



Motivation and L2 Selves: A Study of Learners of Japanese at an Australian University

Mika Sakeda

(nakazawa.mika.m@edumail.vic.gov.au)

Monash University, Australia

Naomi Kurata

(naomi.kurata@monash.edu)

Monash University, Australia

Abstract

This study examines the L2 selves of ten students studying upper-intermediate or advanced Japanese at an Australian university. Through analysis of interviews and students' diary entries about Japanese-related experiences in their daily lives, the study examines the types of L2 selves the students construct, and how these constructions are influenced by the students' responses to their L2 experiences. The findings reveal that the students were all successful at envisioning themselves as someone using Japanese for work and/or leisure in the future, although the ideal L2 self of each student differed considerably in its contents and elaborateness. The study further demonstrates that students' L2 selves were often multi-faceted, and could change even within short periods of time. It also indicates that the students engaged with a wide range of Japanese-related activities and experiences in and beyond the classroom, and that their process of making meaning from such emerging L2 experiences significantly impacted the construction of their L2 selves.

1 Introduction

It is widely acknowledged that motivation is one of the key factors related to language acquisition. Yet, despite only a few decades having passed since Gardner and Lambert's (1972) social psychological construct of integrative motivation won L2 researchers' acclaim, the traditional concept of integrative motivation appears to have lost some of its explanatory power in recent years due to its lack of applicability to several learning contexts (Dörnyei, 2005). The central concept in recent L2 learning motivation studies is instead Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self System, which draws on Markus and Nurius's (1986) theory of possible selves. This system establishes three major sources of motivation in learning an L2, namely the *Ideal Self* (learners' visions of their desirable future self-images as a competent L2 user), the *Ought-to Self* (learners' visions of their future self-state that they may feel pressure to realise), and the *L2 learning experience* (the motivational impact of an immediate learning environment and experience). As Dörnyei (2009) argues, the underlying theory of the L2 self is that if competence in the target language is part of a learner's L2 self, this motivates him or her to learn the language. This is the result of a psychological desire to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal/ought-to self (see self-discrepancy theory, Higgins, 1987).

To date, an increasing number of studies have successfully employed the theory of L2 selves to interpret individuals' motivation toward language learning, and offered empirical evidence regarding the motivational function of L2-specific selves (e.g. Chen, 2012; Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Csizér, Kormos, & Sarkadi, 2010; Kim, 2009; Kormos, Kiddle, & Csizér, 2011; Lamb, 2007; Taguchi, Magid, & Papi, 2011; White & Ding, 2009). While the potential of L2 self as a possible language learning motivation has been tested on many learners of English (ESL or EFL), they are yet to be adequately investigated within the Japanese as a foreign language (JFL) setting. In addition, the majority of prior studies on L2 selves and motivation rely mainly on quantitative data. However, a number of researchers highlight the necessity of a qualitative approach to motivation research in order to explore the complex aspects of learners' motivation that are not easily accommodated in the quantitative paradigm (Lamb, 2009; Ushioda, 2001). This current study therefore aims to contribute to the scarce body of literature on the JFL learners' L2 selves through an in-depth analysis of these motivational selves based on qualitative data from interviews and diary entries.

According to de Krester and Spence-Brown (2010), Japanese is currently the most widely taught language in schools and universities in Australia. It has been also revealed that one in 59 Australians is learning Japanese as of 2010 (Thomson, 2010). Study on the L2 selves of Japanese learners in Australia is therefore significant, as it may offer a new avenue for motivating learners of Japanese by helping them to envisage their possible L2 selves. This, in turn, can contribute to the field of Japanese language education in Australia, as well as in other countries where Japanese is taught as a foreign language.

Furthermore, in many existing studies on L2 motivation, including Gardner and Lambert's (1972) socio-psychological theory of L2 motivation, cultural and historical contexts have been viewed as independent background variables which individuals have no control over (Ushioda, 2009). While these studies help us consider what kinds of contextual factors result in de/motivating L2 learners, the linear cause-effect models they use tell us very little about the complexity of particular learners' motivational response to the personal L2 experiences that they have in their life (Ushioda, 2009). It is therefore important to conceptualise motivation as emergent from relations between human intentionality and the social world, rather than as a static, individual characteristic (Sealey & Carter, 2004; Ushioda, 2009). To this end, the current study examines not only JFL learners' L2 selves, but also the learners' motivational response to their L2 experiences and the impact of learning environment on the construction of their L2 selves. A discussion of how one's meaning-making processes of these experiences as a Japanese learner influences the shape of their L2 selves will follow. Finally, I will consider some pedagogical implications of the findings.

2 Research questions

In order to investigate how JFL learners socially and contextually structured different types of L2 selves, the following questions were formulated:

1. What types of L2 selves can be found among upper-intermediate or advanced-level JFL learners at an Australian university?
2. What contextual factors are associated with the formation of their L2 selves?
3. How does the learners' motivational response to their personal L2 experiences influence their L2 selves?

The first question is necessary for the simple reason that the nature of individual learners' JFL L2 selves is not yet fully understood. The question aims to contribute to the field of Japanese language education in the same way that the more extensive investigation of L2 selves of learners of English to date has contributed to the improvement of EFL teaching. The purpose of the second question is primarily to examine what kinds of contextual factors have an effect on the construction of L2 selves. Finally, the third question enables us to focus on how each individual participant makes sense of particular L2 related experiences in their life (e.g. in the case of JFL learners, making new Japanese friends, applying for a Japanese speech contest, going to a Japanese cultural event, etc.), and how this meaning-making process influences the construction of their L2 selves.

3 Conceptual framework

In order to examine JFL learners' L2 selves and their associated contextual factors, Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self System will be utilised. Drawing on the theory of possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986), this L2 Motivational Self System was devised as an alternative to the traditional Gardnerian integrative and instrumental motivational orientation. According to Markus and Nurius (1986), possible selves are elements of the self-concept that represents individuals' thoughts about what they *could* become, *would like to* become, and are *afraid of* becoming in the future. Possible selves are motivating, because they provide an end-state for potential behaviour in conjunction with potential incentives to perform or avoid certain behaviours related to achieving the desired self (Oyserman & Markus, 1990).

As briefly mentioned before, Dörnyei's system consists of the following three components:

1. *Ideal L2 self*, which represents the L2 user that one wishes to become (e.g., the self that can speak the L2 fluently). Generally, the ideal L2 self promotes motivation to learn the L2 due to our desire to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves – *promotion* focus.
2. *Ought-to L2 self*, which represents the L2 user we believe we should become to avoid potential negative consequences – *prevention* focus.
3. *L2 learning experience* (situation-specific motive related to the immediate learning environment and experience).

