, 2003). There is a clear practical and extrinsic motive to learn English which separates it from motivation to learn other languages (Pan & Block, 2011). With the three studies of this thesis having been carried out within or recently beyond the city of Barcelona in Catalonia, Spain, the position of English in Catalan/Spanish society at large provides a general backdrop to the three studies, where English is considered increasingly present in Spanish society (Lasagabaster, 2017). Despite, or perhaps because of, Spaniards being considered insecure about their English (Codó, 2020), there is a keenness amongst them to learn, and for their children to learn, English, the dominant foreign language, and this includes through attendance at language academies, on study abroad, and by meeting with language exchange partners. Indeed, in a study carried out in relation to EMI in the Basque Country, students were found to be "…bombarded with their "parents'" message regarding the importance of learning English day in day out" (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018, p. 670). Outside academia, with youth unemployment in Spain still high (41.7%) (Expansión, 2020), there is migration for jobs where English is a requirement, with English seen as a "safety net" for those who looked for work post-recession (British Council, 2018, p. 144), and therefore there are added motivational pressures to learn and sustain English beyond school years.

Barcelona, the capital and largest city in Catalonia, where the FI of English as a foreign language during Exploratory Practice (Study 1) and the EMI (Study 3) took place, and from where former international study abroad students had returned (Study 2), has an international draw which adds, amongst other languages, English to the linguistic mix. The global lingua franca can be heard on the streets as a means of communication of study abroad students and tourists alike and, increasingly the case in the latter half of the second decade, after the 2007-8 recession, of workers and other temporary and permanent migrants too. Indeed, English is the language of communication within the offices of many multinationals with a presence in the city (British Council, 2018). However, English is by no means all-pervasive in Barcelona, unlike, for example, studies carried out in the Swedish context (Henry & Goddard, 2015). For example, in terms of the media, standard television options include a choice of Catalan or Spanish programmes, but not English, and films are generally dubbed, with certain cinemas known for showing original voice films. As a visitor to the city, the impression of the author of the thesis was that, in

relation to the arts, at museums and art galleries, plaques describing the artefact or painting, are generally in Catalan, sometimes also Spanish, but rarely in English.

For those arriving in Barcelona, on study abroad programmes or work abroad internships, there are students from across the world with whom to communicate and numerous other distractions from any aspirations to acquire either of the local languages. The world of Erasmus exchanges, and the availability (or not) of international communities of L2 practice in Barcelona, are depicted in the film *L'Auberge espagnole* (Klapisch, 2002), which was shot in the city. In fact, those students who speak English at native or near native level are sought after by non-native students and locals alike, hoping to perfect their performance of the lingua franca, rendering learning Spanish and/or Catalan challenging, especially for those who arrive with a low level, and so have less to offer a language exchange friend (known locally as an 'intercambio'). Spanish/Catalan intercambios come from across the age spectrum. Indeed, those of 50 and above have been apparently keen to fill the L2 learning gap from not having learnt English as a foreign language at school (Codó, in press).

1.5.2 English and foreign language learning in Europe

The previous description of the importance of English within Spain, and more particularly Barcelona, being the specific socio-educational milieu of the participants of the three studies which make us this thesis, is actually a reflection of the position of English in Europe, where the policies underlying study abroad exchanges and EMI have been designed and implemented. At the beginning of the millennium, Crystal (2003) suggested that 1.5 billion people (around a quarter of the world's population) were fluent or competent in English, the global language, and referred to a British Council estimate that 1 billion people were engaged in learning English. A decade later, that estimate had been increased to 1.75 billion, with a projected figure of 2 billion by 2020 (British Council, 2013). The end has been foreseen of English as a foreign language (Graddol, 2006). Indeed, this prospect is supported at a pedagogical level by "…the increasing curricular reframing of English as a universal basic skill to be taught from primary level alongside literacy and numeracy…" (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, p. 3).

However, looked at from a European perspective, the emergence of English as the global lingua franca is somewhat at odds with the linguistic intentions of the European Union,

in particular, the multilingualism strategies which grew out of a *White Paper* "Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society" (Commission of the European Communities, 1995). The proposal of this *White Paper* was that all European citizens should be able to use their native language plus two others: the 2 + 1 formula. The intention behind this was to leave room for languages other than English. It was from this point onwards that the educational landscape across Europe began to change and CLIL started to take shape as a new method to promote language learning, supplementary to FI in a foreign language classroom (Pérez-Vidal, 2015).

By way of explanation, with CLIL, subject content other than languages (e.g., Maths and History) is taught at the primary and secondary school levels through the medium of a foreign language. Beyond this simple explanation, there is divergence on what the key characteristics of CLIL are, including in relation to the balance between the instruction of language and the instruction of content (Cenoz, Genesee, & Gorter, 2013). Having said this, and this is where we can see some of the tension arise with the European plurilingual agenda, CLIL continues to be associated, in the majority of cases, with instruction via English, as opposed to other foreign languages (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer, & Llinares, 2013).

Beyond the school level and into the university years, English, by virtue of the internalisation of universities, has become the language of HE (Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2014). The language learning possibility of studying a degree subject (e.g., Economics) through EMI has grown, EMI being the HE equivalent to English option CLIL. It is worth noting here the argument that, as EMI classrooms tend to focus solely on content, whenever a focus-on-form is added, the term to be used is Integrated Content and Language in Higher Education (Roquet, Vraciu, Nicolás-Conesa, & Pérez-Vidal, 2020). However, regardless of the terminology adopted, southern Europe (with the exception of Cyprus) is considered, in relation to the provision of English-mediated HE, to lag behind the rest of Europe (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014).

Where available, English-mediated instruction at the tertiary level offers classroom language learning benefits not only to home university students, but also their fellow non-native English-speaking visiting international sojourners (Pérez-Vidal, 2015). The visitors in turn provide those at home with an element of what is referred to as 'internationalisation-at-home' (e.g., Beelen, 2016; Beelen & Jones, 2015). Indeed, in relation to study abroad, certainly the rise of the lingua franca and the growth of EMI in

universities across Europe has facilitated the accessibility of international degree programmes to non-language majors. This mobility of students across Europe, language and non-language majors alike, has been supported by the Schengen Agreement, the Bologna Process, and various European Regulations, with the 2014 – 2020 Erasmus+ budget providing for an "indicative financial envelope" of over 15 billion EUR (European Commission, 2015, p. 15). Improved foreign language competences, along with intercultural awareness, are included in the stated aims of the Erasmus+ programme (European Commission, 2019). In fact, the study abroad context, with temporary access to a second language (SL) setting, has proved an area of much research interest for applied linguists. As regards the linguistic benefits associated with student mobility, there is indeed a body of more than two decades of research that has found positive effects on specific linguistic skills (see e.g., Llanes (2011) and Pérez-Vidal and Llanes (in press) for useful summaries). Although, in appraising the contributions of study abroad research to our understanding of the L2 acquisition processes and outcomes, Sanz (2014, p. 2) states that contrary to expectations, the research "…often finds minimal or no effects of the immersion experience on linguistic development (e.g., Collentine 2004; DeKeyser 1991; Díaz-Campos 2004)".

Having provided in this section 1.5.2 a brief outline of FI, CLIL/EMI, and study abroad from a European perspective, we turn now to look at English within a Spanish educational context.

1.5.3 English in the Spanish/Catalan education system

In Spain, the official language is Castilian, known widely, of course, as Spanish (español). Spain has a number of autonomous communities with regional languages, which include Basque, Catalan and Galician. In Catalonia, both Spanish and Catalan are widely spoken (Muñoz, 2014), although Catalan is the language of instruction at the primary and secondary state school levels. Indeed, English has been found to be valued by Catalan students in HE as an asset for employability (Sabatè-Dalmau, 2016).

In terms first of classroom foreign language learning in Spanish schools, in the 1980s this transitioned from one language, French, to another, English (British Council, 2018). English is now taught as a foreign language from the primary level in schools across Spain. However, in a study which looked at the transition from the primary to secondary

level, it was found that secondary school teachers "…start (almost) from zero" (Muñoz, Tragant, & Camuñas, 2015, p. 13). This was an observation in relation to levels of English grammar. The study was carried out in Catalonia, within a number of schools in the Barcelona area.

In relation to forums for foreign language learning in Spain, other than within a FI language classroom, CLIL is considered to have gone through various waves and degrees of success (Codó, 2020; Codó & Patiño-Santos, 2018). From the perspective of the HE arena and EMI, the Spanish government's national strategy had, as its target, one-third of all degree programmes to be offered through EMI by 2020 (MECD, 2014). As with CLIL, it has been observed that progress on EMI has not been linear. According to a 2017 report, published by the Spanish Service for the Internationalisation of Education: "Over the last three decades, the internationalisation of higher education in Spain has undoubtedly made considerable progress, although this has not been constant" (Pérez-Encinas, Howard, Rumbley, & de Wit, 2017, p. 6). Finally, in terms of a HE forum for potential language learning running in parallel with EMI, i.e., study abroad, Spain is the most popular Erasmus destination (Pérez-Encinas el al., 2017), and there were around 50,000 incoming Erasmus students to Spain in 2017-18 (European Commission, 2018). For those students who move from the secondary education level in Spain to HE at university, whether to undertake a degree programme in their native language(s) (as in Study 1) or instead to engage in an EMI programme (as in Study 3), there are therefore plenty of potential, although not necessarily grasped, opportunities to experience the international language experience at home, through mixing with international study abroad students.

Having presented, in this section 1.5, an outline of the position of English within Spanish/Catalan society; in the contexts of FI, CLIL/EMI and study abroad from a European perspective; and within the Spanish/Catalan education system, in order to provide an overarching linguistic backdrop to the three studies within this thesis, and having, in this Chapter 1 as a whole, presented an introduction to this thesis, we turn now to devote Chapter 2 to an overview of the relevant literature.

2. BACKGROUND LITERATURE

2.1 L2 motivation and the L2MSS: psychological constructs

If the holy grail of L2 acquisition is to understand why learners do not achieve native-like competence in their L2, a step down from this, and perhaps a place to start, is why some learners reach the communicative competence in a language they aspire to master (Hymes, 1972), and others do not. This has become increasing important, within both Spain and across the global world within which we now live. We might say that an antecedent to achieving this L2 competence is having the will, the desire, the vision to act, something we refer to in common parlance as 'being motivated'. It is perhaps not then surprising that over the course of more than three decades, various theoretical concepts have been put forward in an attempt to help explain L2 motivation, the motivation of individuals to learn a language other a native language. This section 2.1 therefore begins with a brief introduction to the construct of L2 motivation. Then, in section 2.1.1, we present the key theoretical and conceptual precursors to the L2MSS. We follow this, in section 2.1.2, with an introduction to the L2MSS, one of the main theoretical models for this thesis and currently a key model in SLA research on L2 motivation. Then, we finish this part of the presentation of prior work, in section 2.1.3, with a summary of section 2.1.

L2 motivation, the phenomenon at the heart of our explorations within this thesis, was, until recently, considered to be a language learner characteristic, one amongst a list of fixed affects, such as age, intelligence, anxiety, and willingness to communicate (Ellis, 1994). Language learners were individuals and they differed (Skehan, 1991). These individual differences (IDs) could affect, even predict, the success or otherwise of a language learner (Dörnyei & Skehan, 2003). The individual difference paradigm has, however, in the last decade and a half, been challenged. L2 motivation is now considered a malleable and complex phenomenon, dynamic (Dörnyei, 2017) and non-linear (Ushioda, 2009), a multi-faceted construct which is increasingly understood to be influenced by the "situatedness" of a learner (Dörnyei, 2017, p. 93). Indeed, as Dörnyei (2017, p. 82) has commented:

> …the elegant view of learner characteristics comprising a series of modular IDs that are conceptualised as *discrete* and measurable *traits* that remain *stable* across

> situations may not be more that a convenient myth that we need to (reluctantly!) give up.

It is L2 motivation as newly understood to be dynamic, non-linear, and situated, which is of interest to us within the three studies which make up this thesis. In fact, once we move beyond the notion of L2 motivation simply being a character trait, and the rigid notion that learners are motivated or not motivated, a wholly different research agenda emerges. However, this is not to say that we yet know what the construct of L2 motivation really is (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). The individual difference paradigm is "in shatters" (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p. 197), and it is not yet clear where this new perspective on L2 motivation is going (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). Nevertheless, it has been observed that the area of L2 motivation is in tune with the current educational climate in which learners and their learning behaviours are seen as central to the learning process (Boo, el al., 2015).

There has been a recent "unprecedented boom" of L2 motivation studies (Boo et al., 2015, p. 145), the significant majority of which focus on the motivation to acquire English as the L2: 72% of the 416 studies between 2005 and 2014 reviewed in the same paper (p. 151). We repeat here, as they provide a useful snapshot of key theories on L2 motivation, the seven concepts which were identified as a means of categorising the publications reviewed, namely: the Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition (the SE Model) (Gardner, 1985); the L2MSS (Dörnyei, 2009); the Self-Efficacy Theory (Bandura, 1977); the Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985); the Attribution Theory (Weiner, 2010); Willingness to Communicate in an L2 (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément, & Noels, 1998); and Motivational Dynamics utilizing Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (e.g., Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2014). The history is also summarised, although with a word of caution:

> Standard accounts of the development of L2 motivation theory and research tend to identify three core historical phases (Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011): an initial stage continuing into the early 1990s that was very much based on a social psychological perspective; a period of realignment, broadly speaking the 1990s, during which the field moved away from its social psychological origins to show a greater interest in concepts being developed in contemporary cognitive and educational psychology; finally, and roughly on contextual and dynamic aspects of learner motivation. Such broad

> historical brushstrokes can be valuable when outlining the big picture but these descriptions can also be lacking in vital details: periods overlap and theories are not simply replaced in the consecutive stages but are built on and modified, thereby causing subtle interactions (p. 146).

More recently, a fourth phase (from 2016 onwards) has been identified, a reflective stage where "the field begins to stabilize around a few core concerns whilst integrating with other areas of research" (Ryan, 2019, p. 421). What is important to stress is what Ryan (2019, p. 420) has identified: "At the heart of much motivation research is a belief in the potential of language learners. Learners can succeed if they have the motivation." Such an approach puts the autonomy of the L2 learner centre stage. We do not intend here, however, to expand further on the workings or the history of each of the L2 motivation theoretical conceptualisations, or how they interplay, save in this section 2.1, to give an overview of what has been found to be the currently dominant model in L2 motivation (Boo et al., 2015) i.e., the L2MSS, along with a flavour of its roots and influences.

2.1.1 Key precursors to the L2MSS

Against the backdrop of a paradigmatic shift in the conceptualising and theorising about L2 motivation (Boo et al., 2015, p. 153), in this section 2.1.1, we introduce the key precursors to the L2MSS. We present two key theories from the field of social psychology which have influenced the L2MSS (in sections 2.1.1.1 and 2.1.1.2), and we then provide a rapid summary of the key L2 motivation predecessor to the L2MSS, the SE Model, along with indications of the overlap of theorising within the two models (in section 2.1.1.3).

2.1.1.1 The Possible Selves Theory: the self-concept alone is not enough

In their seminal work, Hazel Markus and Paula Nurius (1986) coined the term *possible selves* for the future-oriented side of the self-concept. Their Possible Selves Theory posits that possible selves represent an individual's ideas of: "...what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming" (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954). With these possible selves functioning as incentives or referents for future behavior ("they are selves to be approached or avoided" (p. 954)), the theory conceptually

connects our use of conscious mental processes in thinking about possible desired and feared selves (i.e., cognition), with our needs, enthusiasm and reasons for doing something. These possible selves encompass: "…within their scope *visions* of desired and undesired end states" (Markus & Nurius, 1987, p. 159, as cited in You, Dörnyei & Csizer 2016, p. 99 with the word 'visions' there italicised).

2.1.1.2 The Self-Discrepancy Theory: the psychological gap that generates action

Possible selves are also known as *future self-guides*. Higgins (1987), in his Self-Discrepancy Theory, held that individuals compare their current actual self with their future self-guides (which he split into the *ideal self* and the *ought self*, and also referred to as *self-beliefs* (pp. 319 - 321)). The discrepancy (or gap) an individual notices between the two, affects behaviour, generating action to close the gap. Higgins (1998, p. 2) elaborated on promotion / prevention and presented evidence that: "…these different ways of regulating pleasure and pain, called *regulatory focus*, have a major impact on people's feelings, thoughts, and actions which is independent of the hedonic principle *per se*."

The self-concept alone, however, is not sufficient to make a person act in a particular way, i.e., to affect their behaviour. Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 957) emphasised the importance of priming the self, that the value of considering the function of possible selves lies in the *working* self-concept, derived from: "…the set of self-conceptions that are presently active in thought and memory".

Later, counterbalancing desire with dread was stressed by Oyserman and Markus (1990, p. 113), who proposed that, to have "maximal motivational effectiveness", possible selves should be *valenced*, or balanced in the same *domain* (an example given being "me getting through school" compared with "me dropping out"). More recently Lee and Oyserman (2012, p. 1) referred to this as the carrot and stick balance in possible selves (i.e., the goal versus where a person ends up if effort is not sustained). In addition, in a paper entitled "*Possible selves as roadmaps*", Oyserman, Bybee, Terry, and Hart-Johnson (2004, p. 131) stressed the need for strategies:

> To regulate behavior, the self-concept must contain not only goals or desired end states, but also strategies about how to behave in order to reach the desired end state (e.g., I can make it to high school by paying attention in class (Higgins, 1996)).

Indeed, whilst Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 963) proposed that positive possible selves can be liberating (as they foster hope that the present self is not immutable), it has been found that: "…goals or possible selves may simply make us feel good about ourselves, particularly if the goal or future self is vague and carries no specified action plan" (Oyserman et al., 2004, pp. 131 – 2, as citing Gonzales, Burgess, & Mobilio, 2001).

And so, for motivation to be manipulated by the future-oriented self-concept, the self should be activated; the desired self should be counterbalanced by a dreaded self; and an individual should have a roadmap. When this future-oriented self-concept is employed in the field of linguistics, the term L2 self has been used (Dörnyei, 2009). It is the L2 self which is the construct at the heart of the L2MSS, one of the theoretical models used in the proposed study. Not only has it been said of the L2MSS that:

> This system offers a syntheses two recent conceptualisations of motivation by Noels (2003) and Ushioda (2001)[1], as well as research in personality psychology on possible selves, identity, self-regulatory processes, and self-discrepancy theory (Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009, p. 66),

but also, importantly, that the possible selves and integrative motivation perspectives are not mutually exclusive (MacIntyre, Mackinnon, & Clément, 2009, pp. 43 and 49). Before considering the L2MSS in more detail, we turn first to look at that integrative motivation perspective and a key predecessor to the L2MSS i.e., Gardner's Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition.

[1] Noels (2003) investigated motivation to learn Spanish as a foreign language (FL) and Ushioda (2001) French as a FL.

2.1.1.3 The SE Model: a forerunner to the L2MSS

There are two key concepts within the SE Model proposed by Robert Gardner and his colleagues in Canada: *integrative motivation* and *instrumental motivation* (Gardner, 1985; Gardner & Lambert, 1972). *Integrative motivation* is made up of three variables. First, *integrativeness* "…reflects a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer to the other language community" (Gardner, 2001a, p. 5). Integrative motivation also includes *attitudes towards the learning situation* (e.g., the teacher, the course materials, classmates) and *motivation* (which requires the language learner to: expend effort, desire to achieve their goal, and enjoy the task of learning the language). *Instrumental motivation* encompasses the more practical / instrumental reasons for learning a language, such as a future career, alongside the *motivation* variable outlined (Gardner, 2001b).

It has been argued that the *Gardnerian* socio-educational concept of integrativeness no longer makes sense within an international community of non-native speakers using English as a lingua franca (e.g., Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). Which community of global English-speakers does a learner have a genuine interest in coming closer to? (Dörnyei, 2009). It was out of this dissatisfaction that the L2MSS emerged, first proposed over a decade ago by Zoltán Dörnyei. (Indeed, out of this same changing linguistic landscape, the new concept of international posture also arose, which theorises for "…a tendency to relate oneself to the international community rather than any specific L2 group" (Yashima, 2009, p. 145).)

We turn now to consider the L2MSS, which is relevant to describe in detail here, as it is a key part of the picture explaining prior work relevant to our research on the phenomenon of L2 motivation. But first, to finish this brief overview of the SE Model, here is Dörnyei (2009, p. 30) on the interplay between the two conceptualisations of the SE Model and the L2MSS: "…Gardner's motivation construct suggests, in effect, that motivated behaviour is determined by three major motivational dimensions, Integrativeness, Instrumentality, and Attitudes toward the learning situation, which corresponds closely with the proposed L2 Motivational Self System".

2.1.2 The tripartite L2MSS

Having placed the L2MSS within its historical and conceptual contexts, in this section 2.1.2, we turn to set out its constituent parts. In section 2.1.2.1, we select a quote which succinctly itemises each of the three key elements of the L2MSS and then raise the "Cinderella" (Dörnyei, 2019) issue. In section 2.1.2.2, we look at one of the additional constructs embedded in the L2MSS, namely instrumentality. In section 2.1.2.3, we set out further embedded constructs i.e., the nine L2MSS prerequisites. In section 2.1.2.4, we explore the notion of vision, and discuss whether this is in fact a separate construct or represented within the prerequisites, where we also present two examples of prior studies which have used imagery interventions / vision work. In section 2.1.2.5, we mention an emotional dimension, which some have considered to be largely absent from the L2MSS.

2.1.2.1 The ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self and the L2 learning experience

The tripartite L2MSS, with the future-oriented self-concept at its heart, is derived from the Possible Selves Theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and the Self-Discrepancy Theory (e.g., Higgins, 1987) (Dörnyei, 2009; You & Dörnyei, 2016). The three principal elements are: the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self, and the L2 learning experience. As summarised by You and Dörnyei (2016, pp. 497 - 498):

> The Ideal L2 Self concerns a desirable self image of the kind of L2 user one would ideally like to become in the future. If learners see a discrepancy between this and their actual self image, the unease that this difference generates will act as a potent motivational source. The Ought-to L2 Self reflects an 'imported' self image, that is, the attributes that one believes one ought to possess to meet the expectations of others and to avoid possible negative outcomes. The L2 Learning Experience represents situated, 'executive' motives related to the immediate learning environment / experience such as the impact of the teacher, the curriculum, the peer group, or the experience of success.

Interestingly, the third strand of the L2MSS, the L2 learning experience, has recently been acknowledged by Dörnyei (2019, p. 22) as the "Cinderella" of his L2MSS framework,

with a new direction offered: "the L2 Learning Experience can be defined as the perceived quality of the learners' engagement with various aspects of the language learning process" (2019, p. 25). In this same paper, Dörnyei has stressed the importance of the third dimension, stating that empirical studies have often found it to be the key predictor of motivated behaviour, and has offered his thoughts on why the L2 learning experience had, from a theoretical perspective, thus far largely been overlooked. This included reflecting on his caveat that the third strand was "…conceptualized at a different level from the two self-guides" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 29). In relation to this, he goes on to quote and comment on the reflections in You et al. (2016, p. 96) that "…this component did not originate in possible selves theory".

2.1.2.2 Instrumentality

In addition to its three main features, the L2MSS also acknowledges the component of instrumentality (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 28), with a prevention / promotion distinction which follows Higgins (1987, 1998) (Dörnyei, 2009). This is elaborated in You and Dörnyei (2016, p. 498):

> Within this model, two dimensions of the traditionally conceived instrumentality were proposed (Dörnyei 2005, 2009): promotional instrumentality and preventional instrumentality, with the former referring to instrumental motives with a 'pulling power' (e.g. learning English to facilitate professional achievement) and the latter subsuming instrumental motives with an avoidance focus (e.g. studying in order not to fail an English course or disappointing one's parents). Making this distinction is important because the first type is related to the Ideal L2 Self, while the second to the Ought-to L2 Self.

Indeed, Taguchi et al. (2009), in a comparative study on the L2MSS among Japanese, Chinese and Iranian learners of English, found that in all three groups: instrumentality-promotion correlated more highly with the ideal L2 self than instrumentality-prevention, and that instrumentality-prevention correlated more highly with the ought-to L2 self than instrumentality-promotion. Also, again for all three groups, the ideal L2 self was positively correlated with integrativeness. On this last point, the researchers concluded: "…our findings support the underlying tenet of the L2 Motivational Self System that integrativeness can be relabelled as the ideal L2 self" (p. 88).

With another nod to Gardner, the third component of the L2MSS – the L2 learning experience – has been measured through *attitudes to L2 learning* (one of Gardner's variables within integrative motivation) (You & Dörnyei, 2016).

2.1.2.3 L2MSS prerequisites

In addition to its three principal components and the instrumentality-prevention / instrumentality-promotion component, the L2MSS also takes into account the following:

> A key aspect of the L2 Motivational Self System is the recognition that although future self-guides have the capacity to motivate action, this does not always happen automatically: in many cases, the desire to learn the L2 that has been generated by constructive future self-images fails to be realised in actual action (Dörnyei, 2014, p. 9).

The L2MSS therefore has nine prerequisites / preconditions: "…that need to be in place for future self-guides to be able to exert their motivational impact" (Dörnyei, 2014, p. 9). These nine prerequisites are set out in Figure B below.

Figure B: The L2MSS prerequisites

1. An ideal L2 self exists.
2. The future L2 self is sufficiently different from the now L2 self.
3. The L2 self is elaborate and vivid.
4. The L2 self is perceived as plausible.
5. The L2 self is not perceived as comfortably certain: it requires a marked increase in expended effort.
6. The possible L2 selves are in harmony (e.g., the ideal and ought-to L2 self are not in conflict).
7. The L2 self has a roadmap.
8. The L2 self is regularly activated.
9. The desired L2 self is offset by a counteracting feared L2 self in the same domain.

2.1.2.4 Vision

On vision, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009, p. 352) have referred to: "…the imagery element that needs to accompany a fully-fledged ideal L2 self." However Dörnyei (2014, pp. 10 – 11), whilst saying that future-self guides involve images and senses, and that this has been emphasised with regard to the L2MSS, appears to consider vision as a possible separate L2 motivation construct, going so far as to muse "…should a vision-based approach replace previous motivational frameworks?" Whilst he refutes this, it is on the basis of plural motivational constructs reflecting the multi-faceted nature of human behaviour. Nevertheless, vision is referred to as representing: "…one of the highest-order motivational forces" (Dörnyei, 2014, p. 11).

Indeed, in their study investigating 172 Cantonese speakers at secondary school in Hong Kong and whether the strength of L2 motivation (ideal and ought-to L2 selves considered) was partly dependent on a learner's individual capability to generate mental imagery, Dörnyei and Chan (2013) began: "Recent theorizing on second language (L2) motivation has proposed viewing motivation as a function of the language learners' vision of their desired future language selves" (p. 437). Positive strong correlations were found between the future self-guides and visual and auditory style variables, and the following comment made:

> …mental imagery is indeed associated with future self-guides, which justifies the term 'vision' when referring to them. This imagery is of a multisensory nature: our data suggest that, rather than understanding imagery merely as a form of visualization, it should be considered a simulated mental experience that also involves the other senses, particularly auditory perceptions (p. 454).

Within this study, L2 motivation was measured through learning achievement in two languages (Mandarin and English), assessed by self-reports, intended effort and course grades. It was found that the ideal self was positively associated with intended effort and achievement for both languages, and the correlation taken as verification of the motivational power of the ideal L2 self. There were mixed results for the ought-to self and a tentative proposal made (based on their study and others e.g., Taguchi et al., 2009) that the ought-to L2 self lacks: "…the energizing force to make a difference in actual motivated learner behaviors" (p. 454).

Whilst the ideal L2 self as a predictor of L2 motivation has been confirmed in later studies (e.g. You & Dörnyei, 2016; Teimouri, 2017), we should note that a recent study, Papi, Bondarenko, Mansouri, Feng, and Jiang (2019), found the ought-to L2 self/own to be the strongest predictor of motivated behaviour, followed by the ideal L2 self/own; the ought to self/other; and the ideal L2 self/other. This study built on the work on Temouri (2017), which, returning to the theorising of Higgins (e.g., Higgins, 1987, 1997, 1998), had examined the split of the ought-to L2 self into the standpoints of 'own' and 'other' (Higgins, 1987).

Returning to Dörnyei and Chan (2013), it was also found that the ideal L2 images associated with English and Mandarin were distinct. The authors contended that learners are capable of acquiring the necessary imagery skills i.e., imagery skills are trainable.

Indeed, whether we refer to this element of the theorising as vision or the L2MSS prerequisite for the L2 self to be elaborate and vivid, this imagery element of L2 motivation has received research attention, as reflected in self-enhancement / intervention studies (e.g., Cho, 2015; Sampson, 2012; Magid & Chan, 2012; Fukada, Fukuda, Falout, & Murphey, 2011; Mackay, 2015; Mackay, 2019). On this Dörnyei (2014, p. 15) has commented:

> Regarding the future of self-guides and vision within the understanding of language learning motivation, I believe that there is considerable mileage in pursuing these lines of inquiry. One particularly fruitful research direction is to investigate what kind of behavioural pathways are needed to be able to channel the energy generated by vision into human action.

In one intervention study, visualisation programmes were shown to strengthen the ideal L2 self (Magid & Chan, 2012). Two different intervention programmes, one in the UK and one in Hong Kong, with 111 Chinese university students learning the lingua franca in a target language setting, investigated enhancing the ideal L2 self. Writing about the L2 self was part of the study, although few details were provided. Overall the interventions were found to strengthen the participants' visions of their ideal L2 selves. Writing about the feared L2 self (i.e., the fear if English abilities did not improve) was included in the intervention programme run in the UK. Whilst the writing was only part of the intervention, overall the L2 self was shown to be capable of manipulation through

visualisation. In England, the wider programme was based on Oyserman's *School-to-Jobs Programme* (e.g., Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2006) and included listing goals, a timeline and action plans, and in Hong Kong, it was based on the *Possible Selves Tree* created by Hock, Deshler, and Shumaker (2006). Regardless of the content and duration differences "…the findings revealed that both programmes were effective in motivating the participants to learn English and increasing their linguistic self-confidence through strengthening their vision of their Ideal L2 Self, and making their goals clearer and more specific" (Magid & Chan, 2012, p. 113).

Similarly, in an action research study, classroom motivational work was advocated as a means to empower students to develop clearer visions of self through, amongst other things, targeting the L2MSS prerequisites (Sampson, 2012). This was a foreign language FI study, with the participants learning the lingua franca at home. The relationship between individual possible self-images and motivation amongst 34 Japanese female university students was explored and included a free-writing exercise about their 'best-possible English self' as homework to the introductory session. It was found that the writing prompt alone was not enough to elicit a vivid L2 self. When commenting on the lack of detail and a clearly defined vision found in the data, Sampson (2012, p. 324) referred to Dörnyei (2009, p. 34): "…even if a desired self-image exists, it may not have a sufficient degree of elaborateness and vividness in some learners to be effective" i.e., a reference to one of the prerequisites. The ten session enhancement programme which evolved specifically targeted one or more of the prerequisites to the L2MSS e.g., making sure the future self-guide exists, is perceived as plausible, is activated, has a roadmap, and is counterbalanced. Overall the researchers suggested that their results support teachers initially enquiring about the language possible self-images of the students in order to create more motivational lessons through self-enhancement activities and that helping students to focus on their language-learning possible self-images may positively affect motivation.

Before moving onto the final topic to be considered in this section 2.1, namely emotions, we first summarise the L2MSS.

Figure C: The L2MSS summarised

Three principal components (Dörnyei, 2009, p 29):

- The ideal L2 self
- The ought-to L2 self
- The L2 learning experience

A notable additional component:

- Instrumentality (Dörnyei 2009, p 28; You & Dörnyei, 2016, p. 498) with two dimensions: instrumentality-promotion (related to the ideal L2 self) and instrumentality-prevention (related to the ought-to L2 self).

Nine prerequisites for the ideal L2 Self to motivate action (Dörnyei, 2014, p. 9).

Vision is a possible separate L2 motivation construct key for the L2MSS (Dörnyei, 2016, pp. 10 – 11) or the prerequisite that the L2 self is vivid and elaborate is particularly important. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009, p. 352) have referred to: "…the imagery element that needs to accompany a fully-fledged ideal L2 self".

2.1.2.5 Emotions

So far in this section 2.1, we have included the explicit and perhaps more tacit constituents of the L2MSS. On whether emotion is an embedded construct within the L2MSS theorising, it has been stated that "…the imagery component of the possible selves offers an obvious link with emotions, as one of the key roles of the sensation generated by experiential images is exactly to evoke emotional responses" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009, p. 352). However, there is an SLA research strand which puts emotions and the pedagogic implications of those affects "centre stage in the process of FL learning" (Dewaele, 2015; Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014). These same authors consider emotions underrepresented within the L2MSS, and adopt the attitude that "success depends in large part on learners' affective fuel levels, and that as teachers we have to keep the affective tank full" (Dewaele, 2015, p. 13).

The emotion of enjoyment has been used as a parallel to the negative one of anxiety (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014), and in examining these "two faces of Janus", reference is made to the recent shift towards positive psychology rather than on a focus on negative emotions. In this respect, the work of Martin Seligman is discussed (e.g., Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Indeed, this move towards positive psychology in L2 motivation theories and research has also been highlighted elsewhere (e.g., MacIntyre, Gregersen, & Mercer, 2016; Ryan, 2019). Enjoyment also features as a construct within the extrinsic / intrinsic focused theorising of Ryan and Deci (2000), in which they posit that "Orientation of motivation concerns the underlying attitudes and goals that give rise to action – that is, it concerns the why of actions" (p. 54). As to whether emotions are, or are not, theorised for within the L2MSS, we observe finally here that in Şimşek and Dörnyei (2017), a recent study which acknowledges Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2014) call for a reflection on the function of emotions, the researchers turn to the novel work on 'narrative identity' (McAdams & McLean, 2013; McAdams & Pals, 2006) and situate their study of anxiety within this theorising, rather than within that of the L2MSS. In fact, the construct of narrative identity will form part of our focus in section 2.2.

