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Language-learning motivation during short-term study abroad: An activity theory perspective

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LANGUAGE-LEARNING MOTIVATION DURING SHORT-TERM STUDY ABROAD: AN ACTIVITY THEORY PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION

From the 1960s through the mid-1990s, research on study abroad largely supported the notion that it is an ideal means of learning a foreign language (FL). Moreover, FL professionals often impart this view to students, typically based on their own successful if not life-transforming experiences (Kinging, 2008). As Davidson (2007) explained, "[I]t has long been understood that language acquisition at the highest levels of proficiency is generally not possible without a substantial immersion experience" (p. 277). However, current trends in American students' study abroad choices as well as insights from recent research revealing unsupported myths about study abroad may put some of the FL profession's assumptions about it in question.

A tempered assessment of study abroad emerges in light of studies shifting the focus from outcomes to a closer examination of processes at work during study abroad and perspectives of study abroad participants. Some key findings from these studies are that participants limit time spent with native speakers in favor of speaking their own language with peers (Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004; Wilkinson, 1998, 2000) and that native speakers limit pragmatically appropriate language use so they can be more readily understood by study abroad participants (Iino, 2006; Siegal, 1995). Furthermore, study abroad participants' access to social networks that would most enhance their FL learning are particularly challenging for women (Kinging, 2004; Polanyi, 1995), who represent almost two thirds of Americans studying abroad (Institute of International Education, 2008). Given these findings, it is more apparent why learning is not evenly distributed among study abroad participants--even those in

the same program--and why learning outcomes are not as dramatic as the FL profession might believe (Churchill & DuFon, 2006; Kinginger, 2008).

These insights from research are even more salient given present trends in study abroad participation by U.S. students. Whereas study abroad once followed a "Junior Year Abroad model" largely comprised of FL majors, this is no longer the case: The majority of students now participate in programs of less than eight weeks duration whereas less than five percent do so for an academic year (Institute for International Education, 2008; Kinginger, 2008). As to who studies abroad, FL majors constitute only a small percentage (7.2) of study abroad participants with majors in social sciences (21 percent), business and management (19 percent) and humanities (13 percent) outnumbering them appreciably (Institute of International Education).

As to benefits associated with short-term study abroad, research has produced few generalizations, conceivably due to variation in instruments, variables investigated, and study settings and cohorts. Although some studies report significant gains in FL proficiency (Allen & Herron, 2003; Simões, 1996) associated with short-term study abroad, others cast doubt on its to bring about significant linguistic gain (Davidson, 2007; Freed, 1990) or change superior to that of at-home immersion (Freed, Segalowitz, & Dewey, 2004). The limited existing research on non-linguistic benefits of short-term study abroad is also inconclusive and has relied mainly on surveys to measure change in students' attitudes, motivations, and perceptions. For instance, whereas Ingram (2005) and Lewis and Niesenbaum (2005) concluded that short-term study abroad enhanced students' motivation to continue FL study or travel abroad, Allen and Herron (2003) found no change in students' motivation or attitudes related to FL study or French culture after short-term study abroad. Results of large-scale comparative studies (Dwyer, 2004; Koester, 1985) of motivational and personal

benefits of shorter (1 to 3 months) versus longer (3 to 12 month) study abroad programs have reported that longer programs resulted in more significant and enduring impact.

Potential shortcomings associated with short-term study abroad may relate to how such programs are designed, typically as "sheltered" programs wherein students integrate into a host institution yet remain in a peer group with others sharing their first language or "island" programs organized by U.S. faculty in overseas facilities. As a result, students may experience superficial cultural contact, inadequate language use opportunities, and a vacation mentality. Ingram (2005) explained that short-term study abroad programs are not always well conceived and historically have not been integrated within FL curricula by academic departments choosing to prioritize semester- or year-long programs despite trends toward shorter study abroad stays by American students.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Given the prevalence of U.S. students' participation in short-term study abroad and the FL profession's limited understanding of its benefits, the present study investigated how intermediate-level FL students' language-learning motivation evolved during a six-week study abroad program. In particular, this study sought to answer the following questions:

- 1) What *motives* informed participants' engagement in FL learning and how did study abroad participation relate to these motives?
- 2) What *goals* did participants have for study abroad and what elements afforded or constrained the realization of these goals during study abroad?

3) Did participation in study abroad enhance participants' language-learning *motivation* and persistence in FL learning?

These questions are consistent with an activity theory perspective on motivation and designed to respond to the notion that short-term study abroad, while less beneficial than longer programs for linguistic gain, may motivate lower-level students to continue studying the FL at advanced levels (Davidson, 2007) or to participate in future study abroad programs of longer duration (Magnan & Back, 2007).

BACKGROUND

Research has shown that motivational factors play an important role in FL learning outcomes, academic performance, and student persistence. However, researchers have disagreed as to what motivation is, what factors affect it, and how motivational processes function (Ushioda, 2008). This section briefly reviews research on language-learning motivation and defines motivation from an activity-theoretic perspective.

The Evolving Concept of Motivation in Language-Learning Research

A social psychological perspective on motivation (Gardner, 1985) dominated language-learning research from the late 1950s until the 1990s, concentrating on two orientations to motivation--an *integrative* one, or identification with and willingness to adopt behavioral features of another linguistic community, and an *instrumental* one, or emphasis on the practical value of language learning. According to quantitative studies of individual difference variables by Gardner and his associates, integrative motivation was found to predict students' classroom participation, language proficiency, and persistence in language learning.

Beginning in the 1990s, criticisms of this body of work emerged (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Oxford & Shearin, 1994) centered on the increasing gap between mainstream and FL motivational theories and a desire for increased convergence (Dörnyei, 2001). Whereas researchers involved in this shift represented various perspectives, their work foregrounded two elements mediating language-learning motivation that they believed were not given full consideration in previous research--the learning context and students' own perceptions of their abilities, performances, and possibilities (Mills, Pajares, & Herron, 2007; Ushioda, 2008).

Attempting to broaden the concept of language-learning motivation, Dörnyei and his colleagues elaborated a comprehensive process model of motivation with three levels--the language, learner, and learning situation (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998). Later, this model was refined to include longitudinal aspects of motivation (Dörnyei, 2001, 2005). Its sensitivity to temporality is critical given studies showing motivation tends to diminish over time as the enthusiasm of learning a new language wears off (Bernhaus, Moore, & Azevedo, 2007; Williams, 2004).