As Ushioda (2011) describes, possible selves function as future self-guides that channel and give direction to current motivational behaviours, and therefore provide a conceptual link between the self-concept and motivation.

4 Relevant literature

This section will first provide a summary of significant findings from empirical studies that have examined motivation and the construction of L2 selves in relation to foreign language learners. The summary will focus on JFL/JSL learners' motivation and their construction of their L2 selves' construction, as we previously introduced some major studies that have employed the theory of L2 selves in mainly ESL/EFL settings. It will be followed by a review of the literature related to the impact of contextual and social factors, including learners' L2 experiences, upon the formation of one's L2 self in non-Japanese language learning settings.

4.1 Motivation in Japanese language learning settings

Although Japanese is one of the most popular languages in Australia, there has been an increasing concern about the drop in the number of enrolments in Japanese language programs in both the school and university sectors. de Krester and Spence-Brown (2010) revealed that secondary level enrolments in L2 Japanese have declined by around 6.4% since 2000, and only 11% of Victorian school students who learned Japanese at the junior secondary level in 2010 continued with Japanese to Year 12. Northwood and Thomson (2012) also reported a total decrease of 24.7% in the Japanese learner population across four universities in New South Wales in Australia. Partly in response to the above concerns, a number of studies have been conducted to examine the motivational factors for beginning and continuing the study of Japanese (e.g. Matsumoto, 2009; Matsumoto & Obana, 2001; Yung & Luk, 2010). Northwood and Thomson's (2012) findings indicate that the common reasons given for continuing to learn Japanese among the Australian university students are "hope to travel to Japan," "interest in J-pop culture," and "usefulness for career" (p. 341). Although Northwood and Thomson (2012) argue that a large share of the advanced level students envisage a future as L2 Japanese users, they did not further investigate how the learners' future visions were socially constructed, or how vivid or elaborate any particular vision was.

With respect to Japanese language learners' motivation from the self-perspectives, there has been limited research to date (see Buasaengtham & Yoshinaga, 2015; Nakamura, 2015). Nakamura (2015) utilised the L2 Motivational Self System and Unemori, Omoregie, & Markus's (2004) concept of domains of possible selves to examine the relationships between selves of different languages (JFL and other additional languages) within a learner, as well as the construction of these selves in an Australian university setting. The analysis of 13 lower-intermediate JFL students' interview data revealed that their Japanese-specific L2 selves appear to be most commonly connected to an extracurricular domain of learners' present and future lives (i.e. enjoying media, enjoying other hobbies) in many cases, followed by an interpersonal domain (i.e. communicating with friends) and a career domain (i.e. desired future jobs). Nakamura (2015) also found that if a student can envision a future L2 self associated with at least one domain of future life, multiple ideal L2 selves from different languages can coexist without competition. Buasaengtham and Yoshinaga (2015) focused on four non-*kanji* background beginners' motivations for learning *kanji* in a Japanese university setting, and found that these learners formed ideal and/or ought-to selves as a competent *kanji* learner/user. The analysis of the learners' life stories revealed that this formation was affected (more often positively than negatively) by their learning experiences in and outside class, and whether *kanji* knowledge was essential for their daily life survival in their social environment, among other things.

4.2 *Social and contextual influence on L2 selves in other language learning settings*

While the study of JFL learners' L2 selves has just begun, several qualitative studies using the system have been undertaken across diverse language learning situations since the establishment of the L2 Motivational Self System in 2005; these have convincingly confirmed the social and/or contextual influences on L2 selves. For example, Lamb (2009) described how L2 selves of two Indonesian junior high school students were constructed in relation to their family and institutional environment. Although the two participants, Dewi and Munandar, basically attached a great importance to studying English, Dewi possessed positive and clear future self-image as a fluent speaker of English in a global context, which she believes would help develop Indonesia. On the other hand, Munandar's future ambitions for English learning were fairly vague, and he planned to continue to study English only if the further education required him to do so. He was thus motivated to study English by a future self-image closely associated with his ought-to L2 self. Dewi had grown up with considerable cultural capital, including English-speaking parents and plenty of English-language resources, while Munandar had minimal exposure to English and none of his family members spoke English. Lamb explains that the contrast between the above two students helps to highlight the social and contextual influence (e.g. family and socioeconomic backgrounds, learning experiences etc.) on the formation of L2 selves and identity.

The impact of contextual and social factors upon the formation of L2 selves has been also evidenced in a study by Kim (2009). Adopting Vygotskian Sociocultural Theory and Engeström's (1999) Activity Theory, he analysed the developmental processes of the L2 selves of two South Korean EFL learners in Canada named Woo and Joon. Both learners had been learning English partly because of the social demands for English language skills in their home country (i.e. instrumentality). For Woo, this instrumentality was firmly associated with his career goal and it was gradually subsumed into ideal L2 self through his L2 experiences such as meaningful communication with his home stay owner. Joon, on the other hand, did not have specific career vision or personal reasons to learn English. The instrumentality in learning English was therefore not sufficiently internalised, and it reflected the prevention aspect of the extrinsic motive which makes up ought-to L2 self. Kim concluded that ideal and ought-to L2 selves are not antithetical positions, but that the ought-to L2 self is internalised into the ideal L2 self, and the formation of learners' positive, competent, promotion-based future L2 self is largely dependent on sociocultural factors like support from the community.

Although most of the studies which employ L2 Motivational Self System have focused on motivation in EFL/ESL settings, recent attention has been attracted to settings in other languages,

including those in JFL/JSL detailed earlier in 4.1. For example, Campbell and Storch (2011) investigated the motivational factors of eight Chinese learners studying at an Australian university in a longitudinal study. According to the authors, the learners' motivation underwent many fluctuations over the course of a university semester, and the factors related to learning environment, including teachers and coursework, had the most negative influence on changes in the learners' motivation. However, it was suggested that a clear future self-image as an L2 speaker may enable learners to overcome negative experiences stemming from the learning environment, and to continue with their L2 learning.

While the above-mentioned studies have clearly contributed to our understanding of certain types of learners' L2 selves and social factors that affect the construction of these selves, the majority of them do not pay much attention to the detailed contents or dynamic nature of L2 selves. More importantly, they also do not sufficiently examine how a particular learner views or feels about his/her particular L2 experiences, or how his/her interpretation of these experiences influences the construction of L2 selves. As Ushioda (2009) maintains, the traditional linear approach of L2 motivation research may well describe cause-effect relations (e.g. what kinds of L2 experiences generally de/motivate language learners), but such an approach does not predict possible complexities and idiosyncrasies that exist in an individual's motivational response to particular L2 experiences. Therefore, in order to gain a deeper understanding of language learning motivation, the focus on individuals' unique motivational responses to L2 experiences is essential. In this article, we hope to target these issues and contribute to the current discussion on the dynamic nature of L2 selves, as well as how a particular learner's actual L2 experiences affect the formation of these selves. To do so, we analyse JFL learners' qualitative data, a source which has been under-investigated in the previous research to date.

