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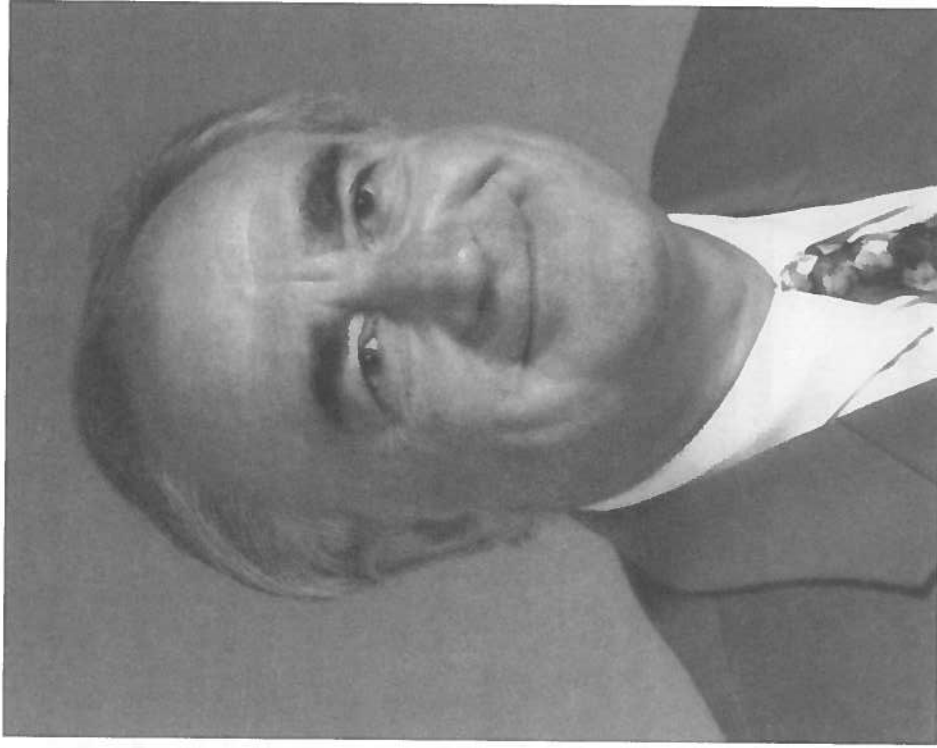
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Supporting the Motivation of Heritage and Nonheritage Learners of German

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A perennial challenge of many language instructors is how to encourage students to devote a significant amount of time to a demanding task that, at times, can be tiresome and frustrating. This challenge is intensified when, as in the case of German, the learners' backgrounds and perspectives on the language are varied. German appeals to at least two groups of learners (cf. Prokop 1996). First, many Canadians with German backgrounds are interested in learning or refining their skills in their ancestral language. Although there has been a marked decline in the use of German as a home language in Canada in the latter half of the 1900s (Prokop 2004), people interested in knowing more about their heritage language continue to enroll in German courses. Second, many students are interested in German because they see it as an important international language, useful for sociopolitical, economic, academic, and other purposes. It thus behooves teachers, program and policy developers, and other educational authorities to attend to these students' potentially different needs. It is our position that instructional approaches are enhanced by using an empirically grounded theoretical perspective on learner motivation which can incorporate multiple experiences. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of a program of research that has looked at the motivation of learners of German from the perspective of Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan 1985). We also present some empirical findings regarding students' perceptions of relevant others and their role in supporting motivation.

1. Early Conceptualizations of Language Learning Motivation

For over 40 years, research on motivation in the language learning context has been influenced by the seminal work of Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert (1959, 1972). Their concept of motivation comprises a number of components: positive attitudes, desire, and effortful engagement, along with certain goals, or orientations. These orientations play a significant part in predicting the effort expended in the activity and eventual linguistic (e.g., grammatical competence) and nonlinguistic outcomes (e.g., actual contact with the second language [L2] community). Two orientations have received the focus of research attention. The first is the "integrative orientation," which refers to the desire to learn a language in order to interact with, and potentially become a member of, that language community. The second is the "instrumental orientation," whereby a student's reason for language learning focuses on attaining concrete, tangible outcomes (e.g., gaining a course credit or earning a salary increase). Gardner's research over the years suggests that an integrative orientation more consistently predicts sustained effort and, in turn, greater achievement over the long run (see Gardner 1985, for review).