Also beginning in the 1990s, coinciding with the cognitive revolution in motivational psychology, language-learning researchers began focusing on how students' motivated engagement in learning is shaped by their patterns of thinking, drawing on attribution theory, self-determination theory, and social cognitive theory (Dörnyei, 2003; Ushioda, 2008). The roles of *intrinsic* motivation (i.e., to learn something as an end in itself for its own rewards) and *extrinsic* motivation (i.e., to learn something as a means to something else) in language learning and their relation to other motivational constructs have been investigated using self-determination theory by Noels (2003, 2005) and others (Bonney, Cortina, Smith-Darden, & Fiori, 2008; Vandergrift, 2005). According to Ushioda (2008), both of these motivations are

valuable, but the critical factor lies in whether they are internalized and self-determined or externally imposed and regulated by others.

The concept of *self-regulation*, or the process by which learners activate and sustain cognition, behavior, and motivation was relatively absent from language-learning research until the late 1990s (McDonough, 2001), and research on how language learners can develop motivational self-regulation skills is still limited (Ushioda, 2008). Of the three types of self-regulatory strategies identified by Dörnyei (2001), motivation-maintenance, goal-setting (Gillette, 1994), language-learning strategies, only the last has received significant attention by FL researchers (Mills, Pajares, & Herron, 2007). Yet as researchers in educational psychology shifted their interest from learning strategies to self-regulation, language-learning researchers also began turning to constructs related to self-regulation including *perceived competence* (Baker & MacIntyre, 2003), *willingness to communicate* (MacIntyre, 2007), and *self-efficacy* (Mills, Pajares, & Herron, 2007). The common thread among these is a view that learners need more than motivation from within, they must also see themselves as agents of the processes shaping their motivation (Ushioda, 2008). Short of this, they may fall into patterns of negative thinking and self-perceptions with detrimental motivational consequences (Ushioda, 2007).

Research on motivation in language learning has progressed tremendously over the past two decades, moving beyond a once-dominant social psychological paradigm and its psychometric approach toward more robust theoretical approaches from motivational and educational psychology that take into account cognitive and contextual aspects of motivation. This study attempted to account for both cognitive (or internal) and social / contextual (or external) aspects of motivation by using activity theory to approach language-learning motivational processes.

An Activity-Theoretic Approach to Motivation and Learning

Vygotskian cultural-historical psychology (Vygotsky, 1978), often called sociocultural theory (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006) in language-learning research, is a theory of mind "that recognizes the central role that social relationships and culturally constructed artifacts play in organizing uniquely human forms of thinking" (Lantolf, 2004, pp. 30-31). Thus, research informed by sociocultural theory focuses not just on learning outcomes but on learners' mediated participation in social interactions with others (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). *Learning*, from this perspective, is first organized and regulated by more competent others (e.g., a parent or teacher) with the goal that the learner will eventually appropriate regulatory means and assume an agentic regulatory role in his or her own learning; thus, the ultimate goal of learning is independent problem solving (Lantolf, 2000). *Mediation* is a key concept in sociocultural theory, meaning that humans' relationships to their world are established using physical and psychological tools with language as the primary tool for directing and controlling behavior and relating to the world (Lantolf & Appel, 1994). It follows from this perspective that motivation is not located solely within an individual but is constructed and constrained by the learning context and evolves as individuals participate in learning activity.

Interestingly, although sociocultural theory seems well suited for research on motivation and learning, its motivational dimension remains relatively under-theorized, as researchers have concentrated more on cognitive aspects of the theory (Ushioda, 2007). However, activity theory, by unifying various concepts from sociocultural theory and explicitly focusing on the motivational dimension of human activities, is a useful lens for analyzing motivational processes in language learning (Ushioda).

Activity theory (Engeström, 1999; Leont'ev, 1978, 1981) holds that human activities are motivated by specific biological or culturally constructed *needs*. A need becomes a *motive* once directed at an *object* (the activity's focus or orientation), giving direction to the activity (Engeström). Motives, or the cultural-psychological-institutional impetus guiding activity toward an object, are considered inherently unstable, gaining or losing power depending on the conditions, content and course of activity (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Lompscher, 1999). Activities are instantiated concretely as goal-oriented actions, and *goals*, in contrast with motives, which explain why someone engages in activity, have clear start and end points and relate to specific actions (Engeström; Kim, 2007; Lantolf & Thorne). Thus, goals have a regulatory function in activity and are, like motives, unstable as they are modified, postponed and even abandoned (Lantolf & Appel, 1994).

From an activity theory perspective, *motivation* for language learning (illustrated in Figure 1) results from the alignment of a motive and goal with a sense of participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991) in a new community of practice (Kim, 2007), and the development of motivation is contingent on the learner having learned to posit goals for himself (Markova, 1990). As Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) explained, a learner becomes a participant in a new discursive space through intentional social interactions with members of the other culture.

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

This conception of how motivational factors coalesce foregrounds learner *agency*, which links motivation to action, as individuals position themselves in relation to the learning process and others in the learning environment. However, agency is a co-constructed phenomenon, constantly renegotiated with those around the individual (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001). Kim (2007), in a thesis exploring the development of

English-learning motivation for Korean immigrants in Canada from an activity theory perspective, explained:

[C]onflicts between the subject, object, and tools and the subject's community as well as rules and division of labor may hinder the transformation of a motive into a motivation. For example, if tension exists between an L2 learner and her L2 community, such as a homestay family or an ESL class, her motive to learn the L2 may not be transformed into a motivation. (p. 39)

In fact, past research using activity theory to investigate FL learning during study abroad has demonstrated that language-learning motivation was shaped by both learners' beliefs about the FL and language learning and by their struggles to access social networks affording learning (Douglass, 2007; Kinginger, 2004, 2008).

THE CURRENT STUDY

The preceding review of literature discussed a number of critical issues related to the study of motivational processes in language learning, namely, the roles of motivation from within the individual and a supportive learning environment to nurture and protect individuals' motivated learning behavior. *Agency*, or learners' intentions, actions, and reactions co-constructed in relation to others, was posited as a key factor in the development and maintenance of motivation. Using the theoretical lens of activity theory, this study focused on the interaction of these internal and external forces and how they influenced the development of language-learning motivation for six intermediate-level FL students during short-term study abroad.