5 Methodology

As mentioned above, a qualitative approach is well suited to analyse an abstract construct like motivation and its complex aspects (Lamb, 2009; Ushioda, 2001). For the present study, data will therefore be collected through multiple qualitative methods, including a semi-structured interview, diary studies and a stimulated recall interview.

5.1 Participants

To address our research questions, a case study of ten JFL learners was carried out. The participants were JFL learners in an Australian university at upper-intermediate or advanced levels (corresponding to B1.1 and B1.2 under the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for languages). Students from these levels were chosen, since they are assumed to have a longer L2 history, and have therefore gone through a wider variety of L2 experiences than beginner students. The participation in the proposed study was strictly voluntary. Table 1 outlines the background of the participants. Table 2 includes information about ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self that each participant possessed at the time of first and second interviews. The names of all the participants have been replaced with pseudonyms.

Table 1. Participants' backgrounds

Pseudo-nyms	Sex	Age	Residence history	Home language	CEFR level	Formal language study	Duration and purpose of stays in Japan
Amanda	F	18	Australia	English	B1.2	- VCE - Enhancement course at university - 6 months at university	- 2 weeks: holiday - 2 weeks: school trip - 7 weeks: holiday
Billie	F	31	Australia	English	B1.2	- 3 months at language school - 2.5 years at university	- 3 weeks: school trip - 3 weeks: holiday x 2 - 8 months: work - 7 months: exchange program
Cala	F	22	Jordan > UAE > Australia	Arabic	B1.1	- 5 years at university	- 3 weeks: university exchange program
Danielle	F	22	USA > HK > Australia	Chinese/English	B1.2	- 2 months at Saturday school - 3.5 years at university	- 6 months: university exchange program - 3 weeks: holiday
Eca	F	22	Malaysia > Australia	Mandarin/Hokkien	B1.2	- 1 year at language school (in Malaysia) - 1.5 years at university	- 2 weeks: school trip - 2 weeks: holiday
Flynn	M	24	China > Australia	Mandarin/Shang-hainese	B1.2	- 3.5 years at university	- 3 months: working
Genji	F	30	Taiwan > Australia	Taiwanese	B1.1	- 1 year at language school (in Japan) - 6 months at university	- 1 year: university exchange program
Hannah	F	19	Australia	English	B1.1	- VCE - 2 years at university	- 2 weeks: school trip
Irene	F	24	Australia	Cantonese/Teochew	B1.1	- 2.5 years at university	- 2 weeks: holiday - 3 weeks: holiday
Jessica	F	18	Australia	English	B1.2	- VCE - Enhancement course at university - 6 months at university	- 2 weeks: school trip - 5 months: exchange program - 6 weeks: exchange program

Table 2. Participants' ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self

Pseudo-nyms	Ideal self (1 st interview)	Ideal self (2 nd interview)	Specific plans to become ideal self	Ought-to self (1 st interview)	Ought-to self (2 nd interview)
Amanda	Communicating with Japanese representatives in Japanese (Law field)	Having mastered <i>keigo</i> (honorific language) and speaking Japanese very fluently	Apply for internship program in Tokyo	N/A	N/A
Billie	Working at university and research Japanese language in use		Commence Honours in Sociolinguistics in next year	N/A	N/A
Cala	Working as a coordinator of international relations for Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program	Discussing complex matters in Japanese	Apply for JET program	N/A	N/A
Danielle	Achieving fluency in Japanese by living in Japan and doing something related to Japanese		Apply for a Working Holiday visa ¹	N/A	N/A
Eca	Teaching English in Japan and becoming a member of Japanese society	N/A (face-to-face interview was not conducted, but email interview was)	N/A	N/A	N/A
Flynn	Working as a translator in Japan	Communicating with Japanese people in Japan	N/A	N/A	N/A
Genji	Working with Japanese scientists <i>only if an opportunity arises</i>		N/A	N/A	N/A
Hannah	Reading Japanese documents in the domain of writing & literature	Using Japanese in personal life	Study <i>kanji</i> writing & read Japanese novels everyday	N/A	N/A
Irene	Using background knowledge in Japanese in speech pathology domain <i>if an opportunity arises</i>		Apply for Master of Speech Pathology	N/A	N/A
Jessica	Japanese is potentially taking me somewhere	Using somewhere in the future	N/A	N/A	Parental expectation & sibling rivalry

5.2 Procedure

As an initial step in collecting data, a brief background questionnaire was utilised. The participants were asked to complete this questionnaire to provide information regarding their home and educational background, as well as their Japanese language histories, including the details about their formal Japanese study and period and purpose of stay in Japan.

Following the questionnaire, a semi-structured interview took place. As the basis for the interview question template, Kim's (2006) interview questions and a version of Al-shehri's (2009) self-report questions partially altered for the present study were used (see Appendix). This interview was designed specifically to identify students' current engagement with their Japanese study, contexts that surrounded this engagement, and their L2 selves. The interview was recorded through the use of a voice recorder, and the data collected from the interview was transcribed to highlight the key statements or points which address the study's main questions.

According to Bailey and Ochsner (1983), diary studies can provide an *emic* perspective of learners' learning experiences that is difficult to access through observation from investigators. Following this concept, the current study also made use of diary studies. At the end of the first interviews, the participants were given a set of entry sheets consisting of the following sections: description (date, place and situation) of the L2 experiences and their feeling/thoughts/emotions about these experiences. Then, we asked them to write a diary entry each time they had Japanese-related experiences (e.g. made a Japanese friend, got a job in a Japanese restaurant etc.) during

their daily life over a period of two weeks. Although this study was especially interested in L2 experiences that they faced outside the classroom, the participants were free to write about their Japanese lessons at university if they desired.

The stimulated recall interviews took place immediately after collecting the aforementioned diary to minimize memory loss. These second interviews were conducted two weeks after the first (semi-structured) interviews and pursued two purposes. One was to gain richer contextual information about the experience that the participants had reported on in the diary. The other was to examine how their motivational response to an experience that they described impacted the formation of their L2 self. It would be ideal, if we could ask the participants to cooperate with producing diary entries for more than two weeks, and to conduct their second interviews later in the semester in which we collected these data. However, in consideration for the participants' heavy study workload towards the end of the semester, the time spans between the first and second interviews were set two weeks. Again, the interview was audio recorded and transcribed to allow for effective interpretation of the data.