2.1.3 Summary: desire and vision

Motivation is a construct of the mind. Within one of the two main theoretical frameworks we have chosen for this thesis, namely, the L2MSS, motivation is a malleable phenomenon, at the mercy of desire – in the form of a future desired / ideal L2 self – and assisted by vision; swayed by the the self-perceived notions of the expectations of others and negative outcome avoidance; and is connected with the situated notion of the L2 learning experience, this third strand as recently revisited by Dörnyei (2019). Having, in section 2.1, discussed the recent shift towards L2 motivation being considered dynamic and non-linear; given a flavour of the historical and conceptual background to the L2MSS; outlined the constituent parts of the L2MSS; and presented some examples of prior work which have tested and / or adopted the model, we now turn to consider the dimensions of time and space, which are both arguably absent from the model of the L2MSS.

2.2 Meaning-making in time and space

The theory a person has about themselves, how we perceive or evaluate ourselves, is known as the 'self-concept'. Lee and Oyserman (2012, p. 1) elaborate with: "…the person one was in the past, is now, and can become in the future, including social roles and group memberships." We have seen that at the core of L2 motivation, as theorised within the L2MSS, there is a projection outwards into an unknown future of hopes and desires, to becoming some form of a continuation of the self-concept. There is a future imaginary self and a gap between this and the actual self in the now. However, the actual L2 self is somewhat elusive within the tripartite L2MSS framework. Ushioda (2009, p. 225) has considered a learner's actual self "characterised broadly as" the third strand of the L2MSS (i.e., the L2 learning experience). Others have considered the actual L2 self missing altogether (Thorsen, Henry, & Cliffordson, 2017). In addition, there is no representation of a past L2 self within the L2MSS (the mental image of the language learner in the past), nor indeed is there a sense of social identity (the language learner with a social role). As, within the three studies of this thesis, we wish to shed light on what a foreign language means to an individual in the here-and-now and how they experience this, theories and research regarding both the temporal and spatial dimension of motivation will now be reviewed, and in particular the process of meaning-making in the present. In section 2.2.1, we therefore introduce the idea of mental time travel (Suddendorf, 2010); we discuss the past and present temporal omissions of the L2MSS from the Possible Selves Theory; we present two examples of empirical studies which have considered the importance of past L2 self in the present / future; and we introduce the construct of narrative identity (McAdams & McLean, 2013). We follow this, in section 2.2.2, with an emphasis on the multiplicity of identity and meaning-making in a social context; we discuss the spatial / social omissions of the L2MSS from the Possible Selves Theory; and we introduce the person-in-context relational view of motivation (Ushioda, 2009). Then, we finish this part of the presentation of prior work, in section 2.2.3, with a summary of section 2.2.

2.2.1 The selves: mental time travel and temporal meaning-making

It has been suggested that representation of possible future selves is constructed in reflection of one's past experience and current situations (Ruvolo & Markus, 1992), and

that recalling positive past events may be motivational (Karniol & Ross, 1996). It is the temporal dimension, and the notion of fragments of past and future time in the present, to which we now turn.

An individual's self-concept, and their ability to mentally time travel, is an innate human ability. Generally, we possess the mental ability to self-project, shifting perspective from the here-and-now to: (i) remembering the past, (ii) envisioning the future (known as prospection), or (iii) conceiving the thoughts of others (referred to as theory of mind), and the parts of the human brain that support self-projection – mainly identified in lesion and imaging studies – are those that are traditionally associated with, for example, episodic memory (the memory of autobiographical events) and planning (Buckner & Carroll, 2007). There is evidence that these forms of self-projection rely on a common brain network (Buckner & Carroll, 2007; Weiler, Suchan, & Daum, 2011). In fact, a lesser studied aspect of amnesic syndrome is the inability to conceive the personal future (Buckner & Carroll, 2007). It has been suggested, in a study comparing episodic memory with episodic foresight, that memory may be an integral part of foresight (Suddendorf, 2010). Indeed, that this allows "…mental exploration of alternative perspectives based on our past experiences" (Buckner & Carroll, 2007, p. 49). It has also been found that recalled memories are more detailed and emotional than future thoughts (Weiler et al., 2011). The past is certain (Suddendorf, 2010).

Returning to the Possible Selves Theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986), which we introduced in section 2.1.1.1, the emphasis within the theory is on mental projections / travel of the self into the future and the dynamic forward direction that these possible selves might provide for an individual. Indeed, possible selves "…can be viewed as cognitive bridges between the present and the future…" (p. 961). The possible selves are manifestations of possibilities, of hopes, goals, fears, etc. and are considered important within the theory for the power an image of a future possible self might provide e.g., hope / fear given cognitive form as "the rich self" or "the bag lady self" (p. 954). Importantly, however, the full temporal spectrum, across the past, the present and the future, is implicated within the theorising. As Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 954) explain "Possible selves derive from representations of the self in the past and they include representations of the self in the future. They are different and separable from the current or now selves, yet are intimately connected to them". In fact, the paper within which the Possible Selves Theory was

expounded (Markus & Nurius, 1986) includes a section headed 'Antecedents of Possible Selves' (pp. 954 – 955) and the notion of "temporal sign" is invoked (Nuttin & Lens, 1984, as cited in Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 957) to discuss the timeline of an individual's self-conceptions. This is further explained:

> Many of an individual's self-conceptions are images of the *now* or current selves; they describe the self as it presently is perceived by the individual. Other self-conceptions, however, are possible selves. These may be past selves that no longer characterize the self, but under some circumstances could be relevant again, or they may be future selves, images of the self that have not yet been realized but that are hoped for or feared. (p. 957)

As we have indicated, a temporal limitation of the L2MSS, derived from ideas in social psychology about the possible selves (Dörnyei, 2009; You & Dörnyei, 2016), is that it does not theorise for the past self, and arguably does not include the actual self either (the additional lack of a social face is relevant to our discussions in section 2.2.2 which follows). Only the future self was clearly adopted into the model, in the form of the L2 self. We turn now to consider two examples of empirical L2 motivation studies which have found importance in the role of the past self. Both are self-enhancement intervention studies and, as such, they were cited in section 2.1.2.4, amongst others, when discussing vision and the L2MSS prerequisite for the L2 self to be elaborate and vivid.

In a target, naturalistic setting, the effects of working possible selves on what were referred to as "…representative and potentially observable motivated behaviors" were investigated (Cho, 2015, p. 1104). The behaviours chosen by the researcher were, as with Ruvolo and Markus (1992), persistence and effort. The study involved 112 students at an American university learning English as an L2, who were not temporary sojourners (the average residency in English-speaking countries was more than 2 years). In a writing task, which involved either imagining or recalling, it was intended to make the self-image "alive and accessible in working memory" (p. 1105), and it was generic possible selves and not the L2 self which the researcher attempted to activate. It was found that those writing about a successful past (as opposed to the other imagining conditions randomly assigned: a successful future, an unsuccessful future, or of a successful future of others) were more persistent. These participants showed greater persistence in revision, compared with the successful future selves group. The successful past self group was in

fact a control group. As Cho (2015, p. 1111) discussed: “The theory of possible selves (Ruvolo & Markus, 1992) primarily concerns with future aspects of self-concept, so the role of past experience in directing future behaviors has gained little attention among researchers.” One comment on the design of the study, however, would be the motivational behaviours measured for persistence and effort were respectively: time spent on revising the essay written (i.e., considered to be a measure of persistence) and number of spelling error corrections in a different text (i.e., taken to represent effort). A possible criticism of this design is that, whilst motivational behaviours are indeed difficult to measure, time spent might be a function of a participant’s reading speed, and error corrections a reflection of a participant’s tendency to pay attention to detail.

In the second study to be considered here, the motivational influences of past, present, and future selves, in a broad rather than L2 specific way, were investigated of 466 EFL learners at six Japanese universities (Fukada, Fukuda, Falout, & Murphey, 2011). A particular interest in “past-projected identities” is expressed, which the researchers refer to as “emotional baggage” and ascribe the term “antecedent conditions of the learner (ACL)” to this concept (pp. 337 - 338). The various intervention activities run in the study (unlike Cho (2015) above, there is no mention of writing) were intended to generate “aspiration contagion” (p. 339) and possible selves. Strong correlations were found between the ACL and their possible selves. As the researchers commented “…the relationships were strong between these students’ views of their past experiences and who they could be in their futures” (p.339). Interestingly, there was a strengthening of ACLs and possible selves over the course of an academic term.

The two empirical studies presented above highlight, in the under-researched area of the motivational impact of the past L2 self, the potential effects of past experience in the present (Cho, 2015), and on into an imagined future (Fukada et al., 2011). Before moving on to consider the spatial dimension to motivation, we return again to the words of Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 954): “Possible selves are important, first, because they function as incentives for future behavior (i.e., they are selves to be approached or avoided) and second, because they provide an evaluative and interpretive context for the current view of self”. We have already discussed how the possible selves are considered valuable as a referents / standards for the now self. It is the second mentioned “evaluative and

interpretative context for the current view of self" (p. 954), which brings us to consider the notion of temporal focus.

A person's "…ongoing, internalized and 're-interpretive temporal dialogue'" (Rotenberg, 1987, p. 74, as cited in Karniol & Ross, 1996, p. 613) is important from the standpoint of the here-and-now we wish to explore in this thesis, as "motivation reflects an interweaving of one's present into the fabric of one's past and the prospects of one's future" (Karniol & Ross, 1996, p. 613). This idea, that past experiences and future prospects are interpreted through a process of re-interpretive meaning-making, is reflected in a further construct from the field of social psychology, that of 'narrative identity' (McAdams & McLean, 2013), a construct which is now beginning to generate interest in the field of L2 motivation studies (e.g., Şimşek & Dörnyei, 2017). This re-interpretative self-dimension has been defined as follows: "Narrative identity reconstructs the autobiographical past and imagines the future in such a way as to provide a person's life with some degree of unity, purpose, and meaning" (McAdams & McLean, 2013, p. 233). For example, in life stories involving a redemptive sequence, where the "initial negative state is "redeemed" or salvaged by the good that follows" (p. 234), it has been suggested that "middle-aged adults may sustain the hope or confidence that is needed to weather short-term setbacks" (p. 233). Having only recently come to the fore in L2 motivation research, this temporal focus, which includes a place for the past selves (albeit past selves as reconstructed in the present), as well as allowing for what could be said to be a continuous process of becoming, has been be recognised as significant. As Dörnyei (2017, p. 93) has commented: "…the novel narrative dimension accounts for a so far overlooked level of the self, whereby people organize and understand their experiences and memories in the form of autobiographical stories and thus narrate themselves into the person they become".

2.2.2 Identity: multiplicity and spatial meaning-making

Having considered the temporal dimension in section 2.2.1 above, it is the social dimension and the intertwining of an individual with the 'other', which we now begin to explore. A criticism levelled at the field of SLA research has been that, to the extent that identity is considered, it is specifically a language identity. Block (2007a, p. 863) opened

his article *The Rise of Identity in SLA Research, Post Firth and Wagner (1997)* with this important extract from the 1997 work:

> The fact that NS [native speaker] or NNS [non-native speaker] is only one identity from a multitude of social identities, many of which can be relevant simultaneously, and all of which are motile (father, man, friend, local, guest, opponent, husband, colleague, teacher, teammate, intimate acquaintance, stranger, brother, son, expert, novice, native speaker, uninitiated, joke teller speaker, caller, overhearer ad infinitum) is, it seems fair to conclude, a nonissue in SLA. For the SLA researcher, only one identity *really matters*, and it matters constantly and in equal measure throughout the duration of the encounter being studied (Firth & Wagner, 1997, p. 292).

We have seen that the paradigm of individual difference in SLA has been superceded (section 2.1). This move forward might arguably go some way towards addressing the criticism levelled by Firth and Wagner (1997, p. 292) of an identity which matters only "constantly and in equal measure". However, it would seem that the idea of one identity, that of a native speaker versus a non-native speaker identity, or, at the least, a narrow interest in simply a language identity, prevails. Indeed, Dörnyei and Ushioda's (2009) collection of papers on L2 motivation is entitled *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*. Whilst it might seem a pedantic observation on word order, a research interest in the language identity of a learner is not at all synonymous with an interest in the identity/ies of a language learner.

Returning once more to the Possible Selves Theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986), whilst the possible selves are figments of the imagination, they are clearly explained as "socially determined" (p. 954):

> An individual is free to create any variety of possible selves, yet the pool of possible selves derives from the categories made salient by the individual's particular sociocultural and historical context and from models, images, and symbols provided by the media and by the individual's immediate social experiences. Possible selves thus have the potential to reveal the inventive and constructive nature of the self but they also reflect the extent to which the self is socially determined and constrained.

Or, as these social psychologists later pointed out: "The now self is subject to a variety of social reality constraints that are often difficult to ignore (at least for long)" (p. 963). However, the L2MSS, which has been stated to be derived from theorising in social psychology on the possible selves, is largely quiet on social context. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009, p. 352), as their concluding remarks, talk simply of "socially grounded" self-perceptions. Within the field of SLA, some research has taken a step away from the self and turned to the more socially-oriented constructs of bicultural identity (Lamb, 2004; Lamb & Budiyanto, 2013) and hybrid identity (Arnett, 2002; Henry & Goddard, 2015). Another approach providing for a notion of a more grounded identity, and which offers a possible theoretical bridge between this and L2 motivation as theorised for within the L2MSS, is the person-in-context relational view of motivation (Ushioda, 2009). This viewpoint theorises for identity and meaning-making in a social context. We shall first consider the person-in-context relational view of motivation before turning, in section 2.3, to the second main theoretical construct for this thesis, the investment model (as expanded) (Darvin & Norton, 2015), along with ideas of social identity, as posited in particular by the poststructuralists.

The person-in-context relational view of motivation approaches "the dynamic complexity of personal meaning-making in social context" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 217). It is important to be clear what motivation is not from this viewpoint. Motivation is not linear and is not associated with a cause and effect line of enquiry into how context affects motivation, with the approach of "what kinds of motivation might lead to what kinds of learning behaviour in what kinds of context…" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 218). For the sake of clarity, we set out in full the definition of this viewpoint of motivation from Ushioda (2009, p. 220):

> I mean a focus on real persons, rather than on learners as theoretical abstractions; a focus on the agency of the individual person as a thinking, feeling human being, with an identity, a personality, a unique history and background, a person with goals, motives and intentions; a focus on the interaction between this self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro- contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of. My argument is that we need to take a relational (rather than linear) view of these multiple contextual

elements, and view motivation as an organic process that emerges through the complex system of interrelations.

From this viewpoint, motivation is seen as 'relational'; it is complex, dynamic, organic. The viewpoint provides a way into the micro-level. Indeed, Ushioda (2009, p. 216) argues that: "…we need to understand second language learners as people, and as people who are necessarily located in particular cultural and historical contexts".

Ushioda (2009, p. 220) acknowledges "the multiplicity of socially and contextually grounded theoretical frameworks" i.e., since Block (2003) labelled the 'social turn' in SLA (including ecological and poststructuralist perspectives). In fact, her view of motivation is offered as compatible and integrable with other frameworks. The construct "…need not privilege any particular framework over another, but may usefully build on different theoretical perspectives in an integrated though not indiscriminate way" (p. 221). Together with other theoretical perspectives, the viewpoint may inform a "more embedded relational view of motivation and identity" (p. 220). In relation to the possible selves, Ushioda (2009, p. 225) considers them to be "theorised to function as an interface between the self-concept and motivation" and, in relation to the possible selves of L2 users, as "entirely continuous with language learners' current selves".

The real persons in the construct of the person-in-context allows for the identity, unique history, and intentions of the individual. So, whilst those persons are embedded in micro- as well as the macro- contexts, they are not without their historical pasts or hoped for futures/plans. That is, not all is spatially local, concerned only with pedagogic implications within the classroom, the person only as a language learner, nor simply temporally positioned in the here-and-now. That said, the focus of the viewpoint would appear to be weighted towards meaning-making of "a self-reflective intentional agent" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 218) more within a social than a temporal context.

2.2.3 Summary: the self in time and identity in space

In this section 2.2, we have discussed recent theorising on the importance of the remembered past in the present; we have presented examples of two related studies on the impact of the past on present motivated L2 behaviour and future possible selves; we have introduced the notion of temporal meaning-making and the construct of narrative

identity; and, within the spatial dimension, we have explored the multiplicity of social identity, and the person-in-context view of motivation as a possible bridge between the theorising of psychology and sociology. In doing so, we have also highlighted the temporal and spatial omissions from the model of the L2MSS.

Thinking about what moves an individual from one position to another is not new. We can trace this back to the Ancient Greeks and the philosophising of Aristotle (e.g., Gill & Lennox, 1994). Leaping forward to modern times, sociologists have endeavoured to understand why an individual in society acts, with a quadripartite model of types of social action offered by Max Weber (1922/1989); the performance of identity vis-à-vis others, with the concept of 'face' expounded by Ernst Goffman (1959/1990); and – as we will see in section 2.3.1.1 – the valuing by agents of symbolic power, within the inescapable logic of economics by Pierre Bourdieu (1991, 1984). We turn now, in section 2.3, to introduce a further complementary construct to the psychological notion of motivation, the sociology-inspired construct of investment.

2.3 Investment: a sociological construct

The second key construct for this thesis is the poststructuralist construct of investment (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2013). Investment was developed as a sociological "complement" to the psychological construct of motivation (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton & De Costa, 2018, p. 91; Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 415). The context within which the construct of investment was first put forward was in relation to research on immigrant women in Canada (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000). The then common theoretical assumption, namely of motivation as a character trait, and hence failure being a lack of commitment: "…did not do justice to the identities and experiences of language learners in my research" (Norton, 2015, p. 377). The ability of language learners to claim "…more powerful identities from which to speak", by reframing unbalanced power relations to others, depends in part on their investment in the practices of a particular classroom or community (Norton, 2015, p. 377). The construct of investment places an L2 learner, with desires, within a space and time dimension: "The notion of investment conceives of the language learner, not as ahistorical and unidimensional, but as having a complex social history and multiple desires" (Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 9). The construct of investment now sits within an expanded model (Figure D below), at the intersection of identity,

capital and ideology (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Darvin & Norton, 2019). In fact, investment is seen as synonymous with commitment to learn an L2 in the North American SLA context (Darvin & Norton, 2016; Kramsch, 2013).

Figure D: Darvin and Norton's (2015, p. 42) model of investment

Even before the setting out of investment within an expanded model (Darvin & Norton, 2015), identity and investment were considered integrally related (e.g., Norton, 2013). In the article which sets out the expanded model, Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 37) reflect on identity being subject to change:

> As identity is fluid, multiple, and a site of struggle, how learners are able to invest in a target language is contingent on the dynamic negotiation of power in different fields, and thus investment is complex, contradictory, and in a state of flux.

In this section 2.3, we set the quadripartite model of investment (as expanded) (Darvin & Norton, 2015), the second of our chosen theoretical models for this thesis, within the context of its roots, influences and emergent poststructuralist research on identity. We therefore outline the key precursors to the investment model (section 2.3.1), and offer a number of examples of recent research which have explored the commitment and identities of L2 learners within their social fields (section 2.3.2); and then summarise this section 2.3 (section 2.3.3).

2.3.1 Key influences on and around the investment model

Norton has credited her construct of investment as being "…informed by Bourdieu's (1991) theories of capital, language, and symbolic power…" (Norton, 2015, p. 377). Indeed, the reference to 'fields' in the quotation set out at the end of section 2.3 above, leads us into the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and the reference to 'fluid' identities, to the work of the poststructuralist feminist, Christine Weedon, also credited as an influence. We turn then in this section 2.3.1, to consider the key precursors to the investment model (as expanded) and how these influences are reflected within the model. We focus, in the main, on the Bourdieusian notions of capital, language, symbolic power, and related constructs (section 2.3.1.1). We briefly reflect on Weedon's notion of subjectivity (section 2.3.1.2). Finally, we introduce the notion of imagined communities (Anderson, 1983), which influenced Norton's work on future identity, and which is also relevant background for this thesis (section 2.3.1.3).

2.3.1.1 Capital: convertibility and the role of habitus

As we saw in sections 2.1 and 2.2 of this thesis, the work of Markus and Nurius (1986) was at least as important to our understanding of emergent motivation and the self, as the theorising of the L2MSS. Similarly, the work of Bourdieu (e.g., 1977 1984, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1991, 2000), in relation to understanding what might make an individual act or not, is arguably more important on the construct of capital, than the theorising of the investment model (as expanded). We therefore discuss his work, and how it is considered to have influenced the investment model, in some detail.

Capital (or power) relates to economic, cultural and social value institutionalised in various forms, and to the convertibility of this capital: of economic capital into money, and – in certain conditions – cultural capital (e.g., educational qualifications) and social capital (i.e., connections) into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991). For Bourdieu there was also the notion of symbolic capital, the form the other types of capital take "once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1987, p.4).

In other words, for Bourdieu (1986, p. 27), symbolic capital "that is to say, capital – in whatever form – insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically", happens in the domain of cognition. By way of example, social capital always functions as symbolic

capital, as it "…is so governed by the logic of knowledge and acknowledgment" (p. 28). Bourdieu provides "string-pulling" and the "old boy network" as instances of the effect of social capital on educational qualifications, which he argues "…never function perfectly as currency. They are never entirely separable from their holders: their value rises in proportion to the value of their bearer…" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 29). On linguistic discourse, Bourdieu saw this as being affected by the 'field' (or social context), as "…a symbolic asset which can receive different values depending on the market on which it is offered" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 651). Bourdieu sometimes used the term 'game' or 'market' instead of field, and considered fields to be sites of struggle, where an individual seeks to maintain or alter the distribution of capital, be that economic, social, cultural (which includes linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991)), or symbolic (Bourdieu, 1987).

Habitus, a further construct proffered by Bourdieu and which includes the "linguistic habitus" (1991, p. 37), is closely tied in with his notions of capital and field. Habitus is created through the inculcation or socialisation of a person through the social arenas of, for example, education, family, and culture i.e., the fields within which he / she finds themselves and experiences life. Habitus is the personal manifestation of an individual's ingrained and unconsciously accumulated 'dispositions', their habits, attitudes, practices, and tastes. Habitus is therefore arrived at through the effect of setting on particular subjects, but in addition reflects the sociocultural context / field from within which habitus was acquired. An example of socially-constructed habitus, at a language level, is a person's accent.

Importantly, habitus (as the set of dispositions) inclines an individual to act in certain ways. Related to this, habitus also orientates an individual, giving them a sense of what is and is not appropriate, a 'practical sense' in particular circumstances ('le sens pratique'). Indeed, because Bourdieu considered the body to be a repository of ingrained dispositions, he also wrote about bodily 'hexis', which includes the way a person holds themselves, walks, and speaks. Accent also provides an example of the way a person speaks – "Language is a body technique" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 86).

The concepts of habitus, field and practical sense have been considered by Kramsch (2013). In an afterword to a second edition to Norton's *Identity and Language Learning*, discussing the influence of Bourdieu on Norton, Kramsch (2013, p. 196) wrote:

> As a sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1982) fought against the fallacy of the autonomous individual… Bourdieu considered an individual's habitus as unconsciously structured by the fields in which he / she finds himself (e.g., family, school, workplace); in turn, by acting according to their habitus, individuals structure the fields in which they operate. It is through this interaction of habitus and field that people gain a practical sense of who they are and who they can become. In order to be successful, 'all participants *must believe in the game they are playing*,… (Kramsch's emphasis added).

Darvin and Norton (2015) referred to investment, the construct they have offered as a complement to the psychological construct of motivation, as being "in a state of flux" (p. 37 and as cited in section 2.3 above). However, the change dynamic (i.e., the ability of an individual to move from one position to another) is somewhat constrained, from the perspective of the work of Bourdieu, by the interaction of his constructs of 'fields' and 'habitus'. Kramsch (2013, p. 196), we have seen, acknowledged this constraint on change as his fight against the "fallacy of the autonomous individual". However, whilst recognising that habitus can shape desire, Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 46) state that: "it is through desire that learners are compelled to act and exercise their agency". On this, they choose to cite Bourdieu (2000, p. 150):

> …guided by one's sympathies and antipathies, affections and aversions, tastes and distastes, one makes for oneself an environment in which one feels at 'home' and in which one can achieve that fulfilment of one's desire to be which one identifies with happiness...

Later, the same authors, whilst making the link to future imagined possibilities, summarise: "One feels "at home" because of habitus, but one finds happiness through the fulfillment of desire" (Darvin & Norton, 2016, p. 25). Indeed, it had explicitly been stated, prior to the expounding of the expanded model of investment, that the construct of investment was intended to link meaningfully, a learner's desire with commitment to the language practices of a classroom or community (Norton & Toohey, 2011). In relation to the L2 learner, Darvin and Norton (2015, p. 46) express the ideas of habitus (which they tie into ideology, a further construct added to the model of investment) and of desire as follows:

> Their habitus, shaped by prevailing ideologies, predisposes them to think and act in certain ways, but it is through desire and imagination that they are able to invest in practices that can transform their lives. In this model, learners invest in particular practices not only because they desire specific material or symbolic benefits, but also because they recognize that the capital they possess can serve as affordances to their learning. The valuing of their capital is an affirmation of their identity, a legitimation of their rightful place in different learning contexts.

The hope expressed by the authors of the new investment model is that, by extending what the model questions, they "…create a space in which learners are not by default marginalized or resistant, but where they have an agentive capacity to evaluate and negotiate the constraints and opportunities of their social location" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 47).

One final point, we have seen the broad use of vocabulary from the world of economics, not only in the naming of the investment model, but also within the embedded construct of capital, and in the explaining of the influences on and application of the model by its authors. Indeed, whilst Bourdieu adopted in his work the language of economics, he adapted this terminology for what were non-economic fields, at least not as narrowly understood. This having been said, it is worth re-iterating here that, for Bourdieu, the unconscious and conscious actions of agents / individuals, nevertheless follow the logic of economics:

> Even when they give every appearance of disinterestedness because they escape the logic of "economic" interest (in the narrow sense) and are oriented towards non-material stakes that are not easily quantified, as in "pre-capitalist" societies or in the cultural sphere of capitalist societies, practices never cease to comply with an economic logic (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 122).

2.3.1.2 Subjectivity: the possibility of unlocking positions

We have seen that the work of Bourdieu allows for the desires and agency of an individual, albeit affected by the interplay his / her habitus and the fields of their life experience, with practices complying with the logics of economics. Within the investment model, we have similarly seen that social context, the field, matters and that there is hope

in the agentive capacity of learners, driven by the material and symbolic benefits arising out of their investment in practices, and also the associated affordances to learning these may bring.

Norton (2015, p. 376) credits another theorist with inspiring her work, in this case, her ideas on language identity: "Drawing on the work of Weedon (1987), I have argued in my research that identity is multiple, a site of struggle, and changing across time and space". Indeed, Norton & Toohey (2011, p.417) make the point that Weedon: "…understood, like Bakhtin and Bourdieu, the importance of ascribed individual and group identity positions in structuring the extent to which language practices are valued". They highlight, in particular, the work of Weedon on 'subjectivity':

> Her use of the term 'subjectivity' reminds us that an individual can be simultaneously the subject OF a set of relationships (e.g., in a position of power) or subject TO a set of relationships (e.g., in a position of reduced power). Thus for Weedon, social relationships are crucial in how individuals are constructed and construct themselves (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 417).

Whilst Kramsch (2013, p. 197) reminds us that "This struggle may lead to a change but may also reinforce the status quo", it is that change is at least possible which is important: "A conceptualization of subjectivity as multiple, non-unitary, and dynamic leaves room for the view that individuals need not be locked forever in particular positions" (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 417).

2.3.1.3 Imagined communities: identities into the future

Outside the investment model, it is worth noting here, before we move on in section 2.3.2 to consider social identity further, that Bonny Norton's work has also included the construct of imagined communities, with the community extended beyond the four walls of the classroom (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2001). Her research has suggested that a learner's imagined identity will impact on his / her investment (Norton, 2016). Norton (2015, p. 378):

> While Benedict Anderson (1983) talks of the imagined community with respect to the nation, I am interested in a wider range of communities which might be

> desirable to the language learner – whether a sporting community, a network of professionals, a choir, or a group of comic book readers (Kanno & Norton, 2003). An imagined community assumes an imagined identity and helps explain a learner's investment in the target language.

2.3.2 Social identity

The investment model (as expanded) (Darvin & Norton, 2015), with the construct of investment sitting at the intersection of identity, capital and ideology, is an explanatory theoretical model. In fact, poststructuralism has been said to be "the approach of choice" for exploration of the identity and L2 learning connection (Block, 2007a, p. 864). Attuned to the social context (Pavlenko, 2007), and indeed part of the 'social turn' in SLA (Block, 2003), this theoretical perspective purports to treat learners not as variable bundles, but as diverse people (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001). Actually, the preference to measure cause and effect through variables is a criticism levelled against the positivist approach to research by Ushioda (2009), on expounding her person-in-context viewpoint (see section 2.2.2).

Whilst we have seen how identity is defined in the investment model (section 2.3), the construct of identity has, by others, been considered to be without precise definition (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). In their introduction to the *Negotiation of Identity in Multilingual Contexts*, Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004, p. 19) offer the following form of words for the construct i.e., as a unifying definition across the contributing authors:

> We view identities as social, discursive, and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterize, and to claim social spaces and social prerogatives.

The title of the collection, and the definition above, re-iterate the point that we have already seen reflected in Darvin and Norton's (2015) definition of identity; identity is not fixed. As we discussed in section 2.3.1, in relation to the influences on Norton's work, and how these have been adopted, there is indeed a place for movement. The very word 'reframe' envisages change. A person may be able to claim / perform / negotiate / construct / struggle to assert an alternative identity from which to be heard. They do this

by exercising their agency. Or, their identity might be contested. In other words, sometimes individuals construct their identities, sometimes they are constructed for them (Weedon, 1997). As summarised by Norton and Toohey (2011, p. 437):

> …we have drawn on a rapidly increasing body of research to argue that language learners' identities are always multiple and in process, and that learners often have different investments in the language practices of their classrooms and communities. There are widespread representations of complex and embodied language learners living in socially stratified worlds that constrain as well as enable the exercise of human agency.

One final related point to restate here, before we move on to provide a flavour of the research in this area, is that, whilst the investment model is quadripartite, arguably at the heart of the model is a fifth embedded / silent notion, that of agency. We saw suggestions of this when considering how Norton has adopted and interpreted the work of Bourdieu in section 2.3.1.1. It is evident in the quote from Toohey and Norton (2011) above, and indeed, Norton (2016, p. 476) has commented: "The extent to which language learners exercise such agency in social interaction can be partly explained by a construct I have called *investment*". Interestingly, Block (2013b, p. 127) has argued that, in some applied linguistics and language and intercultural communication research, "individual agency seems to take over, leaving the impression that individuals are relatively unconstrained as they make their way through intercultural experiences". Indeed, the same year, he also cited an earlier work (Block, 2006) as an example what we might consider as "over-agentive", having again stressed "the importance of clarifying the interrelationship between individual agency and social structures in language and identity research" (Block, 2013a, pp. 11 and 24). In a more recent paper, Darvin and Norton (2016, p. 21) have "interrogated" Kramsch's (2013, p. 195) comment that the notion of investment "is based on a learner's intentional choice and desire". In fact, they have considered this in the context of a changed world, two decades on from the original expounding of the investment construct. Whilst emphasising the dichotomy between constructed and contested identities, Darvin and Norton (2016, p. 21) have questioned "how cosmopolitanism, as a counter discourse to globalization, can shape an investment that challenges rather than reproduces the inequalities of this new social order".

Having provided a flavour of the differences around the definition of identity, along with some of the concerns about the weight of construction versus constraints, we turn now to consider a selection of studies which have explored identity and the L2 learning connection.

Part of this research agenda, which considers identity as socially-construed, has been tagged, both within the field of applied linguistics and more widely, the 'narrative turn'. In tracing the origins of this turn in the domain of applied linguistics, Pavlenko (2007) gives credit in part to the early diary studies of the 1970s and 1980s. Narratives of individual language learners have been collected and the voices of the narrators explored for, amongst other things, how they position themselves within the plots (Pavlenko, 2007). Indeed, Pavlenko (2007, p. 168) reminds us of the consequences of meaning-making within these narratives "…narrators do not necessarily consciously 'distort the truth', rather they use the act of narration to impose meaning on experience...". On this, we also offer the summarising further words of Pavlenko (2007, pp. 180 - 181) as we too, in Studies 1 – 3, approach the meaning-making of our participants:

> …the stories we tell are never fully our own – they are co-constructed for us and with us by our interlocutors real or imagined, by the time and place in history in which the events portrayed have taken place and the time and place in which they are told, by the language we choose for the telling, and by the cultural conventions of the speech community in which the narrative is located. Consequently, linguistic autobiographies cannot and should not be treated as observation notes, transcripts, or collections of facts. Rather, they should be treated as discursive constructions, and as such be subject to analysis that considers their linguistic, rhetorical, and interactional properties, as well as the cultural, historic, political, and social contexts in which they were produced and that shape both the tellings and the omissions.

Findings within these identity studies reflect agency being exercised by learners (e.g., Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). This research direction has extended to identities within imagined communities (e.g., Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). Indeed, Darvin and Norton (2015) apply their newly revised investment model to two case studies which are presented and contrasted, of 18 year old Henrietta (a Ugandan, living in a village) and 16 year old Ayrton (a Filipino in Vancouver, whose family emigrated, residing in a wealthy

district). Imagined identities are linked to their respective levels of capital and prevalent ideologies at home. This leads them, it is argued, to position themselves in different ways. Henrietta expressed her desire to "join the group of knowledgeable people in the world" (p. 49). This is interpreted as Henrietta positioning herself as inadequate. Ayrton signed up for online course on currency trading. It is posited that through, for example, concealing his age and changing language registers when necessary, using a 'sens pratique', "…he is able to assert his place as a legitimate speaker in these spaces" (p. 50).