This theoretical formulation has guided much of the research on motivation in language learning, including that involving learners of German. Bausenhart (1984) reported that Anglophone and Francophone university students of German tend to express integrative reasons for learning German and, consistent with Gardner and Lambert's findings, Prokop (1975) observed that university students who have positive attitudes toward German speakers obtain higher grades than those who have poorer attitudes. He also noted that those who report only utilitarian reasons for learning German tend to have lower grades. In their study of Dutch students of German, Kuhlmeier, van den Bergh, and Melse (1996) found that both instrumental and integrative orientations relate to a positive attitude for learning and that this attitude is related to higher achievement, although more so at the beginning than at the end of the academic year.

Several studies of motivation to learn German have been directed at individuals whose ancestors spoke German as a native language. Inspired by Gardner and Lambert's examination of French heritage language students in the U.S., Prokop (1974) examined the differences between monolingual English and bilingual German-English students with a German background and found that the home language experience is of little importance for patterns of motivation: There are no differences between groups in the level of integrative and instrumental orientations, and only the integrative orientation predicts achievement. Bausenhart (1971) found that most children in German language schools are instrumentally rather than

integratively oriented. He attributed this pattern in part to the fact that the German community tends to be rather dispersed in urban areas, providing little environmental encouragement to integrate into the language community.

Other studies have been intent on discovering what motivational differences (if any) exist between heritage students and nonheritage students. Noels and Clément (1989) reported that German-heritage university students are more likely than nonheritage students to learn the language in order to identify with and be actively involved in the German community. This tendency is not associated with eventual achievement in the German course, although the heritage students do report greater self-confidence using the language. Elsewhere, Noels (2005) reported that although there are no differences between heritage and nonheritage learners in their endorsement of the integrative orientation, heritage learners do report that they have more personally relevant reasons for learning German.

These studies indicate that the experiences of German learners are manifold; this diversity suggests that the distinction between instrumental and integrative orientations may not be sufficient to describe the range of reasons why students wish to learn German, in a manner that can predict successful outcomes. Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) recognized that integrative and instrumental orientations are not the only reasons for L2 learning. Other researchers have proposed many other reasons. For instance, people may wish to learn a language in order to be intellectually stimulated, to show off to friends (Oxford & Shearin 1994), to travel, make friends, and acquire new knowledge (Clément & Kruidenier 1983). We have found it useful to categorize orientations as being intrinsically or extrinsically regulated, following Deci and Ryan's Self-Determination Theory (1985; see Noels 2001a for overview). This theoretical framework offers a succinct and systematic schema for organizing a variety of motivational orientations. However, although we have used this theory to guide our research, we do not wish to suggest that it replaces the notion of the integrative orientation described by Gardner and his colleagues. Rather, we feel that this framework complements the issues of social identity and intergroup relations that are encompassed by the notion of "integrativeness" (cf. Noels 2001b).

2. Self-Determination Theory

Self-Determination Theory maintains that there are three broad motivational categories that differ in the extent to which behavior is self-regulated (Deci & Ryan 1985, Ryan & Deci 2000, 2002; see Table 1 for examples of orientations described here). At the least self-determined end of the continuum is *amotivation*, which

refers to the case in which a learner has no intention of performing an activity, because she feels that her actions would not be effective, or because she does not value the activity or its associated outcomes. An amotivated learner could be expected to withdraw from the activity as soon as the opportunity presents itself. At the most self-determined end of the continuum, *intrinsic motivation* refers to the instance when a person learns a L2 for the pure pleasure that its pursuit brings; she views the activity as essentially fun and satisfying. This enjoyment comes from developing a sense of competence over a voluntarily chosen activity.