6 Findings

This study has found that all ten of the participants displayed possible selves, yet their content, elements, elaborateness and links to specific plans or procedural strategies varied dramatically.

6.1 *Ideal L2 self*

The results of the interviews show that all ten participants had an ideal L2 self of some sort. In other words, they were all successful at envisioning themselves as someone using Japanese for work and/or leisure in the future. The descriptions of their ideal L2 selves were highly individualised and reflected their surrounding contexts of possibility. Six participants (Amanda, Billie, Cala, Danielle, Eca and Flynn) expressed their strong interest in exploiting Japanese skills in their future career, and saw their L2 self as a professional in their desired field who could speak Japanese (see Tables 1–2 above for more details). Of these participants, Amanda, Billie and Cala had the most vivid images of future selves as well as reasonably specific plans for becoming these possible selves.

For example, Amanda reported that she wished to pursue her career in the field of law, and described her ideal L2 self in the following statement: "In my imagined world, I'm extremely rich, I am at the very least a solicitor and I might be dealing with, like, in terms of commercial law, trade law, international law with Australian and Japanese companies for example." As part of her future plans, she was considering participating in an internship program at a law firm in Japan in the coming years.

Billie and Cala also had a clear image of how they would be using Japanese in their future career, with Billie interested in researching and teaching Japanese language at a university, and Cala expressing a desire to work in the diplomatic field for either Middle East-Japan or Australia-Japan relationships. At the time of the first interview, Billie had already received a conditional offer for Honours in Sociolinguistics for the following year, and she was also planning to continue to a PhD after her Honours research. Cala's future plan was as equally specific, as she stated her intention to apply for a Coordinator of International Relations position on the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program for the year in which the data was collected for the current study.

Similarly, Danielle was determined to use Japanese in the future and imagined herself living in Japan, stating: "I want to do something Japanese-related. I want to keep this language skill for sure." Although her career intentions looked relatively vague, Danielle's primary goal was to live in Japan, and the type of job might therefore be of second importance. To accomplish her intended goal, she was planning to apply for a Working Holiday visa¹ and to go to Japan the following year.

Uniquely, among those who desired to use Japanese in their career, Eca imagined herself "speaking Japanese in front of so many people." She explained that she won the first place in the Japanese speech contest in the previous year and this experience increased her self-confidence in

her speaking ability. Clearly, her ideal L2 self was built upon her pride in the success in the speech contest. She also envisioned herself helping Japanese people “step out of their comfort zone and join the globalised world.” To realise this, she was planning to teach English in Japan after completing her degree, though her job search plan was not presented. Another interesting finding concerning Eca’s ideal self is that she also imagined herself being considered a member of Japanese society. This shows a willingness to become a valuable member of the target language community (i.e. integrative motivation: Gardner & Lambert, 1972): “I imagine myself [*sic*] that Japanese people accept me as one of their own.” This finding is consistent with the previous studies that have conceptualised integrativeness in terms of the ideal L2 self (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009). Eca’s L2 self therefore provides strong empirical support that integrativeness is one facet of a more complex and broader L2 self concept.

In Flynn’s case, although he was successful in imagining himself working as an English-Japanese translator in Japan, he appeared to have no specific job search plans. This contrasts with the other five participants who planned to use their Japanese skills in their career, in that they expressed realistic and effective plans to become their ideal L2 selves.

In sum, six participants had a desired future self-image as a JFL user, but they did not necessarily have detailed plans to achieve the desired end-state. To put it another way, the ideal L2 selves in some cases did not seem to effectively serve as incentives for future behaviour. This is because these ideal selves were not accompanied by relevant and effective procedural strategies, which is one of the conditions for an L2 self to be motivationally effective (Dörnyei, 2009).

In contrast, the other four participants only considered using the Japanese language skills in their career where relevant *if* the opportunity arises. Three of the participants in this second group (Genji, Hannah and Irene) had clear career goals with specific fields in their mind, none of which necessarily require Japanese language skills (e.g. science, writing and literature, speech pathology, etc.; see Tables 1–2 above for more details). Japanese was therefore perceived as an additional skill that could potentially supplement their career.

For instance, Hannah indicated her interest in a career in history and literature, and reported that her Japanese learning experience had informed some of her ideas and opinions which could be useful for her future career, but stated that “It [Japanese] can’t be anything more than complimentary aspect.” Hannah’s ideal L2 self also showed considerably different facets between the first and second interviews, as it changed from someone reading the Japanese documents at work to someone learning Japanese as a hobby: “It won’t be part of my career, but will always be part of my hobbies. I sort of separate my academic life and hobbies.” The potential factors for this change will be discussed later.

Irene, who was preparing to apply for a postgraduate course in speech pathology in the following year, described how a Japanese learning experience could potentially aid her career as a speech pathologist: “I suppose my knowledge or experience with other languages like Japanese and Chinese [...] could maybe [...] help children or adults who are those language backgrounds cos you understand just the way they pronounce things [...] so I suppose, could maybe help people like that?” Although her willingness to make use of language skills, knowledge or learning experiences arising from her study of Japanese seemed to be lower than that of the other six participants whom we formerly discussed, Irene was still able to generate the story of her ideal L2 self.

Genji imagined herself working with Japanese scientists one day, but she claimed that in real life she would not work towards realising that goal, and also stubbornly refused to even consider the possibility of gaining competence in business Japanese. It was later found that her negative thoughts towards business Japanese emerged from a past failure at work. According to Genji, when she worked at the Japanese call centre in Australia, her inadequate Japanese skill led to communication failures, disappointment, and criticism at workplace: “I was yelled by the Japanese customers a lot. Even though I had studied Japanese for a long time, I’m not good at business Japanese. I think that was the most stressful time in my entire Japanese study history [...] my confidence had gone down.”

Genji’s scenario suggests that not only do positive L2 experiences influence the construction of ideal L2 self, but negative L2 experience can be equally influential and can hinder the motivational

function of an ideal L2 self. Moreover, from the cases of Genji and Irene, it appears that one can create an ideal L2 self if asked to do so, yet not work toward achieving the desired self since it may be just an imagined state of being rather than a future-self guide that directs current motivational behaviours. According to Oyserman, Bybee, Terry, & Hart-Johnsona (2004), a possible self requires plausibility to function as self-regulation, and must be accompanied by action plans or strategies connected to self-relevant goals. Hence, simply possessing an ideal L2 self does not necessarily improve the person's motivational status or behaviours. This underpins our earlier argument that in order to activate the motivational function of the L2 selves, realistic and achievable future plans need to be devised.