Participants and Their SA Program

From among a group of eight intermediate-level students recruited as participants, I focused on six in this study, a choice based on their participation in all data

collected unlike for the other two students recruited, who provided little follow-up after study abroad. All participants were American and spoke English as their first language. Participants' demographic and academic profiles are provided in Table 1.

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

The six-week SA program took place from mid-May to early July 2006 in Nantes, a large French city in Western France. It was an "island"-type program, organized by the participants' home university at an overseas facilities managed by an American study abroad provider, and students were taught by the U.S. program faculty member plus a French professor based in France. In total, 26 students were enrolled in the program--8 at the intermediate level and 18 at the advanced level. Intermediate students completed two three-credit courses, Intermediate French I and French Culture and Conversation, and a one-credit course, French Creative Writing. The academic curriculum was complemented by weekly cultural activities organized by the program assistant, a graduate student in French from the participants' home university. Students were required per program rules to use French to communicate in class, cultural activities, and free time spent in the academic facility's library, kitchen, and computer laboratory. Students lived with French homestay families (one student per family) who provided them a private bedroom and daily meals.

Data and Analysis

To investigate the evolution of the participants' language-learning motivation during study abroad, multiple data sources were collected before, during, and after the program including questionnaires, interviews, and learning blogs. By first analyzing data sources separately and later triangulating them, it was possible to document participants' perceptions, understand the meaning of their actions from

their perspective, and interpret how participant perceptions related to stated motives and goals.

Participants' learning blogs, completed twice weekly during study abroad as a component of the French Creative Writing course, were the most comprehensive data source collected in this study. Students were instructed to focus their blog entries on FL and cultural learning, how and with whom time was spent outside class, and how personal goals evolved. They were told that blogging in French or English was acceptable as was mixing the languages since the rationale for blogging was not FL practice but reflection. In practice, the participants' blogs were written mostly in English. Semi-structured interviews conducted in English, digitally recorded, and transcribed verbatim were another important data source. Participants were interviewed individually three times--a month prior to study abroad, at the program's midpoint, and at its end.

Secondary data sources included questionnaires, study abroad application essays, and e-mail correspondence between participants and the researcher during the year following study abroad. The internet-based questionnaires were completed a month before study abroad and during the last week of the program. The Pre Study Abroad Questionnaire included a Language-Learning History and Language Contact Profile adapted from Allen (2002) whereas the Post Study Abroad Questionnaire included the Language Contact Profile plus 18 Study Abroad Impact questions asking participants to assess their level of satisfaction with goal accomplishment and language contact.

Patterns and themes found in the participants' blogs and interviews were identified using inductive techniques (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and coded using a qualitative analysis program, QSR NVIVO. After initial, unrelated coding categories were

established, they were clustered into categories containing multiple subcategories. This coding process was recursive and led to recoding data multiple times. Several strategies were used for verification (Creswell, 1998) of this study's emergent analysis. Data was collected over a yearlong period including the six-week study abroad program, wherein the researcher interacted with participants multiple times weekly, facilitating the development of trust and engagement. Multiple data types were used to establish a confluence of evidence, and, conversely, the researcher searched for negative evidence by looking for disconfirming evidence to refine working hypotheses. Member checks took place as participants re-read and commented on their blogs and later verified the accuracy of transcribed interviews.

Readers of this study should be aware that its analysis and findings were based on how participants *represented* their study abroad experiences rather than on first-hand observation or measurement of participants' learning behaviors or learning outcomes by the researcher. Transferability of this study's implications should be interpreted by readers themselves as generalizability of this study's findings to other student populations and settings, particularly for programs of different durations, may not be appropriate.

FINDINGS

Research Question One: Participants' Language-Learning Motives and Choice to Study Abroad

Despite the fact that all six participants were completing a minor in French and none were taking French to meet their college's language requirement (all had done so with sufficient high school coursework), their reasons varied for choosing to learn or continue

learning French. In broad terms, two types of motives for language learning emerged--one primarily *linguistic* and one primarily *pragmatic*.

Participants with a linguistically oriented motive for engaging in learning French (Elise, Sam, Eric, and Molly) spoke of wanting to achieve "fluency" or "proficiency" to use it in academic, professional, or personal ways. Elise, who planned to work for the U.S. Foreign Service or State Department, began studying French in college after excelling at Spanish in high school including six weeks in Spain. She now envisioned using Spanish and French to work with American tourists abroad. Sam and Eric also started French in college, realizing it would complement their major fields of study--in Sam's case, Philosophy, and for Eric, Art History. In Sam's study abroad application essay, he explained his goals which included "becom[ing] proficient in German, French, Latin, and Ancient Greek," so that he could better read and understand philosophy he was studying and hoped to continue studying in graduate school. He had studied German for six years and was now enthusiastic to advance his French through study abroad. Eric was also a successful language learner, having studied Spanish for four years in high school before starting French. He explained that his Art History major included a lot of literature in French and German, so he was interested in developing his French reading and writing capacities.

Molly differed somewhat from Elise, Sam, and Eric, who had completed just two semesters of elementary French, in that she had studied French for five years. She called "becom[ing] fluent" a long-term aspiration yet stated, "It takes a lot to become fluent ... I still have to take Intermediate French II and conversation and writing [after study abroad], so I'm still going to be working towards that goal." She called herself a "French dork" and said she was fascinated by cultural differences between France and the U.S. Interestingly, Molly was not a confident language learner and felt "self-

conscious about [her] pronunciation" and "inferior" to students above her in French." This lack of confidence led her to repeat elementary French in college. Although she was unsure of her future career, she thought translation was a possibility, citing the example of a cousin who had worked in France as a translator in a bank.

Participants with a pragmatically oriented motive for learning French (Chad and Rachel) were focused on the advantages of obtaining a French minor for their future careers but did not elaborate on plans to use French in the future. Chad, a Marketing major, stated, "I don't know exactly what I'm going to do yet, but if I'm going to have a French minor and an international certificate, maybe I'll do something abroad." Rachel, majoring in History and Political Science, explained a French minor would "increase my chances of employment and expand my future opportunities" for working in a congressional think tank or international relations. Neither spoke of continuing French after high school based on a desire to become fluent; rather, Chad explained, "It's fun ... I've already invested so much in French," and Rachel similarly said, "I took French in high school and really liked it, so I figured I'd take it again."

In the same way that participants' motives varied for learning French, differences also emerged in their reasons for studying abroad. Asked in an open-ended fashion to explain why they were participating in study abroad beginning with their most important reason, patterns observed in the participants' responses generally mirrored those provided for the two groupings of participants regarding their language-learning motives.