Table 1. Examples of Students' Reasons for Learning German Categorized According to Self-Determination Theory (adapted from Noels & Saumure, under review)

Orientation	Example
Amotivation	"I took German to get my language requirement and resent being forced to take 3 classes to get one credit of which I will never use or continue on with. I believe that it's a waste of my time and money." "I would be more (extremely more) encouraged to learn German if I lived in a place where I would use it when I walked out of the door. What is the point of learning a language one rarely uses?"
External Regulation	"I am studying German in order to increase my chances at getting a good job and to increase the quality of said job and salary. I work for a company where there are a lot of German-speaking tourists. I have conversed in what little German I've already learned. My superiors feel that if I were better able to understand and communicate better in German, then I would be able to advance within the company faster." "I have to study German as part of a degree requirement."
Introjected Regulation	"My father-in-law, besides being German, is also a retired German professor. Hence, I do feel some pressure to "do it right"!". "I started taking German in my last year of high school, because I felt bad about only knowing one language in a bilingual country."
Identified Regulation	"Having worked as a graphic designer for 8 years, I'd like to try and find work in Germany in this field and having the language skills is a major benefit." "I am a politics student planning to continue graduate work in political theory and am interested in German 19th-20th century political/social theory (Weber/ Adorno/ Habermas etc.). And I feel some knowledge of the language may be useful to my studies."

Integrated Regulation	"... secondarily, is my growing love for German culture. I am seeking to pursue a PhD in German philosophy. German has become a very important part of my life."
Intrinsic Motivation	"I love the challenge of German and the satisfaction of being able to read the German instructions in my toaster's user manual." "Speaking a foreign language gives me a lot of pleasure and understanding books and magazines and spoken language gives me a deep sense of satisfaction." "I was hooked on German from the beginning. I learned how to count to 10 + that was all it took. I did about 1 month of browsing through some old text books, learned what the nom, acc, dat + genitive definite articles were + then started 101 (which was intensely satisfying). I feel good and excited by it." "I love the German language and experience much enjoyment in using it and hearing it used."

Between amotivation and intrinsic motivation lies *extrinsic motivation*, whereby a person acts not because of interest in the activity per se but because of reasons external to the activity. Extrinsic motivation varies in the degree to which an individual feels she voluntarily engages in an activity. Four subtypes of extrinsic motivation are suggested to lie along the self-determination continuum: external regulation, introjected regulation, identified regulation, and integrated regulation. Similar to the instrumental orientation, an *externally regulated* individual performs a behavior because she will be tangibly rewarded or will avoid some negative consequence imposed by other people or the environment. When L2 learning is guided by self-imposed pressures, one speaks of *introjected regulation*. A person regulated by introjected reasons may, for instance, feel guilty if she has not mastered the language or feel smug because she can speak in a "secret code" not understood by many others. Although external or internal pressures can compel a student to work, once these pressures are lifted, the student's efforts will most likely diminish as well.

Other extrinsic orientations have better regulating power over the long run because they are more self-determined. When an individual learns a L2 to reach a goal that is important to the self, he or she displays *identified regulation*. Provided that this goal continues to be valued, the person will put effort into L2 learning. Finally, *integrated regulation* is a form of extrinsic motivation in which identified regulations are completely incorporated, and the activity is thus considered a part of the self-concept. Like intrinsic motivation, the activity is fully governed by the self,

but unlike intrinsic motivation, the activity is not done purely for enjoyment but rather because it is viewed as an expression of the self.

A growing body of research shows that self-determined orientations predict many important language learning outcomes. For instance, students who are motivated for intrinsic or highly self-determined extrinsic reasons (i.e., identified or integrated regulation) tend to have more positive feelings toward language learning. They experience less anxiety, have more positive attitudes toward learning, and increased feelings of self-efficacy (Ehrman 1996, Schmidt, Boraie & Kassabgy 1996). They are more efficient language learners: They have greater grammatical sensitivity and use different, arguably better, language learning strategy preferences (McIntosh & Noels 2004, Ramage 1990). They work harder and longer at language learning (Noels 2001b, Noels, Clément & Pelletier 1999, 2001, Ramage 1990). They are also likely to have greater speaking and reading proficiency and use the language more often (Ehrman 1996, Noels et al. 2001, Tachibana, Matsukawa & Zhong 1996). External and introjected regulations less consistently predict these types of outcomes: as noted earlier, when the pressure is on, such students may work hard and do well, but when the pressure is off, these students are less engaged in learning, and performance is likely to be inconsistent. Finally, students who express a great deal of amotivation are not likely to enjoy, work hard at, or succeed in learning another language.