Perhaps one of the most striking examples of reframing identity in Norton's work is the case of Martina (Norton, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2011), an English language learner from Eastern Europe, who, through reframing her identity vis-à-vis her co-workers from "a dehumanized and inanimate 'broom'" to the position as a mother, "claimed the right to speak" (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 413). Similarly, Norton (2015, 2019) discussed the example of Ugandan Paul (Early & Norton, 2012), who, returning home after his family's 2010/11 stay in Canada, needed to re-adapt to the English language practices of the Ugandan classroom and reframed his identity to being a "good student", as understood at home (e.g., talking when the teacher asks) (Norton, 2019, p. 302). Interestingly, Norton (2019, p. 302) uses the sign /good student/ to explain the difference between structuralism and the poststructuralists. Whilst for the former, there would be broad consent over the meaning of /good student/, "…poststructuralists argue that the signifying practices of societies are sites of struggle and that linguistic communities are heterogeneous arenas characterized by conflicting claims to truth and power".

In relation to another approach to the situatedness of learning, Kinginger (2004) – within her comprehensive study of Alice, who reframed her identity during a stay in France, becoming a French speaker "as a way of reorienting herself with the world" (p. 240) – chose to remind us of Lantolf and Pavlenko's (2001, p. 55) call for "robust and detailed case studies documenting the activities of people on the periphery of linguistic communities of practice and how they gain or are denied (full) participation in these communities" (Kinginger, 2004, p. 223). Not surprisingly, given that communication involves an interlocutor(s) and therefore the situated practice of the language, research in this field has indeed taken this track, drawing on the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998), in relation in particular to their concepts of "legitimate peripheral participation" (LLP) (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and "communities of practice" (Wenger,

1998). In brief, LPP and communities of practice could be explained together. Based on the idea that learning is social and situated, and a process of participation in a community where the relevant practice takes place, an individual's participation is at first on the edges of that community, it is peripheral, as the individual is a novice. Then, as learning happens, the individual can take on more of a role within the community, and eventually "move to full participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 79) and practice as an expert. An example would be a trainee in a law firm, who arrives with some academic knowledge, which they then expand and learn how to put into practice within different specialisms. Another example is an apprentice, and indeed Lave and Wenger (1991) devote a chapter to the case of apprenticeship and present five studies of situated learning. Noteworthy is that, in contrast to Ushioda's (2009) concept of "person-in-context", Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 50) discuss "persons-in-practice".

In looking to social identity in practice, Norton and Vanderheyden (2004), and as further discussed in Norton (2015), explored a comic reading community of practice and the participation and investment of native and non-native young children in this. In contrast, it was non-participation and resistance (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999), which was addressed in Norton (2001), with stories drawn from the study of immigrant language learners to Canada (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000), although again with reference the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998). From the latter, Norton (2001) referred to the three "modes of belonging" (Wenger, 1998, p. 173) i.e., "engagement", "imagination" and "alignment" (pp. 173 – 187). Stressing alignment, Norton (2001, p. 164) commented "…imagination does not necessarily result in the coordination of action. It is here that the notion of alignment becomes central, because it is through alignment that learners do what they have to do to take part in a larger community". We also note here that the process of alignment has also been defined as "continuously and progressively fitting oneself to one's environment, often with the help of guides" (Atkinson, 2010, p. 611). Finally, Morita (2004), again turning to the constructs of communities of practice and LLP, explored participation in newly joined L2 classroom communities in Canada, of graduate students from Japan, and in particular, in relation to open-ended classroom discussions. The students were considered to have exercised their agency in, amongst other things, negotiating their identities, in order to be recognised as legitimate speakers. Interestingly, the author, when commenting on the case of Lisa, suggested how her difficulties in speaking in class would be approached from a psycholinguistic perspective

on SLA (e.g., as anxiety), but from a community of practice stance, this is described by Morita (2004, p. 584) in terms of "…her challenge is negotiating competence and membership in the classroom". This study, as do others, highlights the pedagogical implications involved in fostering the participation of students. Perhaps even more important than this is the recognition by teachers of the linguistic and cultural capital that language learners bring to classroom (Darvin & Norton, 2017).

In providing here a flavour of the research on social identity, we have chosen to select a mix of studies which have drawn data from both a naturalistic and foreign language learning context. The claiming of more powerful identities by language learners, according to the investment model, depends in part on their investment in a particular classroom or community (Norton, 2015) i.e., we repeat here the scope allowed for classroom identity work within the model. In a foreign language setting, without the benefit of a naturalistic language community, Block (2007a) has commented that the studies have tended to focus on "transformations of individuals as language learners" (p. 869), with learners taking more responsibility for their learning. Indeed, the importance of context has led some to conclude (e.g., including Block, 2007a, 2007b) that opportunities for identity work are less diverse in a foreign language context. Similarly, it is a matter of some contention whether identity work occurs in an ELF context (House 2003; House 2014). In fact, House (2014, p. 375) has concluded: "ELF is a useful tool for communication; an additional language, not a substitute for other languages, as these fulfil different, often affective and identificatory, functions".

We conclude this section 2.3.2 with a reminder from Kramsch (2006, p. 251) not only of the temporal as well as spatial nature of context, but also as to the positioning of those of us who embark on research: "In order to understand others, we have to understand what they remember from the past, what they imagine and project onto the future, and how they position themselves in the present." She finishes her point with the following words: "And we have to understand the same things of ourselves."

2.3.3 Summary: habitus versus desire and agency

"I am the master of my fate,

I am the captain of my soul."

W. E. Henley (Invictus, 1888)

If L2 motivation takes place in a place in the mind, investment takes place in a world which recognises the symbolic power of capital; where identity is socially-construed; and where an individual is positioned by their habitus and hexis (Bourdieu, 1991). In this section 2.3, we have seen that the identities and the positions from which a person speaks are, for the poststructuralists, multiple and not language limited. Attaining these identities is a site of struggle. Some consider the limits to identity work in foreign language scenarios (Block, 2007a, 2007b) / ELF (House, 2003, 2014), although the investment model theorises for this. There is an important place within the investment model, as there was too within the L2MSS, for desire. In the L2MSS, this was in the form of the desired future L2 self, the future referent of the mind, which creates emotional unease. The model, along with subsequent theorising and studies, suggests that, assisted by vision / an elaborate and vivid L2 self, motivation is malleable. In the investment model, as we have seen from the explanations given by its theorists, desire can, when combined with agency, trump habitus. There is room for movement, an individual is not totally constrained by their social, economic, political, cultural, linguistic place in the world order.

In this Chapter 2, we have set out and discussed the main theoretical models for this thesis, have offered related studies, and have begun to reveal where we think there are gaps in the theorising and research within the field. As to the specific gaps in the prior literature in the contexts within which we have chosen to explore L2 motivation, the self and identities, these will be explained in the three studies which make up this thesis, to which we now turn.

3. STUDY 1: Intervening with near-future L2 selves: EFL students as peer-to-peer motivating agents during Exploratory Practice

Abstract

The present study offers insights on understanding motivation to learn a second language (L2) through implementation of the Exploratory Practice Principles (Allwright, 2005; Allwright & Hanks, 2009, pp. 149 - 154) within an English as a Foreign Language context at a university in Spain, and on discovering opportunities to enhance this. The account sits within the domain of the possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and the theoretical framework of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009, p. 29). Student-led visualisation – a twist on teacher-led visualisation, such as described in Dörnyei and Kubanyiova (2014, pp. 48 - 57) – is the key 'Potentially Exploitable Pedagogic Activity' (PEPA) (Allwright & Hanks, 2009, p. 157), explored as a device for inviting a near-future L2 self-guide into the here-and-now. This PEPA evolved out of stages of understanding, including student dismissal as "fantasies" their possible professional L2 selves in a remoter future. Through classroom observation, template analysis of imagery scripts, and student oral and written feedback, the present study finds that the students demonstrated motivated L2 behaviour in group writing about the near-future ideal L2 self and in introducing this self-guide to their peers, who were moved by and found plausible the stories they heard.

Keywords

English as a Foreign Language, Exploratory Practice, identity, investment, L2 learning experience, L2 self, motivated behaviour, self-discrepancy, visualisation.

3.1 Introduction

When asked to teach English as a Foreign Language (EFL) to a class of non-language majors at a university in Catalonia, Spain, I saw this as an opportunity to explore what might be motivating these students to learn a second language (L2), more generally an L3 or L4, and to work towards discovering how we might enhance this within our classroom. Exploratory Practice (EP), a form of practitioner research, seemed the appropriate approach for this, as it avoids being "parasitical" on already stretched teacher time (Allwright, 2005, p. 355; EP Principle 7). EP involves solving '*puzzles'*, both those

of the teacher and students "…by exploiting normal classroom activities for that purpose" (Allwright, 2003, p. 121), such a classroom activity being known, in EP parlance, as a 'Potentially Exploitable Pedagogic Activity' (PEPA) (Allwright and Hanks, 2009, p. 157). Guided by the seven EP Principles (Allwright and Hanks, 2009, pp. 149–154), I hoped our EP would advance in stages, from puzzlement to understandings. I had in mind too that the future self-concept might help us get started. The EP principles are:

What

- Principle 1: 'Quality of Life' for language teachers and learners is the most appropriate central concern for practitioner research in our field.
- Principle 2: Working primarily to *understand* the 'quality of life', as it is experienced by language learners and teachers, is more important than, and logically prior to, seeking in any way to improve it.

Who

- Principle 3: Everybody needs to be involved in the work for understanding.
- Principle 4: The work needs to serve to bring people together.
- Principle 5: The work needs to be conducted in a spirit of mutual development.

How

- Principle 6: Working for understanding is necessarily a continuous enterprise.
- Principle 7: Integrating the work for understanding fully into existing curricular practices is a way of minimizing the burden and maximizing sustainability.

3.2 The L2 self and emotional unease

'Possible selves', the term coined for the future self-concept in the *Possible Selves Theory*:

> …represent individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming, and thus provide a conceptual link between cognition and motivation (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954).

In the *Self-Discrepancy Theory,* emotional discomfort occurs when the discrepancy is noticed between the future self-concept (referred to in this theory as the ideal self and the ought self) and the actual self, causing an individual to try to match up to their personally relevant self-guides (Higgins, 1987, 1998).

Bringing these ideas from social psychology squarely into the domain of applied linguistics, the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009, p. 29) is a tripartite framework which includes the ideal L2 self, an image of a desired future L2 user an individual would like to become; the ought-to L2 self, which involves the meeting of expectations and avoiding negative outcomes; and the L2 learning experience, which relates to situated motives in the immediate learning environment. It is the emotional unease language learners feel, between their actual L2 selves in their immediate learning environment and their future desired self-guides, which drives them to close the discrepancy gap. For example, a student's imagined future ideal L2 self might be speaking English with Erasmus friends at parties, when now they struggle to speak in class. There are nine L2MSS prerequisites for the future self-guides to be able to exert motivational impact including: the L2 self is elaborate and vivid; the L2 self is perceived as plausible; the L2 self has a roadmap; and the ideal L2 self is offset by a counteracting feared L2 self in the same domain (Dörnyei, 2014, p. 9).

The importance of sustaining visions of an ideal L2 self during: "...the often challenging everyday reality of the language learning process" has been stressed (Dörnyei & Chan, 2013, p. 457). Indeed, a number of intervention studies have explored an imagery-L2 motivation link, with writing about the possible selves a potential enhancement activity (Cho, 2015; Sampson, 2012; Magid & Chan, 2012; Mackay, 2015). However, simple activation of the L2 self through writing was found insufficient to stimulate motivated behaviour (Cho, 2015, p. 1110), and the activity of writing alone was not generally enough to elicit a vivid L2 self (Sampson, 2012, p. 324). Individual written consolidations of visualisations were, however, found more enhanced and vivid with each revision (Mackay, 2015, p. 347).

What puzzled me was whether, by seeking to understand the nature of my students' emotional unease about their L2 abilities, the self-discrepancy between their desired L2 selves and the actual L2 selves in the classroom, we could find an opportunity to exploit this through a possible selves' enhancement activity, perhaps writing related. Electing to explore the ideal rather than ought-to self, I anticipated the following puzzles:

Stage 1: Who are the students' ideal L2 selves?

Stage 2: Who are the students' actual L2 selves? i.e., how do they account for their L2 motivation in the here-and-now?

Stage 3: How can we enhance L2 motivation in our classroom? i.e., can we find a possible selves enhancement activity which works for us?

Whilst I was aware that everything might change once the EP started, the three stages of puzzling did in fact stay the same. The first consideration, however, was to carry out the EP in the spirit that the 'quality of life' (QoL) of all those involved be the central concern, and work towards revealing the dynamics at play in the classroom (EP Principles 1 and 2).

We made a mutual teacher-student decision early in the term to run a motivation-to-learn theme through our classes and assignments, and to adopt a collective approach of puzzling over the students' personal language learning experiences. Indeed, the 'puzzlement zone' (Kuschnir & Dos Santos Machado, 2003, p. 172) emerged naturally in our first lesson. In pairs, or groups of three, the students brainstormed: "what makes a good student?" Unprompted, they wrote on the whiteboard, amongst other things, motivation. And so, our exploratory journey, teacher and students together, began.

3.3 Method

3.3.1 The setting

The setting for this EP was a compulsory 15 week EFL class, delivered for two hours twice weekly in the autumn term, for first year trainee infant school teachers at a university in Catalonia. This was not an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) class - the degree programme was taught in Catalan or Spanish. Before graduation the students were required to arrange, independently, to sit and pass First Certificate, although there was no existing future professional requirement to speak English; the state education system was not demanding English-mediated instruction for its infants. Due to my predecessor resigning early in the term and student strikes, the course ran over 11 weeks. The EP ran over our first 5 weeks. The course requirements were attendance (80%), passing an exam (worth 30%) and coursework (worth 70% - two group and six individual assignments). Arguably this intensity ran counter to EP Principles, although EP has been successful during a goal-oriented EAP programme (Hanks, 2015)[1]. There were no prescribed materials or textbook.

3.3.2 The participants

There were 28 student participants in the age range 18 - 25. Only three were male. All bar four participants were from Spain and, in the main, bilingual Catalan / Castilian speakers. The four others were native German speakers, Erasmus students from Germany and Austria. The English ability levels in our class ranged from A2 to C2.

3.3.3 The three PEPAs

Our EP involved three PEPAs. Individual compositions about each student's ideal L2 self (PEPA 1) and a group discussion about the students' actual L2 selves (PEPA 2) were preliminary steps towards our main PEPA 3, group-composed scripts about a near-future ideal L2 self, presented to the rest of the class as a visualisation. There were diverse sources of data arising. My in-the-field jottings, to prompt me to recall the 'sights and sounds' during the PEPAs, were typed-up along with detailed recollections the day of each activity. This included my observations e.g., the atmosphere in the room and how students behaved; the students' remarks in the discussion forum; and their comments after each visualisation. There were three sources of written data i.e., PEPA 1: 26 compositions, average length 254 words, typed-up for detailed analysis; PEPA 3: seven group visualisation scripts, average length 507 words, typed by the students; and comments within a perception questionnaire about PEPA 3, collected at the end of term. PEPAs 1 and 3 formed part of the coursework and, in this way, the work for understanding was integrated into curricular practices (EP Principle 7). Data analysis was conducted immediately after each of PEPAs 1 and 2. Only by adopting an approach of intermediate analyses did we arrive at PEPA 3. Each PEPA is set out separately in the remainder of this article, along with associated data analysis, findings and understandings reached, to reflect each stage of the EP. The emphasis is on PEPA 3.

3.4 PEPA 1: Who are the students' ideal L2 selves?

We started to explore in the second lesson. The class wrote individual time travel compositions within a framework I had designed for the purpose (PEPA 1). The students were to imagine going forwards in a time travel machine, to arrive on a day in their future, when they felt proud of their English-speaking abilities, and to write as if they were actually there on that day i.e., to elicit thoughts about a successful future self-guide[2]. They

had 30 minutes to write alone and could use online dictionaries. The composition framework included blank spaces labelled ‘Today is…’; ‘People are speaking English around me…’; ‘Today I feel proud of myself because…’; and ‘I can hear music playing…’. The framework also prompted the students to be sure to tell me, for example, why knowing English on that day was important; what they could see and hear; how they felt; and what they said i.e., it encouraged an elaborate and vivid possible self. Other L2MSS prerequisites were targeted, with the students asked to write about the effort it was going to take; their strategy; their belief in their ability to succeed; and what they feared most about not progressing. We leapt straight into this writing activity, with no prior class discussion, other than titles of time travel stories that they knew. We were looking for a picture of the students’ future self-guides.

3.4.1 PEPA 1 findings

The students complied with the prompts within the composition framework, and adopting a form of template analysis (King, 2004), my initial taxonomy reflected this. The framework had given them the freedom to travel to any year, with the prompt “Today is…” and generally, the students described an ideal L2 self on a day in the years 2020 – 2050. Five, however, were written in the immediate future, and three were science fiction future realities, including living in 2542:

> Speak English is very important now, but people speak with apparatus. Therefore don’t need study the language because with the apparatus you know everything.

My taxonomy expanded as other patterns emerged. For instance, there were references to future L2 *professional* selves. This was interesting as the writing instructions had simply prompted the students to explain why knowing English had been important on their chosen day. Examples included:

> Nowadays I live in Barcelona with my family, my husband, my daughter and my two dogs. Today is the first day of a new cours of school. I’m teacher of kids on primary school and I’m feel so happy cause I liveing my dream. In the school I’m the teacher of cience but I have to teach all lessons in english. Before I can make this job I had to study hard for many years. (year 2026)

> I'm finally moving to a house with my partner. But's not only a simply moving on, we are going to the United States!… I will be finally using my english knowleadges to communicate, to work… (year 2025)

> I work at the infantil school; I love it. … Nowdays the english is the only language. Nobody speaks others languages like spanish or japanise. (year 2036)

The ideal L2 self placed within a social setting, as opposed to the economic / professional one seen above, was part of another noteworthy pattern and so became another level of the taxonomy. These encounters included on holiday with family, as a mother doing English homework with her child, at their graduation ceremony, and married:

> I walk until the kitchen and, oh! There's a man! He looks at me and says me good morning and starts talking to me in English. It seems that I am living in New York and this man is my husband! (year 2030)

3.4.2 Understanding after PEPA 1

More than half of the class had aligned their ideal L2 self with a future working self, generally as a teacher. This future L2 occupation pattern is consistent with findings in a writing enhancement study (Sampson, 2012, p. 325). Deceptively then, desired L2 selves did indeed appear to have been revealed, although more on this in PEPA 2. The students' roadmaps on how to become these versions of themselves were mostly expressed as new intentions, rather than as continuations of existing strategies.

3.5 PEPA 2: Who are the students' actual L2 selves?

The next lesson we ran a class discussion on current levels of motivation (PEPA 2), initially in small groups of three or four. Recounted below is a summary of our class-wide discussion forum, inevitably a snapshot of one day in class, where some students spoke up more than others. The activity arose naturally as, at the start of class, some students voiced concerns about having been without a teacher for a couple of weeks. With student consent, we used extracts from the PEPA 1 ideal L2 self written narratives, as a route to expose the discrepancy with, and the nature of, the actual L2 selves in our classroom.

3.5.1 PEPA 2 findings

It quickly emerged that the students' writing in PEPA 1 had often been creative storytelling, or at least this is what they were keen for me to believe. For many, their ideal L2 selves were hazy ideas, at best in a remote future. The ideal L2 professional selves described were denied and dismissed as "dreams", "fantasies" or "creations" for the assignment. Only two students had as a goal, teaching children using their L2 as a medium of instruction. Whilst there could have been an element of shyness about revealing desires and ambitions in front their peers, the students emphasised this point, saying their level would never be good enough and that, in any event, there were language specialists to do this within infant schools. The students also described the anxiety they were feeling, not just about the EFL course, but also having to pass First Certificate to be eligible to graduate. Apparently, their primary motive for being in class was to pass First Certificate. One student said "I am demotivated" to explain what this requirement did to her enthusiasm to learn. Others used the words "afraid", "scared" or "impossible". This was not, however, the case for everyone; a few members of class had already passed. For the others, a mix of frustrations with their abilities were expressed, particularly in relation to speaking and with what they perceived as poor language teaching during their school careers. When asked about their unwillingness to communicate in English during pair / small group work, one student exclaimed: "But Liz, I cannot speak!" This, said in English and with a note of despair, got the intended reaction (much laughter), but I understood it as a genuine concern. The students told me they had been learning English from between the ages of 3 and 6 i.e., there was a minimum of 12 years' experience of EFL learning for every student in the room. Although, for the local students, formal instruction had generally been 2 hours per week and only one had experienced Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) (in maths). Conversely, one of the Erasmus students had had a bilingual German-English education.

3.5.2 Understanding after PEPA 2

The PEPA 2 activity helped paint a picture, one in stark contrast to the positivity of the PEPA 1 compositions. Whilst the most vocal during the discussion were those who struggled to speak English, asking their classmates for assistance in communicating, the broad consensus was that motivation levels were low. We had used the PEPA 1 writing

activity to begin to find out who the students' possible (i.e., future) L2 selves were, but the L2MSS prerequisite that the ideal L2 self is perceived as plausible was generally lacking. So, whilst in the main the PEPA 1 images were reasonably elaborate, perhaps because of the number of L2MSS prerequisites targeted in the composition framework, in some cases they were simply not true hopes or aspirations. Indeed, all we could say for certain that we had achieved through PEPA 1 was to provide a starting point for our discussion on actual L2 selves in PEPA 2. In PEPA 2 it was revealed that the ideal L2 self did, at least, exist: the students' future L2 selves had First Certificate and better speaking skills. By the end of that class, we were getting closer – via understandings reached and a certain amount of 'emotional unease' / self-discrepancy having been exposed - to the puzzle at the heart of the present study.

3.6 PEPA 3: How could we enhance motivation in our classroom?

The idea for PEPA 3, a possible selves enhancement activity, grew out of understandings reached during PEPAs 1 and 2 that: (a) the students were capable of writing fairly vivid imagery scripts about an ideal L2 self (PEPA 1), albeit sometimes disowned as a fantasy (PEPA 2); (b) speaking their L2 was the skill they were most frustrated about (PEPA 2); and (c) the teacher-led visualisation work I had tried with them in the classroom (not reported here) had not proved particularly relevant, although the applications e.g., in sport, had piqued their interest. Whilst one technique to close the motivational gap is to work on 'roadmaps' to reach the ideal L2 self (Oyserman et al., 2004, p. 131), I wanted to find something that could help these 'L2 users' (Cook, 2016, p. 4) see their desired selves as not so remote, more plausible and relevant to their more immediate goals and concerns. I wanted to find something which bridged the motivational gap in a novel way, in a way which was more about the QoL within the four walls of our EP classroom.

3.6.1 The script preparation

PEPA 3 - our attempt to find a possible selves group enhancement activity that worked for us - took the following form. All of the students, in groups of three to five (we called them the Motivators), were asked to prepare every word of a possible selves imagery script, so that they could simply take it in turns to narrate part as a visualisation for their peers (we called them the Listeners). The Motivators were to surprise us all and to focus on motivating their peers, rather than on grammar. When spoken aloud, these scripts were

to last no more than 8 minutes. On drawing to a close, the Motivators were to ask the Listeners for feedback. The role play was that the Motivators were employed to motivate, through visualisation, the Listeners, who had been instructed to imagine themselves as newly qualified infant school teachers. Writing was done outside classroom time during the week before presentation, with a practice in the preceding class. Finally, each script was to follow the steps of a visualisation framework (steps 1 - 6 in Figure E). The framework included a specific main purpose. This purpose was to speak within a specific social scenario (the scenarios for groups A - G in Figure F). For example, at step 5 in their script, Group B were to motivate their Listeners to imagine themselves public speaking in English. The visualisation framework was adapted from an imagery script template designed for "busy teachers" to write their own visualisations (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014, pp. 56 - 57), in particular changed to incorporate the specific main purpose. I chose the social scenarios from survey statements on the ideal L2 self and motivational pull of English-speaking culture and travel (You & Dörnyei, 2016; You, Dörnyei, & Csizér, 2016). This seemed a good source as the studies measured for something (i.e., motivation to learn English as an L2) that we were trying to enhance, and within the same theoretical framework. For the research procedures for PEPA 3, see Figures E and F.

Figure E: The visualisation framework

Source. Adapted and extended from Dörnyei and Kubanyiova, 2014, pp. 56 – 57.

1	Start with a breathing routine.
2	Set the scene: Where are you? What can you see / hear / smell / touch / taste? Include VIVID DETAILS (for example, bright colours, jazz music, relaxing smells).
3	Describe how you look and feel.
4	What are you thinking about?
5	Describe the main purpose of the imagery / visualisation. Whatever the content of this part of the script, the outcome / result should be positive. So, conclude this part with a feeling of happiness / pride / satisfaction.
6	Finish the imagery prompt with, for example, "When you are ready, open your eyes…".

Figure F: The visualisation main purposes

Source. A – G scenarios extracted from survey items (number in brackets) in You and Dörnyei (2016) and You et al. (2016).

Group /social scenario	The main purpose of the "visualisation" is different for each of the groups. You are trying to encourage the teachers to imagine themselves *in the future*…
A	… speaking in English with foreign friends at parties (9)
B	… giving an English speech successfully to the public (18)
C	… doing business with foreigners by speaking English (28)
D	… sitting in a café with light music playing, chatting in English with a foreign friend, casually over a cup of coffee (33)
E	… having a discussion with foreign friends in English (40)
F	… learning more about the culture and art of the speakers of English (7)
G	… travelling to English-speaking countries (17)

When introducing PEPA 3, I asked the students to try to forget the exercise was assessed and to enjoy the experience. I explained that the classroom would be theirs on the day and mentioned they could, if they wished, use music and other props. I suggested they take this opportunity to experience what it was like to stand up in front of their peers and speak in English, emphasising there would be no extra marks for memorising their scripts. There was, however, no guarantee that the class would engage with PEPA 3, arguably to some extent the 'rules' of this assignment had been imposed. However, PEPA 3 had grown out of mutual understandings reached so far. The teacher's puzzle was also the students': we were on a joint quest to investigate whether they could enhance levels of motivation within our classroom. I asked the students whether they thought they could inspire their peers through their own words. They were nervous, but ready to take on the challenge.

3.6.2 PEPA 3 findings

Whilst, as Motivators, the students concentrated on whether their Listeners showed signs of being influenced, my focus was everyone within the class, particularly how the students acted when presenting.

3.6.2.1 Actively looking and listening

In analysing whether the students demonstrated motivated L2 behaviour during the presentation of their visualisations, and whether their audience was affected, or 'moved', by the experience, I actively watched (Geertz, 2005). This entailed observing their delivery and their listening, and noting the Listeners' verbal responses immediately after each visualisation. I would like first to describe what I observed from my place sitting on the sidelines of the classroom. In my typed-up notes I wrote:

> The students walked into class today with more than the usual enthusiasm. They were chatty. They seemed genuinely excited about the activity. They had their scripts ready to read (printed or on their mobiles) and some started uploading links to additional materials: relaxing music, sounds of water, a recording of a clock striking, ambient café noise, along with - for the Listeners who did not want to close their eyes - pictures of a lecture theatre, a café, and Times Square. The joss sticks… Well, I had to ask for these to be put out and the windows opened so that we did not set off the fire alarm! Apart from letting the Motivators know when they were up to 5 minutes (out of the maximum of 8) in delivering their visualisation, I interrupted only at the beginning of the first visualisation when the room was not yet calm and asked the Motivators to start again. Otherwise, the students successfully ran the whole activity. Each Motivator – when taking their turn to read aloud – appeared engaged in the business of trying to influence their classmates, i.e., the task of getting into the heads of their peers and affecting the levels of motivation in the classroom. Whilst the Motivators' reading aloud was not always completely fluid, they were more practised than in our run-through session. Most Listeners kept their eyes closed and participated in the relaxation exercises: feet flat on the floor and breathing deeply as instructed. At the end of their visualisations, when the Motivators asked the Listeners to open their eyes and come back into the room (this took a while for some), the Motivators (bar Group G which had generated enough energy in any event to get spontaneous reactions) were keen to ask questions to see if their words had had an impact. Attempts at eliciting responses were mixed, and depended in part on how they went about this. At the end of the session, I said they should be proud of the work they had done. They put their chairs back in place – something that did not always

happen – and left class looking pleased with themselves, smiling, chatting, saying goodbye to me.

3.6.2.2 Framework compliance

I reviewed the use of language in the imagery scripts (emailed by the students the night before presentations) and, as with PEPA 1, adopted a form of template analysis (King, 2004). My starting point for the taxonomy was each level and sub-level of the visualisation framework, and so, for example, chunks of script relating to '*what can you see?*' were coded as a sub-level of '*where are you*?' These 'units of analysis' were a mixture of phrases, sentences or paragraphs. Whilst other themes emerged when approaching the scripts a second, and subsequent, times, extracts from the scripts are presented here simply through each step of the visualisation framework, by way of evidence of task compliance. Apart from Group B having no closing line, the seven groups of Motivators wrote something for each step. The Motivator group responsible for each excerpt is credited (letters A - G also relate to their social scenario). Some end of presentation questions and reactions are included.

Step 1: Start with a breathing routine.

> Group D: Now we are going to do a visualisation. We want you to stop thinking about any problems or anything that makes you feel nervous, sad or impatient. See that your arms and legs are in a position that feels right for you and slowly close your eyes and breathe deeply… Forget your problems. Focus your five senses to feel our voice.

Steps 2: Where are you? What can you see / hear / smell / touch / taste?

> Group A: You are in Otto, one of the most famous discos of Barcelona. Is Halloween and you are with your foreign Friends. This year the most fashionable costumes are the cow, Peter Pan, and cowboy… In the house room you can hear groups like Daft Punk. Everybody is dancing and drinking.

At the end of their presentation, these Motivators asked: What do you think about this experience? What do you feel? Hope you like it! The nightclub venue of this visualisation seemed to really appeal to the class. The Listeners' commented: "The club sounded super cool!" "I could hear the really loud music." "I imagined myself there with friends...".

> Group G: You are in Times Square, in New York. It is New Year's Eve… The place is full of people… all the buildings around are full of lights and beautiful brilliant colours. Only three minutes before New Year… All the people start to scream… People around you are speaking English… Your are ready with grapes waiting for the rings, because it's an Spanish tradition and you want to keep on… Only two minutes… Only one minute… 2021 is here… You look at the sky, it's illuminated by fireworks.

There was much excitement about this visualisation. "I loved the pictures of Times Square! I wanna to go to New York!!" "I want to go to that party!" "I went New York." "We eat grapes here with the clock…". The final comment generated a discussion about different traditions in other countries.

Step 3: Describe how you look and feel.

> Group B: You are waiting outside at the hall because you are the next one who present, you have 20 minutes left and minute by minute you get more nervous. You have cold and sweaty hands. Your heart beats faster than usual… You take a look at your smartphone to check the time. You only have 8 minutes left. you are going to the restrooms and look in the mirror to check your suit or dress or make up / hair… Now, when standing in front of the people, you forget all your fears.

Questions from these Motivators included: What would you do in the 8 minutes left to calm down? Would you drink a coffee, water or eat a snack? However, the Listeners came back with: "I imagined looking at myself in the mirror in my elegant clothes" and "I could imagine climbing the steps to give my speech".

> Group D: It's a cold day so you are wearing that warm black jumper you bought last week and your favourite scarf. It feels so soft in your neck, so even if you are inside the coffee shop you don't want to take it off.

Group D Motivators asked: In which café did you imagine you were in? How did you felt? Did you feel relaxed? Reactions from the Listeners: "I smell the coffee!" and "Their voices are so sweet!"

Step 4: What are you thinking about?

> Group A: In this moment you are thinking only in the party because you are so happy and you can't think in other things…

> Group G: Now, you're thinking about the party you will go later, a party in a very famous and big discotheque here, in New York. You really want to go.

Step 5: Describe the main purpose of the visualisation.

> Group C: When the meeting begins, you take a deep breath and begin to explain the main ideas of your project. At first, it costs you develop yourself in English, because it isn't your mother tongue, but business men give help to you and they encourage to continue your speech.

The audience were asked: What kind of coffee would you choose? Which business situation did you think during this script? Reactions to this script were slower in coming, although one Listener exclaimed: "I felt more confident, yeah!"

> Group E: Suddenly, she pulls out a newspaper from her school bag and starts reading a news which seems really interesting. You ask her what is that news about, because she looks impressed, and she tells you that it's about Brexit. These words arouse curiosity in you, so you ask her what does she think about it, because you want to know whether she is in favor of Brexit or not.

This group earnestly asked the rest of the class if they felt motivated and the Listeners dutifully answered yes.

> Group F: … imagine your are in October 17th, 2036 in London. One of the most beautiful cities… I want you to take the typical tea in five o'clock in the most central street… When they serve your tea you have to have good manners, say thank you and please, because it is one of the typical things of English culture.

The Motivators' questions included: How you feel? You have learned more about English culture? And art? You want to go to visit London? There was not much reaction and the Motivators looked dejected. They urged the class for more response, but a classmate offered "I falls asleep!", which triggered laughter. This might have been a combination

of the class being relaxed / being the penultimate visualisation. Perhaps in part though it was due to this scenario being about the attractional pull of culture. These Motivators were not explicitly tasked with asking their peers to imagine themselves speaking, and included a tour of galleries in their visualisation.

Step 6: Finish the imagery.