6.2 Ought-to L2 self

In the first interviews, all the participants besides one answered that they learned Japanese for themselves, and therefore have never felt obligated to study Japanese. The only exception was Jessica, who said she might be thinking, in the back of her mind, that doing well in Japanese would make her parents proud of her. Academic requirements for JFL learners, including assignments with a deadline and material related to *keigo* (Japanese honorific language) or *kanji* (Japanese writing that originated from Chinese characters), appear to incur a sense of duty in the participants. Even so, these are duties that they take upon for themselves (i.e. not for others) and thus are not considered as ought-to L2 selves.

In the second (stimulated-recall) interview that took place two weeks after the first interview, however, Jessica reported that her thoughts and feelings towards Japanese study had changed since she was first interviewed. Jessica admitted that she now felt more obligated to do Japanese as she *needed* to assist her younger sister who had recently gone to study in Japan. She went on to elaborate on this point:

I need to help my sister. Push from my parents, like *You're gonna really have to help each other out. You can't do it all only for yourself anymore, you two are together.* [...] My parents have put all this money in, so I really have to give it back in the way of helping my sister.

As she admitted, it is clear that she had started to notice the pressure that she felt as an older sister and to realise that she was actually feeling obligated to continue with Japanese for her family, stating:

I think this is part of my sister's thinking: *Jessica will be able to help me, Jessica will be able to guide me through the next year and she's sort of paving the way, so I will have to be following her so it won't be that hard.* So yes, I feel more obligated to continue to reach that high level.

Jessica's example corresponds with MacIntyre, Mackinnon, & Clément's (2009) interpretation of ought-to selves in that it represents an individual's ideas of what they should become in the future in order to avoid possible negative outcomes (i.e. prevention-focus). Jessica wants to avoid disappointing her parents, who made a significant investment for her and her younger sister's participation in the exchange program, by discontinuing Japanese study: "It was a huge emotional investment for them, not only financial investment. So I need to use it somewhere in the future". As clearly depicted in this extract, while parental expectations can have effects on motivation, they could also increase a learner's sense of obligation to engage with their study. Furthermore, sibling rivalry was strongly associated with Jessica's motivation to continue with Japanese: "I don't necessarily want my sister to overtake me from such a short time of learning. I need to keep going on". Arguably, family influence was a central part of Jessica's ought-to L2 self.

The considerable changes in Jessica's L2 self that occurred in a period of two weeks suggest that L2 learners undergo various motivational phases which can fluctuate quickly in response to new experiences; this provides empirical evidence about the temporal and dynamic nature of L2 motivation (Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009). Jessica's ought-to L2 self became more salient since her sister left for Japan, thus illustrating that L2 selves stem from an individual's mo-

tivational response to L2 experiences or incidents that happen in their life. We will further discuss this point later.

6.3 Learning environments

The current paper also examined whether the contextual factors surrounding an individual influenced their vision of their future self. The section that follows will present a number of factors associated with the participants' learning environments.

Danielle and Cala, who moved from other countries to Australia when they were younger, perceived that Melbourne offers a relatively supportive learning environment for JFL learners. Moving from Hong Kong to Melbourne, where students are more encouraged to select subjects that emphasise their strengths and interests, Danielle began to consciously think about her own interests and realised that she had an interest in Japanese culture and language: "Back in Hong Kong, learning a foreign language was, at least for my time, not common, so I didn't get in touch with Japanese."

Cala grew up in UAE (Dubai) where Asian languages like Japanese are conceived as exotic and are rarely learned. Comparing with UAE, Cala believes Melbourne provides a wider range of learning resources and opportunities to JFL learners, which makes it a better place to learn Japanese as a foreign language: "There's more availability [*sic*] in Melbourne. Dubai has just recently initiated a Japanese program".

As Markus and Nurius (1986) argue, while an individual can hypothetically produce any variety of possible selves freely, the repertoire of possible selves is strongly influenced by the individual's sociocultural and historical context. While there is no conclusive evidence, we speculate that the nature of these participants' L2 selves would be completely different if they were still in places where exposure to Japanese was more limited (both for educational and practical reasons) than it was in Melbourne.

Still, it should be noted that all 10 participants similarly expressed dissatisfaction with minimal opportunities for oral practice in and outside of their university. The interview data suggested that meeting with native Japanese speakers with whom they could have conversational practice in Melbourne was a key challenge for many of them. The participants also all showed similar perceptions regarding the practicality of Japanese skills in Australia. They generally felt Japanese skills would not help open up many career opportunities in Australia, although there was mention of its potential usefulness in certain industries such as translation and language education.

In fact, most of the participants with a strong desire to use Japanese in their future path (Cala, Danielle, Eca and Flynn) imagined themselves working in Japan, meaning that their ideal L2 selves were located in Japan, where considerably more opportunities to use Japanese can be found. These findings reflect how individuals relate the self to the surrounding context of possibility (Markus & Nurius, 1986). As Ushioda (2011) claims, possible selves possess psychological reality in the current imaginative experience of L2 learners, and are thus constructed in ways that parallel how learners view their current L2 experience. In the case of this study, all the participants imagined it would be difficult to become fluent in Japanese if they stay in their current situation where chances for accessing to native speakers of Japanese are limited. In other words, they believe that a fluent L2 self is more likely to be achieved if they immerse themselves in an environment which makes frequent use of the target language. For instance, Jessica stated: "I don't think you can ever get there [to native level fluency] without spending a prolonged period of time in Japan."

Moreover, some participants indicated that they did not find their lecturer's teaching style particularly engaging, stating that the lecturer's instructions and explanations are sometimes confusing. One of the participants (Danielle) showed her disappointment with her lecturer's pedagogy: "I feel like I can learn more at home by myself than going to the lectures." Surprisingly, however, she did not perceive that her dissatisfaction with the teacher had affected her motivation for learning Japanese: "It [dissatisfaction with the teacher] demotivates me from going to the lecture [...] [but] for me it doesn't really affect it [motivation for learning Japanese]." As Busse and Walter (2013) argue, this is partly because university students undergo a maturation process (i.e. a transi-

tion process) which leads them to perceive their motivation as less dependent on their teachers. In fact, while Danielle was not satisfied with her lecture, her ideal L2 self showed stability throughout the data-collection period.

Overall it appears that the participants' dissatisfaction with their learning environment (such as influence of teachers) did not immediately impact their L2 selves. Still, it seems that individuals determine what could potentially happen in their future contexts, which is a basis for possible selves, based on their surrounding context of possibilities.