Affect, efficiency, effort, and competence are not the only goals of language programs. As Gardner (1985) pointed out, language learning is unique relative to other academic subjects because it has implications for perceptions of and attitudes toward the L2 community. Given that a highly self-determined person has incorporated the language into her self-concept, it would seem tenable that she might also come to identify with that language community. Research by Goldberg and Noels (2006) supports this notion. Their findings showed that French immersion graduates who go on to postsecondary education in French also tend to evidence greater identified regulation and have stronger feelings of French identity, particularly in the school setting. Other research with learners of German shows that the more identified regulation the students exhibit, the greater is their German identity and the more likely they are to be heritage language learners (Noels 2005). Hence, self-determination has implications not only for the development of linguistic and communication skills in the immediate learning context but also for identity dynamics relevant to the broader societal context.

3. Fundamental Needs and Social Support

Given that many students, teachers, and program developers wish to attain these types of educational and social ends, how can we best promote a self-determined/intrinsic orientation? Self-Determination Theory (Deci, Eghari, Patrick & Leone 1994, LaGuardia, Ryan, Couchman & Deci 2000, Ryan & Solky 1996) proposes that three basic needs are fundamental to the personal growth and self-actualization of human beings. The most important of these is *autonomy*, which refers to the awareness that one is making a conscious and voluntary decision to engage in the activity. The second is *competence*, or the feeling of being effective in performing the activity. The third need is *relatedness*, or the sense of secure and satisfying connections with others in one's social surroundings. To the extent that these three needs are fulfilled, the individual is likely to experience greater intrinsic motivation and/or more self-determined extrinsic motivation.

In the language learning context, a variety of people can support these various needs. The most obvious of these is the language teacher who promotes a sense of autonomy in the learner by providing opportunities for her to make choices and decisions regarding how the learning process will unfold. In contrast, a teacher with a controlling disposition, who pressures students to perform certain activities over which they have little choice, would likely undercut students' feelings of autonomy and hence intrinsic/self-determined motivation. A sense of competence can be supported by providing an organized structure with clear goals and expectations, combined with prompt informative feedback that offers specific suggestions for how to improve one's performance. Vague comments, even if positively toned, would have less impact on feelings of competence and self-confidence. Although the student may not feel negatively toward the course or the teacher, without clear instruction on how to most effectively engage in the program, it would be difficult for the student to integrate and enjoy the course material. Finally, a sense of relatedness is fostered by exhibiting warmth and showing respect for the student and her endeavors. This sense of psychological closeness, or "immediacy," with others can be created through verbal and nonverbal behaviors such as smiles, eye contact, vocabulary choices, and so on (Gorham & Zakahi 1990, Mehrabian 1981, Weiner & Mehrabian 1968). If the student feels indifference, or worse, negativity and ridicule from the teacher, she is unlikely to be motivated for intrinsic/self-determined reasons. Some studies indicate that when the language teacher is perceived as being less controlling, students have a greater sense of autonomy. Furthermore, the more informative feedback the language teacher provides, the stronger are the students' feelings of competence (Noels 2001b, Noels et al. 2001).

Although the teacher may be the person who has the greatest influence on students' motivation, in the language learning context many other people can have an impact. In the heritage language context, parents and other family members would seem to have a substantial role in learner motivation, given that the learner is often engaged in the activity because it is a familial language. Gardner (1985) noted that parents convey their attitudes regarding languages and their related communities to their offspring, and it is not unreasonable to think that parents and other family members can behave in ways that support or pressure, inform or ignore, welcome or deride the heritage language learner.

4. Perceptions of Others, Fundamental Needs, and Orientations: An Empirical Investigation

In light of the preceding discussion, we were interested in understanding how teachers and family members could influence heritage and nonheritage students' intrinsic and/or self-determined extrinsic motivation by supporting fundamental needs. We hypothesized the following:

- 1a: Perceptions of others as controlling (i.e., not supporting the learner's independence and autonomy) should predict weaker feelings of autonomy in learning German.
- 1b: Perceptions of others as providing informative feedback should predict stronger feelings of competence.
- 1c: Perceptions of acceptance and warmth from others (not disrespect or criticism) should predict stronger feelings of relatedness.
- 2: Heritage language students should experience more support from family members than nonheritage language learners.
- 3: Feelings of autonomy, competence, and relatedness should predict more self-determined extrinsic motivation and intrinsic motivation.

4.1. Method

4.1.1. Participants and Procedure

Ninety-nine students registered in German classes at two western Canadian universities voluntarily completed a confidential questionnaire during group testing sessions. The average age of participants was 22.45 years ($SD = 6.07$), and females comprised 72% of the sample. 41.4% of the participants indicated that one or both

Supporting Motivation

of their parents had a German-speaking background (see Noels 2005, for more information regarding the characteristics of this sample).