> Group C: Today it was a good morning, you call your family to explain the notice, the script is finishing…when you are ready, open your eyes.

At the end of PEPA 3 we had a collection of cameos. The students' compliance with the task instructions resulted in English-speaking possible selves with a particular look, mood and thoughts, perceiving the world through five senses, existing in a specific locations, temporally tied to a near-future, and socially-constructed. The rich choice of detail layered onto the basic framework belonged to the members of our class. For example: Group E's ideal L2 self finds itself sitting on a bench on campus when discussing Brexit:

> …dressed with comfortable clothes. Maybe some jeans and a basic t-shirt. If you have long hair you put it on a ponytail so you can feel the air in your neck.

Group F's future self-guide acts to find out more about the culture and art of the speakers of English:

> …you don't have umbrella so you go to the souvenir shop and you buy one with England flag to protect you from the rain….Now you want to go to one of the biggest museums of the world: The victory Museum and Albert [sic; referring to the Victoria and Albert Museum.]

3.6.2.3 Student perceptions

At the end of term, the students completed a perception questionnaire about PEPA 3. They rated five statements about PEPA 3 on a scale of 1 - 6: I was motivated to prepare our visualisation / I enjoyed presenting our visualisation / I was engaged when other students were presenting their visualisations / I think the visualisations were useful for learning English / I was motivated to learn more English after the visualisation work. There was also a comments box. There were 23 responses - the Erasmus students had returned home, plus another absence.

The overall score for PEPA 3 was 3.6 out of 6. The statement "I think that the visualisations were useful for learning English" scored highest (4.0). The students' freestyle comments were positive and included emotions which countered those of PEPA 2: "I really enjoyed doing this activity" and "I think the visualisation activity was useful to learn English and be relaxed at the same time". Other comments: "positive"; "different"; "I like to see the visualisations"; "It's a good activity to practice the listening, the reading and the writing"; "It seems to me that one way to learn English is practising with dialogue and speaking. So, doing visualisations is useful"; and "I'm a nervous person, so for this reason I don't like do oral presentations in front of all the class. Despite of this, I like this activity."

3.6.3 Understanding after PEPA 3

Did we enhance motivation within our classroom? I would argue yes. The students' excitement and positivity in class on activity day; their enthusiasm and effort in the prior preparation and then presentation of framework compliant imagery scripts; their attentive listening and spontaneous reactions to their peers' visualisations; and their positive comments in the later perception questionnaire, all suggest that we did succeed.

The possible selves are: "individualized or personalized, but they are also distinctly social" (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954). The students took the generic social scenarios (at parties, giving a speech, doing business etc.) and 'placed' their self-guides in a way which resonated with the students' past and current experiences, and with an imagined near-future. The Motivators gave a social face to the ideal L2 selves, through shared reference points (e.g., fashion, music, cafés and travel). There was evidence of a desire, of a collaborative effort, amongst the groups of Motivators to create a mental image for their classmates that was: vivid and elaborate, plausible, and recognisable i.e., an ideal L2 self with which the Listeners could collectively engage and emotionally connect. There was a real sense of the students together being invested in this particular classroom activity (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37). Having worked, teacher and students, to understand the QoL within our classroom (EP Principle 2), the Motivators went on to improve this, positively affecting "…the perceived quality of the learners' engagement…" (Dörnyei, 2019, p. 25).

Unsurprisingly, there was no evangelical moment with a Listener announcing their newly found motivation to learn English. The impact the Listeners articulated was in-the-moment, about physically being in the places that the Motivators took them to in their minds. It is unlikely that the Listeners understood every word they heard; the scripts were not perfectly written. Having said this, the students listened intently, often with eyes closed; the room was calm; and they looked relaxed. Some made an attempt to articulate the effect on them. Most importantly, their ideal L2 selves did enter the room. My favourite example of this being the Listener who, mentally checking out how they looked in the mirror, saw their ideal L2 self reflected back at them. I think it would be fair to say that the Listeners' minds, imaginations and emotions were indeed 'moved' that day (van Lier, 2010a, p. 4).

As for asking the more philosophical 'why', the students gave some clues in the perception questionnaire: PEPA 3 was fun, enjoyable, relaxing, did not generate anxiety, and had given them chance to practice speaking alongside other L2 skills. So whilst I might have anticipated that any success we might achieve could be due to authenticity or autonomy, their feedback instead suggested an emotional connection, an enjoyment, intrinsic motivation (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014; Ryan & Deci, 2000). And additionally, a pedagogical satisfaction: this, for them, was the right way to be learning English. One limitation of this present study is that these self-guides did not truly belong to the individuals in the room and we did not have time to explore this. As one student wrote: "…was fun to imagine the situation. Maybe I will enjoy more if we could chose the topic."

At a task-based level, the solo writing of PEPA 1 differed from the group writing of PEPA 3. The collaborative script writing of PEPA 3 - through negotiation of the wording; division into who would deliver which part; and agreement on the style of presentation (such as the props, sound recordings etc., that they employed) - provided an opportunity outside class for the students not only to engage with the language (Svalberg, 2009) (although without the need to demonstrate grammar competence), but also to co-construct their motivation (Dörnyei & Tseng, 2009). Put another way, through this co-working we see that their motivation was socially-mediated (Ushioda, 2003).

It is, however, a little incongruous that some of the students dismissed their personal written ideal L2 selves (PEPA 1) as valueless imaginings and not part of their anticipated future (i.e., they claimed they had no reason to use English beyond obtaining First

Certificate), whilst the concept of the future self - within the context of a visualisation - had been something that they could embrace. The possible selves had helped them, in some way, within the four walls of our classroom. Perhaps, in the exploratory journey from PEPA 1 compositions to PEPA 3 imagery scripts, we had simply brought possible self fantasies into a less remote future and given them social hooks into a sharable reality. Perhaps PEPA 3 had done no more than provide a vehicle for the students to inject some of the dynamism and joy that had been missing from their L2 learning experience to date. I think, however, that there might be more to it than this.

As a teacher-researcher, I came to understand better through this EP as a whole that, if I expose the emotional unease between the actual and an ideal L2 self in my classroom (e.g., anxiety about not being able to speak when being able to speak is desired), I need to provide the students with the support needed to confront this challenge head-on, or better, give them the time and space to find a way to mutually support each other. Writing solo about a distant personal imaginary future English-speaking self (PEPA 1) was not a supported activity, rather it laid bare the emotional unease, as became apparent in the "dejection" expressed in PEPA 2 (Higgins, 1987, p. 322). Our PEPA 3, presenting a near-future group imaginary future English-speaking self, through the support of a co-constructed script, temporarily went some way to levelling out the A2 – C2 playing field in our classroom. In so doing, the individual and personal self-discrepancy gaps, especially for those who had expressed that they could not speak at all, were rendered not closed - which would have removed the motivational force[3] - but less wide than they had been. The group scripts appeared then, to work as a device for lessening the level of emotional unease, which resulted in more enjoyment, fun, lack of anxiety, enthusiasm, and excitement. So armed, the Motivators were able to adopt the role of peer-to-peer motivating agents; experience what it was like to be on the other side of the motivational fence; and put in motion possible selves for the minds of their audience. Whilst this might have been a chimera of an ideal L2 self for some, the class spoke and listened with more ease than in previous lessons.

I offer up one final thought. The possible selves are "…the cognitive manifestation of enduring goals, aspirations, motives, fears, and threats" (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954). Just perhaps then, the visualisation activity allowed these particular students, many of whom felt the education system had let them down in relation to language learning, but were now faced with more classroom formal instruction and passing an English exam for

their future careers, to direct their L2 efforts towards personifying hope for their peers, the hope of an English-speaking self that had all but disappeared for many in the class. For the duration of that class, this allowed for identities to be reframed (Norton, 2015), from jaded and/or struggling EFL learners to Motivators and their attentive audience of future infant school teachers. However, with other compulsory individual assignments to tackle, those emerging new identities did not, in any significant way, re-enter our classroom until, that is, I introduced the second group assignment. This gave us the opportunity to revert to exploring collaborative script writing within a topic the students selected over one being run in parallel classes. They debated, with enthusiasm, whether infant school children should be taught through the medium of English.

3.7 Conclusion

Overall, the EP provided a reminder of the dynamic and non-linear nature of motivation (Dörnyei, 2017; Ushioda, 2009), and that foreign language students are 'persons-in-context', the classroom and the people within it being just one example of a "…mutually constitutive relationship between persons and the contexts in which they act…" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 218).

In the process of exploring their capacity to motivate their peers, the students (as Motivators) demonstrated motivated L2 behaviour (directed thought, energy, and effort) to create an ideal L2 self that had a place within the sociocultural world that their Listeners knew and could identify with; making L2 motivation a potentially win-win mutually developing phenomenon to puzzle over within the four walls of an EP classroom (EP Principle 5).

EP aims at understanding and so there was no goal here to seek a generalised solution to ebbs in motivation in the EFL classroom. Only through exploring the parameters of self-discrepancy, exposing L2 unease in our classroom, and reaching particular understandings during earlier stages of our EP, did we arrive at our 'intervention' (PEPA 3). I hope though that I have managed to narrate some of the changes that took place to our identities, offer some insights on understanding motivation, and introduce some of the possible selves that these L2 users in Barcelona might soon become.

Notes

[1] Hanks (2015) reports on EP in an EAP context, and examines the robustness of the EP Principles in this "intensive period of study" (p. 615). The focus is on the stories of two teachers; that their EP implementation required "…a change in the conception of lesson planning, and expression of aims, objectives, and outcomes" is discussed (p. 629).

[2] In a study investigating the role of working possible selves on learner performance, participants who imagined successful and positive future selves outperformed (on measures of persistence and effort) those who imagined negative and unsuccessful future selves (Ruvolo and Markus, 1992, and as cited by Cho, 2015, pp.1102-1103).

[3] Higgins (1987, p. 336) found that an absence of an actual-ideal self-discrepancy was associated with feeling 'happy' and 'satisfied'.

4. STUDY 2: The L2 self and identity: exploring what Spanish as a foreign language means for former study abroad sojourners

Abstract

The present study seeks to offer insights into how former study abroad students, temporally beyond the period of initial re-entry into their home environments, perceive Spanish as a foreign language in their lives now. This post-sojourn period is explored within the framework of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009) and the expanded model of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Written and oral narratives were collected from a sample of ten former sojourners, who had studied abroad between 11 – 40 months earlier in Spain, and were now living and working elsewhere. These narratives were analysed adopting a thematic analysis method (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013), to look for patterns across the dataset. Findings showed four dominant themes: (1) identity echoes; (2) a pivotal experience; (3) to sustain or not to sustain; and (4) enduring value. In the interests of economy, we stayed close to the words of five participants.[1]

Key words: L2 self, identity, person-in-context, post-sojourn, study abroad.

4.1 Introduction

The post-sojourn in study abroad research has been described as "Another Frontier", with the sustaining of language gains, attrition, and endurability of identity positions highlighted as ripe for further exploration (Plews, 2016). Indeed, that it is for researchers to find better ways to understand what these former sojourners have to say (Wong, 2015). Coleman (2013, p. 27) asked: "Do we not need more studies which address both lifewide and lifelong outcomes?". And whilst Plews (2016) recalculated Coleman's finding of seven studies somewhat upwards (footnoting a non-exhaustive list), the long-term impacts reported were viewed as simply "summative" (p. 3). Citing Kinginger's (2004) *Alice doesn't live here anymore…*, Plews (2016, p. 3) commented: "…we are left asking what must also have gone on at home, whether there was no going back to her former self…". Against this backdrop, the objective of the present study is to explore what a second language (L2) means in the here-and-now for a group of former students who studied abroad during their university careers (henceforth referred to as "post-sojourners"). We aim to contribute to the existing literature and to consider the post-

sojourners' perceptions within the framework of the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) (Dörnyei, 2009) and the construct of the expanded model of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

4.2 Literature review

4.2.1 The L2 self and the L2 Motivational Self System

The tripartite framework of the L2MSS is derived from ideas in social psychology about the future-oriented self-concept and, in particular, the Possible Selves Theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and the Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins, 1987). The three principal components of the L2MSS are the ideal L2 self, the future L2 user a learner desires to become; the ought-to L2 self, a learner's beliefs about the L2 attributes they ought to possess to meet the expectations of others and avoid negative outcomes; and the L2 learning experience, the situated motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience, including the experience of success (Dörnyei, 2009). Reflecting further ideas from social psychology, the L2MSS also includes nine prerequisites: "…that need to be in place for future self-guides to be able to exert their motivational impact" (Dörnyei, 2014, p. 9). These include: an ideal L2 Self exists; is elaborate and vivid; is not perceived as comfortably certain; and is offset by a counteracting feared L2 self in the same domain. In addition, the constructs of promotional and preventional instrumentality are embedded in the framework (You & Dörnyei, 2016), as is a connection with the emotions "…the imagery component of the possible selves offers an obvious link…" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009, p. 352).

As the present study aims to explore the perceptions of post-sojourners situated in the here-and-now, it is important to point out that the actual self is considered somewhat elusive within the L2MSS (Thorsen, Henry, &, Cliffordson, 2017). It has been "…characterised broadly as…" the L2 learning experience (i.e., the third strand of the L2MSS) (Ushioda, 2009). Indeed, a new definition of the L2 learning experience, the "Cinderella" of the framework, has recently been offered: "…the perceived quality of the learners' engagement with various aspects of the language learning process" (Dörnyei, 2019, p. 25). Finally, attention has also turned to the process of personal meaning-making and the possible application of another psychological construct, namely narrative identity. The construct of L2 narrative identity has been defined as: "the specific aspect of an

individual's ongoing internal narrative that relates to learning and using a second/foreign language…it is an integral part of the individual's overall life narrative, responsible for processing past L2-related experiences and constructing future goals" (Dörnyei, 2017). Within the field of psychology, research on narrative identity employs the life-story constructs of, amongst others, 'redemption' and 'contamination', the former where "…a demonstrably "bad" or emotionally negative event or circumstance leads to a demonstrably "good" or emotionally positive outcome", and the latter going the other way, so that the preceding good is erased when things turn bad (McAdams & McLean, 2013, p. 234).

4.2.2 Identity and the model of investment

As we have seen, to the extent that the L2 self exists, it is in the mind. It is an imaginary psychological construct, as is the notion of motivation in general. L2 learners do, however, live in the social, cultural, economic, political, linguistic space around them. We therefore turn to the sociology-inspired, poststructuralist construct of investment (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2013) and the recently expanded model of investment. Four constructs sit within the expanded model, with investment at the intersection of identity, capital and ideology (Darvin & Norton, 2015). The construct of investment offers a way to understand: "…learners' variable desires to engage in social interaction and community practices" (Norton, 2013, p. 6). The construct is considered to underline the role of agency in language learning (Kramsch, 2013), and allows an exploration of a learner's commitment to L2 learning, so that in addition to considering how motivated a learner is, the following can also be asked: "What is the learner's investment in the language practices of this classroom or community?" (Norton, 2013, p. 6).

Identity is considered integrally related with investment (Norton, 2013). In the relationship between the language learner and the social world, identity changes across time and space: it is fluid, a site of struggle (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Norton has credited her construct of investment as being "…informed by Bourdieu's (1991) theories of capital, language, and symbolic power…" (Norton, 2015, p. 377). On the notion of ideology within the model, Darvin & Norton (2015, p. 43) posit: "…learners are positioned in multiple ways before they even speak".

4.2.3 Second languages in the post-study abroad context

On the new frontier for study abroad research, one research strand has been to explore the effect on L2 learning on arrival back in a foreign language formal instruction (FI) classroom. For example, Irie and Ryan (2015, p. 359) discuss the negative and helpless feelings of some returnees, with others: "…triumphant and filled with an empowering sense of achievement". Lee and Kinginger's (2018) case study of a study abroad returnee from China, Kevin, to his home campus FI Chinese classroom in the United States, aimed to understand why he did not sustain his motives for learning Chinese. Over the course of a term, Kevin's narratives, from his experiences in class and during interviews "gave way to challenges" (p. 578). The authors proposed responsive curriculum and instruction, rather than simply expecting student adaptation. Whereas, within a longitudinal research project of bilingual Spanish – Catalan students, on a language-specialised degree programme, and which included a three month stay in an English-speaking country (Pérez-Vidal, 2014), two studies found positive changes to L3 English motivation. However, the nature of these changes was found to differ during study abroad and FI at home periods, pointing to: "…the dynamic and context-sensitive nature of motivation and beliefs" (Trenchs & Juan-Garau, 2014, p. 279). Both study abroad and FI at home periods: "…spurred an increase in learners' integrative motivation, possibly as a reflection of their ideal L2 self in the international arena" (Juan-Garau, Salazar-Noguera, & Prieto-Arranz, 2014, p. 254). (The post-study abroad tests were conducted whilst the students were still students, on return and 15 months post-sojourn.)

More pertinent, however, to the present study and the research direction identified by Plews (2016) is recent research on the wider consequences post-study abroad. Studying in Japan was found to present a "critical incident" in life trajectories (Campbell, 2016), with post-sojourners remaining connected with the country in different ways. Interviews were conducted six months to 15 years after completion of study abroad (all bar one of the eight participants were still students). Dissatisfaction with native speaker interaction during study abroad went one of two ways back home. One participant decided it would take too much effort to get her Japanese to a level she could use post-sojourn. Another - with a feared self as someone unable to use her L2 - worked to increase her interaction with the Japanese language and culture in Australia. Campbell cites two unpublished studies: Fridhandler (2006) and Jiménez and Jiménez (2003). The first reported, amongst

the six students interviewed, recreation of aspects of life on study abroad in Mexico once back in Canada (e.g., with new Latin American friends), and changes to future career plans. The second explored the level of participation (in Spanish-mediated activities during and in the seven month period post-sojourn in Spain) amongst ten United States students in relation to attrition and self-regulation in linguistic and psychological contexts. In a further post-sojourn study, personal, social, cultural, and linguistic effects were found after the study abroad of 12 English majors from an Austrian university to various English-speaking destinations (Steinwidder, 2016). At the time of the study, ten participants were still studying, and two had recently completed their studies. The majority saw study abroad as: "the pinnacle of their oral language development" (p. 9). Nine believed their English skills had deteriorated since return: lack of opportunities to speak in English in Austria and fewer opportunities to speak with native speakers on a daily basis identified. Those who used English with significant others or in jobs, believed they had been able to maintain their level of English.

What the studies reviewed in this section have in common is a consideration, at least in part, of the impact of and / or upon an L2 in the post-sojourn period, arguably in the period beyond immediate re-entry. However, save for one participant in Campbell (2016), the participants were either still students or had just completed their studies or were on interim internships within their study programme. The present study therefore aims to build on the existing body of research by exploring what an L2 means in the post-sojourn period for post-sojourners who were situated beyond an academic setting, into their working lives. The L2 under consideration was Spanish, a 'big' language, although not the global lingua franca. Or, in the terminology of De Swaan (2001), a 'supercentral' but not the 'hypercentral' language.

The following question guided our research:

> How do former sojourners, who have recently crossed the threshold into working lives back home, account in the here-and-now for what Spanish, their study abroad L2, means for them and how they experience this, in terms of the models of the L2MSS and investment?

4.3 Method

4.3.1 The study

The present study was conducted with ten former international university students who had studied abroad (two undergraduates and eight on Master's programmes) between 11 to 40 months earlier at a university in Catalonia, Spain, and whose intended length of stay was for more than two terms (there was one early return, at almost three months). The data collection took place retrospectively, in this post-sojourn period, between June and November 2018.

4.3.2 Participants

There were seven female and three male participants in the age range at data collection of 24 - 46 (average age: 30.3). The participants were from: Europe (six), the United States (three), or Asia (one). All bar one had stayed in their home countries after return. They were working in various fields, namely: human resources, accountancy, not-for-profit, sales, marketing, the civil service, recruitment and software development. They were native or near-native speakers of English, although one ranked Spanish as her L2 and English as her L3. None of the participants in the sample was studying a language major whilst in Barcelona. The only participant taking a language degree - Economics and Hispanic Studies - was on a work abroad (rather than study abroad) programme organised by her university. Half of the sample were studying a language-related subject: translation (one), linguistics (three), the work abroad participant (one). The other half were studying non-language related academic subjects, such as psychology and political science. Half of them had self-organised their educational experience away from home. The participants were allocated pseudonyms.

Figure G: The participants, their languages and sojourns

Name, age, residence and degree level	**English / Spanish / Catalan instruction (EMI / SMI / CMI)**	**Languages and Spanish formal instruction during study abroad (FI)**	**Spanish on arrival / departure / now**	**Length of stay, sojourn number, Erasmus/home university programme or self-organised**
Hannah (20s) Belgium Master's	English in the office (internship)	Spanish = L5 (FI - no) German = L4 French = L3 English = L2 **Dutch = L1**	A1 - A1 - A1	3 months (as left early) First sojourn Programme
Selina (20s) Germany Master's	EMI: 100%	Spanish = L4 (FI - yes) French = L3 English = L2 **German = L1**	A1 - B2 - A2/B1	11 months Third sojourn Programme
George (40s) United States Master's	EMI: 90%, SMI: 10%	French = L4 Spanish = L3 (FI: yes) Japanese = L2 **English = L1**	B2.1 - B2.1 - B1	10 months Third sojourn Self-organised
Maria (20s) Romania Master's	EMI: 60%, SMI: 40%	German = L6 French = L5 Italian = L4 Spanish = L3 (FI: no) English = L2 **Romanian = L1**	B2 - B2 - B2	5 months First sojourn Programme
Mayleen (20s) Taiwan Undergraduate	EMI: 40%, SMI: 60%	Spanish = L3 (FI: yes) English = L2 **Chinese = L1**	A2/B1 - B2 - B1/B2	11.5 months Second sojourn Programme
Elena (20s) The Netherlands Master's	EMI: 100%	Dutch = L6 Catalan = L5 (FI: yes) Spanish =L4 (FI: no) German = L3 English = L2 **Greek L1**	0 - A2 - A2 (Spanish) 0 - A1 - A1 (Catalan)	1 year 10 months First sojourn Self-organised
Rachel (20s) United Kingdom Undergraduate	English mainly, in the office (internship)	Spanish = L3 (FI: no) Italian = L2 **English = L1**	"high" - "fluent" - C2	9 months First sojourn Programme
Jana (20s) Serbia Master's	EMI: 10%, SMI: 90%	French = L4 English = L3 Spanish = L2 (FI: no) **Serbian = L1**	B2 - C1 - C1	9 months First sojourn Self-organised
Peter (30s) United States Master's	EMI: 60%, SMI: 30%, Catalan: 10%	German = L5 French = L4 Catalan = L3 (FI: yes) Spanish = L2 (FI: no) **English = L1**	C1 - C1 - C1 (Spanish) A2 - B2 - B2 (Catalan)	2 years 5 months Second sojourn Self-organised
Adam (30s) United States Master's	EMI 10%, SMI 90%	Portuguese = L3 Spanish = L2 (FI: yes) **English = L1**	C2 - C2 - C2	1 year 8 months Second sojourn Self-organised

4.3.3 Data collection: instruments and procedure

There were three instruments employed for data collection in the present study:

- a sociolinguistic questionnaire (SLQ), to identify the participants' relevant language backgrounds, including self-assessed Spanish level on arrival, departure, and at the time of data collection; the medium of instruction of their academic subject during study abroad; and whether languages classes attended.
- a writing template, designed by the researcher and intended to prompt memories and aspirations about L2 Spanish. This targeted five periods: just before, during, on return from study abroad; in the now; and looking forward. Vocabulary associated with the L2 self was employed in parts of the template, as one means for the participants to gather thoughts. Although, they were given explicit 'permission' to write using whatever vocabulary they wished. The participants were asked to write in English, if a native speaker or comfortable using English. Otherwise they were to feel free writing in Spanish, which one did. Extracts from the template are included in Appendix A.
- finally, and most importantly, a semi-structured interview designed to broaden out, with open-ended questions, the completed templates, and to focus in on the present. The questions are set out in Appendix B.

Contact was re-established via social media with the participants because they met the criteria of being beyond immediate return from their sojourns and, it was hoped for the purposes of the present study, academia, which proved to be the case; they would provide a mixed-majors group; they had all studied abroad in the same university city; and they spoke English. There was no requirement for persistence in foreign language learning (e.g., Shedivy, 2004).

Thirteen former study abroad students were contacted to ask if they would be interested in participating in a research study. If they agreed, they were sent a short email explaining what was involved. There were two no responses to initial contact and one no response to the first email. The remaining ten were sent the template and SLQ, and reminded about

the interview. There was intentionally minimal contact with the participants. Most indicated - due to work commitments - they would only be able to complete the template / participate in the interview at weekends. This resulted in a delay in getting back some of the data. The interviews were conducted remotely, over Skype, with minimal interruption from the interviewer. This was when continued consent to participate in the research was verified. The recordings were transcribed in their entirety. The interviews ran for between 25 and 59 minutes, with average length 43 minutes, and generated between 2,853 and 5,078 words (average: 4,171). The completed templates yielded 639 and 1,876 words (average: 1,378).

4.3.4 Analysis

Initial analysis started on return of the SLQs and completed templates. The latter were read and re-read, being open to patterns emerging. The intention had been for the interviews to be a follow-up to the writing exercise. However, due to the written data including thoughts about a wider L2 identity than the L2MSS anticipates, and notions of an L2 capital value, the scope of the interview was widened, and the model of investment added as a construct for the present study. Once the interviews had been conducted, the written and interview data were analysed using a pattern-based analytic method, the thematic procedure described by Braun & Clarke (2006, 2013). This included: (i) the recursive reading of the data for text units of interest (words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs); (ii) the labelling / coding of text units relevant to our research; (iii) searching for themes through the collation of codes with provisional names; (iv) systematic review of the themes and generating a thematic map (four dominant themes emerged with 12 related sub-themes); (v) generating clear names and definitions for each theme; and (vi) taking the opportunity for final analysis of the data on reporting the findings. Whilst analysis of the written and interview data was geared towards the guiding question i.e., to understand what L2 Spanish meant for the post-sojourners in the here-and-now, we aimed to generate an analysis of the data inductively, with no predetermined categories. All coding decisions were discussed at length between the first and second-named authors and, where there was any disagreement, possible adjustments were considered until full consensus was reached. This resulted in all of the data identified as relevant to our research topic being allocated to at least one sub-theme.

Figure H: Themes

Theme	Sub-themes	Summary of the code topics arising
1. Identity echoes	• Out of reach identity • Lost identity • Retained identity	**A past Spanish L2 identity continues to resonate in the present:** the post-sojourners articulated their thoughts and emotions about a past L2 Spanish identity, be that one that was desired but remained out of reach; one that was lived then lost; or one that was fulfilled then retained. Thoughts and emotions included: feelings of failure and enduring L2 fears, L2 identity loss / gain.
2. A pivotal experience	• Good to bad • Bad to good • Good to better	**Something happened in the L2 story (a negative event, a positive event, or things just got better):** the post-sojourners included a contamination event, a redemption event, or a tipping point in their narratives.
3. To sustain or not to sustain	• No maintenance • Minimal maintenance • Maintaining	**A choice has been made about maintaining or not maintaining L2 Spanish:** the post-sojourners expressed their ideas on sustaining L2 Spanish today, including thoughts about attrition and examples of efforts they are making to maintain their L2.
4. Enduring value	• Linguistic • Sociocultural • Economic	**L2 Spanish is prized at personal level for its pure linguistic value, for how it broadens sociocultural thinking and activities, and for its economic value:** the post-sojourners expressed their thoughts and emotions about: • their current linguistic know-how and how this is valued, be that reflected in pride, satisfaction, enjoyment, increased confidence, or as a transferable skill for approaching other L2s; • a current richer perspective or life, socioculturally, due to L2 Spanish, be that in relation to friendship groups, family members, work colleagues, local community, social status; and • the economic relevance to them today of their L2 Spanish.

4.4 Findings and discussion

4.4.1 Groupings of post-sojourners

Four dominant themes, common experiences for all of the post-sojourners, emerged, as presented in Figure H: (1) identity echoes; (2) a pivotal experience; (3) to sustain or not to sustain; and (4) enduring value. A significant finding was that the same post-sojourners accounted for the same sub-theme meanings within each of themes (1) – (3). We have labelled these groupings of post-sojourners: 'Unfulfilled', 'Pragmatists', and 'Aligners'. We ascribed these labels as the Unfulfilled had L2 desires which were not met; the Pragmatists moved onto L2s more relevant to the communities in which they now reside; and the Aligners have lives aligned with Spanish. To acknowledge the significance of these groupings, they are treated one-by-one in this section i.e., with the theme clusters subordinated to the groupings. To illustrate our findings we have, in the interests of economy, selected half of the post-sojourners from each grouping, chosen to provide examples of perceptions from North America, Europe, and Asia (their names appear in bold in Figure I below). We exemplify the ideas which constitute the relevant sub-themes, within each of dominant themes, with direct representative quotes. Quotes from the written data appear in italics, to distinguish them from the oral interview data.

Figure I: Sub-themes across the three groupings of post-sojourners

POST-SOJOURNERS	**THE FOUR DOMINANT THEMES AND THEIR SUB-THEMES**			
	identity echoes	**a pivotal experience**	**to sustain or not to sustain**	**enduring value**
UNFULFILLED: Hannah, **Selina**, **George**, Maria	out of reach identity	good to bad	no maintenance	linguistic sociocultural economic
PRAGMATISTS: **Mayleen**, Elena	lost identity	bad to good	minimal maintenance	linguistic sociocultural economic
ALIGNERS: Rachel, **Jana**, Peter, **Adam**	retained identity	good to better	maintaining	linguistic sociocultural economic

4.4.2 The Unfulfilled

The sub-themes which appeared in the data for the Unfulfilled conveyed what Spanish means for each of them today, and how they experience this, namely: (i) as an out of reach identity; (ii) through an account of a good to bad experience; (iii) with no intention of maintaining; but (iv) nevertheless, with a sense of enduring value, a sub-theme which is repeated in the two other groupings of post-sojourners. We turn to the words of Selina, a native German-speaker, and George, a native English-speaker.

SELINA arrived in Barcelona from Germany with A1 Spanish and improved to B2 during study abroad. **Out of reach identity:** part of Selina's ideal L2 self was to have a "decent conversation". When describing this hoped for identity, Selina focused on her self-worth and revealed her feared self: "*I did not feel proud at all. After all my 'fear' of not having been able to learn Spanish after having been living in Spain for a whole year had become true.*" **Good to bad:** the pivotal point in Selina's narrative came post-study abroad. She had found a Spanish language exchange friend in Germany and, through meeting regularly, had been able to: *"...regain a certain level of 'friendship' with the Spanish language."* She explains the process of attrition as her story goes in the wrong direction: "He's actually moved back to Spain last month... I know it's there [points to head] and that somehow in my head but I couldn't really use it, so to say. And that's why I kept losing it, or maybe forgetting it is a better word." **No maintenance:** Selina no longer speaks Spanish: "…I guess there was a point there where we say yeah that's enough for me." Selina wrote: "*After all, large parts of the worldwide population is Spanish speaking.*" However, when asked whether there was any overlap between Spanish and her life at the moment, answered: "Only if I really force that into my life, so to say." **Enduring value:** linguistically, Selina plans to travel to Latin America: "…people are not necessarily able to speak English so it will definitely be a positive thing to at least be able to communicate a bit". Socioculturally, Selina said of her language tandem that without knowing Spanish: "I wouldn't have him as a friend." And finally, from an economic perspective, Selina includes Spanish on her CV.

GEORGE arrived on study abroad with B2.1 from the United States and left with the same level. **Out of reach identity:** although firm on having had an ideal L2 self, this was described simply as being able to speak "in this situation or that situation". George

recalled his fear of communicating with native speakers during study abroad, which continued until today: "I had studied all this time and I can't understand what you are saying back to me? So that was the fear right, trying to get over that hump was hard. Is hard and will be hard." He had had the opportunity to chat in Spanish with Latin American colleagues, living in California post-sojourn, but had not done so. **Good to bad:** the pivotal point in George's narrative, like Selina's, goes in the wrong direction. George had started enthusiastically, in the weeks before study abroad, meeting with a Peruvian language exchange partner. He had felt he ought to take advantage of the target language environment Barcelona offered him, and endeavoured to explain what went wrong as his narrative becomes contaminated: "*I was very eager at the beginning then that tapered off during the 2nd semester of grad school classes. I don't think my fears changed; in fact, they probably got worse once I stopped taking language classes.*" **No maintenance:** on sustaining his L2, George wrote: "*Maybe I will watch soccer in Spanish and that's about it*." He commented:

> Learning Spanish I'm kind of fed up with it. Not learning a language in general, just the maintenance and the upkeep, it's just so much. You know if I'm still in Spain I would be still motivated and learning it and speaking it.

Enduring value: linguistically, George, through his Spanish language, identified as what we might call an 'L2 survivor': "I have that background. I have the knowledge in Spanish. I have those challenges that I faced in Spain or in other countries that I know that I can get over and other people can't." From a sociocultural perspective George commented: "Spanish and languages in general gave me a lot. Opened my eyes to a new world and opened my eyes to other, maybe other non-native English speakers in the U.S. And the things they go through. Their struggle." Economically, George occasionally writes phone applications in Spanish at work.