6.4 Individual's motivational response to L2 experiences

According to the participants' diaries, they had a wide range of L2 related experiences between the first and second interviews. Some examples of these include applying for a Japanese speech contest, receiving an unexpected letter written in Japanese, a friend request on Facebook, an international call from Japanese friends, seeing off a family member going on exchange to Japan, or going to an anime convention.² More importantly, the diary entries also suggest that the participants' interpretations with these L2 experiences did in fact influence the shape of their L2 selves.

As discussed earlier, in the first interview, Genji believed that she would never be able to confidently use Japanese in a business setting because of her negative work experience in a Japanese company. Yet in the second interview she sounded more positive about the idea of using Japanese for work: "In the future I want to go and work in Japan, and, if possible, I'll use Japanese because Japanese people are very good at that particular area [science]." She explained that this idea occurred while she had been preparing for a Japanese speech contest that she was going to participate in a few weeks' time. Getting support and help from native Japanese speakers for its preparation had seemed to influence her future self-image as a Japanese user: "I guess I met a lot of nice people helping me, and I thought, okay, I maybe give it another go [...] I'm still afraid, but getting little bit of confidence, which is good."

In Cala's diary, there are three entries about her participation in the weekly events and meetings organised by her university's Japanese Club³ and an entry about joining a Japanese conversational circle at her university. These entries show her appreciation for the opportunities to use Japanese for communication and socialising purposes: "It was a great feeling to try and speak Japanese without feeling nervous." They also indicated that Cala had gained more confidence through these L2 experiences: "I felt today that I was able to talk to them [Japanese students] in Japanese with a little more ease." In the first interview, she had imagined herself working in Japan, but she had not been sure if she would have been able to speak fluently in a business setting. After interacting with Japanese students, however, she imagined herself using Japanese with more confidence and to discuss more complex matters. She then claimed: "Your ability is really depending on your mentality. If you don't think you can do it, then you can't do it, but if you push yourself, maybe you can do it better, I hope." Obviously, Genji and Cala's motivational response to the above L2 experiences was very positive, which in turn appeared to expand and elaborate their ideal L2 selves.

In the second interview, Irene also seemed to think more positively about her Japanese ability. She accepted the possibility of gaining fluency in Japanese, which had been perceived as a real challenge two weeks before. There are two entries in her diary which could have possibly influenced her future vision and L2 ideal self. The first entry shows that Irene enjoyed a dinner with her Australian friend who had worked at a bar in Japan for a few months. At the dinner, her friend shared his great memory of this work experience in Japan with her, which in turn encouraged her to work in Japan and to use her Japanese skills: "I would definitely want an opportunity similar to him." Moreover, it seems from the other entry that interaction with Japanese university students in a visitor session also had an important effect on her ideal L2 self: "Since the [Japanese university] students came here on exchange, I could maybe imagine, putting myself into the situation, going to Japan."

A visitor session is an extra-curricular activity held once or twice a year that provides students with contact situations where they interact with native speakers of the target language (Marriott,

2004; Neustupný, 2004). The visitor session is believed to be an important source of authentic communication with native speakers for many language learners. Fortunately, the visitor sessions were held during the two-week-diary studies and thus it was possible for all the participants to write about them in their diaries as part of L2 experiences. Ultimately, the diaries of eight of the participants (Amanda, Jessica, Billie, Flynn, Eca, Danielle, Hannah and Irene) contained one or two entries about the sessions, and there was even one diary that included some entries written exclusively about the visitor sessions (Danielle). Generally, activities and conversational topics covered in the sessions were tailored to the students' language proficiency level. This time, the B1.2 level class (see Tables 1–2) had two sessions within the data collection period. In the first session, they presented a chosen Australian historical figure to the visitors. This was followed by conversational practice while playing *karuta*, a Japanese traditional card game, with the visitors in the second session. The B1.1 level students (see Table 1) had only one session where they could freely talk with the visitors. Interestingly, the results of the diary studies revealed that response to the visitor sessions varied hugely between the participants, ranging from “motivating” to “a waste of opportunity.”

For example, Eca wrote in her diary that she found the sessions enjoyable and motivating even though she could not follow the conversations entirely: “It felt great to listen to native speakers, because I think they speak authentic Japanese. It also motivated me to improve my Japanese as I want to be able to understand everything they say.” Evidently, this ideal L2 self (being able to perfectly understand what native Japanese speakers say) has stemmed from her positive response to the visitor session. The next day after attending one of the visitor sessions, Eca's diary had another entry showing her determination to apply for the upcoming Japanese speech contest (the same one that Genji applied to). In the follow-up E-mail interview, Eca stated that her application for the contest was motivated by her friend who had invited her to apply for the contest. It can be interpreted that interaction with native speakers through the visitor sessions, together with her friend's encouragement, increased her desire to become a competent Japanese user, and the speech contest was used as a way of moving closer to her ideal self.

An example of negative reaction to the visitor sessions was found in Billie's diary. She expressed her dissatisfaction with the sessions in her class, stating that time spent on the games could have been used better to practice speaking, as she rarely gets a chance to talk to native speakers. Her diary entry on the day of the visitor session states:

We didn't have much opportunity to chat with the visitors from Japan while we were playing games, so I felt like it was a bit of a wasted opportunity. I didn't feel like I learned anything new in the class.

This is interesting in that her ideal L2 self showed no changes in particular between the first and second interviews, remaining stable even after experiencing a disappointing L2 experience. While recent years have seen an increased emphasis on the dynamic nature of L2 selves, it seemed that Billie's ideal L2 self was not negatively influenced by this sense of dissatisfaction.

In contrast, as discussed earlier, Hannah's ideal L2 self showed a great amount of fluctuation over the two-week period. She initially imagined herself reading Japanese documents at the workplace, but two weeks later she refused the idea of using Japanese skills for work and imagined herself using Japanese in a more personal way. It was found from her diary that she went to an anime (Japanese animation) convention after the first interview and interacted with people with common interests: “Although I did not speak any Japanese today, I got to interact with many people interested in Japanese culture and it got me very motivated to study when I got home.” Through interaction with people who are engaged with the cultural aspect of Japanese, Hannah seemed to realise that her interest in Japanese culture, particularly in anime, had been a primary source of continued enjoyment of Japanese study. This L2 experience then made Hannah more conscious of Japanese always being a part of her hobby, and influenced her idea of how she wishes to use Japanese language skills in the future (i.e. ideal L2 self). This finding suggests that not only is communicating with native speaker of the target language influential to L2 selves, but interaction with non-native speakers who have similar or common interests in an L2 or its culture can also influence L2 selves.