4.1.2. Materials

The questionnaire contained instruments to assess participants' feelings regarding the feedback and support they received from their teachers and family members; their sense of autonomy, competence, and relatedness in learning German; and their motivational orientations.

The questionnaire presented students with various statements reflecting their perception of teachers and family members as controlling, providing informative feedback, or expressing warmth and respect (see Table 2 for final items). For each statement the student indicated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement using a 7-point Likert-type scale, such that a high score indicated strong agreement with the item.

In a similar manner students expressed their agreement or disagreement with statements reflecting their level of autonomy, competence, and relatedness while learning German (Noels 2005). They also indicated the extent to which various reasons for learning German, reflecting each of the Self-Determination Theory categories (except integrated regulation), corresponded with their own reasons for learning German (adapted from Noels, Pelletier, Clément & Vallerand 2000). The reliability of these instruments in this sample has been satisfactorily demonstrated in Noels (2005).

4.2. Results

4.2.1. Factor Analysis

As a first step in the analyses, we were interested in determining the factorial validity and reliability of the instrument that was designed to assess perceptions of others. Table 2 presents the results of two principal axis factor analyses (with oblique rotation). Items that did not load significantly on the hypothesized factor or cross-loaded onto other factors were eliminated from the analysis. The final solutions support a three-factor structure both for teachers and for family members, consistent with the premises of Self-Determination Theory. With regards to teachers, for instance, students differentiated between providing informative feedback (e.g., "provide me with constructive feedback"), being controlling (e.g., "pressure me to learn German"), and showing disrespect as opposed to warmth and

consideration (e.g., "ridicule my efforts to learn German"). A similar pattern was evident for their perceptions of their family members. The Cronbach alpha index of internal consistency indicated good reliability for each of the subscales, although perceptions of the family members as disrespectful were less reliable. These subscales were relatively independent: factor intercorrelations were a mean of $|\lambda_{21}|$ for teacher perceptions and $|\lambda_{23}|$ for family perceptions.

Table 2. Perceptions of Support From Teachers and Family Members: Pattern Matrix of Principal Axis Factor Solution With Oblique Rotation, Eigenvalues, and Internal Consistency Indices

Items	Teachers			Family Members		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
...make me feel I am obligated to learn German			.87			.95
... seem to demand that I learn German			.72			1.02
... put pressure on me to learn German			.69			.57
... ridicule my efforts to learn German		.98			.88	
... are rude and disrespectful to me when I try to use German		.75			.40	
... are critical of my efforts to learn German		.56			.33	.37
... offer guidance on how I can do better in German	.92			.87		
... give me good feedback on how I perform in German	.87			.82		
... provide me with constructive feedback on my German	.82			.88		
... try hard to help me learn German	.82			.87		
15 ... offer useful information for improving my German skills.	.67			.92		
Eigenvalue	3.51	2.32	2.49	4.05	2.83	1.61
Cronbach Index of Internal Consistency (ξ)	.91	.79	.77	.94	.55	.85

Note: Factor I is termed "Informative Feedback"; Factor II is termed "Disrespect (Immediacy — Reversed)"; Factor III is termed "Control (Autonomy Support — Reversed)"

4.2.2. Analysis of Means

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was carried out to see if heritage and nonheritage learners differed in the amount of support they received from teachers and family members. Prior to this analysis, the mean for the items representing each type of support was calculated in order to have an average score for the subscales. For ease of exposition, we also reversed the direction of the "disrespect" subscale, so that a high score indicated greater immediacy. The result of the multivariate test was significant—Pillai's trace = .21, $F(6, 89) = 3.94$, $p = .002$, partial eta squared = .21—and follow-up ANOVAs showed that the two groups differed only in terms of the amount of informative feedback they received from family members. As seen in Table 3, both groups reported equally positive perceptions of their teachers across all support types. Furthermore, both groups equally felt that their family members were very respectful and supportive of the learners' autonomy. However, the groups differed in that heritage learners indicated that their family members provided more informative feedback than did nonheritage learners ($F[1, 94] = 19.74$, $p < .01$).

Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations for Perceptions of Teacher and Family Members as a Function of Heritage Background and Support Type

	Nonheritage		Heritage	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Teacher				
Informative Feedback	5.49	1.07	5.39	1.38
Immediacy	6.48	.88	6.52	1.06
Control	1.98	1.19	1.84	1.16
Family				
Informative Feedback*	2.28	1.55	3.72	1.60
Immediacy	6.71	.61	6.68	.56
Control	1.30	.82	1.40	.72

* The difference between nonheritage and heritage groups is significant at $p < .01$

4.2.3. Correlational Analyses

In order to see whether these perceptions of other people predicted autonomy, competence, and relatedness, we correlated the mean scores for these variables with the mean responses to the items regarding the three needs (see Noels 2005). The results presented in Table 4 indicate that perceptions of the teacher as controlling were linked to lower levels of autonomy. Moreover, the more informative feedback the teacher provided, the more competent the learners felt. Immediacy was not associated with a sense of relatedness, although it was linked to stronger feelings of competence.

Table 4. Correlations Between Perceptions of Support from Significant Others and Self-Perceptions of Fundamental Needs

	Autonomy	Competence	Relatedness
Teacher Control	-.21*	-.14	-.13
Informative Feedback	.19	.23*	.17
Immediacy	.04	.20*	.11
Family Control	-.20*	-.03	-.13
Informative Feedback	.17	.09	.41**
Immediacy	-.11	.02	-.06

* $p < .05$

With regards to family members, the more the family was perceived as pressuring the student to learn German, the less autonomy the student felt. Informative feedback did not predict competence and immediacy did not predict relatedness, although more informative feedback from the family was connected to feeling a greater sense of relatedness as a language learner.

A final analysis restated findings reported earlier (Noels 2005) that showed that the self-perceptions of fundamental needs were linked with the motivational orientations. An extrinsic motivation index was computed by calculating the sum of amotivation and the extrinsic motivations, after weighting each form of regulation in a manner that reflected the self-determination continuum, that is, $(-2 \times \text{amotivation}) + (-1 \times \text{external regulation}) + (+1 \times \text{introjected regulation}) + (+2 \times \text{identified regulation})$. Hence the index reflects a continuum from no motivation to highly self-determined extrinsic motivation. The intrinsic motivation index was computed by calculating the mean response to the items reflecting that orientation. Correlations between the means of the fundamental needs indices and the extrinsic

and intrinsic motivation indices showed that the more the students perceived that they were autonomous, competent learners who were well regarded, the more they expressed self-determined extrinsic and intrinsic interest in language learning.

Table 5. Correlations Between Self-Perceptions of Fundamental Needs and Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Indices

	Extrinsic Motivation	Intrinsic Motivation
Autonomy	.65	.40
Competence	.49	.20
Relatedness	.55	.64

Note: All correlations are statistically significant at $p < .05$.

5. Discussion and Forthcoming Research

The purpose of our study was to examine German students' perceptions of the support they receive from their teachers and family members and to consider whether there might be differences between heritage and nonheritage learners in these perceptions. The results of the factor analyses indicate that students differentiate between the three types of support outlined in Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan 1985) and that they do so fairly reliably across different origins of support, including teachers and family members. In general, controlling behavior both from teachers and from family members reduce students' sense of autonomy and informative feedback from teachers enhance a sense of competence. Differences exist between nonheritage and heritage learners, such that heritage learners perceive their parents as providing more informative feedback—a finding that is not surprising given that their parents are presumably more familiar with (if not native speakers of) German.

Although students differentiate disrespectful behavior from other types of feedback, it is relatively unimportant for their sense of relatedness. Students feel strong respect and acceptance from their teachers and family members, and hence it is possible that their consistently positive experience with others is congruent with little variation in their general feelings of relatedness; a larger sample with a wider range of experience might better help us to test this relationship. However, relatedness is linked to receiving informative feedback from the family, perhaps because taking the time to provide details to improve a student's competence is perceived as indicating concern for the student. As well, a sense of warmth and liking from the teacher is associated with feeling competent, perhaps because the teacher's positive regard signals to the student that they are indeed capable human beings.

The results of this study underscore that feelings of autonomy, competence, and relatedness are important for motivation and that teachers and parents can play a significant role in supporting this motivation. The study reported here is somewhat limited by the small sample size (which may explain why some hypothesized correlations were not statistically significant). The study also did not consider whether and how members of the German community foster motivation—an important question since this support would seem to be critical for understanding how well the student ultimately fits into that ethnolinguistic group (cf. Genesee, Holobow & Rogers 1983).