In sum, the Unfulfilled told us about identities which were aspired to but never achieved. They recounted imagined study abroad L2 selves which, despite their desires, had not become reality. This was perhaps because their ideal L2 self had ceased to exist (this was the case for Hannah); was overwhelmed rather than balanced by a feared L2 self (Selina and George); had not been vividly imagined (George); and/or had been perceived as comfortably certain (Maria). In this sense, these selves fell outside the L2MSS prerequisites for an ideal self capable of exerting motivational impact (Dörnyei, 2014),

and so had failed to propel them forwards with their L2. The Unfulfilled also recounted their internalised L2 contamination experiences. If we narrate ourselves into the L2 learners we become (Dörnyei, 2017), then these learners' Spanish-speaking motivation had indeed stalled. The Unfulfilled also had no current L2 engagement, with Spanish or other L2s. Indeed, their unachieved L2 identity position and negative pivotal experience help to explain these post-sojourners' zero strategy position on sustaining their L2. However, unlike the negative essence of the first three themes, when it came to the fourth theme, 'enduring value', the Unfulfilled positively experienced their L2 in the here-and-now, linguistically, socioculturally and economically. For the Unfulfilled, L2 Spanish is promotionally instrumental e.g., for Selina's future travel. For George, his L2 experience has provided him with transferable survival skills, a confidence in his mobility and his ability to cross-boundaries. In fact Elena, one of the Pragmatists, similarly identified as an L2 survivor. George also attributed his own L2 learning with an ability to recognise in others "…the things they go through. Their struggle". This is a direct reflection of the notion of L2 identity as a site of struggle. All of the Unfulfilled were aware of the economic value of their L2 (Bourdieu, 1991), however frustrated they were with their L2 level. Indeed, their awareness of their symbolic capital, of being pre-equipped with linguistic capital and social networks, also resonates with the expanded model of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

4.4.3 The Pragmatists

We turn now to present direct examples of the perceptions of the Pragmatists. Again, the sub-themes which emerged in the data conveyed what Spanish means for these post-sojourners today and how they experience this. However, for the Pragmatists this was as: (i) a lost identity; (ii) through the telling of a bad to good experience; (iii) with minimal intent to maintain: and (iv) as with the other groupings of post-sojourners, with an acknowledgement of enduring value. We focus in on the words of Mayleen, a native Chinese-speaker.

MAYLEEN arrived in Barcelona with A2/B1 and left with B2, passing B2 DELE on her return to Taiwan. **Lost identity:** Mayleen described the impact of her L2 identity change when having no communicative use for her L2 at home:

> It's like your hand is still there but you don't use, you don't have the chance to use it anymore. And so of course your your other hand will probably be lost cos it's kind of the same feeling like that. Yeah.

Bad to good: unlike the pivotal points in the narratives of the Unfulfilled, the Pragmatists' narratives resolve positively. Mayleen wrote:

> *During the first 3 months, I had very little improvement, and sometimes I was really upset. But I kept on meeting new friends, talking as much as possible, taking more classes, and meeting up with my language partner. Yet, after my stay in two families' house during Christmas break, my ability suddenly had significant improvement.*

Minimal maintenance: on L2 maintenance, Mayleen wrote: "*I have only trivial time to learn Spanish now, so I have subscribed to Netflix for its several original Spanish films (with Spanish, English, Chinese subtitles)*". **Enduring value:** from a linguistic value perspective, Mayleen rarely speaks Spanish now, but plans to continue using with her Spanish-speaking language tandem, a native Japanese speaker who had already paid a visit: "…of course we can tell that maybe she's not Taiwanese but we are not talking in Japanese, not Chinese, not English, but we were speaking in Spanish, so that was really fun". Mayleen had shifted her focus to languages more local to her. She had found a naturalistic pathway for learning Spanish and was approaching Korean in the same way, watching TV dramas in a new L2. She commented about her recent trip to Korea: "I know little words and when I've been able to use that little sentence to ask for directions, I feel so super fine". Socioculturally, Mayleen believed of her L2 Spanish:

> …you naturally, you absorb the language itself. The culture, the energy… it's kinda the nature of the language itself and I am being affected by this. And that sometimes will feed back to my own life experience like. It can help me to be like a person more passionate.

She also wrote:

> *Spanish isn't a language that popular in Taiwan, and being able to speak it well makes me become a person more resourceful and more connected to the*

international community. And I think this image is part of what I wanted to become.

Finally, from an economic perspective, Mayleen narrated her L2 story as if Spanish was an economic "*asset*", although she assigned a lower value to L2 Spanish than L2 English: "…it's not like it is a super pass but of course you have more chances". This resource was managed during study abroad; Mayleen "permitted" herself only certain friends with whom she spoke Chinese or English.

In sum, the Pragmatists gained and then lost an identity. They had imagined study abroad L2 selves which had become reality. Both Mayleen and Elena explored their feelings of L2 identity loss when having no use for the language back home. There was a sense of the gaining and losing of power in mobile lives, "…that value shifts across spaces" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 42). The loss also suggests former strong L2 self-guides (Higgins, 1987). Indeed, these two post-sojourners chose to narrate only aspects of their past L2 selves which were L2MSS prerequisite compliant. Also, the Pragmatists had internalised an L2 redemption experience i.e., there were positive resolutions, as we saw narrated in Mayleen's narrated event. Neither of them has given up entirely with maintaining their L2, nor have they shied away from investing in new linguistic challenges, buoyed in part perhaps by successful past self-guides. They had made pragmatic shifts to local community L2s, namely Korean and Japanese for Mayleen, and Dutch for Elena, who was working in The Netherlands. L2 Spanish continued to hold an enduring value for the Pragmatists. Both had discovered their own naturalistic pathways to learn Spanish, linguistic know-how which they had employed when acquiring other L2s. Their telling of this resonates not only with the construct of capital (Bourdieu, 1991), but also – given their sense of Spanish identity loss – with the idea that narrative identity provides lives "…with some degree of unity and purpose" (McAdams & McLean, 2013, p. 233). From a sociocultural perspective, their L2 had given them access to other cultures. Mayleen talked about the process of becoming, of reaching the possible self she had imagined (Markus & Nurius, 1986), and also reaching her goal of connecting with an international community. This transnational thinking about her L2, i.e., beyond the borders of Spain, dovetails with the examples of symbolic capital in the "new world order" discussed by Darvin & Norton (2015, p. 45). These post-sojourners recognised too the economic value of their L2, with Mayleen in particular making it clear that she

understood this as an exploitable commodity *(*Bourdieu, 1991; Darvin & Norton, 2015; Jackson, 2010).

4.4.4 The Aligners

The sub-themes which emerged in the data for the Aligners on what Spanish means for each of them today and how they experience this, were: (i) a retained identity; (ii) framed by accounts of a good to better experience; (iii) with ongoing L2 maintenance; and (iv) with a sense of enduring value. We turn to the words of Jana, a native Serbian-speaker, and Adam, a native English-speaker.

JANA arrived in Barcelona with B2 and left with C1. **Retained identity:** for Jana the notion of a prior ideal L2 self as a guiding force was denied during the interview on the basis that it would not have been relevant to her economically in her home country of Serbia: "Yeah. I understand. But but no I didn't have anything like that because Spanish here in Serbia it's not like a Germany language. Like Swedish." This denial included waving her finger as a no during the interview. However, in her written narrative, Jana had introduced a past L2 self with a desire to learn Spanish so that she could study her Master's through Spanish medium instruction:

> *When I called my teacher the first time to tell her that next year I want to go to Barcelona to finish my master's degree and that I need to learn Spanish until then, she thought that it is not possible and told me that, but all I knew and wanted was to go to Barcelona to study. Today she always tells me that she has never had a student like me.*

Jana identified strongly in the present with the Spanish language: "…I am so sorry that it is not my native language and I feel sorry because I didn't born in in Spain." She also wrote about the "*Desorden total*" (total confusion) she had felt on return home: "*I returned to a culture not so different, but yes different, which I didn't like. I had to get used to everything, even though it is my own country*". **Good to better:** Jana's narrative about her time in Barcelona tips from good to better: "*My Spanish was getting better and better every day. I haven't noticed when I stopped thinking in my mother tongue*". **Maintaining:** on sustaining her L2, Jana, with the most agentive style of the ten post-sojourners, had carefully chosen her job, apparently for the principal reason of not

forgetting her Spanish: "*My vision was not to lose it or forget it, that's why, mainly because of that, I accepted this job*". **Enduring value:** Jana returned from study abroad "*muy orgullosa*" (very proud) of how much her Spanish had advanced. She described acquiring Spanish as adding to her personal knowledge bank: "…a part of other things that I know to do it". On sociocultural value, Jana accessed the Spanish culture during study abroad almost exclusively through the Spanish language, avoiding the use of English as much as possible. She felt on return: "…my punto de vista [point of view] was like ocean" and "*I changed a lot*". She emphasised this was particularly in relation to her ideas about other cultures and religions. Jana uses Spanish with her boyfriend, who lives in Spain, everyday. From an economic standpoint, Jana needs (although, as we have seen, by design) to speak Spanish in her current job. She works for a U.S. company.

ADAM had hoped to become more native like during study abroad. He arrived with C2 and left for the United States with a C2 certificate. **Retained identity:** when asked in the interview whether he had ever had a vision of an ideal L2 self, Adam commented: "Never consciously no. I don't think I ever stood there and thought this is who I am going to be". Despite this, he described a former roadmap-carrying ideal L2 self: "Like when you are starting out your goal is to read a newspaper article and understand it. Then your goal is to go to a restaurant and order in Spanish and they don't laugh at you…". Having met his wife during study abroad, when asked what part of him is Spanish, he said simply and immediately, "my son". **Good to better:** Adam's last big hurdle, when his narrative tips from good to better, was a few weeks pre-interview, getting his hair cut in his L2 without his Spanish wife's help. **Maintaining:** Adam watches some television programmes and listens to music in Spanish. He also uses Spanish daily with his wife and child. **Enduring value:** Adam, now with family ties in Spain, finds his linguistic know-how helps him fit in and not to be an outsider. He gave as an example, adjusting his dialect (e.g., switching 'ustedes' to 'vosotros' and 'ok' to 'vale'): "So when I was in Spain the first time I got tired of people you know looking at me funny when I go to the shoe store and say ustedes tienen este talle [do you have this size]?" Socioculturally, he too felt a sense of changed cultural awareness, although expressed in reverse:

> I think it makes me feel like I know less of the world than I thought I knew when I only spoke English. If that makes sense?
>
> - Less of the world?

> Yeah like the more you learn the more you realise you don't know anything I guess.

Adam had previously converted a single into a double honours degree, so that he had Spanish as well as history. Economically, he believed this had been important for his prior employment.

In sum, the Aligners retained a study abroad identity. They have former ideal L2 selves which had become reality, although they would not necessarily have described their prior motivation in this way. These four post-sojourners described L2 identities grounded in the present. As with the Pragmatists, they chose to narrate only aspects of their past L2 selves which met with the L2MMS prerequisites e.g., they expended effort and carried a roadmap. To varying degrees, Jana, along with Rachel and Peter, remained affected by otherness, left between-cultures, and in a 'third place' (Bhabha, 2004), albeit less so now than on immediate re-entry. Arguably they have no need to imagine a possible future self, they have a more concrete past one to guide them, to be reconnected with that part of themselves again. The past is certain (Suddendorf, 2010). For Adam, his identity is totally connected with the Spanish language now. For the Aligners, a sojourn in Spain had been internalised as a successful L2 learning experience, which had only become better. They narrated experiences of things naturally tipping from good to better. In terms of sustaining their L2, having described Spanish as part of who they are, their thoughts about maintenance were expressed in terms of the natural course of things, although Jana and Rachel had adopted an agentive approach to creating their own situational contexts for L2 use. Jana, Rachel and Peter expressed their emotions, an intrinsic joy, about using Spanish (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2000). For Jana, having L2 Spanish is prized, simply as something that is known; L2 Spanish dialect know-how helps Adam with his investment in the L2 of his wife's family. All of them perceived their L2 as a capital, although it was Rachel, like Mayleen in the Pragmatists, who was particularly conscious of this, identifying its prestige value, perhaps because she found Spanish to not be readily usable in the United Kingdom. Adam and Jana have personal relationships where the language of communication is Spanish. Peter lives in New York City, where he feels his Spanish allows him to "associate with a larger section of the community". All four post-sojourners use Spanish at least every working

day and, in short, have invested beyond the study abroad context of their L2: they have Spanish situated in their lives, be that serendipitously or agentively.

4.4.5 Meaning-making

Through the words of the former sojourners, we have been reminded of "the mutually constitutive relationship between persons and the contexts in which they act – a relationship that is dynamic, complex and non-linear" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 218). On return home, our ten sojourners transitioned from second to foreign language learners. We have been privy to that next stage of their L2 motivation journeys, living and working back in their home communities. Through the process of their meaning-making, we have heard about their past experiences in the target language rich environment of study abroad, re-constructed and internalised in the present, along with their intentions for the future (Karniol & Ross, 1996). They have each presented to us an "identity in time" (McAdams & McLean, 2013, p. 233). Spanish did indeed have meaning for these post-sojourners in the actuality of their current lives. In the domains of L2 identity, narrative identity, and L2 maintenance, there were different degrees of negativity and positivity. However, when the post-sojourners shared what enduring capital value Spanish has for them today and how they experience this, they each did so with positivity, albeit from different perspectives. Indeed, that the theme cluster of 'enduring value', with its associated sub-themes, emerged as a dominant one is consistent with the findings of Steinwidder (2016).

None of the present study's participants were taking Spanish as their degree subject whilst on study abroad, increasingly the profile of sojourners (Collentine, 2009). However, six of them chose to enrol on an academic course with an element of Spanish medium instruction. Each made their own choices and efforts to acquire Spanish. Four of the former sojourners had invested in formal Spanish classroom instruction during their sojourns, whilst another, Maria, had tried to but had been frustrated by her experience: "If I had been able to attend Spanish classes at [her university] I would have studied but no they only asked me to attend classes run in Catalan". A further two had chosen to attend Catalan classes. Given improved foreign language competence is a stated aim of exchange programmes (e.g., European Commission, 2019), this begs the question: what linguistic and other support from host and home universities (including from their language schools, international student offices, and careers services) would have

benefited these post-sojourners before, during and after study abroad, to maximise the potential of their L2 Spanish? It is worth noting that, with half of the participants in the present study having self-organised their study abroad, the burden for that support would have fallen disproportionately on the 'host' universities.

4.5 Recommendations

From the curriculum and pedagogical perspectives of university language schools, the dominant themes which arose in the present study supply us with food for thought. Lessons could be adjusted to straddle the immediacy of L2 learning whilst on study abroad with the prospect of L2 use post-sojourn. Classroom activities might include the use of the L2MSS prerequisites as curriculum planning checklists. Are desired future L2 selves primed, vivid and elaborate, are they perceived as plausible? Have the students prepared roadmaps, to work to close the discrepancy gap between their actual and ideal L2 selves? Are students realistic about how much effort is involved in acquiring an L2? Have their feared L2 selves been explored, to ensure balance with their future ideal L2 selves? Indeed, vision work on the ideal L2 self, such as described in Dörnyei and Kubanyiova (2014), might be adapted to focus in on creative imaginings of L2 use in communities back home. In what ways do students see L2 Spanish as part of their future identity? How do they imagine sustaining their study abroad L2 gains back home and what drives this? In which fora do students foresee using their L2 in their future lives? Have they conceived of their L2 having a place in their careers? We suggest that vision work done at host universities during study abroad, and carried on by home universities for returnees, could help students to explore their language learning motives; prepare them for taking an agentive approach towards the usability of their L2 in their working and personal lives; and provide a positive foundation for students' lifelong language learning narratives. Importantly, any negative past L2 experiences during study abroad could be addressed, with a "reframing of the bad moments" (Falout, 2016, p. 124).

4.6 Limitations

Our intention in the present study was to explore what L2 Spanish meant for former study abroad non-language majors who had recently crossed the threshold into working lives, and to do this through the medium of the returnees' own words. The post-sojourners returned to different locations: North America (three of them), Asia (one) and Europe

(six). In this respect, whilst we have some indication of the home location impact on how Spanish was perceived for these particular post-sojourners, the present study was limited by our sample size of ten. Additionally, there was no data collected on the socio-economic background of the participants. Indeed, there was a sense at times in the data that we were exploring the perceptions of a migratory elite, armed with pre-existing mobility capital from earlier experiences abroad (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002). Further research might identify what sojourn Spanish means on return to a number of specific home locations and across different socio-economic groups. Finally, it is worth noting that the L2 Spanish of the Aligners was generally stronger on arrival than the Unfulfilled and the Pragmatists (see Figure G), although the L2 arrival level does not explain the differing perceptions between the latter two groupings. Two of the Aligners also sojourned for longer (see Figure G). Again, this factor is likely to have impacted on what Spanish means in their lives now.

4.7 Conclusion

The view that language learners are seen as binary, motivated or unmotivated, has been questioned (Norton, 2013). In the present study, the old paradigm of L2 motivation as an individual difference did not ring true in the narratives of the individuals we explored, from our "focus on real people, rather than learners as theoretical abstractions" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 220). Four themes emerged about how L2 Spanish is perceived in the here-and-now by these the former students who had studied internationally. These were explored across three groupings of the former sojourners which we labelled: the Unfulfilled; the Pragmatists; and the Aligners. The post-sojourners experienced echoes of their former L2 identity in the present, although this resonated differently across the three groups. There were expressions of thoughts and emotions about this identity, be that one that had been desired but remained out of reach (the Unfulfilled); was lived and then lost (the Pragmatists); or was fulfilled then retained (the Aligners). Each post-sojourner wove a pivotal L2 experience or event into their narrative which was good to bad / contaminating (the Unfulfilled), bad to good / redeeming (the Pragmatists), or things simply tipped from good to better (the Aligners). Common too were thoughts on whether to sustain or not to sustain their L2. Whilst some of the post-sojourners had no strategies for maintaining their L2 Spanish (the Unfulfilled); others acted to maintain their L2 in a light touch way, whilst making a switch to more local L2s (the Pragmatists); and the remainder were

maintaining their Spanish (the Aligners). Importantly, each of the ten post-sojourners attributed an ongoing value to their L2 post-sojourn on three distinct levels: linguistically; socioculturally; and economically. Whilst for our post-sojourners there was no going back to their former study abroad selves, we are left wondering whether how they, particularly the Unfulfilled, experience Spanish in the here-and-now could have been different, or indeed their lives more generally, had their L2 learning experience during and immediately after their sojourns been more considered from a holistic policy perspective.

Endnote:

[1] For the purposes of the present study, second language (or L2) includes an L3, L4 etc., unless otherwise stated.

5. STUDY 3: The L2 self and identity: Spanish students' motivations for electing an English-mediated university education

Abstract

Taking a person-in-context relational view of motivation (Ushioda, 2009), the present study seeks to offer insights into how students, in the midst of an English medium instruction degree programme, articulate their choice to study an academic subject via English as the lingua franca (ELF). Oral narratives were collected from a sample of 34 year 2 and 3 Spanish undergraduates, advanced English as a foreign language learners, and analysed adopting a thematic analysis method (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013). These narratives yielded three dominant themes: (1) *The right fit for me*; (2) *To practise my L2*; and (3) *ELF comes with benefits*. Staying close to the words of the participants, each theme is presented as a composite description from the temporal position of the here-and-now, and explored within the social psychological framework of the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) and the sociological model of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015).[1]

Key words: English Medium Instruction, identity, investment, L2 self, narrative identity, person-in-context.

5.1 Introduction

With the dominant conceptualisation of Englishisation so far seen as a top down, policy-led, process (Lanvers & Hultgren, 2018), and with the recent move towards the internationalisation of universities being achieved in part by the implementation of English medium instruction (EMI) degree programmes (Lasagabaster, 2016), this somewhat begs the question as to the appeal for the student stakeholders to enrol on the EMI programmes offered to them. In a recent review of literature in the higher education arena, motivations for enrolling on EMI undergraduate and postgraduate courses have been identified as a possible variable which needs to be researched, before any attempt can be made to conclude the weight of the EMI phenomenon and where it is going (Macaro, Curle, Pun, An, & Dearden, 2018). Indeed, in their state of play report on English-taught programmes in European higher education, Wächter & Maiworm (2014, p. 17) refer to "a critical mass" across non-English speaking Europe, with 1.3% of total

student enrolment in 2013 - 2014 in the countries covered (an estimated 290,000 students), although with regional variations. The north - south divide they previously observed, with the exception of Cyprus, continues: the south "…very much lags behind". Against this backdrop, the objective of the present study was to explore what the choice to elect a degree taught through English as the lingua franca (ELF) means to a group of students in the midst of an EMI programme in southern Europe, specifically Spain, and how they experience this. We aim to consider these motivations to choose EMI from a qualitative perspective, invoking the person-in-context relational view of motivation of Ushioda (2009), and through the lens of the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) and the model of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

5.2 Literature review

5.2.1 Person-in-context relational view of motivation

From the person-in-context viewpoint, motivation is seen as 'relational'; it is complex and organic (Ushioda, 2009). This viewpoint offers an alternative to context as an independent variable, with 'person' a non-abstract, real and self-reflective human being with, amongst other things, agency and motives. The notion of a 'person-in-context' provides a way into the micro-level and away from abstraction of types of learner in a collective sense. Indeed, Ushioda (2009, p. 216) argues that: "…we need to understand second language learners as people, and as people who are necessarily located in particular cultural and historical contexts". This view of motivation is offered as compatible and integrable with others, together with which it may inform a "more embedded relational view of motivation and identity" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 220). For example, Ushioda (2009, p. 225) considers the possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986), as they relate to L2 users, to be "entirely continuous with language learners' current selves". It is to the future-oriented self-concept that we now turn.

5.2.2 The L2 self and the L2MSS

The possible selves have been successfully deployed in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), with 'L2 self' the term used within the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS), a tripartite framework comprised of the ideal L2 self (a desired future L2 self-image), the ought-to L2 self (an imported self from the expectation of others and to avoid

negative outcomes), and the L2 learning experience (situated motives related to the immediate language learning experience, including the experience of success) (Dörnyei, 2009; You & Dörnyei, 2016). The L2 self works as a future referent, with the L2 user motivated to close the gap, the discrepancy, between his / her actual L2 self and their future L2 self. The actual L2 self – critical for measurability of the discrepancy gap – is, however, an undeveloped part of the model. Indeed, it has been tagged the 'missing self' of the L2MSS (Thorsen, Henry, & Cliffordson, 2017), with the third strand of the model, the L2 learning experience, considered the closest the L2MSS comes to offering a notion of the actual self (Ushioda, 2009). Indeed, the reason for the L2 learning experience, the "Cinderella" of the L2MSS, being overlooked has recently been explored, and a new explanation of the actual L2 self offered as "the perceived quality of the learners' engagement with various aspects of the language learning process" (Dörnyei, 2019, p. 25). Finally, an additional factor at play when considering the self (L2 or otherwise) is temporal focus, with Dörnyei (2017, p. 93) commenting: "…the novel narrative dimension accounts for a so far overlooked level of the self, whereby people organize and understand their experiences and memories in the form of autobiographical stories and thus narrate themselves into the person they become".

5.2.3 Identity and the investment model

Whilst the model of the L2MSS might help us to look at what moves a learner to act from an internal perspective, albeit with socially grounded self-perceptions (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009) (i.e., learners act to ease the psychological discomfort between their actual and future L2 selves (Dörnyei, 2009; Higgins, 1987)), there are constructs which might also assist us from a sociological standpoint. Indeed, the construct of investment has been described as a sociological "complement" to the psychological construct of motivation, and as being "…informed by Bourdieu's (1991) theories of capital, language, and symbolic power…" (Norton, 2015, pp. 375 and 377). Within this poststructuralist perspective, identity is considered integrally related with investment (Norton, 2013). The ability of language learners to claim "…more powerful identities from which to speak", reframing unbalanced power relations with others, depends in part on their investment in the practices of a particular classroom or community (Norton, 2015, p. 377). If a learner invests, they do so on the understanding that they acquire a wider range of "…symbolic and material resources, which in turn will increase the value of their cultural capital and

social power" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37). Symbolic capital is "…the form the different types of capital take once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 4).

In response to "the communicative landscape in an increasingly digital era", the construct of investment has now been located in an expanded model: "…at the intersection of identity, capital, and ideology" (Darvin & Norton, 2015 cited) (Norton, 2015, p. 376). Within the expanded model of investment, and in what is referred to as a new world order where learners "… operate across transnational contexts and flit in and out of online and offline spaces…", it is symbolic capital that is considered particularly relevant, with examples being pre-equipped with linguistic capital and social networks (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45). Although the construct of investment is grounded in the real world, Norton's work has also included a notion of a future identity (Norton, 2013) and the construct of imagined communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2001), with this research suggesting that a learner's imagined identity will impact on his / her investment (Norton, 2016).

5.2.4 Motivations in an EMI context

There is a sense that the direction EMI research has taken to date has been unbalanced, with studies on linguistic outcomes on the increase, whilst non-linguistic ones have been somewhat neglected (Lasagabaster, 2016). However, studies have recently investigated quantitatively levels of motivation, with the context of EMI as the variable factor. Significant differences in intrinsic motivation and English learning engagement between 276 Taiwanese EMI and non-EMI students were found in a study conducted in Taiwan (Chen & Kraklow, 2015). Although the purpose of the study makes reference to "…little research on why students participate in EMI programs in the first place" (p. 47), the authors discuss the difficulties of discerning whether participation on the EMI programme led to the differences they found or vice versa. They see "…the acts of signing up for EMI programs and taking the proficiency test" (p. 59) as a difference in motivation. The thoughts of one EMI student from a follow-up interview are offered on the basis that, in her case, motivation appeared to precede EMI participation. Another study, this time of 369 students in Madrid in Spain, also found that EMI students are more L2-motivated (and have more mature learning strategies) than their non-EMI counterparts (Rivero-

Menédez, Urquía-Grande, López-Sánchez, & Camacho-Miñano, 2017). Whilst Lasagabaster (2016) considered how L3 motivation was generated amongst 189 students in a Spanish EMI context (specifically the Basque Country) and concluded that this is "… by students' aspiration toward an imagined L2 future self, as well as by the EMI learning experience itself" (p. 327).

More apposite to the present study, however, is the exploration of the nature of motivation in an EMI context on the qualitative front. Gao (2008) explored the context change from school-subject English on mainland China to Hong Kong for EMI degrees. Fifteen out of 22 participants were interviewed both on the Chinese mainland and then two years later in Hong Kong. A shift in the main motivating source was reported, from context-mediated to a variety of self-determined motives, and with visions of an ideal self "a powerful force" (p. 605). It was suggested that this shift was due in part to the students leaving behind prior social / family networks and gaining more control of their own learning. Du & Jackson (2018) looked at the same context change. Mainland Chinese EFL learners were interviewed once, post-transition to a Hong Kong EMI environment (i.e., retrospectively, either in their second or third university year). Motivational intensity was "greatly enhanced" after arrival in Hong Kong (p. 162), and this was maintained until interviewed. However, surges - due to exams and overseas trips - were usually not sustained. Six out of the eight participants "…became keenly aware of the financial, social and symbolic capital of English in Hong Kong (Bourdieu, 1991)" (p. 163).

Student and teacher perceptions of and opinions on motivation within the EMI context have been explored, in the Basque Country, through focus groups (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2018). With the main construct the L2MSS (although the interaction between the L2MSS and other constructs – including investment, identity and imagined communities - was considered), both teachers and the fifteen students were found to have a strong ideal L2 self (although with differences), and the ought-to L2 self of the students was more prevalent.

In the studies above, the question about language choice was not explicitly explored i.e., what motivated students on those EMI programmes to elect to study their degrees in this way. However, in a study specifically addressing why students enrol on EMI programmes, whether identity played a role in that choice within a Swedish university was investigated (Henry & Goddard, 2015). The students were interviewed mid-way

through their first term and the majority (nine out of eleven participants) were said to have constructed a hybrid rather than bicultural identity, with an observation made that their choice to undertake the programme: "…it appears almost entirely unproblematic" (p. 268). The researchers call for similar studies in different locations, given that results might differ due to English possibly being more implicated in identity work in a Nordic context. Additionally, Doiz and Lasagabaster (2018) do, in part, discuss the EMI language choice, and this in relation to a research question about how motivation is manifested in EMI in a Basque context. They linked their data to the prevalence of English in Spanish society and the career advantage of knowing English. Other factors included friends enrolling and becoming an Erasmus student.

5.3 The method

5.3.1 The study

The present study endeavours to go some way in addressing the underrepresentation in empirical research on how students explain their motivations to enrol on an EMI programme in the first place. The study sought to answer the following question:

> How do undergraduate students, already well into their EMI experience, account in the here-and-now for what their choice of an English-mediated degree programme means for them and how they experience this, in terms of the models of the L2MSS and investment?

The present study was conducted at a university in Spain, in the autonomous community of Catalonia, within an EMI programme which was well beyond its pilot phase. This EMI degree was taught 100% in English, with 420 contact hours per academic year. The academic subject was, broadly, Economics (henceforth referred to as Economics in the present study). Study abroad was a mandatory part of this four year EMI programme. There was a similar undergraduate degree programme available to choose from, although with only 35 hours of EMI per year. To attend this university, students require CEFR B2 level of English. Data collection took place once, retrospectively, in February 2016, halfway through the academic year. At this time, there were no native English speakers on the faculty staff.

5.3.2 Participants

There were 34 participants in the present study (henceforth the 'EMI-ers'), 20 females and 14 males, undergraduates in the age range of 19 to 21 (average age: 19.8). The EMI-ers were selected as they were settled within an EMI programme, enrolled in the second and third years[2] (Y2 and Y3) of study and were all native Spanish speakers. English was more often than not an L3, as all bar 12% of the EMI-ers were bilingual Spanish-Basque/Catalan/Galician. A proficiency test placed the participants in the range B2 - C1 CEFR. Students were financially rewarded for their participation in the project.

A language questionnaire (LQ) was completed by the participants which revealed detail, further to the sampling criteria, about the profiles of EMI-ers. 79% had taken extra English classes during the ages 5-18 outside regular school classes, with an average of 6 years study between them. All had obtained an official certificate in English (e.g., Cambridge First Certificate). Catalan had been the language through which 76% of the participants had received the majority of their education pre-university. Other L2 learning featured Chinese, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, and with 12% learning Catalan, the local language. The participants self-rated their communicative skills in English as excellent (26%), good (68%), and average (6%). 9% had so far been on a study abroad exchange to an English-speaking country during their university studies with the purpose of learning English. Finally, the EMI-ers were also asked in the LQ to estimate the time spent since entering university on various English activities, and these are set out in Appendix C. Notable was that whilst, on a daily basis, 22 (65%) read English language magazines or browse the web in English, 30 (88%) listen to English language music, and 15 (44%) write emails or otherwise communicate through writing in English, only 8 (24%) speak to native English speakers or to other friends through English.

5.3.3 Data collection: instruments and procedure

Three instruments were employed for data collection in the present study. First and foremost, an oral narrative task was administered which prompted the participants to produce a monologue. This task was completed individually, on campus in the presence of two of the researchers and was spoken within sound attenuated cabins i.e., away from the EMI classroom environment. Secondly, there was the LQ and thirdly, a proficiency

test, which were completed online, in the participants' own environments, prior to the oral data collection on campus.

Concerning the narrative task, the participants were instructed as set out below. Question 2(b) provided the data to be analysed in order to address the research question for the present study, while the other questions provided additional background data to that collected in the LQ:

> Please introduce yourself, including the following information:
>
> 1) The languages you speak, your English language learning experience.
> 2) What degree you are taking and (a) why you chose it, (b) why you chose to take it in English.
> 3) Anything else you feel is relevant regarding language learning that you would like to share with the researcher.

To the extent that the oral narratives, from the vantage point of Y2 or Y3, included an internal dialogue about experiences, re-interpreted through a process of meaning-making (McAdams & McLean, 2013), this arguably extended the period of our inquiry, in the absence of a longitudinal data collection, allowing us to hear how the participants interpreted their decision well into their academic careers, beyond what Henry & Goddard (2015, p. 268) referred to as possible effect on data collected in the "honeymoon period" of the first term of the first year, a period "…in which perceptions of the possible challenge of learning subjects in English might not yet have crystallized". In addition, narration is a self-reflective process and, unlike an interview (structured or otherwise), there is no third party intervention in the participants' free-flow of thoughts. This went some way towards addressing the artificiality of our non-classroom based research setting, and the consideration that any responses given by the participants would be tainted by their desire to say what they thought they should say (Block, 2000). From a more pragmatic perspective, the narratives allowed for collection of oral data from a large group of participants on the same topics at the same time.

5.3.4 Analysis

Audio recordings of the narratives were transcribed in their entirety and checked to ensure accuracy, in order to proceed to analysis. Where the participants used pragmatic markers and word repetition these were included, with punctuation excluded (although apostrophes and uppercase letters have been added in the direct quotes presented in the results, simply to aid the reader). The 34 narratives yielded between 91 and 372 words of data, with average length 214 words. We have aimed to generate an analysis of the data from the bottom-up, adopting an open-coding approach i.e., with no predetermined categories. However, we acknowledge that "…analysis is always shaped to some extent by the researcher's standpoint, disciplinary knowledge and epistemology…" (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 175). Indeed, analysis of the narratives, the primary data in the present study, was geared to understanding the motivations of these undergraduate students for having elected EMI.

The narratives were analysed using a pattern-based analytic method, the thematic analysis procedure described by Braun & Clarke (2006, 2013) and so, accordingly, we have taken the following steps: (i) each narrative was read and re-read to begin to notice text units of interest (words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs); (ii) a name / label capturing why a text unit might be useful was applied to units relevant to our research topic; (iii) text units dealing with the same issue were collated into sub-themes (our candidate analytic categories) and given provisional names and definitions; (iv) the narratives were systematically reviewed to ensure identification of all relevant sub-themes and a thematic map of analysis was generated (22 sub-themes emerged and grouped into three themes); (v) analysis continued with refinement of each theme, with clear labels, accurate definitions, and an exhaustive set of supporting data; and (vi) we took the opportunity for final analysis of the data on reporting the findings, relating back to the literature and the research topic. All coding decisions were discussed at length between the first and second-named authors and, where there was any disagreement, possible adjustments were considered until full consensus was reached. This resulted in all of the data identified as relevant to our research topic being allocated to at least one sub-theme.