For participants with language-oriented motives for learning French, study abroad was seen as an essential experience for achieving linguistic goals. In Molly's interview before study abroad, she stated that "everyone learning a language needs to go and experience that language and not within the classroom or within their

university ... it's necessary." Similarly, Elise explained wanting to "learn French in a real setting because it is the only real way to truly know a foreign language." Sam also possessed strong beliefs about immersion, stating in his application essay, "I will never genuinely believe that I have learned any foreign language until I have practiced it in context with native speakers ... I believe it is necessary for me to study in France." Eric too spoke about being "wholly engaged" in FL learning through study abroad and described that being "completely engrossed in the language and culture will really help my comprehension with everything. It is really important to grasping all the aspects of the language."

Secondary to their linguistic reasons for studying abroad, Elise and Eric also saw study abroad as informing future career choices. For Elise, it served as a means to "make sure that foreign relations is what I really want to do" based on her capacity to adapt to a foreign culture and language. For Eric, study abroad was a way to enrich his knowledge of the art and architecture of France.

Chad and Rachel, who were primarily motivated to learn French to enhance their professional credentials, saw study abroad foremost as a means of learning about the world beyond the U.S. and living in a different culture. Rachel explained this in terms of "gain[ing] more perspective and becom[ing] a better-rounded person as a result of experiencing French culture," whereas Chad described, "More than just the language, I'd like to experience another culture." For both, foreign travel and living with a homestay family were key elements for cultural learning. As Rachel stated, "I think staying with a homestay family I will get to see a lot of everyday kind of French culture ... by traveling around France, I'll get to see some of the broader things." Chad explained that travel was an important priority, as he did not imagine returning to Europe again given the considerable expense he assumed to finance the program.

Unlike the other participants, Chad and Rachel named accelerating progress toward the French minor through credits earned abroad as a major reason for choosing the summer program in France. Chad was forthright about this, explaining, "I'm not just doing it because I want to ... I wouldn't spend all this money if it wasn't going to benefit my schoolwork." In fact, study abroad was a requirement for the International Business certificate Chad was earning, so by participating in the summer program, he completed essential credits toward both the certificate and the French minor in a relatively short time.

In summary, prior to study abroad, differences existed between participants motivated to learn French and participate in study abroad for primarily linguistic reasons and participants motivated to learn French for career-oriented reasons who viewed study abroad as an opportunity to experience life in a different culture. The following section demonstrates how these differing motives impacted how participants pursued their goals during study abroad and the realization or non-realization of those goals.

Research Question Two: Affordances and Constraints to Participants' Goal Achievement during Study Abroad

A month before study abroad, participants described their goals for the program; as shown in Table 2, these included cultural, linguistic, and social goals. The evolution of participants' goals were also traced in blog entries and reflected upon during interviews and in the Post Study Abroad Questionnaire. This section outlines emergent themes from blog and interview data related to elements that afforded or constrained goal accomplishment, with a particular focus on linguistic goals. These elements included two factors related to how participants regulated their own learning during study abroad--through articulating specific goals and managing conflicting

goals--and two factors related to relations participants established with those around them--negotiating relationships within the study abroad peer group and maximizing relations with French homestay families.

INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

Goal Specificity. Regardless of their motives for language learning or reasons for studying abroad, participants' initial goals were, for the most part, lacking in specificity as to how they would be realized and or defined in real-life terms, particularly for linguistic goals. As Table 2 shows, the majority of participants described wanting to "improve" or "work on" some aspect of their French capacities, most frequently oral conversational abilities. However, once abroad, some participants did establish concrete sub-goals to instantiate previously unfocused ones; these tended to be participants with linguistically driven motives for engaging in language learning and participating in study abroad.

For example, Elise, housed with a single 55-year old French woman, initially had difficulty participating in conversations and understanding her host mother. In her blog from Week Two she explained, "I am trying to listen for key turns and phrases in order to understand my host family." She also described using "charades" to get meaning across and "using the skills [she] learned in Spain to skirt around a word rather than looking every word up" to facilitate interactions. Molly also elaborated on concrete sub-goals related to perfecting "basic speaking skills" in French: During Week Two she tried to "tell [her host family] what I am going to do or did that day ... or speak about cooking." Further, she stated a goal to "confidently hold at least 20- to 30-minute conversations" in French, what she saw as "realistic." The next week, in relation to her goal to "greatly improve my vocabulary," she described making efforts to remember words by using a dictionary and working to improve her reading

capacities with French cooking magazines. Sam, who articulated a general goal to better understand and be understood by French people, aimed to make himself understood at the post office, bank, and at the travel agent. He called his successful participation in those service encounters "about the most significant accomplishment I have made " in his Week Two blog. In addition, Eric, who wanted to "write with confidence" as a linguistic goal, described the specific aims of "writ[ing] more simplified thoughts rather than converting the sentences word for word."

Examples of goals remaining unfocused were found more often in blogs of participants whose primary motivation for study abroad participation was not linguistic. Chad, said in his Week Two blog that he wanted to be able to "fluently talk to my family, joke with them, etc., and I know that it is not a realistic goal." However, he followed that statement only by saying "I would, however, like to *improve my comprehension skills and my grammar* before I leave," (my emphases) without detailing how he intended to pursue those goals. In his Week Four blog, another imprecise goal statement appeared: "I hope to *accelerate my learning pace a little more* before I leave so I know that I got the full potential from the program" (my emphases). Similarly, Rachel articulated her linguistic goals vaguely using the terms "improve" and "increase," (e.g., "improve my communication skills," "improve my pronunciation and accent") without mention of what improvement would entail. Only in relation to cultural exploration and travel did she describe concrete goals.

Goal Conflict. A second important aspect related to how participants pursued goals was related to how conflicting goals were managed. In certain cases, participants realized that it was necessary to prioritize one goal over another or abandon a possible goal in order to fulfill a different one. For Molly, travel was something that she could not prioritize. As she explained, "There is not enough time. Before I came I

thought I was going to travel every weekend, but after the first weekend I thought, no, I need to stay here and bond with my family."

Eric decided to curtail weekend traveling after spending a long weekend in Ireland and realizing it negatively influenced his linguistic priorities. Upon his return, he wrote, "[Going] to an English-speaking country for the weekend was not a great move. Not thinking or speaking in French for three days had a horrible impact Monday. I couldn't get into the groove of things." Chad and Elise also described limiting travels in Europe, but it was not clear whether this was primarily associated with focusing on other goals since they both related it to money and time constraints.