We have followed up this study with a broader consideration of the role of others in the language learning process, using with a much larger sample (see Noels 2004 and Noels & Saumure under review, for more details). We asked students, including heritage and nonheritage learners, registered in undergraduate-level German courses across Canada to complete a survey that included instruments very similar to the ones used in the present study. In addition to perceptions of teachers and family members, we included an assessment of learners' perceptions of support received from members of the German community. Preliminary analyses suggest that the items of the informative feedback and immediacy subscales were poorly differentiated, and so we combined the items into a single index.

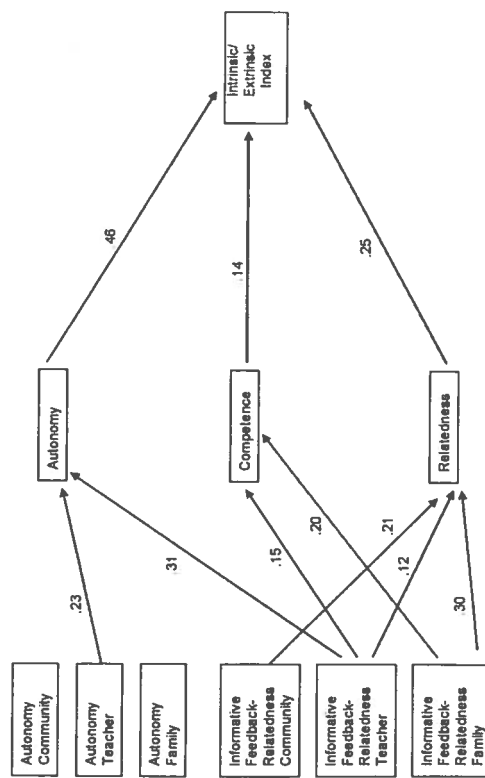


Figure 1. Final Path Model for Nonheritage Language Learners with Standardized Path Coefficients (adapted from Noels and Saumure, under review).

As can be seen in Figure 1, the results of path analyses indicate that, for nonheritage language learners, the more learners feel a sense of competence, relatedness, and autonomy, the more they indicate that they are learning the language for intrinsic and/or self-determined extrinsic reasons. Consistent with the premise of Self-Determination Theory, autonomy is the most important factor in predicting this type of motivational orientation.

The left side of the figure indicates who is most influential in supporting these fundamental needs. With regards to autonomy, the teacher is the only person who has a substantial impact. With regards to informative and immediacy feedback, the teacher and family members both encourage a sense of competence and relatedness. The German community supports the learner's sense of relatedness by providing informative and positively toned feedback.

A somewhat different picture emerges for the heritage language learners (see Fig. 2). For these learners, both feelings of autonomy and relatedness play an important role in predicting feelings of intrinsic/self-determined extrinsic motivation, but feelings of competence are relatively unimportant. Interestingly, relatedness is a stronger predictor of intrinsic/self-determined extrinsic motivation than autonomy, although this difference is not statistically significant. With regards to the impact of significant others, the teacher plays no part in fostering students' motivation. Instead, the family members and members of the German community are most important for promoting heritage learners' autonomy, competence, and relatedness.

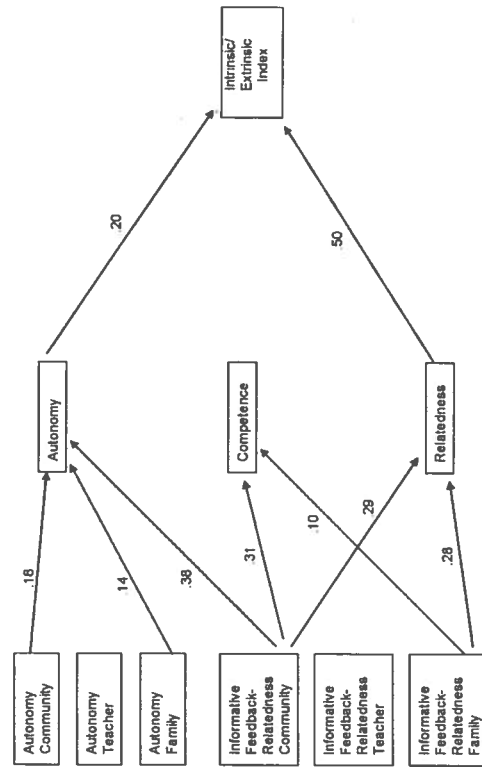


Figure 2. Final Path Model for Heritage Language Learners with Standardized Path Coefficients (adapted from Noels & Saumure, under review).