5.4 Findings and discussion

5.4.1 Dominant themes amongst the EMI-ers

As presented in Figure J below (first column), the EMI-ers' narratives yielded three dominant themes related to our guiding question: (1) *The right fit for me*; (2) *To practise my L2*; and (3) *ELF comes with benefits*. In the second column, we provide the number (and percentage) of EMI-ers who expressed each of the dominant themes. To ease our discussion, we have labelled the EMI-ers, when speaking about each theme, respectively: (1) Aligners; (2) Practitioners; and (3) Profiteers. In the third column, we provide summaries of the sub-theme topics arising, summaries which dovetail with our reasons for ascribing the EMI-er labels. In the fourth column, the ideas related to the dominant themes, i.e., our sub-themes, are set out, with the figures in brackets indicating the number EMI-ers who conveyed that same specific view in relation to the sub-theme. We will present each of the dominant themes in turn.

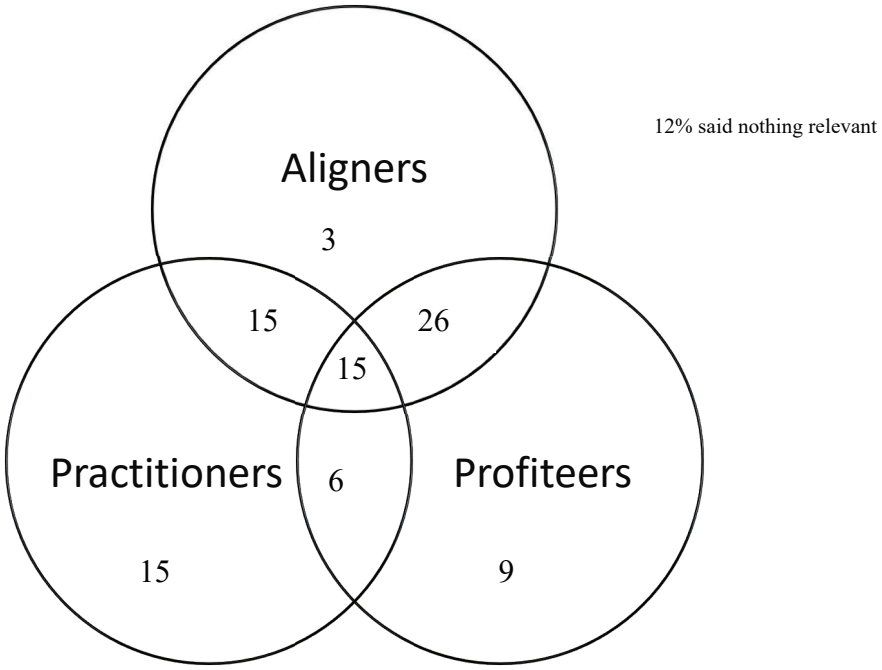
Figure J: Themes in absolute numbers and percentages

Themes	n/34 and (%)	Summary of the sub-theme topics arising	Sub-themes
(1) The right fit for me ("Aligners")	**20 (59)**	As Aligners, the EMI-ers described EMI as an interesting prospect which aligned with their ideas of who they were and what they liked.	*It would be interesting for me, an experience (6); It fit my interests (2); For my enjoyment, for the love of the language (2); It would challenge me (3); It fit my vision of me (2); It fit my personality (3); In my opinion, it was for me! (10); I am an English speaker, so it was for me! (5)*
(2) To practise my L2 ("Practitioners")	**17 (50)**	As Practitioners, the EMI-ers talked about EMI offering a practice forum within which they could be actively L2 engaged.	*To improve my English (10); To avoid losing my English (1); An alternative to academies (2); Language over degree content (3); My L2 pay-offs during EMI (6)*
(3) ELF comes with benefits ("Profiteers")	**19 (56)**	As Profiteers the EMI-ers foresaw ELF as a linguistic asset for communication and advantageous in the job market.	*To speak to anyone (anywhere) / world language (6); To travel (6); To engage with other cultures (2); To study abroad / live abroad (2); To study my subject in an international way (2); To get a job (7); To put on my CV (2); To work internationally (2); Competitive edge (5)*

The figures in column 4 indicate the number of EMI-ers who mentioned this topic.

The EMI-ers generally fell within more than one dominant theme and this distribution is illustrated in Figure K below. This figure highlights the slight overall dominance of the Aligners (*'The right fit for me'*) over the two other themes, whilst also showing how the themes overlap, most notable being the intersection of the Aligners with the Profiteers. Four EMI-ers (12%) said nothing relevant to our research question. They spoke, for example, about their L2 learning experience and/or why they decided on Economics as their degree subject, but not about choosing EMI.

Figure K: EMI-ers per theme in percentages



5.4.2 The right fit for me ("Aligners")

Within the theme of *'The right fit for me',* the 20 Aligners (59% of the EMI-ers) expressed their choice to study through EMI as personal to them, it had been theirs to make. EMI had been foreseen, for example, as an interesting prospect: "…to experience a new way of learning totally different from from what I previously had that was in my my native or or mother languages that were Spanish and Galician…". It seemed the EMI classroom

had also been anticipated by the Aligners as a situation within which they could explore their own interests, what they loved and desired. This thinking was extended to interests beyond the EMI classroom: "… umm but I'm also really interested in international things from I don't know European Parliament United Nations…". The pleasure associated with the medium of instruction had been anticipated: "I chose it in English because I just love the language". Indeed, the connection was explicitly made between their EMI choice and an identity fit, not only with their own personalities ("…really fits with myself…" said one), but also their own fit within the EMI group: "…umm most of the time the people who choose this type of career well since they are choosing to do it in English it just makes a profile of person and I was interested in that type of people". For other Aligners, their EMI choice had coincided with a vision of an imagined future self. Indeed, the L2 goal of one had been personified by a former girlfriend: "…she were from Austria she spoke like million of languages I mean German English Spanish and I were jealous…".

Electing EMI was a decision the Aligners had felt empowered to make, it had been a plausible proposition. They had been confident shoppers in an international university market. "I had no doubt that this would be an excellent choice for me", said one, that it is an "…excellent programme because it is completely in English" said another. This made it "…perfect for me", "I went for it", "I was clear", opined other Aligners. They identified EMI as an educational bonus, a two-for-one option "…it was in English that's value added for me", and "I felt it was differentiated from the rest of the degrees the university offered" mentioned another. This self-belief extended to the Aligners' ability to speak English and this too had been implicated in their EMI choice. For example: "…that's why", "…I had it pretty clear", "…it didn't suppose a great effort for me because I already had a high level of English". This confidence was reflected in the EMI choice being expressed as a desire to take on a new endeavour: "…to make it a little bit more challenging than than just doing it Spanish or Catalan as usual". One Aligner, with an American mother, simply commented: "…ahh I've learned the three languages at the same time since I was aah two or three years' old and that's one of the main reasons why I chose my degree in English".

In sum, in this theme of *'The right fit for me'*, EMI had appealed to the Aligners on a personal level, it had struck a chord. In narrating the interests, likes, desires and visions of their past selves, they presented to us the positive pull of their motivations to choose

EMI. Their former possible selves, in general and L2-specific, held centre stage (Dörnyei, 2009; Markus & Nurius, 1986). On the emotional front, although only 2 of the Aligners (6% of the EMI-ers), articulated their EMI choice as a desire for enjoyment (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014), there were no expressions of negative emotions having been anticipated, such as fear or anxiety. Nor was their choice expressed as an ought-to self, as having been due to any pressure from parents or elsewhere. When the Aligners opined on their EMI choice, they appear to have perceived their former future L2 selves as plausible, one of the L2MSS preconditions for the L2 self to be able to exert motivational impact (Dörnyei, 2014), a reflection of their self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977). Through a retrospective lens, well into their degree programme, they looked back at their former selves and, via the process of meaning-making, narrated for us a self-belief both in their own prior judgment about the language choice for their degree instruction, and as ELF users. These EMI-ers associated their EMI choice with self-potential, with EMI as a site of becoming, where they could fulfil their hopes and aspirations.

At a micro-level, an EMI classroom provides a situated L2 learning experience of a particular kind. The current experience of an EMI classroom appears to have provided an opportunity to "facilitate…their engagement with future possible selves" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 225). The Aligners, from a person-in-context perspective (Ushioda, 2009), i.e., in the actual world of EMI learning, narrated the fulfilment of some of their hopes and desires. They provided us with an idea of their L2 social identities in the present, the hopeful selves which had elected EMI in the past and had now 'sprouted' identities in the world (van Lier, 2010b). In this theme cluster, the Aligners affirmed their identity, their rightful place in the EMI context (Darvin & Norton, 2015).

5.4.3 To practise my L2 ("Practitioners")

In the second theme cluster to appear in the data, the Practitioners associated their EMI choice with the pragmatic opportunity for language learning. In particular, EMI was expressed as a site for L2 improvement, L2 maintenance, and as an alternative to attending language academies. For some, their language choice of instruction took precedence over academic content. There was also an association with a current experience of L2 success inside the EMI classroom. Again, these sub-themes are exemplified in the words of the participants.

The EMI classroom had been foreseen by the Practitioners as a route to "improve", "learn", "practise", and "develop" their English over the duration of the degree programme: "…so it was a great opportunity to improve my my English which I thought was not good enough…" narrated one. This anticipation of EMI providing a learning environment was also articulated from an L2 maintenance angle, as a means of "…not losing all that I've learn 'til now…". Indeed, the EMI choice was also couched as a substitute for language academy attendance, albeit with an acknowledgement that this would provide a different style of learning: "…I wanted…to practise English but without having to go to an academy and study properly…".

Generally, the participants who fell within this theme cluster, credited L2 improvement and sustained learning as only partially implicated in their decision to do an EMI degree. This was made clear with words such as "partly", "also", "so that", "because". There were 17 Practitioners (50% of EMI-ers) and, of these, 5 (15%) were transparent about their EMI choice being for the sole reason that the programme was taught in English. They did not choose their degree for its subject-matter. In this sense, their motive was one of language over content. One of these Practitioners (also drawn by location) commented: "…and so the reason why I chose umm [Economics] umm was because it was one of the only degrees umm that they are doing in English here in Catalonia and I wanted to study in Barcelona…". Whilst another said: "…and then well I chose the [Economics] degree because umm I really wanted to to be studying something in English…".

From their position in the second or third year of study, the Practitioner's strategies for having embarked on an EMI programme were beginning to pay-off:

> …I thought that if I listen to different lessons in English like every day of my life like so my English will improve and I will be very comfortable speaking it and I think that well I almost have achieved it…

Another Practitioner, her narration directed to the general listener, articulated the potential L2 gain: "…but you're going to learn a lot you're going to get the fluency you're going to not be ashamed of I don't know speaking to others in front of the class". A further student revealed her capacity to express herself conceptually in English: "…basically ahh what I what I'm finding the most interesting about this degree is that ahh English is

actually not a problem…you find that it's very easy to express your ideas ahh with this with this language".

In sum, within this theme of *'To improve my English',* there was a recognition by the Practitioners of EMI as an alternative L2 learning experience, an awareness of the L2 opportunities open during EMI, and the potential impact of spending their academic learning time using English. In narrating that they had embarked on their EMI journeys as a route to L2 improvement (whether or not as their sole motive), the Practitioners also disclosed a self-discrepancy between their L2 at the start of EMI and their desired abilities for the end of EMI. In this sense, they exposed the psychological distance between the actual and future L2 self (Dörnyei, 2009; Higgins, 1987). In relation to EMI being seen as an experience of success, there was more than a nod to the third strand of the L2MSS, the L2 learning experience. Put in the language of the investment model, the Practitioners acknowledged their past intentions to invest in an EMI classroom environment.

5.4.4 ELF comes with benefits ("Profiteers")

In the third and final theme to arise in the data *'ELF comes with benefits'*, we see that the Profiteers associated their EMI choice with a still imagined future, where they could use English for speaking, as a communication tool and with yet to be exploited future advantages in the job market.

The ideas clustered within this theme were that ELF would allow the Profiteers to speak to anyone, anywhere; to engage with other cultures; to travel; to study or live abroad; and to study their academic subject (Economics) in an international way. The EMI classroom had also been anticipated to be a situation from which they could launch themselves into the economic world. The Profiteers associated their EMI choice with leverage to get a job; as something to put on their CV; to lead onto working internationally; and indeed, it was also described in terms of providing them with a competitive edge. We clarify these ideas, as before, in the words of these EMI-ers.

Linguistically, the Profiteers could speak with "… almost everybody in the world", "…anybody", whilst another stressed "…I wanna stand out that English is also essential because that way you can speak with other people around the world…". They would "meet new people" and "…communicate with them". Within this sub-theme, others

acknowledged the status of English. English was considered "international", "one of the umm most spoken languages", "essential", "very important". One concluded: "…I think nowadays in the kind of world we live it's really important to to have a fluent English…". Their communication tool would provide too a means to "… get used to other cultures". The EMI degree also facilitated a future where they could explore: "…. and it helped me to aah will help me to be able to travel more". The EMI choice also provided the prospect in the future of living outside Spain, temporarily on an Erasmus programme, and perhaps more permanently: "…and I chose it in English because… I want to live abroad hopefully….". They could also access their academic subject in a broader, more international way. For example: "…because ahh then you focus on international economy and it's ahh I think in a globalised world it's it's better for for everybody". From an economic perspective, the Profiteers mentioned, for example: "…better job opportunities in the future", to "… get a job in the near future", and "…it will be easier to find like my ideal job…". One opined: "…most of the businesses and and things in the world ahh work with this language". EMI was something that could appear on their résumés. For example: "…it was a plus in the CV", "… this was like something that would really add a lot of value to my curriculum". Working internationally was also cited, with EMI providing the ability to "…work ahh internationally umm so yeah that's why", and "to work anywhere in the world". The idea that EMI gave them the edge was expressed "…a plus for my future career or whatever", "…it gave me more competitive advantage in front other students", "a very good opportunity as a professional".

In sum, within this theme cluster of *'ELF comes with benefits',* the Profiteers revealed their choice to study through EMI as associated with being able to do something in their future lives which involved a wider world than it might otherwise have done. Whilst, their expression of the practical side of learning a language (i.e., to communicate, to travel, to study abroad) resonates with the construct of promotional instrumentality (Higgins, 1987; You & Dörnyei, 2016), for some of the Profiteers, English came with benefits beyond pure usability. They would have the means – a global L2 connectivity - to meet new people, and to speak to "anyone", or "almost everyone", and thereby an opportunity to reframe their relations with others, giving them "more powerful identities from which to speak" (Norton, 2015, p.377). They imagined access to a community (Norton, 2001), albeit that their descriptions were generic places without boundaries, and their interlocutors sociocultural-less, rather than belonging a specific L2 group. Only one

Profiteer mentioned another culture, and this in respect of dreams to travel to New Zealand and Australia. Indeed, this lack of cultural / territorial tags, this neutral future L2 identity, resonates with the construct of international posture (Yashima, 2009, p. 145): "…a tendency to relate oneself to the international community rather than any specific L2 group". Within this theme, there is also a clear sense of the Profiteers viewing their EMI choice as potentially instrumental in getting a job in the future. This follows Pan and Block's (2011) finding, in China, of the instrumental value of global English, and also reflects Sabatè-Dalmau's (2016) study of Catalan students in higher education, who were found to view English as an asset for employability. In placing a value on their English abilities, including acknowledging the status of ELF, the Profiteers evoked the notions of linguistic and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Darvin & Norton, 2015). Although arguably this Bourdieusian aspect of the Profiteers' choice-to-EMI could be viewed as the regurgitation of a neo-liberal ideological dream that they have be sold since childhood, the Profiteers did recognise the convertibility of their linguistic capital into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Darvin & Norton, 2015). When they talked about the job market, this did not necessarily include the sense of international, suggesting they saw a value for their linguistic capital at home.

5.4.5 Intersection of the themes

We chose three specific constructs with which to discuss the findings in the present study: the person-in-context relational view of motivation, the L2MSS, and the investment model. The past EMI choice we have heard about is through the process of meaning-making that time and the actuality of the EMI experience have allowed, a process that may have been ongoing since the pre-university day these EMI-ers chose an EMI degree, to the day that they narrated for us their account of this decision. What they revealed to us in their narratives was an "identity in time" (McAdams & McLean, 2013, p. 233). And so, whilst we did indeed encounter the former future imaginary L2 selves of the EMI-ers who had made the choice, this was from the perspective of the socio-educational time and space of year 2 or 3 of an English-mediated degree in Catalonia. We might be left wondering whether these undergraduates would have identified with EMI to the extent that they narrated, had they still been in the honeymoon period of their first term, but what we get instead is a real flavour of what their past EMI choice means to them now, as they reach their potential as ELF users. We are privy too to the drives related to their EMI

choice which are still in play. Indeed, across the three themes, we gain insights into the L2 motivation and investment of EMI-ers fully engaged within an EMI programme, affirming our election to conduct the data collection at the time that we did.

We have seen the motives and agency of these persons-in-context (Ushioda, 2009), whilst focusing in on both the L2 self (i.e., the future self as a motivating referent) (Dörnyei, 2009)) and identity as understood in the investment model (i.e., as integrally related with investment and as a site of struggle (Darvin & Norton, 2015)). For these EMI-ers, the psychological L2 journey and the real world struggle would seem to be almost over, and, for some, it was already complete. They have invested in foreign language classrooms and engaged in learning at language academies. Whilst half of the EMI-ers spoke as Practitioners about being motivated to improve their linguistic asset, most of them (25 (74%) of the EMI-ers) either portrayed being able to make the choice to study through EMI on a *'because I could'* (our theme 1: *'The right fit for me'*) and / or *'because I know the value my asset'* basis (our theme 2: *'ELF comes with benefits'*).

The reasons the EMI-ers provided in their narratives for why they chose to take their degree in English were quite factual and often bereft of social and cultural tags. This should not lead us, however, necessarily to conclude that how these undergraduates experienced their EMI choice was as a thin veneer of identity. Whilst the possible selves are about the possibility of becoming (Markus & Nurius, 1986), there was a sense, running across the narratives, of an added layer, one of hoped for belonging. This was a belonging to a community of L2 peers, one that piqued the curiosity of these EMI-ers. This is particularly evident in the statement: "…since they are choosing to do it in English it just makes a profile of person and I was interested in that type of people". This was a belonging to, a coming closer to, not so much a language community (as per Gardner's (2001a) integrativeness / integrative motivation) but more with anyone with whom this linguistically-educated elite would like to communicate, anywhere on the globe. In an age where external identity and liked profiles are perceived to matter, their motive to study an EMI degree might be said to have been a desired, an anticipated, an approaching fulfilment of this global and flexible identity. Indeed, this sense of community and fluidity resonates more with Darvin and Norton's (2015) extended construct of investment in a digital age, where the "…spaces of socialization and information exchange continue to multiply, in both face-to-face and virtual worlds, locally and globally" (Norton, 2015, p.

379). It is also a finding which is consistent with Henry and Goddard's study (2015, p. 270) where, for the majority of their EMI-ers, English medium education was felt to have provided: "…a passport to a future where they can be more fully enacted".

5.5 Conclusion

The present study explored the topic of student motives for crossing the threshold into a new language learning context, one where university content learning takes place via ELF, with a focus on what that choice means to Spanish-speaking undergraduates settled in years 2 and 3 of an EMI degree programme. Narratives – in the form of monologues – yielded three dominant themes: 1) *The right fit for me*; 2) *To practise my L2*; and 3) *ELF comes with benefits*. When discussing these themes, we adopted the labels, respectively, of 'Aligners', 'Practitioners', and 'Profiteers', with 'EMI-ers' for the whole group of participants. From a policy perspective, a number of Practitioners revealed their sole motive to elect EMI as connected with their future English and for others this was implicated in their choice. If future careers, and lives, are being limited by the availability of choice of degree programmes offered in English, this points to a need to open out options to meet demand, but at the possible concomitant costs of further Englishisation. It is worth noting here that a limitation of the present study is that it only considered one academic content choice. Students on (say) an EMI Biology degree may not have expressed their choice-to-EMI in the same way as those on an EMI Economics programme. Studying Economics, our participants might, for example, have been more open to opportunities in the wider world. As one student said of her degree subject choice, it "…really opens more windows more doors sorry…", and this was a sentiment expressed by a number of other students. We hope, however, to have achieved what we set out to do, that is explore the unprompted words of the EMI-ers on what the language choice for their academic studies means to them now, in the midst of EMI, and present "the dynamic complexity of personal meaning-making in social context" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 217). For the majority of the EMI-ers, there was a sense of an emerging identity, a reframed version of themselves, empowering them to feel like they could belong, they could participate in communities, should they so wish, anywhere, at home or internationally, in person or online. To those of us who are native English speakers, this is perhaps an identity which we take for granted. Overall, the present study provided a reminder that language students are 'persons-in-context', with the EMI classroom and the perceived opportunities within and beyond it providing examples of a "mutually

constitutive relationship between persons and the contexts in which they act…" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 218).

Endnote

[1] For the purposes of the present study, second language (L2) includes an L3, L4, Lx, unless otherwise stated.

[2] Undergraduate degree programmes generally last 4 years in Spain.

6. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summaries of the three studies: identities in time and space

The main objective of this doctoral research was to contribute to the body of work on the emerging new paradigm on L2 motivation i.e., that L2 motivation is not a fixed individual difference. At the outset, we hoped, through this research, to offer insights into the L2 motivation, L2 self and language identity of learners of a foreign language within, or as was the case in Study 3, beyond, three particular university language learning settings. This was achieved through carrying out three distinct studies, which we have presented in Chapter 3 (L2 motivation of EFL learners in a FI classroom and the effects of an imagery-intervention); Chapter 4 (L2 motivation of L2 Spanish learners in the post-sojourn following study abroad); and Chapter 5 (L2 motivation of learners who elected EMI during their L2-mediated degree programme). Our intention was to focus on the personal meaning-making of real learners who were situated in these particular foreign language settings, through analysing their thoughts, expressed as emotions, opinions, hopes etc., and as voiced in the here-and-now through their own choice of words. A number of important findings have emerged from this research, not least for our own understandings. Our initial starting point theoretical model, the L2MSS (Dörnyei, 2009), proved not to be sufficiently wide to consider what our participants were saying to us within the data we collected. The result of this was that, as opposed solely to considering the L2 self, we have, as our research progressed, looked to a more generic self, and instead of focusing only on language identity, we widened our enquiry to consider social identity. We did this through the adoption of the second main model for this thesis, the investment model (as expanded) (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Essentially, we attempted to navigate the messy but more holistic middle ground, where SLA and L2 motivation models and research meet those of the poststructuralists. To facilitate this, we turned to the person-in-context relational view of motivation (Ushioda, 2009) as a theoretical bridge between the two.

In anticipation of the overarching discussion within this Chapter 6, in this section 6.1, we briefly revisit the findings of the three studies and present these as summaries of the motivations, selves and identities of the foreign language learners of our three studies, as key answers to our guiding research questions. Following this, in section 6.2, we present

a discussion of the recurring motifs, the main findings across the studies. First, our findings relating to the temporal dimension are discussed (section 6.2.1). Secondly, our findings related to the spatial dimension are discussed (section 6.2.2). Thirdly and finally, we focus on the symbolic dimension (section 6.2.3). These discussions are followed by sections highlighting the main contributions of this research (section 6.3), directions for future research and implications for stakeholders (section 6.4), the limitations of the studies (section 6.5), and our final thoughts (section 6.6).

STUDY 1 (CHAPTER 3): The first study aimed to explore L2 motivation through various puzzles arising during practitioner research and, in particular, the discrepancy gap between actual and future L2 motivations of learners in the context of an EFL classroom, the effect of an imagery-intervention (group-created visualisations), and the expression of a future ideal L2 self in the present. An Exploratory Practice was carried out with EFL learners who had recently crossed the threshold from school into a mandatory L2 FI first year university classroom in Spain, whose degree programme was otherwise taught in Spanish/Catalan. There were 34 students, in the main Spanish/Catalan speakers, although four were visiting Erasmus students. Findings revealed the learners demonstrated L2-motivated behaviour in co-constructing a plausible, socially-recognisable future ideal L2 self, and an emotional investment in the intervention. We also witnessed the students of Study 1 reframe their identities from students to peer-to-peer motivational agents.

STUDY 2 (CHAPTER 4): The second study aimed to explore, through written and oral narratives thematically analysed, how Spanish was perceived by ten former study abroad sojourners who had crossed the threshold back home and for whom academic life was over. Light was shone on the past L2 self experienced in the present of the post-sojourn. Whilst the data was collected after the sojourners had returned, the immediate post-sojourn period was avoided. The dominant themes which emerged, common for all of the post-sojourners, were: (1) 'identity echoes'; (2) 'a pivotal experience'; (3) 'to sustain or not to sustain'; and (4) 'enduring value' (economic, sociocultural, and linguistic capital factors). A significant finding was that the same post-sojourners accounted for the same sub-theme meanings within each of themes (1) – (3). We labelled these groupings of post-sojourners: 'Unfulfilled', 'Pragmatists', and 'Aligners'. Motivation to sustain L2 Spanish post-study abroad was framed by narratives which included one of three pivotal experiences: a positive turning point, when things went from bad to good; a negative

turning point, when things went from good to bad; and a tipping point, when things went from good to better. Serendipity played a part too, with some of the learners having returned to places in the United States where Spanish is widely spoken, as did key relationships. Indeed, the participants recounted various ways in which they had positioned themselves in relation to Spanish, having crossed the threshold from an environment offering the potential for naturalistic learning, to a home setting which, other than in the cases of three residents of North America, did not.

STUDY 3 (CHAPTER 5): The third study aimed to explore, through individual narratives, again thematically analysed, the motivations to choose EMI as a route to take a degree in, broadly, Economics, in the context of looking back from the perspective of years 2 or 3 of the programme. In other words, how a past L2-related event was expressed in the present. In particular, how students accounted for their 'choice-to-EMI', a decision they had made before crossing the educational threshold from school to university. The 34 participants were Spanish speakers, in the main bilingual Basque / Catalan / Galician. The data yielded three dominant themes as motivations for electing a degree programme taught wholly through EMI: (1) 'the right fit for me'; (2) 'to practise my L2', and (3) 'ELF comes with benefits'. We labelled the EMI-ers, when speaking about each theme, respectively: (1) 'Aligners', (2) 'Practitioners', and (3) 'Profiteers'. The overarching sense was of an identity of a confident / self-believing EMI student, interested, it seemed, not just in becoming better at English but also in belonging, in having a global and flexible ELF identity. We also heard the students position themselves as having been, for example, confident shoppers in the international university market.

6.2 Discussion of the main findings: synthesis of the motifs

In the three studies within this thesis, we have exploited the concepts of time and space. In relation to time, in Study 1, we explored, in the first 'potentially exploitable pedagogic activity' (PEPA 1), a future possible self through individual time travel essays; in PEPA 2, the actual self within the four walls of the classroom through a group discussion, which actually revealed as much about the ELF learners' past selves as their L2 selves in the now; and, in PEPA 3, a more socially-grounded and nearer future group-negotiated L2 self than the individual and sometimes temporally distant ones whose acquaintance we had endeavoured to make in PEPA 1. In Study 2, we explored, through written scripts

and oral narratives during semi-structured interviews, the pre-, during, immediately post-study abroad L2 self, along with the L2 self in the now and the future possibilities of self. In Study 3, we explored a past decision from the perspective of the here-and-now, year 2 or 3 of the chosen EMI degree. In short, we exploited time in arriving at the here-and-now as narrated by the participants. In relation to exploiting space, we explored, in Study 1, the space of a FI classroom; in Study 2, the post-sojourn at home after study abroad; and in Study 3, the international experience at home offered by EMI. It is perhaps not then surprising that, to some extent, the recurring motifs across the three studies that we found have temporal and spatial connotations, which we consider and discuss in more detail below.

6.2.1 Temporal dimension: the past in the present

We have referred previously to temporal dimensions having been committed to the poetic form by T. S. Eliot (1944, p. 3): "Time present and time past are both perhaps present in time future…". Clearly temporality has been captured elsewhere too, not least in the words of the nineteenth century sociologist and philosopher Georg Simmel (1971, p. 360) "…our present does not remain at one point…. It is, so to speak, extended backward. At such moments we live out of the moment back into the past". From the field of social psychology, we recall the Possible Selves Theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986), presented in the introductory chapters of this thesis, where the past selves are theorised as "…different and separable from the current or now selves, yet are intimately connected to them" (p. 954). Indeed, a recurring motif across our three studies was of the apparent influence of the passage of time on the motivational dynamics at play. The L2 learners in our three studies appeared affected / moved (or not) by their past selves, giving support to the theorising not only on the importance of the antecedents of the future possible selves, but also to the temporal focus of the self and identity, with the constant process of personal meaning-making "…to provide a person's life with some degree of unity, purpose, and meaning" (McAdams & McLean, 2013, p. 233).

For some of our participants, their past selves seemed to operate to perform a function, one which we have seen was sometimes far from positive, on the experience of the L2 learner / user in the present, and on their assessment of what their L2 means to them in the here-and-now, and beyond. By way of example, the students in Study 1 revealed a

sense of their past L2 selves in the present during the group discussion of PEPA 2. They recounted their EFL history, including having started to learn their L2 since early childhood, of being the minimum of 12 years an L2 learner. These personal histories echoed in the present as their articulated perceptions of poor prior language instruction (although this was not the case for the visiting Erasmus students). What emerged then, for some of the local Spanish students, was that, having connected their personal L2 history with their present FI experience, their past appeared to function negatively and was expressed in the here-and-now as frustration about their L2 abilities, particularly speaking. Into the future, the class mostly dismissed the notion of using English in their professional lives. Similarly, for the 'Unfulfilled' in Study 2, there were narratives of an unsuccessful past self, a past self with fears. This echoed into the present as an out of reach identity which again apparently functioned negatively, articulated by them in the here-and-now as disappointment, feelings of failure, lack of pride in themselves, and enduring L2 fears in the present of the post-sojourn experience. There was no engagement now with Spanish or indeed any other L2. By contrast, for two of the post-sojourners in Study 2, the 'Pragmatists', there were narratives of a successful past self. The echo of the past in the present was of an L2 Spanish identity which had been lived during study abroad but had then been lost. Whilst these echoes in the here-and-now were narrated as a loss akin to grief, a sense of absence, these emotions did not seem to function negatively in the present. There had been pragmatic switches from L2 Spanish to other now more local L2s, Korean and Japanese for one, Dutch for the other, L2 undertakings perhaps – as we comment in Study 2 - buoyed in part by their successful past self-guides.

For other participants within our three studies, they perceived their L2 positively in the present and their narratives included projections into the future of positive possible L2 selves. By way of example, for the 'Aligners' amongst the post-sojourners in Study 2, there were narrations of a successful past self, a past self which had relevance in, and alignment with, the lives of these post-sojourners were leading now. The echo of this success, which continued to resonate into the present, was of an L2 identity which had been fulfilled during study abroad and then retained. Any past emotional L2 baggage experienced in the present was articulated in the wrapping of an L2 story which, as it unfolded, tipped from a good position, to a better one. For three of these post-sojourners, the past in the present was also expressed in the here-and-now as a sense of being caught between cultures, in a 'third place' (Bhabha, 2004). However, this did not appear to

function other than positively, as they had future plans to leverage off their language skills and return to live and work in Spain. For the fourth of these post-sojourners, the echoes of the past in the present were heard in his words of reflection on the cultural ease, of having the linguistic facility to move back and forth from the dialects of Spain to those of the Spanish spoken in the United States. Similarly, the 'Aligners' we labelled as such amongst the EMI-ers of Study 3, positively described their past selves, selves which had elected pre-university to study on an English-mediated degree programme. This echo from the past was vocalised in the here-and-now, well into their undergraduate studies, as a self-belief in their own prior judgment about the language choice of degree instruction, and as ELF users. Indeed, there was no suggestion, from any of the EMI-ers within the study, of a past ought-to self (with a push / pressure from others to act, to elect an EMI programme), nor indeed of a past fearful self. For these L2 learners, EMI had been, with meaning conferred from the perspective of the here-and-now, a fully plausible option for them. So, as with Studies 1 and 2, there were echoes of a past identity in the present, with the data from Study 3 pointing to those past selves functioning only positively in the here-and-now and into the future.

Our encounters with these echoes of the past self in the present in our three studies therefore remind us that not all learners are equal, they carry different past baggage. They do not come to the classroom as neutral learners, they come with pasts. Some might be weighed down by past negative events and experiences, some might be positively buoyed by their pasts. In this regard, our findings reflect prior studies which have found importance in the antecedents of the possible selves (Cho, 2015; Fukada, el al., 2011). Indeed, recalling the construct of narrative identity (McAdams & McLean, 2013), it is worth repeating here that, within our three studies, we chose to discuss the representations of the past self in a manner which acknowledged our participants' perceptions of their pasts as a re-interpretation of the past in the present (Karniol & Ross, 1996). In presenting the examples above, and in discussing how the past functioned in the here-and-now, both positively and negatively, in the L2 lives of our participants, we therefore posit that we have not only offered evidence of the existence of past L2 selves, but also that those examples provide us with a deeper understanding of what these past selves are and how they might function. In relating their past L2 selves, and the influence of past events and experiences upon them, the participants did so, we argue, through the constantly adjusting prism of meaning-making. Indeed, we suggest that the narrative identities we encountered

in the three studies are fragments of the learners' L2 self-concepts, their actual, in-the-moment, L2 selves, delivered to us through their own words. This common temporal theme within the participants' accounts, of the past in the present, could therefore be said to be the derivation of the actual L2 self and future possible selves from the representations of the self in the past (i.e., the interpretation of antecedents), through a process of meaning-making in the present.