The significant workload associated with taking seven credit hours entirely in French also caused participants to rethink their goals and activities, and half of the participants (Eric, Elise, and Rachel) commented on this in blog entries. For example, by Week Two, Eric realized his academic responsibilities were formidable, as he described it, a "balancing act":

It's quite a lot on top of getting myself acquainted with and experiencing Nantes and going home to my host family and interacting with them. I am either in the [academic] building or in my room trying to do my homework ... if I get behind there is no time to pull ahead.

Elise also felt the pressure of balancing her priorities, writing in Week Three,

I am very stressed ... I must make good grades here before applying for a fellowship next term, I need to read three books for a course I'm taking during Summer Term II, and I also have homework, class, and want to spend time with [my host mother].

Although the study abroad curriculum was structured to give students three-day weekends with classes held Monday through Thursday, participants had difficulty

juggling competing desires and responsibilities. As will be discussed in relation to findings on Research Question Three, in light of such struggles, some participants abandoned initial linguistic goals to pursue travel-related goals more singularly. *Managing Relations with American Study Abroad Peers*. The study abroad peer group was perceived as an affordance to learning by some participants (Chad, Rachel) and as a constraint by others (Elise, Eric, and Molly); Sam viewed it as both. Interestingly, participants were largely critical of how their 18 more advanced peers treated the smaller intermediate-level group. According to Molly, they became “frustrated” by the intermediate group's French and “look[ed] down” on them. Similarly, Elise said, "A lot of the time, I feel that they are judging me based on my abilities or lack thereof as a way to feel better about their own abilities. I am slightly intimidated by them, but I am doing my best." She also stated that she felt more comfortable trying to speak French around native French speakers than with those in the more advanced group. Sam had a different perspective, explaining,

[T]he people who are more advanced tend to speak *less* French ... I've heard they don't want to isolate the kinds who don't speak as much French, but we actually benefit from their speaking French at a higher level."

Both Sam and Elise described disappointment with their peers' efforts to speak French. In Sam's words, "It seems like a wasted opportunity for people to come here and just speak English the whole time ... but when you're with the group, it's like ... pressure ... you just speak what they speak." According to Elise, even when she repeatedly asked her peers to speak in French, they did not do so, resulting in her "try[ing] to stay away from the other American students."

Besides Elise, two other participants made efforts to remove themselves from their peers to focus on their own goals, particularly in the later weeks of study abroad. As Eric related during Week Five,

Being part of this group is exhausting ... now at the end of the trip I'm tired of bending for people, and I am certainly ready this weekend and next week to do only what I want. I'm here for me, not for others ... I'm ready to sit down and read and zone out in my readings and writings and not be murmured about for being too big a dork.

A comparable sentiment was expressed in Molly's blog, as she mentioned "withdrawing from others" and "trying to pull myself away from everyone" to "soak up the rest of the time I have here and spend time with my family ... rather than go out some nights or worry or question what everyone else is doing."

Conversely, the study abroad peer group was construed as an affordance by several participants. Whereas Sam voiced disappointment that his peers less motivated to speak French than he had first imagined, he also stated that time spent with his intermediate-level peers "greatly enhanced my social confidence. I feel comfortable speaking French with them, because they are at a similar level of French." Chad and Rachel also viewed their peer group positively, particularly for the emotional support it provided them. As Chad explained, "It's scary being in a city or country that you don't know, but when you have 25 other people going through it, that's extremely comforting ... Without them, I would have felt alone and helpless." He did not see the group's using English as their *lingua franca* as overly problematic, saying, "I would never have traded the hilariously entertaining English conversations I've had with the other students for the opportunity to improve my French a little." Rachel also emphasized the "normalcy" her peers gave her, explaining,

[T]heir presence has helped me to see and visit many different things ... I have gone to Versailles and Mont St. Michel with [Molly] ... but without her, I may have been too scared to do a lot of traveling on my own.

Like Chad, she viewed the advantages of speaking English with peers for "clarify[ing] things I didn't understand ... or vent[ing] about my frustrations" as outweighing French people in restaurants or bars being "less likely to talk to us."

The participants' differing perspectives on the role of their peers was clearly reflected in how and with whom they spent time outside class (see Table 3). Whereas Chad and Rachel both reported spending 3.5 hours daily with peers, communicating in French with them only 25 percent of the time, the other participants (Elise, Eric, Molly, and Sam) claimed to spend almost half that time daily with peers--averaging 1.88 hours--and to communicate with them in French half the time.

INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

Interactions with French Host Families. Before study abroad, participants were generally enthusiastic about the idea of living with a French family. Exceptions were Rachel, who was "not sure she wanted to stay with a family" but thought "it would be more homey than living in a dorm," and Eric, who said he would have opted for an apartment had it been offered yet "g[o]t the feeling it was extremely important" to live with a family. Once in France, considerable differences existed in the degree to which participants integrated into their families' lives and the causes they attributed to the relationships (or lack thereof) that developed between them and their families.

Molly, Elise, and Sam each detailed their efforts to interact with their host families in their blogs (in Molly's case, a couple with young adult children at home; in Elise and Sam's case, single women with no children) and the strong bonds formed. On average, these participants claimed to spend just over four hours daily interacting

with homestay family members (see Table 3). Even before study abroad, Molly stated she would need to "set goals for myself to say, like, 'I have to talk to my family ... You have to talk to them, don't shy away. You know this is what you're here for—to learn.'" In reality, she *did* need work at establishing communication with them after initial "disappointment because I don't converse with them as much as I want to" due to their busy schedules that she did not always understand. By Week Two, she figured out the best times to talk with them and where to station herself in the house to facilitate conversations. Although she remained in contact with her hosts long after study abroad, even at the program's end, she claimed to still "really push myself really hard ... just as far as asking questions and becoming knowledgeable" through conversations with her French family. Elise also spoke of the establishment of a relationship with her host mother as a worthy struggle, saying in her final blog entry,

I've always made a big effort to talk, to understand, to be there, and that how I feel this six weeks has been important to me. I've always tried to be a part of everything that happened ... it's been hard, but it's been worth it.