Irene's motivational change after hearing her friend's anecdote related to his work experience in Japan, which was discussed earlier, corroborates this finding.

In addition, the establishment of good rapport with Japanese friends seems to have a great influence on the formation of the participants' ideal L2 selves. In fact, in diaries of seven of the participants there are frequent references to their ongoing positive relationships with their Japanese friends, which seemed to have contributed to their motivation for Japanese study. For example, Flynn wrote in his diary on the day he received an international call from his Japanese friend via LINE:

It was good to hear my friend's voice again, it reminded me of all the good time we had in Nagano. I couldn't put down the phone because I was so pleased to hear him. We spoke entirely in Japanese while he occasionally asked questions in broken English. Quite refreshing.

A few days later, he wrote another diary entry after communicating with his other Japanese friend over Facebook:

There is no way to communicate in English with Koichi, since he doesn't know any, so we always communicate in Japanese. As we talked about our plans when he arrives, we became more and more excited about the future. We are great friends so it pleases me more to know that his arrival is not too far away.

In the follow up interview, he then described his desired self-image as a JFL user as: "communicating with people in Japan, reading it [Japanese] and writing it constantly just as I would in English." At the stage of the first interview, his ideal L2 self had been more career oriented (a self who works as a Japanese translator), while in the second interview, a communicative dimension was more emphasised. More specifically, after having a conversation with his Japanese friends, he seemed to more clearly imagine himself as someone who has the ability to communicate well in Japanese than before. It thus appears that Flynn's ideal L2 self has been influenced by sound relationships with his Japanese friends since these relationships were established, and that his recent successful and fulfilling experiences in communicating with his friends in Japanese were particularly important. This does not mean that Flynn stopped imagining himself as a translator in Japan, but rather than his ideal self seems to be multi-faceted, with his communication-oriented part more salient and his career-oriented side less salient at the time of the second interview. We can therefore argue that positive interpersonal relationships with Japanese people play an important role in constructing and expanding JFL learners' ideal L2 self.

To summarise, these findings suggest that JFL learners engage with a wide range of Japanese language or culture related activities and experiences in and beyond the classroom, and that there are many different ways in which they make sense of those experiences. It was also found that L2 selves were multi-faceted and did not simply stem from the social context or the person's desires or decisions; it is the interplay between individuals' intentionality and social structure that shaped these learners' L2 selves (Ushioda, 2009).

7 Discussion

This study aimed to bring together JFL learners with different motivational profiles in order to gain insight into their L2 selves, a topic which has received little attention in the literature on JFL learners' motivation. While some of the findings resonate with previous studies, the present study makes a number of contributions to the field of L2 self research and Japanese language education. First, utilising the form of case studies, this study reveals what kinds of L2 selves exist among JFL learners at an Australian university. It details the ideal and ought-to L2 selves found in 10 JFL learners, and discusses their motivational capacity, while existing case studies (e.g. Kim, 2009; Lamb, 2007, 2009) within L2 self research have often focused on a smaller number of learners attempting to learn English. The findings show that all the participants possessed an ideal L2 self of some sort, although an ought-to L2 self was found in only one participant. One would probably expect that more learners possess ought-to L2 selves because of the demanding nature of language

learning, but this phenomenon may correspond to the fact that JFL learners at the tertiary level normally opt for the language program, whereas many younger learners in Australia learn foreign language as a compulsory subject (Thomson, 2010). Further, in comparison to EFL/ESL learners who learn English mainly or partially because it is must-have educational knowledge, tertiary JFL learners usually learn Japanese for the sake of satisfying their own interests. We can therefore conclude that the L2 selves of JFL learners at a university seem likely to be dominated by ideal elements because there is generally less or no external obligation to learn Japanese in the university context.

Secondly, the current study revealed that the ideal L2 self of each individual learner differed greatly in its contents, as well as the elaborateness and quantity of procedural knowledge utilised to achieve the hoped self. In the particular context of this study, learners' motivational responses to L2 experiences were found to be more influential than contextual factors. This study was also unique among other relevant studies in that it utilised diary studies, which allowed it to successfully gain access to otherwise inaccessible introspection on the part of the participants. As formerly discussed, classic linear approaches to L2 motivation research have tended to pay less attention to individual differences in L2 experiences and the meaning-making process. Yet, the data gained through the diary studies have informed us of what range of L2 experiences JFL learners could come across in their lives, and how their responses to these experiences relate to their L2 selves.

Some L2 motivation research recently places a great deal of value on the dynamic aspect of L2 motivation in terms of its intensity (e.g. Campbell & Storch, 2011; Gardner et al., 2004). The present study also found that some participants transitioned through various different motivational phases in terms of the nature of their L2 selves even in the two-week period between interviews. As discussed earlier, the L2 selves of some participants had changed to become more positive about using Japanese for future work or those as more confident communicator between the first and second interview (e.g. Genji, Cala and Irene). While previous studies have shown that there are a number of factors that are associated with motivational changes, in this study one's meaning-making process of emerging L2 experiences in their life was found to significantly impact on their L2 self. As previously discussed, Jessica's need to do well in Japanese (i.e. ought-to L2 self) expanded with seeing off her younger sister when she went to Japan. Such expansion and changes in the nature of their L2 selves might be relevant to conditions that Dörnyei (2009) proposed facilitate the ideal L2 self-image's function as an effective motivator, namely, that an idea L2 self image needs to be strengthened, and should be counterbalanced by the feared self in order to maximise its effectiveness. On the other hand, participants who desired to use Japanese in their future lives seemed to have an ideal L2 self that was stable and resilient against daily ups and downs (e.g., Billie and Danielle). However, this stability is also related a proposed condition that the vision must be sustained so that it can generate realistic expectations (Dörnyei, 2009).

Furthermore, it was found that the spread of one's target language in the world affects the elaborateness and vividness of one's L2 self. English positions itself as a global language and has now been studied as a first, second, or foreign language across the world. On the other hand, Japanese is commonly spoken only in Japan, and at the global level there are considerably less learning resources available for JFL learners than those for EFL learners. In the light of this situation, there is a limited range of jobs that are directly related to the Japanese language, and therefore some of the JFL learners' job prospects could be somewhat vague and abstract despite their determination to use Japanese in their future careers. This was particularly overt in the cases of Danielle and Jessica, who strongly wished to use Japanese in the future but had not determined how to do so: "I hope Japanese eventually takes me somewhere." (Jessica) As previously stated, for the ideal L2 self to exert its motivational power, it needs to be accompanied by specific plans and procedural knowledge.