Whilst our findings can be accounted for by turning to the Possible Selves Theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986), where we saw in the introductory chapters there is indeed a theoretical place for the past self, the past L2 self is not represented in the L2MSS (Dörnyei, 2009). This is an important omission because, whilst the L2MSS has a change dynamic embedded within it – the motivational force is derived from the urge to close the discrepancy gap between the future ideal L2 self and the L2 self in the now (Higgins, 1987, 1998) – the model takes no account either of the burden of a negative possible self inherited and given resonance from past events and experiences, or indeed the benefit of hope conferred by positive past events and experiences. Crucially, a learner might have stalled, or indeed stopped, in their learning journey because of negative past L2 learning events and experiences (like the 'Unfulfilled' of Study 2), and that past is not reflected in the L2MSS model. For other learners, their actual L2 self might still be full of hope that they can succeed in learning their L2. In the words of Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 963) "…positive possible selves can be exceedingly liberating because they foster hope that the present self is not immutable. At the same time, negative possible selves can be powerfully imprisoning because their associated affect and expectations may stifle attempts to change or develop".

Whilst, as we have discussed, the past self is reflected in the actual here-and-now through the process of re-interpretation, of meaning-making, the construct of an actual L2 self is also missing from the L2MSS (Thorsen et al., 2017) i.e., there is theorising neither for a past self, nor a past self as re-interpreted in the here-and-now, nor an actual self within the model. Whilst these labels may arguably be different aspects / fragments of the same self, without theorising for a here-and-now starting point, the motivational discrepancy at the heart of the L2MSS, the psychological distance from the here-and-now to the desired future L2 self, has no sense of dimension. The future ideal L2 self might be 'known', to the extent that is possible to know a psychological projection, an imagining, but there is

no actual L2 self from which to project into the future. As we saw in section 2.2, Ushioda (2009) has pointed to the third strand of the L2MSS coming closest to a theoretical representation of an actual L2 self. Indeed, Dörnyei (2019, p. 23) has discussed his previous reference to the L2 learning experience as "a third constituent rooted in *actual experience*" (from Dörnyei, 2014, p. 9, with emphasis added in the later paper). However, the new definition (which we introduced in section 2.1.2.1) refers to "the perceived quality of the learners' engagement" (Dörnyei, 2019, p. 25), suggesting that it does not refer to an individual's self-perception of their own (level / type) of engagement. Rather the L2 learning experience relates to such engagement through the eyes of a relevant 'other'. Whilst the new definition of the L2 learning experience might capture something about the learner in action – Dörnyei (2019, p. 25) has conveyed that engagement for him has internal and external connotations, with the example of external given as "it is possible for someone to "go through the motions", that is, to exhibit seemingly active participation in a task…" – it would seem that this engagement is as perceived by someone else, by an 'other'. Dörnyei's 'engagement' might almost be said to be a psychological equivalent to Norton's investment. However, whilst the new definition adds another psychological layer to the L2MSS, this time apparently influenced by ideas from educational psychology, the revised / extended definition of the third strand of the tripartite L2MSS is clearly not the actual self / self-concept. Actually, as so refined, the new definition of the L2 learning experience moves this third strand of the tripartite model further from the possibility that it might be the construct equivalent of the actual L2 self. Perhaps it is not surprising then that Dörnyei (e.g., Dörnyei, 2017; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Şimşek & Dörnyei, 2017) would appear to have been drawn to the work of social psychologists on narrative identity.

We make two final notes here in relation to discussing the past in the present motif across the three studies. First, our findings also support the importance of emotions in theorising about L2 motivation (Dewaele & McIntyre, 2014). The echoes of the past in the present of those whose motivation had stalled or had stopped were negative and functional: frustration, disappointment, lack of pride, enduring fear etc. Secondly, that whilst the person-in-context relational view of motivation does allow for "the unique history and background" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 220) of the language learner; and the poststructuralist tradition sees individuals as being positioned in history (i.e., in addition to their position in society), it is not clear, either from Ushioda's (2009) viewpoint or within the

explanatory investment model (Darvin & Norton, 2015), to what extent the personal past of an individual is considered relevant.

6.2.2 Spatial dimension: language and social identity

The research presented within this doctoral thesis has also brought to light an important finding in relation to language and social identity, at least in relation to the identities of the foreign language learners in the contexts we explored. Motivation in our three studies was not only temporally-mediated (as we discussed in section 6.2.1), but also socially-mediated (Ushioda, 2003). Recalling the words of Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 954), the possible selves are "individualized or personalized, but they are also distinctly social". Indeed, our findings can be accounted for too by turning to the person-in-context relational view of motivation (Ushioda, 2009, p. 220), which provides for, as we saw in the introductory chapters of this thesis, amongst other things "…a focus on the interaction between this self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro- contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of". The social identities we encountered in our studies were multiple (Firth & Wagner, 1997). In fact, recalling the investment model (as expanded) (Darvin & Norton, 2015) and earlier related research, they were multiple and fluid (Norton & Toohey, 2011). Indeed, across our three studies, we saw the reframing of identities at various junctures and in different ways. Importantly, a recurring motif, in relation to this spatial dimension, was the alignment, through a certain amount of identity reframing, of a foreign language identity with social identities (e.g., an English-speaker as a motivator/debater (Study 1); a Spanish-speaker as a co-worker, a co-worker/girlfriend, a neighbour/co-worker, a husband/father (Study 2); and an EFL-speaker as a future economist, global communicator (Study 3) (Atkinson, 2010; Wenger, 1998).

In respect of the influence of the social face of the self and identity on L2 motivation, like Martina (Norton, 2000) who we saw reframe her identity from 'broom' to 'woman', and Ayrton (Darvin & Norton, 2015) who concealed his age and changed his register to participate in an online course (both in section 2.3.2), the students in Study 1, undergraduates on a teacher training degree programme at a university in Barcelona, repositioned themselves over the course of our Exploratory Practice. We first encountered

their possible social identities reflected in PEPA 1 of the study, when the students, albeit fictionally, aligned their possible selves with a future L2 professional self and also placed their ideal L2 self within social settings (e.g., as a mother doing homework in English with their child). Later, in PEPA 3, visualisation scripts in hand, the L2 learners stepped across the identity threshold, from frustrated EFL student to Motivator, the social role of sports motivation having been something with which they had connected, and took on the goal of manipulating the minds of the Listeners in their audience. We witnessed these participants respond to the social hooks of the classroom activity, with the Motivators attempting, arguably with some success, to position the Listeners within a resonant choice of social setting, whether that be a nightclub in Barcelona or celebrating New Year's Eve in Times Square.

Similarly, in Study 3, we heard the EMI-ers explain their motives-to-EMI from the situational perspective of year 2 or 3 of their degree programme in Economics, as they reached their potential as ELF users. The 'Aligners', so labelled, articulated their choice-to-EMI as coinciding with a wider identity position. As second / third year undergraduates, they related these identities as co-existing with their skill-set in English: for instance, their identity as a confident shopper in the academic market, able to make their own choices about their university education; their identity as a lover of languages; their identity as interested in politics beyond Catalonia/Spain; their identity as children of English native-speakers; their identity as members of a group of people who could receive education through the medium of a non-native language (indeed this group identity extended to those who could so deliver education – they credited their teachers with this linguistic capital); and their identity as global communicators, as future Economics graduates interested in access to the wider world through this choice of academic subject matter. It was these identities which they had apparently aligned, when making their choice-to-EMI, with the community of practice (Wenger, 1998) afforded by EMI.

However, we return to the second of our studies in more detail here, as we believe this provides us with the best examples with which to discuss socially-mediated L2 motivation, with instances of both alignment and non-alignment of language and social identities. For four of the participants in Study 2, the identity position they narrated was as 'Aligners'. What was clear for these individuals was that they were narrating their social identities in a wide sense, and not simply their Spanish language identities. The

social and linguistic aspects of their lives were integrated. Working as a trainee in an international professional services firm, Rachel had requested to be placed in a department with a key Spanish client, having an eye too on future secondment to one of her firm's offices in Spain. Whilst she had temporarily positioned herself as a passive listener (it was the more senior co-workers in the team who had direct access to the Spanish client), her imagined future identity was of a multilingual professional living and working, at least for a couple of years, in Spain. Jana had similarly positioned herself as a multilingual professional. Whilst currently living and working in Serbia, her job – with a company based in the United States – required the full-time use of Spanish every day with co-workers and clients. She planned to return to live in Spain, where her Spanish-speaking boyfriend resided. Peter had, prior to study abroad in Spain, positioned himself as a multilingual not-for-profit professional and a resident of a neighbourhood community where Spanish is widely spoken, identity positions he resumed on return home to New York City. Adam on the other hand, had acquired multiple identity positions. He was an accepted / legitimate member of two communities, speaking English at work and Spanish at home, the latter being a language identity which was aligned with his social roles of husband and father.

During study abroad, all of the then undergraduate / Master's students in Study 2 had acted agentively in relation to learning Spanish, according to their here-and-now accounts of the past, although to differing levels and with varying degrees of success. Having discussed the 'Aligners' above, we turn now to another four of the post-sojourners, who positioned themselves with the identity of the 'Unfulfilled', with a Spanish language identity which had been desired but remained out of reach. Settled in the habitus of the post-sojourn and the fields of opportunities they felt were open to them, along with the negative baggage of their past emotional L2 experiences (as discussed in section 6.2.1), their actions, and their continued investment in L2 Spanish, appeared constrained / limited in the present. There was no alignment of their Spanish L2 identity with a broader social identity.

Hannah's Spanish identity was of a more relaxed version of herself, more in tune with what she saw as the southern European perspective of life, rather than the habitus of northern Europe and its more stressful pace. Selina had imagined a future multilingual identity position, working for a multinational in Germany, but such an opportunity had

not come to pass. She had continued to act agentively post-sojourn, meeting an 'intercambio' in Munich, until he had gone home to Spain. By the time of our study, what she narrated as her Spanish language identity position was that of a failed L2 user, incapable of having a "decent conversation" in Spanish. Enough had been enough; the investment was over. For George, not only was the investment over, but there was an acknowledgement of the process of attrition, not just of his Spanish, but of the Japanese he had acquired whilst living and working in Japan. Despite Spanish being around George within his work environment in California, he chose not to engage with colleagues in Spanish, perhaps constrained not just by his past emotional baggage of Spanish having become more difficult during study abroad, when he did not have time, due to the demands of his Master's, to continue with FI Spanish, but also arguably by the linguistic power dynamics within a work context in North America. To have struggled to speak Spanish, a language he did not feel confident in, with native-speaking Spanish colleagues within a professional environment where the language of operation was English, would arguably have exposed him as a failed multilingual in front of successful multilinguals. The last of the Unfulfilled, Maria, again portrayed herself, through her narrative, as having had a desired identity position as a Spanish speaker, something that she had thought was in reach without too much effort, but which had been constrained by the habitus of being a study abroad student in Barcelona and the linguistic ideology / politics of Catalonia. Nevertheless, the Spanish that Maria had acquired naturalistically in Spain, with the linguistic capital on arrival of a mother-tongue in another Romance language, namely Romanian, allowed her to adopt the identity position at home in Romania of a Spanish-speaker with a more sophisticated grasp of the language than her fellow countrymen, whose Spanish knowledge she attributed to watching Spanish soap operas with subtitles. Whilst still linguistically disappointed in the post-sojourn, this appeared to confer upon her at least some of what she had desired from study abroad, namely a more cosmopolitan identity (Darvin & Norton, 2016). Finally, for two of the participants, the 'Pragmatists', the habitus of the post-sojourn and their past emotional baggage of learning Spanish experienced in the present, collided in a different fashion. Geographically positioned near (Mayleen in Taiwan) or within (Elena in The Netherlands) other L2s of interest, they redirected their efforts towards alternative linguistic endeavours.

Whilst the multiple and fluid social identities the participants described in each of the research contexts were of interest, it was the notion in particular of identity alignment

across the studies which we felt should be drawn out and further discussed here. Our findings support the multiple, fluid language identities theorised for in the investment model (as expanded), along with the ideas on alignment (Atkinson, 2010; Wenger, 1998) which we considered in section 2.3.2, and upon which Norton (2001, p. 164) discussing Wenger (1998) has commented as follows "…it is through alignment that learners do what they have to do to take part in a larger community".

However, our findings from the three studies, as exemplified in the examples discussed above and within the three studies of this thesis, revealed the motivational imperative, whether tacitly or explicitly understood by the participants, of a more grounded and broader social identity, than the psychological notion of the language limited self within the L2MSS allows. We argue that social identity, a recurring motif across the three studies, was relevant in the motivational dynamics at play in our three studies, and that our findings point not only to the importance of social context but also, by implication in the psychological sphere, to the motivational relevance of generic, rather than L2 limited, selves.

In these respects, our findings cannot be explained by turning to the L2MSS. Derived from the theories of self from social psychology, the L2MSS takes the construct of the self and drops it into the SLA / L2 motivation landscape, converting it into an 'L2' self. The focus is on a prospective, but language limited, L2-speaking self, not on a hoped for future self, in its generic, widest, 'all-aspects-of-life' sense. The social self is a construct which, like the past self / the past self as re-interpreted in the present / the actual self (howsoever called), is missing from the L2MSS. This would appear to be another important omission. Our findings, particularly in Study 2, suggest that when there is no natural, real life alignment of an L2 in a foreign language context, through relationships, jobs and communities, what that L2 means, and how this is experienced in the here-and-now, is limited and hindered. We witnessed this in particular with the 'Unfulfilled' and the 'Pragmatists' of Study 2. Although this was also reflected in the despondency in the PEPA 2 group discussion of Study 1, when the fictional accounts of L2 aligned professional selves operating in L2-mediated social contexts were denied as fantasies. Language learning, indeed an identity lived through the medium of a language other than a native one, is, or becomes, more of a struggle, and not everyone is willing to take on the fight.

There is one final point we would like to discuss in relation to social identity and the motivation / investment of L2 learners. As we have seen in the introductory chapters to this thesis, identity in the investment model is a site of struggle, considered integrally related with investment even before the reworking of the model, and now overlaps with three key constructs: investment, capital and ideology. However, the notion within the explanatory model, of reframing unbalanced power relations with 'others', depends in part on a language learner's investment within a particular classroom and / or wider community. In this respect, the model envisages that the site of that struggle to be heard through one's L2, the location of this battle for linguistic power, may be inside or outside a FI classroom. In a foreign language context there is no wider community, there is only the classroom. Indeed, this may be why it has been clearly stated that, in a foreign language context, there are fewer opportunities for identity work (Block, 2007a, 2007b) and, where that foreign language is English, "speakers are unlikely to conceive of it as a 'language for identification'" (House, 2003, p. 560). This having been said, we have seen, in the prior work reviewed in this thesis, that poststructuralist studies have described and explored investment and identity in a non-naturalistic setting (e.g., the cases of Henrietta in the Ugandan village (Darvin & Norton, 2015) and Paul, returned home to Uganda after a family stay in Canada (Early & Norton, 2012)).

In Study 1, the teacher-student classroom dynamic was not a real life power struggle, nor is there a true battle to be heard in the scenario of an EMI learning, as was the context in Study 3. To the extent that there would be a power struggle in the future for these students, it might arise if they were expected to teach infants through English-mediated instruction, especially in a situation where others (colleagues, parents, students) had more advanced speaking skills (Study 1), and if skills acquired to date where found not as advanced as (say) competing graduates on the international job market (Study 3). Actually, one of the main motives found for the choice-to-EMI in Study 3 was that 'ELF comes with benefits'.

We argue, more tentatively however than in relation to the points already discussed in the rest of this section 6.2, that our findings from Study 1 suggest that classroom 'others' may be weak adversaries. We suggest that investment in an L2 – within a foreign language context – ideally involve power relations outside the classroom, or at the least that these power struggles are brought within the four walls of the classroom through the use of role plays (i.e., as done in Study 1, with Motivators imagining their audience as infant school

teachers, and, in a later exercise, with the students as debaters again invoking their intended professional identity and putting themselves in the shoes of their future teacher selves). We suggest then that the power struggle in relation to identity, to generate action / investment / motivation, be about more than a power struggle to speak peer-to-peer i.e., that this goes beyond speaking with classroom 'others' to imagined others. In sum, recalling imagined communities and future identities (these are constructs outside the investment model, but within related work (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2001)), the findings from Study 1 suggest that motivational dynamics within a classroom might be altered through imagination of, or put another way through alignment with, future social identities, and that in this way identity work may take place. It is worth contemplating that, given the mutual support the participants gave each other during the exploratory research exercises in class, the struggle to be heard may well have taken on the dynamic of them versus me as their teacher-adversary, with this struggle in fact uniting them as allies in the process.

Outside of a formal instruction or L2-mediated classroom, within a non-naturalistic target language context, the prospects of sustaining and learning an L2 would appear to be particularly challenging, indeed more so when it comes to a language other than English. There are arguably no 'others' of import, there are no genuine adversaries with whom to struggle (orally), unless life has aligned – through design or good fortune – with an L2. Indeed, in Study 2, beyond the naturalistic, target language community of study abroad, back in a foreign language setting with few opportunities for L2 Spanish use, we saw that there were no 'others' on the post-sojourn landscape, bar those who had been agentively sought out through L2-necessitating career choices, or those who were serendipitously arrived at through key relationships and / or country of residence. Commitment to an L2 in a foreign language setting, we suggest again, involves a personal search for alignment of a desired language identity with broader life objectives, aspirations and realities. The seeking out of a real life power struggle and taking on the fight.

Having conducted three qualitative studies in, or as was the case in Study 2, beyond, three different socioeducational contexts in Spain, we are not in a position to decipher exactly what might have influenced the process of aligning (or indeed cases of non-alignment), whether it is psychological or social, whether it is down to the weight of the personal past, the flow of life, the habitus of the L2-users, language ideologies at home, or the presence

of ‘others’ with whom there is a desire to be heard. There are endless variables. Indeed, there is no simple question of cause and effect: does a L2 learner agentively align their life with an L2 or, does the serendipity of life / the pressure of habitus align (or not) the L2 learner with their L2? However, what we feel we are able to posit is that investment / L2 motivation and the aspiring L2 self are at least nurtured and sustained or, perhaps better put, bolstered, by an alignment with a social identity.

We suggest, in relation to the L2MSS, that the ideal future L2 self is considered not simply as an L2 self, full of hope and desire to master a foreign language. We suggest that this hope and desire is of communicating in a foreign language in any, or indeed all, of the boundless possibilities, not simply language ones, of the self as it “sprouts identities” (van Lier, 2010b, p. x) in the process of becoming in the real world. We acknowledge that this hope and desire is somewhat balanced by / grounded in the gritty reality of habitus and the long-term commitment of learning and sustaining an L2 in a foreign language environment i.e., outside a target language setting. However, we see the pedagogical role of the educator ‘others’ in the lives of L2 learners, as one of an inspiring presence, encouraging and feeding the visions and desires of the self, and strengthening the agentive capacity of those in their charge.

6.2.3 Symbolic dimension: a valuing of power

Finally, in two of our three studies, Studies 2 and 3, capital – in its Bourdieusian sense – was a further recurring pattern for what an L2 means for L2 users / learners in the here-and-now. We considered this value, whether this was expressed in terms of linguistic, sociocultural or economic power, as it was perceived by our participants, including its change in value on crossing the threshold from one field of use to another. In Study 2, L2 Spanish had an enduring value for all of the participants in the post-sojourn landscape. In Study 3, a dominant theme cluster was ‘ELF comes with benefits’, with the EMI-ers we labelled ‘Profiteers’ recognising the convertibility of their linguistic capital into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Our findings support the addition of capital to the investment model (as expanded). To a lesser extent, they also support instrumentality as an embedded construct within the L2MSS. However, the capital-savvy self is a construct, like the past self / the past self as re-interpreted in the now / the actual self (howsoever theorised), and like the social self, which is missing from the L2MSS.

6.3 The main contributions of this research

Locating this present research in the domain of qualitative enquiry, we aimed to take a person-in-context approach to L2 motivation (Ushioda, 2009) i.e., to focus in on the situatedness of discreet groups of L2 users / learners, with the person-in-context viewpoint providing a bridge between the psychological and sociological models of the L2MSS and the investment model.

Our main focus throughout this research was on the motivation of L2 learners of a foreign language in the here-and-now, and how they experience this, according to the two axis of time and space. Having accepted the discrepancy gap (Higgins, 1987, 1998) as the motivational force behind the ideal L2 self in the L2MSS, themes around this gap is what we might have expected to have seen represented within the datasets from the three studies. However, whilst the discrepancy gap is something that the author of this thesis exploited and attempted to narrow – to ease the emotional discomfort in Study 1 – and which was alluded to by the EMI-ers in the theme 'To practice my L2' in Study 3, this was not a core theme. Instead, the core themes which answered our questions about the meaning of the L2, or the choice for L2-mediated education, and how this was experienced in the here-and-now, reverberated around the past in the present, around identity alignment, and around the sociocultural aspect of an L2, and flowing on from this, in Studies 2 and 3, the recognised convertibility of a language and related sociocultural capital into economic value.

The main contributions of this research are that we have been able, through research undertaken in the qualitative tradition and the inherent limitations that this paradigm entails, to provide a descriptive picture of the motivation, selves and identities of a sizeable number of foreign language learners, 78 in total across the studies, in, or as was in the case in Study 2, beyond, three under-researched socio-educational contexts: FI, study abroad post-sojourn, and EMI. We have been able to offer the narrative identities of the participants as a flavour of those contexts as experienced by L2 learners / users in, and in the post-sojourn beyond, the Spanish HE space. We have found, reflected in our data, a number of recurring motifs, as discussed in section 6.2, and, whilst we cannot extrapolate out from these patterns, we have been able to discuss them in conjunction with the theoretical models we have used for our research and, in so doing, to raise

concerns about what we perceive to be gaps in the theorising. Put simply, the L2MSS largely misses out the notion of space, and the investment model largely misses out the notion of time.

We have also been able to discuss where our findings coincide, or do not, with earlier research. First, from a temporal perspective, we have discussed the reflection in our data that the actual L2 self and possible future selves derive from representations of the self in the past, and that a personal negative L2 history may hinder an L2 learner in their present and into their future prospecting. Secondly, from a spatial perspective, we found within our data that the strength of a current language identity appears bolstered by an alignment with a social identity, and that a lack of such an alignment may hinder the motivation / investment of an L2 learner in their present and into their internal psychological imaginings of their future identities. Thirdly, from a symbolic perspective, our data suggests that an L2 – at least for all of our participants in Studies 2 and 3 – is recognised for its economic, linguistic, and sociocultural capital value / power. Finally, from an overarching dynamic perspective and related to our temporal, spatial and symbolic findings, we have added to the body of work on L2 motivation which exposes the flaw in the previously held view that L2 motivation is an individual difference, immutable and fixed. By asking our participants to reflect on their L2 motivation across time and space, we have been able to offer insights into the dynamic and non-linear selves (L2 and otherwise), and the language identities and the social identities, of learners of a foreign language in relation to our chosen socio-educational contexts. Indeed, in this respect, we argue that SLA research became stuck for too long in a veritable quagmire, the paradigm of motivation being binary, a fixed individual difference (Ellis, 1994). With the benefit of hindsight, it seems rather incredible now that the power of teacher and pupil to achieve anything beyond that which was already coded into the language student psyche, was considered void; that research, intended ultimately to influence the curriculum of, and the pedagogical processes within, educational establishments – from the compulsory language schooling of children, to the voluntary attendance of all age groups at language academies – was carried out on the basis that an individual is incapable of change.

Within this thesis, we therefore add to the emerging new paradigm on L2 motivation by challenging how can we have theorising about L2 motivation: (1) without considering the temporal dimension, particularly the past; (2) without allowing for the spatial dimension

and a wider identity than one that is purely language-oriented; and / or (3) without recognising the symbolic dimension, the sociocultural facet of motivation, and the cognisance of L2 users of the value of their capital assets.

6.4 Directions for future research and implications for stakeholders

In respect of the temporal, spatial and symbolic dimensions, the findings of the three studies which make up this thesis offer various pathways for future research, the influence of the past in the present offering, we think, perhaps the most potentially fruitful of these, not least the idea of re-writing personal past histories (Falout, 2016), of frustration, of fear, of lack of confidence, of lack of pride, of failure, of anxiety, of dejection, in order to make for a more heartened actual L2 self in the foreign language classroom. On the spatial plane, and the consequences that crossing the threshold back home might bring to language learning, we have also raised, in Study 2, the idea of intervening with vision work (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014), with the aim of aligning nascent naturalistic L2 identities with at home social identities, whilst sojourners are still in the midst of study abroad. Finally, in terms of symbolic distinction (Bourdieu, 1991), we are drawn to the work of Hakim (2010) on erotic capital, as a future research path, exploitation of which we saw some evidence of, although not reported on, within the data of Study 2.

At the end of the research undertaken in the three studies which make up this thesis, one aspect which came into view was the possible lack of what we might call a 'moral dimension' within the two models which we adopted. Both models assume that movement is possible from one position to another. The L2MSS, from the actual L2 self to the future desired L2 self (with the help of vision and desire moving forward the autonomous individual). The investment model from one identity position to another identity position (with the help of agency and desire triumphing over habitus). All of this theorising without reference to the consequences on anyone else, either within a small world orbit of people known to an individual, or a wider social world. Whilst this might seem more pertinent to motivation to do things other than learn a language, it is not without importance in the context of L2 learning. Why is a person learning a language, what are they going to use it for? This seems an area ripe for exploration and is somewhere the author of this thesis would like, time, space and symbolic capital permitting, to turn to next. Perhaps after all the recent SLA research 'turns', including the 'social turn'

(Block, 2003); the 'dynamic turn' (e.g., Dörnyei, 2017); the 'narrative turn' (Pavlenko, 2007), the 'moral turn' could follow. Perhaps a more neutral term to 'moral' would be appropriate and indeed, the way in which Darvin and Norton (2016) appear to be tackling this gap in the theorising is by looking to the construct of 'cosmopolitanism'. As they have written (p. 33): "To imagine cosmopolitan futures, learners need to navigate individual aspirations, on the one hand, and a sense of global responsibility, on the other". Perhaps, in a world facing Covid-19 and climate change, we are approaching the rise of identity through the 'cosmopolitan turn'.

We have set out the pedagogic and stakeholder implications within the three studies which make up this thesis, but to mention three notable implications here. First, the motivation, the self and identity within a classroom context – i.e., across the time and space dimensions – are ripe for exploration by foreign language teachers within the context of a FI classroom, as is cultivating a curiosity in the linguistic capital that their learners bring to class as possible scaffolding for other L2 learning. Secondly, within the study abroad socio-educational context, an acknowledgement of the numbers of non-language majors taking advantage of the opportunities to sojourn and learn a language, with planning to support that learning and the sustaining of that learning once back home. For example, as alluded to in relation to further research in this sphere, possible selves vision work could be built into the curricula of university language schools to nurture agentive career moves, which involve the use of an L2, back home. Thirdly, in relation to the EMI environment, for EMI stakeholders to address the life-limiting effect of the lack of choice of EMI degree options.

6.5 Limitations of the three studies

Whilst undoubtably there are further limitations to the three studies we conducted as part of this doctoral research, we mention four notable ones here. First, as our interest was in meaning-making in the here-and-now, our three studies lacked a true longitudinal dimension. Secondly, we came to the investment model and the work of Bourdieu later in the research journey. It became pertinent in discussing the findings of Study 1. It then became relevant at an earlier stage – during data collection – in Study 2, with the result that we changed the nature of the questions asked during the interviews with the post-sojourners. Had we come to the investment model from the start, we might have focused

in on gender, socioeconomic status etc., of the participants. Thirdly, we have used L2 rather indiscriminately to mean L2, L3, Lx. We have perhaps missed an opportunity to unravel the interrelation of selves and identities relating to differing L2s. Studies which have focused in on L3 motivation – disappointingly few in the view of Henry (2011) – indicate that L2 and L3 self-concepts are interrelated. In particular, L2 English may have a negative impact on L3 motivation (e.g., Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Henry, 2010; Henry, 2011; Ushioda, 2017). Indeed, as mentioned in section 2.1.2.4, Dörnyei and Chan (2013) reported distinct ideal L2-specific English and Mandarin visions for the Cantonese students learning both in their study. Finally, with the benefit of hindsight, the novel form of data collection in Study 3, through monologues, may have sacrificed 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) for the sake of a free flow of narrative, as opposed to the minor interruptions of a semi-structured interview. However, this observation is largely academic, as the data had already been collected as part of a different project with another research angle, and we repeat our gratitude to the second-named researcher of the article that records Study 3 for permitting access to this data. There is no doubt that adding the socio-educational dimension of EMI to those of FI and study abroad enhanced our understanding of the recurring themes across contexts.

6.6 Final thoughts: into the future

In the three studies which make up this thesis, we have explored how L2 users, who have recently crossed a threshold in their L2 learning, account in the here-and-now for what their L2 means for them and how they experience this, and whether this revealed anything new about motivation to learn an L2. We have done so within three under-researched contexts, FI, post-study abroad, and EMI. We adopted two main theoretical models for our research which assisted us in this venture, the L2MSS (Dörnyei, 2009) and the investment model (as expanded) (Darvin & Norton, 2015). We have been particularly influenced in the temporal dimension, by the notion of temporal focus / narrative identity (Karniol & Ross, 1996; Markus & Nurius, 1986; McAdams & McLean, 2013); and in the spatial and symbolic dimensions, by, respectively, the notions of habitus and capital (Bourdieu, 1991). We took a person-in-context relational view of emergent motivation, self and identity (Ushioda, 2009), which provided a theoretical bridge between the L2MSS notions of the mind and the more grounded model of investment. As to our findings, in Study 1 (in a FI EFL mandatory classroom), we found that the participants,

as one part of an Exploratory Practice, invested in a visualisation intervention and co-constructed a plausible, socially-recognisable future ideal L2 self, which we discussed by reference to the 'Motivators' and the 'Listeners', whilst also considering the findings in relation to the other exploratory activities carried out as part of this study. In Study 2 (in the L2 Spanish post-sojourn landscape), the dominant themes which emerged were of 'identity echoes', a pivotal experience', 'to sustain or not to sustain', and 'enduring value' (linguistic and with other capital value), themes we discussed by reference to the 'Unfulfilled', the 'Pragmatists', and the 'Aligners'. In Study 3 (in the midst of an EMI programme and in relation to their motives to elect EMI), the dominant themes were of 'the right fit for me', to practise my L2', and 'ELF comes with benefits' (again linguistic and with other capital value), themes we discussed by reference to the 'Aligners', the Practitioners', and the 'Profiteers'. Considered collectively, we have discussed in section 6.2, the recurring motifs across the three studies, of the temporal dimension and the function of the past in the present; of the spatial dimension and the importance of an aligned social identity; and of the symbolic dimension and the cognisance of the participants, within Studies 2 and 3, of the capital value of their L2 assets.

As to why we chose this area to explore and why the here-and-now is important. In the accounts of the participants, we have been privy to negative emotions (frustration, anxiety, fear) and positive ones (love of the language; enjoyment; self-confidence; self-belief). We have seen lives align socially around the learning of an L2, with relationships which have endured over time (friendships, marriage) and dreams which are taking these L2 users into their futures (job secondments overseas, working for international companies, working for not-for-profits, belonging to global ELF communities). We have offered the narrative identities revealed in our three studies as examples of the hopes, desires, vision, agency and ownership of existing capital which we, as teachers, researchers, and as other stakeholders, might again encounter in L2 learners within the socio-educational contexts we considered. Through the presentation of our findings and the discussions within our three studies, and also in the discussion of the recurring motifs across the studies, we hope to have provided useful pedagogical insights, directions for future research, and to have appropriately hereby alerted language school, study abroad and EMI stakeholders.

Looking to the future, we conclude this doctoral research with the words of Simmel (1971, p. 361):

> The future does not lie ahead of us like some unexplored land, separated from the present by a sharp boundary line, but rather we live continually in a border region which belongs as much to the future as to the present.

Bibliography

Allwright, D., & Hanks, J. (2009). *The developing language learner.* Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230233690

Allwright, D. (2003). Exploratory Practice: rethinking practitioner research in language teaching. *Language Teaching Research*, *7*, 113–141. https://doi.org/10.1191/1362168803lr118oa

Allwright, D. (2005). Developing principles for practitioner research: The case of exploratory practice. *Modern Language Journal*, *89*, 353–363. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2005.00310.x

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London, England: Verso Editions.

Arnett, J. J. (2002). The psychology of globalization. *American Psychologist*, *57*(10), 774–783. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.57.10.774

Atkinson, D. (2010). Extended, embodied cognition and second language acquisition. *Applied Linguistics*, *31*(5), 599–622. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amq009

Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, *84*(2), 191–215. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.84.2.191

Barkhuizen, G. (2014). Narrative research in language teaching and learning. *Language Teaching*. *47*(4), 450-466. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444814000172

Beelen, J. (2016). Internationalisation at home in the 4th global survey. In E. Jones, R. Coelen, J. Beelen, & H. Wit (Eds.), *Global and Local Internationalization* (pp. 55–65). Rotterdam, The Netherlands: SensePublishers.

Beelen, J., & Jones, E. (2015). Redefining internationalization at home. In A. Curaj, L. Matai, R. Pricopie, J. Salmi, & P. Scott (Eds.), *The European Higher Education Area: Between critical reflections and future policies* (pp. 59–72). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-20877-0_5

Bhabha, H. K. (2004). *The location of culture*. London, England: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203820551

Block, D. (2000). Problematizing interview data: Voices in the mind's machine? *TESOL Quarterly*, *34*(4), 757–763. https://doi.org/10.2307/3587788

Block, D. (2003). *The social turn in second language acquisition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Block, D. (2006). *Multilingual identities in a global city: London stories*. London, England: Palgrave. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230501393

Block, D. (2007a). The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth and Wagner (1997). *Modern Language Journal*, *91*(SUPPL. 1), 863–876. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2007.00674.x

Block, D. (2007b). *Second language identities*. London, England: Continuum.