However, all of the participants did not view their host family as an affordance for learning; several (Chad, Eric, and Rachel) felt their families' preoccupations kept them from paying sufficient attention to their own linguistic needs. In each case, the participants lived with couples with two or three school-age children or college-age young adults. As Chad described it, "[T]hey aren't really even taking the time right now to work with me ... [T]he problem is that the only time they get together to converse is at dinner which is also the time I am at the house." Even at study abroad's end, he felt "lost in the shuffle" since they were "so busy with themselves." Rachel's contact was also limited to dinner conversation as she explained in a Week Four blog:

After class, I usually walk around and do a little shopping ... go home

and rest for awhile in my room. Then my family calls me for dinner. We usually talk about our plans and what we had done earlier that day. After dinner, I go to my room and listen to music and read until I am ready to go to bed.

Eric, too, lamented his relatively limited interaction with his hosts, describing the situation as having a mother with "three kids to take care of, a job, and was searching for an MBA program, and a father than would come home [from work], she'd serve him ... madness ... I really wanted to get more interaction." For Chad and Rachel, this resulted in them indicating that their homestay contact was "extremely dissatisf[ying]" (Rachel) and "somewhat dissatisf[ying]" (Chad) in Post Study Abroad Questionnaires. In addition, Chad and Rachel spent less time with their hosts than others --one hour in Rachel's case and 1.5 hours for Chad (see Table 3).

Research Question Three: Participants' Ongoing Language-Learning Motivation and Persistence in FL Learning

The question of whether participants' language-learning motivation was enhanced through short-term study abroad was perhaps the most important one investigated by this study. To restate an important definition, from an activity theory perspective, *language-learning motivation results from the alignment of a learner's motive and goal with a sense of participation in a new community of practice*. Learner agency, in this view, is critical for both generating goals and carrying out goal-directed actions to accomplish goals in cooperation with those in the learning environment. This study's data suggested that to varying degrees, participants initially motivated to engage in language learning and to participate in study abroad for linguistic reasons (Eric, Elise, Molly, and Sam) *did* develop more motivation to continue studying or using French personally through study abroad. Conversely, those participants initially

motivated to learn French and participate in study abroad for pragmatic reasons (Chad and Rachel) *did not* enhance their language-learning motivation, viewing it primarily as a cultural and travel experience.

Several participants whose language-learning motivation grew during study abroad posited themselves as active agents of language learning, making sustained efforts to pursue linguistic goals. In certain cases, participants described specific episodes in their blogs wherein their motivation was enhanced through participation in social interactions. Examples from Sam's and Molly's experiences abroad are illustrative of this phenomenon.

Sam overcame an initial inability to "initiate [his] French personality and star[t] talking to people in French" when he met his French host mother in Nantes. In Week Two, he wrote in his blog:

The fact that I am able to get across to [her] the gist of my ideas makes me feel even more satisfied that I am making progress. It's progress I can see firsthand! Every day! *J'aime parler français!* [I like speaking French!]

Although he had not yet reached his pre study abroad goal to engage in conversations in French about abstract matters, he said that his dinner conversations with his hostess were "relaxed" and "almost like the kinds of dinner conversations I have at home." By study abroad's midpoint, Sam identified himself as "the dictionary guy." He explained, "When I am in public listening to people talk on the bus, tram, or in the street, I always have my dictionary at hand to look up new words and phrases." In addition, his peers became accustomed to seeing him with his dictionary, and they began to approach Sam daily for definitions of unknown words, which helped Sam start "opening up" socially with peers, one of his initial personal goals.

Two weeks before study abroad's end, Sam described a "perfect example" of how he was approaching his goal to engage as actively possible in French with "classmates, my family, and people I encounter on the street":

A woman at my morning bus stop asked me if the bus had already gone by. Rather than simply telling her it hadn't, I explained to her that it was common for this bus to be between five and 10 minutes late because of the traffic ... She knew I wasn't exactly French, but that didn't matter ... I was proud of my ability to do it. These are the kinds of experiences I would like to have more of every day during these last two weeks.

These instances demonstrate that Sam invested considerable energy in communicating as fully, albeit imperfectly, as possible to instantiate his goal and experienced pleasure and pride from participating in social interactions. As he explained, "*I created the confidence in my ability to be there and to understand them*" (my emphases). After study abroad, Sam claimed to be "extremely satisfied" with his efforts to speak French and the accomplishment of his goals. The result of Sam's enhanced language-learning motivation was a changed relation to French. He stated,

Before I just thought, OK, I did German, now I'm going to do French, but it's not like that now. It's not just being able to read French philosophy, *now I'm more interested in using the language*. Before I just wanted to be able to read, *now I want to meet French people and speak with French people*. I like it a lot. (my emphases)

After study abroad, Sam completed his French minor, and, unable to take additional courses due to his double major, became a French language partner at his university for students in a hybrid online-classroom French course. He worked in that role during two semesters for several hours per week.

Molly was another participant who doubted herself linguistically before study abroad but gained tremendous confidence in her capacity to successfully learn French. Her study abroad experiences, however, were often not "feel-good moments" but struggles to participate in social interactions. During Week Two, she described an attempt to buy train tickets from a French travel agent as "Very frustrating ... for me and [her] ... there's no way for me to speak if I don't know what they are saying in the first place." But rather than demoralizing her, this encounter led to her articulating a new goal: "[T]o try to comprehend others better" and specific ways to approach it-- by listening to her host family members while they talked together and watching television with her host brother "for about 30 minutes each night."

The following week, an encounter in the train led to a turning point in her efforts to become a confident French speaker. In her blog, she wrote,

A young French guy sat next to me, and he made a comment to me in French, and I just kind of shook my head and laughed, because I didn't understand what he said. He kept talking to me though, and after a while, I looked at the clock, and we had talked for an hour and a half. The entire conversation was in French ... I was sooo happy ... I already reached my once-goal, and I was amazed.

This interaction showed Molly she could reach her goal of engaging in sustained conversations, and her motive to become a fluent French speaker was strengthened, impelling her to generate new short-term goals. By the end of study abroad, she described being proud of "how far I've come since I started" and said she was "satisfied" with her efforts to speak French and her accomplishment of her goals. Further proof of her enhanced motivation and confidence occurred in September, when she changed her major to French. As she explained by e-mail, "I now have the

self-esteem to know if there is something I want to accomplish, there is nothing holding me back ... I know if I work at it, I can go back like I soon intend to do." During the next year, she persevered in upper-level literature, writing, and cultural studies courses, despite her feeling that "others are far ahead of me" since she "[took] pride in being in these courses."