There are two main points to take away from these findings. First of all, consistent with Self-Determination Theory, there is support for the premise that intrinsic/self-determined motivation is related to autonomy, competence, and support. For nonheritage learners, autonomy is the key motivational issue, followed by relatedness and competence. For heritage learners, competence is less of a motivational issue, but relatedness is as important as autonomy, if not more so. Although this last finding is somewhat at odds with theory, it emphasizes that heritage learners are engaged in learning German for quite different concerns than nonheritage learners.

The second point pertains to the role of others in supporting these needs. For the foreign language student, it is not difficult to imagine that the language teacher has the most control over the language learning process, through the use of graded exercises, quizzes, and exams, along with teaching style and strategies. The prominence of these elements in a foreign language learner's life may create the feeling that the issue of control is a central concern. Nonetheless, a sense of informative and accepting support from the teacher and family is also important for fostering feelings of competence and relatedness.

For the heritage language learner, the teacher is relatively unimportant. Rather, pressures or autonomy-support from the family and German community play a much more substantial role in fostering motivation. Also, informative feedback and immediacy from the community and family support feelings of competence and relatedness. This differential pattern between heritage and nonheritage learners suggests that, in the interest of assisting students to develop more self-determined motivation, the instructor might adopt different strategies for the different types of students. Particularly with nonheritage language students, teachers may wish to ensure that their own behavior demonstrates support for the students' autonomy, informative feedback, and respectful concern for the student. Although we would not want to say that the teacher is irrelevant for heritage language learning, our results do suggest that incorporating family members and individuals from the heritage community into the process may be particularly effective for this group. This might include teaching interaction strategies, pragmatic skills, and background information essential for initiating and sustaining interaction with German speakers outside the classroom; providing opportunities to work or volunteer with German organizations; and/or incorporating activities that involve contact with German speakers overseas.

6. Conclusion

Certainly the study of language learning motivation has been greatly influenced by the seminal work of Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972), including research on motivation for learning German. But the field has developed in important ways that offer new insights into the dynamics of learners' experiences (see Dörnyei 2005). We feel that the perspective offered by Self-Determination Theory is an important part of these new developments because it offers some idea of how we can bolster positive engagement in the learning process and thereby arrive at desirable educational and social ends. Moreover, the theory can account for some of the subtleties that differentiate the experiences of heritage and nonheritage learners, and point to instructional and programmatic strategies for encouraging a higher level of motivation in both types of students.

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Interculturality and Code-Switching in the German Language Classroom

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1. Introduction

In this paper, we argue that the use of the first language (L1) in the classroom is a vital resource rather than a threat to learning a second language (L2), assuming that classrooms are communities of practice in which the acquisition and practice of the L2 is the goal. We acknowledge and discuss important functions of the L1 and its use in bilingual discourse. We believe, however, that the use of the L1 in language classrooms should be weighed carefully, as the various meanings it produces are context-specific. Research has provided no results thus far as to the amount of L1 use that is detrimental to L2 acquisition (Macaro 2001). One of the questions underpinning our long-term research agenda asks: What is the ideal balance between letting students code-switch and teaching them to use other communicative strategies such as paraphrasing so as to prepare them for situations in which their L1 is not shared by interactional coparticipants? In this paper, we will make a first step toward addressing this question. We will discuss learners' and teachers' code-switching into the L1 (English), whereby we understand code-switching as the systematic alternating use of two languages (in this case German and English) within a single conversation or utterance or between utterances. In arguing that there is a beneficial function for the L1 in the language classroom, we also take issue with the view that positions the language learner as a monolingual speaker. Our discussion is placed within the context of perceiving the language learner as aspiring to become a multilingual and multicultural person.

Using one of the metaphors employed by language teachers in the 1990s, Kramsch (1995) points to the "cultural *identity* of the learner in multilingual/multicultural classroom communities" (xx; original emphasis). While, as Kramsch mentions, such metaphors are somewhat restrictive in that they constrain meanings within (academic) discourse, they are helpful in considering