Block, D. (2013a). Issues in language and identity research in applied linguistics. *Elia*, *13*, 11–46. http://dx.doi.org/10.12795/elia.2013.i13.01

Block, D. (2013b). The structure and agency dilemma in identity and intercultural communication research. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *13*(2), 126–147. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2013.770863

Boo, Z., Dörnyei, Z., & Ryan, S. (2015). L2 motivation research 2005-2014: Understanding a publication surge and a changing landscape. *System*, *55*, 145–157. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2015.10.006

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, *16*(6), 645–668. https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847701600601

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education.* (pp. 241–258). New York, NY: Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1987). What makes a social class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, *32*, 1–17.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian meditations*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77 – 101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. London, England: Sage.

British Council. (2013). *The English effect*. Retrieved from http://www.britishcouncil.org (2020, September 7).

British Council. (2018). *The future demand for English in Europe, 2025 and beyond*. Retrieved from http://www.trajectorypartnership.com (2020, September 7).

Buckner, R. L., & Carroll, D. C. (2007). Self-projection and the brain. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *11*(2), 49–57. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2006.11.004

Campbell, R. (2016). Maintaining the Japan connection: The impact of study abroad on Japanese language learners' life trajectories and ongoing interaction with Japanese speakers. *Comparative & International Education*, *45*(2). https://doi.org/10.5206/cie-eci.v45i2.9289

Canagarajah, A. S. (1999). *Resisting linguistic imperialism in English teaching*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Cenoz, J., Genesee, F., & Gorter, D. (2014). Critical analysis of CLIL: Taking stock and looking forward. *Applied Linguistics*, *35*(3), 243–262. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amt011

Chen, Y. L. E., & Kraklow, D. (2015). Taiwanese college students' motivation and engagement for English learning in the context of internationalization at home: A comparison of students in EMI and non-EMI programs. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *19*(1), 46–64. https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315314533607

Cho, M. (2015). The effects of working possible selves on second language performance. *Reading and Writing*, *28*, 1099–1118. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11145-015-9564-1

Codó, E. (2018). The intersection of global mobility, lifestyle and ELT work: A critical examination of language instructors' trajectories. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *18*(4), 436 - 450. https://doi.org/10.1080/14708477.2018.1482905

Codó, E. (2020). The dilemmas of experimental CLIL in Catalonia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2020.1725525

Codó, E. (in press). Localizable vs non-localizable English: New inequalities in 'democratizing' access to English in Spanish education. In R. Rubdy & R. Tupas (Eds.), *World English: Ideologies. Bloomsbury World English Series* (Vol. III). London, England: Bloomsbury.

Codó, E., & Patiño-Santos, A. (2018). CLIL, unequal working conditions and neoliberal subjectivities in a state secondary school. *Language Policy*, *17*(4), 479–499. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-017-9451-5

Coffey, S., & Street, B. (2008). Narrative and identity in the "language learning project." *Modern Language Journal*, *92*(3), 452–464. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2008.00757.x

Coleman, J. A. (2013). Researching whole people and whole lives. In C Kinginger (Ed.), *Social and cultural aspects of language learning in study abroad* (pp. 17–44). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/lllt.37.02col

Collentine, J. (2009). Study abroad research: Findings, implications, and future directions. In M. Long & C. Doughty (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language Teaching* (pp. 218–234). London, England: John Wiley and Sons.

Cook, V. (2016). Premises of multi-competence. In V. Cook & L. Wei (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Linguistic Multi-Competence* (pp. 1–25). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107425965.001

Commission of the European Communities (1995). *White paper on teaching and learning: Towards the learning society.* Retrieved from https://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com95_590_en.pdf (2015, July 8).

Crystal, D. (2003). *David Crystal. English as a Global Language.* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Csizér, Kata; Dörnyei, Z. (2005). Language learners' motivational profiles and their motivated learning behavior. *Language Learning*, *55*(4), 613–659. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0023-8333.2005.00319.x

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *35*, 36–56. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190514000191

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2016). Investment and language learning in the 21st century. *Langage et Société, 3*(157), 19-38. https://doi.org/10.3917/ls.157.0019

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2017). Language, identity, and investment in the twenty-first century. In T. McCarty & S. May (Eds.), *Language policy and political issues in education*. New York, NY: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02344-1_18

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2019). Identity. In J. Schwieter & A. Benati (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of language learning. Cambridge handbooks in language and linguistics* (pp. 451–473). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Deci, E., & Ryan, R. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York, NY: Palgrave.

Dewaele, J.-M. (2015). On emotions in foreign language learning and use. *The Language Teacher, 39*(3), 13-15. https://doi.org/10.37546/jalttlt39.3-3

Dewaele, J.-M., & MacIntyre, P. D. (2014). The two faces of Janus? Anxiety and enjoyment in the foreign language classroom. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching*, *4*(2), 237–274. https://doi.org/10.14746/ssllt.2014.4.2.5

De Swaan, A. (2001). *Words of the world*. Cambridge, England: Polity.

Doiz, A., & Lasagabaster, D. (2018). Teachers' and students' second language motivational self system in English-Medium Instruction: A qualitative approach. *TESOL Quarterly*, *52*(3), 657–679. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.452

Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D., & Sierra, J. M. (2014). Language friction and multilingual policies in higher education: The stakeholders' view. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *35*(4). https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2013.874433

Dörnyei, Z. (2005). *The psychology of the language learner: Individual differences in second language acquisition*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Dörnyei, Z. (2009). 2. The L2 Motivational Self System. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 9–42). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293-003

Dörnyei, Z. (2014). Future self-guides and vision. In M. Csizér, K & Magid (Ed.), *The impact of self-concept on language learning* (pp. 7–18). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783092383

Dörnyei, Z. (2017). Conceptualizing learner characteristics in a complex, dynamic world. In L. Ortega & Z. Han (Eds.), *Complexity Theory and Language Development. In celebration of Diane Larsen-Freeman* (pp. 79–96). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/lllt.48.05dor

Dörnyei, Z. (2019). Towards a better understanding of the L2 Learning Experience, the Cinderella of the L2 Motivational Self System. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching*, *9*(1), 19–30. https://doi.org/10.14746/ssllt.2019.9.1.2

Dörnyei, Z., & Chan, L. (2013). Motivation and vision: An analysis of future L2 self images, sensory styles, and imagery capacity across two target languages. *Language Learning*, *63*(3), 437–462. https://doi.org/10.1111/lang.12005

Dörnyei, Z., & Kubanyiova, M. (2014). *Motivating learners, motivating teachers: Building vision in the language classroom.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Dörnyei, Z., MacIntyre, P. D., & Henry, A. (2014). *Motivational dynamics in language learning*. Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters.

Dornyei, Z., & Ryan, S. (2015). *The psychology of the language learner revisited*. New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315779553

Dornyei, Z., & Skehan, P. (2003). Individual differences in second language learning. In C. J. Doughty & M. H. Long (Eds.), *The handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 589–630). Oxford, England: Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470756492.ch18

Dörnyei, Z., & Tseng, W. T. (2009). Motivational processing in interactional tasks. In A. Mackey & C. Polio (Eds.), *Multiple Perspectives on interaction: Second*

language research in honor of Susan M. Gass (pp. 117–134). New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203880852

Dörnyei, Z., & Ushioda, E. (2009). *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self*. Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293

Dörnyei, Z., & Ushioda, E. (2009). Motivation, language identities and the L2 self: Future research directions. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 350–356). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293-019

Du, X., & Jackson, J. (2018). From EFL to EMI: The evolving English learning motivation of mainland Chinese students in a Hong Kong university. *System*, *76*(777), 158–169. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2018.05.011

Early, M., & Norton, B. (2012). Language learner stories and imagined identities. *Narrative Inquiry*, *22*(1). https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.22.1.15ear

Ellis, R. (1994). *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Eliot, T. S. (1944). Four Quartets. London, England: Faber and Faber.

European Commission. (2015). Erasmus Plus programme guide (version 3). Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/documents/erasmus-plus-programme-guide_en.pdf (2015, May 17).

European Commission. (2018). Spain - Erasmus+ 2018 in numbers. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/resources/documents/spain-erasmus-2018-numbers_en (2020, September 7).

European Commission. (2019). Erasmus+ programme guide (version 2). Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/resources/documents/erasmus-programme-guide-2019_en (2019, July 27).

Expansión. (2020). Tasa de desempeo: 2020 países. Retrieved from https://datosmacro.expansion.com/paro (2020, September 15).

Falout, J. (2016). The dynamics of past selves in language learning and well-being. In P. MacIntyre, T. Gregersen, & S. Mercer (Eds.), *Positive psychology in SLA* (pp. 112–129). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783095360-005

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (1997). On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *The Modern Language Journal*, *81*(3), 286–300. https://doi.org/10.2307/329302

Fridhandler, S. (2006). *The experience of studying abroad and returning home to Canada*. (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Calgary, Alberta.

Fukada, Y., Fukuda, T., Falout, J., & Murphey, T. (2011). Increasing motivation with possible selves. In A. Stewart (Ed.), *JALT 2010 Conference Proceedings* (pp. 337–349). Tokyo: JALT.

Gao, X. (2008). Shifting motivational discourses among mainland Chinese students in an English medium tertiary institution in Hong Kong: A longitudinal inquiry. *Studies in Higher Education*, *33*(5), 599–614. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075070802373107

Gardner, R. (1985). *Social psychology and second language learning: The role of attitudes and motivation*. London, England: Edward Arnold.

Gardner, R., & Lambert, W. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation in second language learning.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gardner, R. (2001a). Integrative motivation and second language acquisition. In Z. Dörnyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and second language acquisition* (pp. 1–20). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.

Gardner, R. (2001b). Integrative motivation: Past, present and future. Tokyo, Temple University Japan: Retrieved from http://publish.uwo.ca/~gardner/docs/GardnerPublicLecture1.pdf (2016, 5 May).

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Geertz, C. (2005). Deep play: Notes on the Balinese cockfight. *Daedalus, 134*(4), 56 - 86. https://doi.org/10.1162/001152605774431563

Gill, M., & Lennox, G. (1994). *Self-motion: From Aristotle to Newton*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Goffman, E. (1990). *The presentation of self in everyday life (Original work published 1959)*. London, England: Penguin.

Graddol, D. (2006). *English next: Why global English may mean the end of "English as a foreign language".* London, England: British Council.

Hakim, C. (2010). Erotic capital. *European Sociological Review*, *26*(5), 499–518. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcq014

Hanks, J. (2015). Language teachers making sense of Exploratory Practice. *Language Teaching Research*, *19*(5), 612–633. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168814567805

Henry, A. (2010). Contexts of possibility in simultaneous language learning: Using the L2 Motivational Self System to assess the impact of global English. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *31*(2), 149–162. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434630903471439

Henry, A. (2011). Examining the impact of L2 English on L3 selves: A case study. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *8*(3), 235–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2011.554983

Henry, A., & Goddard, A. (2015). Bicultural or hybrid? The second language identities of students on an English-mediated university program in Sweden. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, *14*(4), 255–274. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2015.1070596

Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review*, *94*(3), 319–340. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.94.3.319

Higgins, E. T. (1997). Beyond pleasure and pain. *American Psychologist*, *52*(12), 1280–1300. https://doi.org/10.1037//0003-066x.52.12.1280

Higgins, E. T. (1998). Promotion and prevention: Regulatory focus as a motivational principle. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *30*, 1–46. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60381-0

Hock, M., Deshler, D., & Schumaker, J. (2006). Enhancing student motivation through the pursuit of possible selves. In C. Dunkel & J. Kerpelman (Eds.), *Possible selves: Theory, research and applications* (pp. 205–221). New York, NY: Nova Science.

House, J. (2003). English as a lingua franca: A threat to multilingualism? *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *7*(4), 556–578. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2003.00242.x

House, J. (2014). English as a global lingua franca: A threat to multilingual communication and translation? *Language Teaching*, *47*(3), 363–376. Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444812000043

Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics. Selected readings* (pp. 269–293). Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.

Irie, K., & Ryan, S. (2018). Study abroad and the dynamics of change in learner L2 self-concept. In Z. Dörnyei, P.D MacIntyre, & A, Henry (Eds.), *Motivational dynamics in language learning* (pp. 343–366). https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783092574-022

Jackson, J. (2010). Habitus, self-identity, and positioning: The multifarious nature of study abroad. *CULTUS: The Journal of Intercultural Mediation and Communication*, *3*, 65–78.

Jiménez Jiménez, A. F. (2004). *Linguistic and psychological dimensions of second language attrition during and after a study abroad experience.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Pennsylvania State University.

Juan-Garau, M., Salazar-Noguera, J., & Prieto-Arranz, J. I. (2014). English L2 learners' lexico-grammatical and motivational development at home and abroad. In C. Pérez-Vidal (Ed.), *Language Acquisition in Study Abroad and Formal Instruction*

Contexts (pp. 235–258). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/aals.13.12ch10

Kanno, Y., & Norton, B. (2003). Imagined communities and educational possibilities: Introduction. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, *2*(4), 241–249. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327701jlie0204_1

Karniol, R., & Ross, M. (1996). The Motivational Impact of Temporal Focus: Thinking About the Future and the Past. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *47*(1), 593–620. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.47.1.593

King, N. (2004). Using templates in the thematic analysis of text. In C. Cassell & G. Symon (Eds.), *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research.* (pp. 256–270). London, England: Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446280119.n21

Kinginger, C. (2004). Alice doesn't live here anymore: Foreign language learning and renegotiated identity. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 219–242). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781853596483-010

Klapisch, C. (2002). *L'Auberge espanole [film]*. Spain / France: BAC Films, Ce Qui Me Meut, France, 2.

Kramsch, C. (2006). From communicative competence to symbolic competence. *The Modern Language Journal*, *90*(2), 249–252. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2006.00395_3.x

Kramsch, C. (2013). Afterword. In *Identity and Language Learning: Extending the Conversation* (pp. 192–201). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783090563-010

Kuschnir, A. N., & Dos Santos Machado, B. (2003). Puzzling, and puzzling about puzzle development. *Language Teaching Research*, 163–180. https://doi.org/10.1191/1362168803lr120oa

Lamb, M. (2004). Integrative motivation in a globalizing world. *System*, *32*(1), 3–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2003.04.002

Lamb, M., & Budiyanto. (2013). Cultural challenges, identity and motivation in state school EFL. In E. Ushioda (Ed.), *International perspectives on motivation: Language learning and professional challenges* (pp. 18 – 34). Houndmills, England: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137000873_2

Lantolf, J. P., & Pavlenko, A. (2001). (S)econd (L)anguage (A)ctivity theory: Understanding second language learners as people. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 141 – 158). Glenville, IL: Pearson Education.

Lanvers, U., & Hultgren, A. K. (2018). The Englishization of European education: Concluding remarks. *European Journal of Language Policy*, *10*(1), 147–152. https://doi.org/10.3828/ejlp.2018.7

Lasagabaster, D. (2016). The relationship between motivation, gender, L1 and possible selves in English-medium instruction. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *13*(3), 315–332. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2015.1105806

Lasagabaster, D. (2017). Language learning motivation and language attitudes in multilingual Spain from an international perspective. *Modern Language Journal*, *101*(3), 583 - 596. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12414

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, S. H., & Kinginger, C. (2018). Narrative remembering of intercultural encounters: A case study of language program reintegration after study abroad. *Modern Language Journal*, *102*(3), 578–593. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12505

Lee, S., & Oyserman, D. (2012). Possible selves theory. Retrieved from https://dornsife.usc.edu/assets/sites/782/docs/lee_and_oyserman_possible_selves_theory___education.pdf (2020, September 4).

Llanes, À. (2011). The many faces of study abroad: An update on the research on L2 gains emerged during a study abroad experience. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *8*(3), 189–215. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2010.550297

Macaro, E., Curle, S., Pun, J., An, J., & Dearden, J. (2018). A systematic review of English medium instruction in higher education. *Language Teaching*, *51*(1), 36–76. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0261444817000350

MacIntyre, P. D., Dornyei, Z., Clément, R., & Noels, K. A. (1998). Conceptualizing willingness to communicate in a L2: A situational model of L2 confidence and affiliation. *Modern Language Journal*, *82*(4), 545 - 562. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.1998.tb05543.x

MacIntyre, P., Gregersen, T., & Mercer, S. (2016). *Positive psychology in SLA*. Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters.

MacIntyre, P. D., Mackinnon, S. P., & Clément, R. (2009). The baby, the bathwater and the future of language learning motivation research. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 43–65). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293

Mackay, J. (2015). *An ideal L2 self intervention: Implications for self-concept, motivation and engagement with the target language*. Universitat de Barcelona.

Mackay, J. (2019). An ideal second language self intervention: Development of possible selves in an English as a foreign language classroom context. *System*, *81*, 50–62. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2019.01.003

Magid, M., & Chan, L. (2012). Motivating English learners by helping them visualise their ideal L2 self: Lessons from two motivational programmes. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching*, *6*(2), 113–125. https://doi.org/10.1080/17501229.2011.614693

Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist*, *41*(9), 954–969. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.41.9.954

Maykut, P., & Morehouse, R. E. (1994). *Beginning qualitative research: A philosophical and practical guide*. London, England: Routledge.

McAdams, D. P., & McLean, K. C. (2013). Narrative Identity. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *22*(3), 233–238. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721413475622

McAdams, D. P., & Pals, J. L. (2006). A new big five: Fundamental principles for an integrative science of personality. *American Psychologist*, *61*(3). https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.61.3.204

Ministerio de Educación, Cultura Y Deportes (MECD). (2014). Estrategia para la internacionalización de las universidades españolas 2015-2020. Retrieved from https://sede.educacion.gob.es/publiventa/estrategia-para-la-internacionalizacion-de-las-universidades-espanolas-2015-2020/universidad/21475 (2020, September 7).

Mitchell, R., Tracy-Ventura, N., & McManus, K. (2015). Introduction. In R. Mitchell, N. Tracy-Ventura, & K. McManus (Eds.), *Social interaction, identity and language learning during residence abroad* (EuroSLA Monograph Series 4, pp. 7–14). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: The European Second Language Association.

Morita, N. (2004). Negotiating Participation and Identity in Second Language Academic Communities. *TESOL Quarterly*, *38*(4), 573–603. https://doi.org/10.2307/3588281

Muñoz, C. (2014). Exploring young learners' foreign language learning awareness. *Language Awareness*, *23*(1–2). https://doi.org/10.1080/09658416.2013.863900

Muñoz, C., Tragant, E., & Camuñas, M. (2015). Transition: Continuity or a fresh start? *APAC Quarterly*, *89*, 11–16.

Murahata, G., Murahata, Y., & Cook, V. (2016). Research questions and methodology of multi-competence. In V. Cook & L. Wei (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic multi-competence* (pp. 26–49). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107425965.002

Murphy-Lejeune, E. (2002). *Student Mobility and Narrative in Europe: The New Strangers.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Nikula, T., Dalton-Puffer, C., & García, A. L. (2013). CLIL classroom discourse: Research from Europe. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education*, *1*(1), 70–100. https://doi.org/10.1075/jicb.1.1.04nik

Noels, K. A. (2003). Learning Spanish as a second language: Learners' orientations and perceptions of their teachers' communication style. In Z. Dörnyei (Ed.), *Attitudes, orientations, and motivations in language learning* (pp. 97–136). Oxford, England: Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1111/0023-8333.00149

Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, *29*(1), 9–31. https://doi.org/10.2307/3587803

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*. Harlow, England: Pearson Education.

Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities and the language classroom. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research* (pp. 159–171). London, England: Pearson Education.

Norton, B. (2013). Introduction. In *Identity and Language Learning: Extending the Conversation* (2nd ed., pp. 1–40). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters.

Norton, B. (2015). Identity, investment, and faces of English internationally. *Chinese Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *38*(4), 375–391. https://doi.org/10.1515/cjal-2015-0025

Norton, B. (2016). Identity and language learning: Back to the future. *TESOL Quarterly*, *50*(2), 475–479. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.293

Norton, B. (2019). Identity and language learning: A 2019 retrospective account. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, *75*(4), 299–307. https://doi.org/10.3138/cmlr.2019-0287

Norton, B., & De Costa, P. I. (2018). Research tasks on identity in language learning and teaching. *Language Teaching*, *51*(1), 90–112. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444817000325

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2011). Identity, language learning, and social change. *Language Teaching*, *44*(4), 412–416. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444811000309

Norton, B., & Vanderheyden, K. (2004). Comic book culture and second language learners. In B Norton & K. Vanderheyden (Eds.), *Critical pedagogies and language learning* (pp. 201–221). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139524834.011

Oyserman, D., & Markus, H. R. (1990). Possible selves and delinquency. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *59*(1), 112–125. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.59.1.112

Oyserman, D., Bybee, D., & Terry, K. (2006). Possible selves and academic outcomes: How and when possible selves impel action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *91*(1), 188–204. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.91.1.188

Oyserman, D., Bybee, D., Terry, K., & Hart-Johnson, T. (2004). Possible selves as roadmaps. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *38*(2), 130–149. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0092-6566(03)00057-6

Pan, L., & Block, D. (2011). English as a "global language" in China: An investigation into learners' and teachers' language beliefs. *System*, *39*(3), 391–402. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2011.07.011

Papi, M., Bondarenko, A. V., Mansouri, S., Feng, L., & Jiang, C. (2019). Rethinking L2 motivation research: The 2 x 2 model of L2 self-guides. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *41*(2), 337–361. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0272263118000153

Pavlenko, A. (2007). Autobiographic narratives as data in applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, *28*(2), 163–188. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amm008

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). Introduction: New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge, *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 1 -33). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781853596483-003

Pavlenko, A., & Lantolf, J. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re) construction of selves. In J.P. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning.* (pp. 155–177). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Pavlenko, A., & Norton, B. (2007). Imagined communities, identity, and English language learning. In J. Cummins & C. Davison (Eds.), *International handbook of English language teaching.* (Part II, pp. 669–680). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-46301-8_43

Pérez-Encinas, A., Howard, L., Rumbley, L., & de Wit, H. (2017). *The internationalisation of higher education in Spain. Reflections and perspectives.* Madrid, Spain: SEPIE (Servicio Español para la Internacionalización de la Educación). Ministerio Español para la Educación, Cultura Y Deporte. Retrieved from http://sepie.es/doc/comunicacion/publicaciones/SEPIE-ENG_internacionalizacion.pdf (2020, September 7).

Pérez-Vidal, C. (2014). Study abroad and formal instruction contrasted: The SALA project. In C. Pérez-Vidal (Ed.), *Language Acquisition in Study Abroad and Formal Instruction Contexts* (pp. 17–57). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/aals.13.03ch2

Pérez-Vidal, C. (2015). Languages for all in education: CLIL and ICLHE at the crossroads of multilingualism, mobility and internationalisation. In M. Juan-Garau & J. Salazar-Noguera (Eds.), *Content-based language learning in multilingual*

educational environments (pp. 31–50). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-11496-5_3

Pérez-Vidal, C., & Llanes, A. (in press). Study abroad in European perspective. In R. Mitchell & F. Hynes (Eds.), *Language and mobility: Study abroad in the contemporary European context*. London, England: Routledge.

Plews, J. (2016). The post-sojourn in study abroad research-Another frontier. *Comparative and International Education*, *45*(2), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.5206/cie-eci.v45i2.9288

Rivero-Menédez, M. J., Urquía-Grande, E., López-Sánchez, P., & Camacho-Miñano, M. (2018). Motivation and learning strategies in accounting: Are there differences in English as a medium of instruction (EMI) versus non-EMI students? *Spanish Accounting Review*, *21*(2), 128–139. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rcsar.2017.04.002

Roquet, H., Vraciu, A., Nicolás-Conesa, F., & Pérez-Vidal, C. (2020). Adjunct instruction in higher education: Examining the effects on English foreign language proficiency. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2020.1765967

Ruvolo, A. P., & Markus, H. R. (1992). Possible selves and performance: The power of self-relevant imagery. *Social Cognition*, *10*(1), 95–124. https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.1992.10.1.95

Ryan, S. (2019). Language learner motivation: What motivates motivation researchers? In J. Schwieter & A. Benati (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Learning. Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics* (pp. 409–429). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108333603.018

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations: Classic definitions and new directions. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, *25*(1), 54–67. https://doi.org/10.1006/ceps.1999.1020

Sabaté-Dalmau, M. (2016). The Englishisation of higher education in Catalonia: A critical sociolinguistic ethnographic approach to the students' perspectives. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *29*(3), 263–285. https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2016.1153108

Sampson, R. (2012). The language-learning self, self-enhancement activities, and self perceptual change. *Language Teaching Research*, *16*(3), 317–335. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168812436898

Sanz, C. (2014). Contributions of study abroad research to our understanding of SLA processes and outcome. In C. Pérez-Vidal (Ed.), *Language Acquisition in Study Abroad and Formal Instruction Contexts* (pp. 1–14). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/aals.13.01ch1

Seligman, M. E., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). Positive psychology. An introduction. *The American Psychologist*, *55*(1), 5–14. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.1.5

Shedivy, S. L. (2004). Factors that lead some students to continue the study of foreign language past the usual 2 years in high school. *System*, *32*(1), 103–119. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2003.09.008

Simmel, G. (1971). *On individuality and social forms*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago University Press.

Şimşek, E., & Dörnyei, Z. (2017). Anxiety and L2 self-images: The 'anxious self.' In J.-M. Dewaele, C. Gkonou, & M. Daubney (Eds.), *New Insights into language anxiety: Theory, research and educational implications* (pp. 51–69). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783097722-005

Skehan, P. (1991). Individual differences in second language learning. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *13*(2), 275–298. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0272263100009979

Steinwidder, S. (2016). EFL learners' post-sojourn perceptions of the effects of study abroad. *Comparative & International Education*, *45*(2). https://doi.org/10.5206/cie-eci.v45i2.9292

Suddendorf, T. (2010). Episodic memory versus episodic foresight: Similarities and differences. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science*, *1*(1), 99–107. https://doi.org/10.1002/wcs.23

Svalberg, A. M. (2009). Engagement with language: Interrogating a construct. *Language Awareness*, *18*(3–4), 242–258. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658410903197264

Taguchi, T., Magid, M., & Papi, M. (2009). The L2 motivational self system among Japanese, Chinese and Iranian learners of English: A comparative study. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 66–97). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293-005

Teimouri, Y. (2017). L2 selves, emotions, and motivated behaviors. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *39*(4), 681–709. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0272263116000243

Thorsen, C., Henry, A., & Cliffordson, C. (2017). The case of a missing person? The current L2 self and the L2 Motivational Self System. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *23*(5), 584 - 600. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1388356

Trenchs-Parera, M., & Juan-Garau, M. (2014). A longitudinal study of learners' motivations and beliefs in at home and study abroad contexts. In C. Pérez-Vidal (Ed.), *Language Acquisition in Study Abroad and Formal Instruction Contexts* (pp.

259–281). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/aals.13.13ch11

Ushioda, E. (2001). Language learning at university: Exploring the role of motivational thinking. In Z. Dörnyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and second language acquisition* (pp. 99–125). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.

Ushioda, E. (2003). Motivation as a socially mediated process. In D. Little, J. Ridley, & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Learner autonomy in the foreign language classroom: Teacher, learner, curriculum and assessment* (pp. 90–102). Dublin, Ireland: Authentik.

Ushioda, E. (2009). A person-in-context relational view of emergent motivation, self and identity. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 215–228). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293-012

Ushioda, E. (2010). Motivation and SLA: Bridging the gap. In L. Roberts, M. Howard, M. Ó Laoire, D. Singleton (Eds.), *EUROSLA Yearbook*, *10* (pp. 5 – 20). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/eurosla.10.03ush

Ushioda, E. (2012). Motivation: L2 learning as a special case? In S. Mercer & M. Williams (Eds.), *Psychology for language learning: Insights from research, theory and practice* (pp. 58–73). https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137032829_5

Ushioda, E. (2016). Language learning motivation through a small lens: A research agenda. *Language Teaching*, *49*(4), 564–577. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444816000173

Ushioda, E. (2017). The impact of global English on motivation to learn other languages: Toward an ideal multilingual self. *Modern Language Journal*, *101*(3), 469–482. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12413

Ushioda, E. (2020). *Language learning motivation.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Ushioda, E., & Dörnyei, Z. (2009). Motivation, language identities and the L2 self: A theoretical overview. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 1–8). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293-002

van Lier, L. (2010a). The ecology of language learning: Practice to theory, theory to practice. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences, 3*, 2-6. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2010.07.005

van Lier, L. (2010b). Foreword: Agency, self and identity in language learning. In B. O'Rourke & L. Carson (Eds.), *Language learner autonomy: Policy, curriculum, classroom - a festschrift in honour of David Little (Vol. 3)* (pp. ix–xviii). Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang.

Wächter, B., & Maiworm, F. (2014). *English-Taught Programmes in European Higher Education: The State of Play in 2014*. Bonn, Germany: Lemmens Medien. Retrieved from http://www.aca-secretariat.be/fileadmin/aca_docs/images/members/ACA-2015_English_Taught_01.pdf

Weber, M (1989). *Economy and Society (Routledge Revivals). Economy and Society* (R. J. Holton & B. S. Turner, Trans) (Original work published 1922). London, England: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203831632

Weedon, C. (1997). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory* (2nd ed.). London, England: Blackwell.

Weiler, J. A., Suchan, B., & Daum, I. (2011). What comes first? Electrophysiological differences in the temporal course of memory and future thinking. *European Journal of Neuroscience*, *33*(9), 1742–1750. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-9568.2011.07630.x

Weiner, B. (2010). The development of an attribution-based theory of motivation: A history of ideas. *Educational Psychologist*, *45*(1), 28–36. https://doi.org/10.1080/00461520903433596

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Wong, E. D. (2015). Beyond "It was Great"? Not so fast! *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, *26*(1), 121–135. https://doi.org/10.36366/frontiers.v26i1.362

Yashima. T. (2009). International posture and the ideal L2 self in the Japanese EFL context. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 144–163). Bristol, England: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781847691293-008

You, C., & Dörnyei, Z. (2016). Language learning motivation in China: Results of a large-scale stratified survey. *Applied Linguistics*, *37*(4), 495 - 519. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amu046

You, C. J., Dörnyei, Z., & Csizér, K. (2016). Motivation, vision, and gender: A survey of learners of English in China. *Language Learning*, *66*(1), 94–123. https://doi.org/10.1111/lang.12140

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Extracts from the writing template (Study 2)

EXTRACT 1

JUST BEFORE YOU ARRIVED IN BARCELONA

How would you describe your **Spanish-speaking self** at that time?
In your imagination, how did you envision your desired / ideal **future Spanish-speaking self**? Please describe.
Did you have a '**roadmap**' (or set of **goals**) for becoming this ideal self / **closing the gap** between this and your actual Spanish-speaking self? Please explain.
What were your **fears** / anxieties about not learning Spanish?
Tell me about your **beliefs** at that time about your ability to reach your Spanish-speaking goals.

EXTRACT 2

ON RETURN FROM BARCELONA

At that time, did you feel **proud** (or not) about your linguistic efforts during study abroad?
Did you **continue** to learn Spanish? Please elaborate. What happened to your **motivation** to learn Spanish?
Was there anything you **wish** you had done with your Spanish whilst in Barcelona? Or, put another way, did you have any **regrets**?
What thoughts did you have about your **identity** during study abroad and once back home?
What - in relation to languages - did you **miss** about the bilingual community you had recently left? And what - in relation to languages - were you **glad** to have left behind?
At that time, did it feel right to have **directed energy** towards learning Spanish during study abroad?

Appendix B: Interview questions (Study 2)

1	Did / does knowing Spanish give you something?
2	If you woke up one morning and all your knowledge of the Spanish language had gone, what would this mean for you?
3	If you woke up one morning and all your memories of living in a Spanish culture had gone, what would this mean for you?
4	What part of you is Spanish?
5	Did study abroad in Barcelona matter for you?
6	How did / does knowing Spanish make your feel? …psychologically?
7	How did / does knowing Spanish make your feel?…economically, socially, culturally?
8	Did you ever consider learning Spanish as an investment?
9	What does any of our conversation tell us about your motivation to learn Spanish?
10	I used - in the questions / prompts in the template document you completed - quite of lot of vocabulary from social psychology about the self. In particular, the desired possible self; the self in the future. Do you think you ever had something like this in your mind when learning Spanish or any other language?

Appendix C: Estimation of time spent on English activities by number of EMI-ers (Study 3)

English activity	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	A few times a year	Never
Watch English language television	10 (29%)	8 (24%)	5 (15%)	7 (21%)	4 (12%)
Read English language newspapers or books	12 (35%)	13 (38%)	4 (12%)	4 (12%)	1 (3%)
Read English language magazines or browse the web in English (visit English sites)	22 (65%)	7 (21%)	2 (6%)	3 (9%)	0 (0%)
Listen to English language music	30 (88%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
Watch films or television in the English language	12 (35%)	13 (38%)	5 (15%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)
Write emails, messages, online chats, communicate through writing in English	15 (44%)	16 (47%)	3 (9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Study English on your own	2 (6%)	6 (18%)	7 (21%)	10 (29%)	9 (26%)
Speak to native English speakers or to other friends through English	8 (24%)	13 (38%)	10 (29%)	3 (9%)	0 (0%)

Appendix D: Status of the publications

As set out in the list of original publications at the beginning of this thesis, Studies 1 – 3 were submitted as three distinct articles to three separate journals.

Study 1 was published by Language Teaching Research (Impact Factor: 2.647, Q1). https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168820928565

Study 2 was submitted to Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad (a journal which is at the forefront of research in the United States for research in the field of study abroad) in June 2020.

Study 3 was submitted to the Journal of Language, Identity, and Education (Impact Factor: 0.940, Q1) in July 2020, and the article is under review.