Like Sam and Molly, Elise and Eric described a changed relationship to French after study abroad. For Elise, who was "extremely satisfied" with her efforts to speak French and her goal accomplishment, she no longer felt as she once had -- "[T]ake one more semester, get the minor, and be done with French." After completing her French minor the term after study abroad, Elise extended her French studies in an advanced French conversation course the following Spring but was unable to continue afterwards due to requirements of her major and second minor in Asian Studies. Eric, who was "satisfied" with how his goals were accomplished during study abroad, explained how French had changed for him in his interview after the program:

[N]ow it's like, wow, I can get into this. I can start buying literature and start applying this knowledge now. That was one thing that was unexpected and just all of the sudden you know, I *can* read this stuff and *can* comprehend this easier, I *can apply* these thoughts, these ideas.

Eric, too, completed his French minor the term after study abroad by completing an advanced writing course. But after an optional French cultural studies course the following Spring, requirements for his double majors precluded him taking any further French courses. A year after study abroad, he went to Argentina, where he taught English as a second language for one academic year.

Every participant's language-learning motivation was not transformed through study abroad, as Rachel's experience illustrates. The combination of little time spent

with her host family, the feeling her hosts weren't invested in getting to know her, and ongoing communicative struggles weakened her motivation to pursue her linguistic goals. Her blog entry from Week Four underscored her profound demotivation and a goal shift:

The first three weeks that I was in Nantes I was overwhelmed by the challenges I faced but had hope that things would get progressively easier with time ... I still have difficulty understanding and speaking in French all the time. It is very tiring for me. As for my host family ... [w]e have very little interaction, and they seem content to keep it that way. I am no longer very optimistic that I will get to know my family better ... With two weeks left in Nantes I want to do some more traveling ... I also hope to explore more in Nantes. I'd like to visit a museum or go to a different park ... I want to experience more of the culture in France as well.

At study abroad's end, Rachel said she was "neither satisfied nor dissatisfied" with her efforts to speak French, "somewhat dissatisfied" with her progress toward linguistic goals, and "somewhat dissatisfied" with her accomplishment of her cultural goals due to her negative host family experiences. She called "learn[ing] to travel and experience new places" the most rewarding aspect of study abroad and when reflecting on her experiences said, "When I look back ... I remember all the fun trips and cultural experiences I had." After the program, Rachel completed one last course toward her French minor and then ended her French studies.

Chad, who was "neither satisfied nor dissatisfied" with his efforts to speak French during study abroad but "satisfied" with his accomplishment of linguistic goals, also spoke about study abroad's benefits as primarily cultural, saying that his experiences abroad "changed his aspect on the world" and caused him to "feel compelled to visit

other countries and continue to learn about the world." When asked if his relation to French had changed, he responded, "I can't honestly say I fell in love with French ... It was a great experience, but it's just one culture." Like Rachel, he successfully finished his French minor with one further course after study abroad and thus ended his studies of French.

DISCUSSION

Theoretical Implications

Findings reported above demonstrated two primary orientations motivating participants to learn French at the college level--linguistic motives and career-oriented motives. Moreover, the choice to study abroad was seen as either a critical step in achieving linguistic goals or a means of traveling and learning about culture. Enhanced language-learning motivation and persistence to continue studying or using French emerged for participants viewing study abroad as a linguistic experience and a step toward achieving personal linguistic goals but not for those with primarily pragmatic reasons for studying French or participating in study abroad.

From an activity theory perspective, delving into the reasons informing students' choices to learn French, earn a French minor or an International Business Certificate, or participate in summer study abroad help us better understand their linguistic choices and behaviors abroad and why they spend (or fail to spend) time and effort interacting with American peers, French hosts, or others in their learning environment. Through analyzing study abroad participants' language-learning motives, goals for study abroad, means of pursuing goals, and motivational trajectories, we realize that it is impossible to view motivation as a stable, internal

characteristic of individuals or to see students as possessing either "low" or "high" motivation.

Rather, we might conclude that some study abroad participants such as Molly and Sam possess social motives (i.e., to communicate with others) and higher-level cognitive motives (i.e., arising from an intrinsic interest to learn something as an end in and of itself) whereas other participants like Chad and Rachel are oriented by lower-level cognitive motives (i.e., learning something with the goal of obtaining a result, such as earning a French minor) (Lompscher, 1999). With earning a French minor rather than achieving French fluency as the object orienting some participants' engagement in language learning, it is, in the end, unsurprising that their linguistic motivation was not enhanced during study abroad. Phrased in activity theory terms, this can be explained by a lack of alignment of motive and goal combined with an inability to achieve meaningful participation in their new community of practice. In Chad and Rachel's cases, this was demonstrated not only through their expressed motives and goals but also in terms of how relatively little time they spent interacting in French in comparison to time spent interacting with American peers in English.

The notion that students' capacity for self-regulation exerts a powerful influence on how they engage in language learning and what they achieve (Gillette, 1994; Mills, Pajares, & Herron, 2007) was confirmed by this study's findings. In general terms, *agency* played an important role in whether participants judged their study abroad learning experiences as successful and if their language-learning motivation was enhanced. Whereas some participants regulated their language learning through effective goal setting and positive self-talk, others assumed less responsibility for their learning, privileged the notion of time over effort (e.g., "I hope the next few

weeks will help me" or "with time my grammar will improve"), and blamed limited interaction with French people on others.

The types of initial goals participants articulated and their ongoing capacity to set related sub-goals during study abroad influenced what learning behaviors, or actions, were "maximized and selected and how they [were] operationalized" during study abroad (Donato, 1994, p. 36). Positing specific, real-life learning targets such as "holding at least 20- or 30-minute conversations" in French or being comprehensible in service encounters resulted in participants reflecting on and benefiting from successful linguistic interactions and, ultimately, enhancing their language-learning motivation. On the other hand, holding unfocused goals like "improve my speaking" or "improve my accent" and not articulating clear learning targets was associated with less satisfaction with the accomplishment of linguistic goals. Moreover, the fact that most participants' initial goals were quite vague and that some participants never articulated concrete sub-goals may indicate that the frequently discussed myth of FL development abroad occurring through a sort of "osmosis" does, in fact, inform how some study abroad participants approach language learning and may negatively impact linguistic development.

A final theoretical implication derives from this study's findings regarding the dynamic nature of language-learning motivation based on both factors internal to individual learners, such as self-regulatory strategies, and external to learners, such as relationships established in cooperation with French speakers or study abroad peers. Findings demonstrating divergent motivational and linguistic trajectories for this study's participants contradict the assumption that study abroad as a *context* generates transformative learning, an implicit assumption in much research. Instead, this study offers support for a relational definition of study abroad as a learning context: That is

to say, by using the conceptual lens of activity theory, context can be understood as emergent from students' motives, goals, and resultant actions. Context is not, as Nardi (1996) described, just "out there" but varies and is dependent on the interplay of learner and community, learner intentions versus those in his or her community of practice. For study abroad participants, faculty, and program administrators, the clear implication of viewing context in such a way could be summarized as follows: How one regulates and engages in language-learning activity during study abroad generates the context rather than the context generating learning.

Pedagogical Implications

In terms of this study's practical implications, it is evident that FL students have varied reasons for learning a FL and choosing to participate in study abroad. In the study abroad cohort investigated in this study, some participants' motives, goals, and learning behaviors facilitated language learning whereas others did not. For anyone who has taught in or directed study abroad programs, interesting differences in participants' attitudes and behaviors often emerge once they are abroad and experience the academic, communicative, cultural, and social demands of daily life in a foreign country. Some students do not adapt well to learning conditions beyond the FL classroom despite years of previous study and, in many cases, stellar grades in the FL studied. As Vande Berg (2007) explained, some study abroad participants are "admirably self-sufficient" whereas others "simply do not know how to go about learning in a new and different cultural environment" (p. 394).

This study presents a compelling, theory-driven explanation for how and why some students' language-learning motivation is enhanced during study abroad while other students experience demotivation. But beyond merely explaining motivational phenomena, findings from this study make us consider a critical question: *How can*

short-term study abroad programs structure learning experiences for students with varied motives, goals, and means of pursuing their goals?

As Lantolf and Pavlenko explained, activity theory "compels the researcher to intervene in communities of practice" to help people participate in learning activity as fully as possible (2001, p. 157). Accordingly, I support the notion of *intervention* in study abroad, particularly for short-term programs, because of their current popularity among U.S. students and based on limited existing literature on best practices in program design. Intervening in study abroad learning experiences could take any number of forms, one of which, reflective blogging, was illustrated in this study. However, it is evident from this study's findings that blogging in the absence of other forms of mediation is not sufficient to transform learning outcomes. Another form of intervention to be explored is the implementation of differentiated instruction, or a curriculum that takes into account not just students' incoming FL levels but their personal goals for linguistic and cultural learning. Such an instructional approach would entail little time spent learning the FL from behind a desk during study abroad but would, instead, be comprised of student-centered planning and execution of tasks requiring structured interaction with cultural informants. Students would later create task completion reports in the FL and reflect on how language use enabled or constrained participation in the task. The classroom would serve as a site for task planning and, later, sharing and comparing results among groups of students. Language, rather than an end in and of itself, to be memorized or mastered, would function as a tool for interaction and reflection. Whereas future research efforts are critically needed to both describe and investigate the effects of intervention in study abroad, the incorporation of reflective blogging and differentiated instruction would

be valuable steps in improving the curricula of short-term study abroad and in maximizing participants' participation in their communities of practice abroad.

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TABLE 1

Participants' Demographic Information and Academic Profiles

Pseudonym / Gender	Age / Year in College	Academic Major	Previous Study of French	GPA
Chad / M	19 / Junior	Marketing	3 years high school, 2 semesters college	3.41
Elise / F	19 / Sophomore	Anthropology	2 semesters college	3.96
Eric / M	23 / Senior	Art History*, Geology	2 semesters college	3.34
Molly / F	20 / Junior	Studio Arts	4 years high school, 2 semesters college	3.18
Rachel / F	20 / Junior	History*, Political Science	3 years high school, 2 semesters college	3.57
Sam / M	20 / Junior	Philosophy*, German	2 semesters college	3.61

* Primary major

TABLE 2

Participants' Initial Goals for SA

	Linguistic Goals	Cultural Goals	Social Goals
Chad	1. Be able to communicate with someone enough to get to know them on a personal level. 2. Improve speaking and comprehension.	1. See as much of Europe as I can. 2. Understand differences in French and American cultural perspectives.	Build friendships with French-speaking people my age from France and host family.
Elise	1. Have a conversation with a French speaker easily but not necessarily perfectly. 2. Improve accent and pronunciation.	Gain an understanding of French culture not based on stereotypes and media.	Meet people from France and be with my [host] family.
Eric	1. Speak the language with confidence and not be worried about making mistakes. 2. Read more quickly and with	Get a better understanding of European city life and urban history.	

	more precise comprehension. 3. Write with confidence.		
Molly	1. Become confident while speaking. 2. Work on my pronunciation. 3. Greatly improve my vocabulary.	Learn on a first-hand basis how the French live, travel, and work.	Make friends and get a relationship with my [host] family.
Rachel	1. Speak French better. 2. Improve my accent and pronunciation.	1. Do a lot of traveling. 2. Experience as much of the culture as I can.	
Sam	1. Hold a decent conversation about abstract things in which I understand native French people and they understand me. 2. Feel comfortable speaking and being spoken to at a normal pace. 3. Improve pronunciation (what letters should not be pronounced). 4. Improve grammar. 5. Improve my writing.		Come out of my shell and really become a part of my homestay family; have a relationship with them and keep in touch with them after I leave.

TABLE 3

Participants' Language Contact during Study Abroad

	Percentage of communication interacting with interacting in French outside class daily	Hours spent interacting with homestay family in French daily	Other non-interactive contact with French	Hours U.S. peers
Chad	25%	1.5 hours	music 5-10 minutes daily; televised game shows weekly	3.5 hours
Elise	50%	5.0 hours	music 15 minutes daily; televised news, game shows, and soccer daily	None
Eric	50%	2.0 hours	novels and non-fiction reading 30 minutes daily; journaling 15 minutes daily; music 15 minutes daily	2.0 hours
Molly	25%	3.0 hours	magazines and cookbooks 1 hour daily; writing notes or	2.5 hours

			in her calendar 15 minutes daily; game shows and televised films 30 minutes daily	
Rachel	25%	1.0 hour	music 15 minutes daily; magazines less than once per week	3.5 hours
Sam	95-100%	3.5 hours	Newspapers, online news, comics 1 hour 15 minutes daily; televised news daily	2.0 hours