The task for language teachers is therefore to scaffold students to devise tactics for effectively achieving their desired end-states. One way of scaffolding would be to organise career networking events, an idea beginning to see implementation in Australian universities. Here, learners meet with representatives of companies or organisations who are seeking potential candidates with language skills and sound intercultural awareness or interpersonal skills gained through language

learning experience. This way, learners can see how they can relate their language learning experiences to their career, and discover what career options and opportunities are now available to them. Inviting successful life-long language learners as guest speakers to classes could also serve as a scaffolding tool, since positive role models can inspire learners by illustrating an ideal self, highlighting possible achievements that one can strive for, and demonstrating the route for achieving them (Lockwood, Jordan, & Kunda, 2002). That is, the guest speakers' successes can be used to foster the creation of learners' L2 selves. Less expensive ideas include introducing some success stories of language learners in class, or interviewing alumni or students who are currently studying or working in Japan online using video chat software.

The results also suggest that the visitor session is perceived as one of the most favoured learning activities by JFL learners in Australia, although this does not bar it from being potentially disappointing in content or the ways in which it is organised. For the majority of the participants, finding opportunities to practice their speaking with native Japanese speakers was one of their greatest challenges. Engaging learners' current self by providing more opportunities to develop their communication abilities through interaction with native speakers of the target language may enhance learners' self-confidence, which, in turn, helps them imagine a fluent speaking self (Ushioda, 2009). In this connection, interaction with local (non-native) friends who share the common interests in the L2 or its culture was found to be as influential to the construction of an L2 self as communicating with native speakers. Any opportunities that can give JFL learners chance to meet with other Japanese speakers, regardless of proficiency, may give them a chance to discuss issues related to Japanese that go beyond the confines of a classroom.

8 Limitation of the study and suggestions for future research

Despite producing a number of findings relevant to Japanese language education, the current investigation was limited by a number of factors. Firstly, as the participants who volunteered to take part in this study may inherently have greater learning motivation than others, the results of the current study cannot be generalised to all of the students who belong to the category of upper-intermediate or advanced JFL learners. Accordingly, a larger-scale study that examines diverse JFL learners in terms of L2 learning history and proficiency, as well as cultural background, is strongly recommended.

Moreover, the current study also acknowledges difficulties in obtaining a true picture of ideal/ought-to selves of the participants mainly through interviews. In particular, it is difficult to examine the changes of their selves between the interviews that were two weeks apart. Although the current study has presented a number of cases in which strong evidence of changes in L2 selves was found, some participants describe different self-images to avoid repetition, or because different parts of L2 selves which do not represent a fundamental change in their multi-faceted L2 selves might be the top of their minds. As Dörnyei (2005) argues, language-learning motivation continues to fluctuate over time, and in the context of learning a language for a lengthy period of time motivation can go through rather diverse phases. Hence, a long-term study with multi-method approaches would be of great help in obtaining clearer pictures of JFL learners' L2 selves, as well as examining how these pictures would change over time.

Notes

¹ A type of visa that allows young people to enter the other countries primarily for a holiday over an extended period and to engage in employment as an incidental aspect of their trip in order to supplement their travel funds

² Kurata (2011) claims that JFL learners in Australia tend to be able to establish social networks in which native speakers of Japanese were participants on an equal footing, such as friends and/or peers, in Australia and/or Japan and that these learners can engage in a wide range of activities with their friends. Nevertheless, Kurata also indicates that the same learners sometimes have difficulty gaining access to informal interactions in Japanese in these networks, in particular, in the university domain due to divergent goals of interactions between the learners and their friends, and the dominance of English in the community, amongst other things.

³ A social club for JFL learners and Japanese students at the participants' university.

References

- Al-Shehri, A. (2009). Motivation and vision: The relation between the ideal L2 self, imagination and visual style. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 164–171). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Bailey, K. M., & Ochsner, R. (1983). A methodological review of the diary studies: Windmill tilting or social science? In K. M. Bailey, M. H. Long & S. Peck (Eds.), *Second language acquisition studies* (pp. 188–198). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Buasaengtham, A., & M. Yoshinaga. (2015). Raifu sutoorii kara mirareta hikanjiken nihongo gakushusha no kanji gakushu e no doukizuke: L2 Motivational Self System no kanten kara [Motivation for kanji study in Japanese language learners from non-kanji countries as seen from their life story: A study from the perspective of L2 Motivational Self]. *Tabunka Shakai to Ryuugakusei Kouryuu*, 19, 13–34.
- Busse, V., & Walter, C. (2013). Foreign language learning motivation in higher education: A longitudinal study of motivational changes and their causes, *The Modern Language Journal*, 97(2), 435–456.
- Campbell, E., & Storch, N. (2011). The changing face of motivation: A study of second language learners' motivation over time. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 34(2), 166–192.
- Chen, S.-A. (2012). Motivation and possible selves: An interview study of Taiwanese EFL learners, *Language Education in Asia*, 3(1), 50–59.
- Csizér, K., & Kormos, J. (2009). Learning experiences, selves and motivated learning behaviour: A comparative analysis of structural models for Hungarian secondary and university learners of English. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self*. (pp. 98–119). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Csizér, K., Kormos, J., & Sarkadi, A. (2010). The dynamics of language learning attitudes and motivation: Lessons from an interview study of dyslexic language learners. *The Modern Language Journal*, 94, 470–487.
- de Krester, A., & Spence-Brown, R. (2010). *The current state of Japanese language education in Australian schools*. Carlton South: Educational Services Australia Ltd.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2005). *The psychology of the language learner: Individual differences in second language acquisition*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2009). The L2 motivational self system. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 9–24). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Dörnyei, Z., & Csizér, K. (2002). Some dynamics of language attitudes and motivation: Results of a longitudinal nationwide survey. *Applied Linguistics*, 23, 421–462.
- Dörnyei, Z., & Ushioda, E. (2009) *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Engeström, Y. (1999). Activity theory and individual and social transformation. In Y. Engeström, R. Mietinen & R. L. Punamäki (Eds.), *Perspectives on activity theory* (pp. 19 – 38). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gardner, R., & Lambert, W. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation in second language learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Gardner, R., Masgoret, A.-M., Tennant, J., & Mihic, L. (2004). Integrative motivation: Changes during a year-long intermediate-level language course. *Language Learning*, 54(1), 1–34.
- Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review*, 94, 319–340.
- Kim, T. J. (2006). Interview method development for qualitative study of ESL motivation. *Foreign Languages Education*, 13(2), 231–256. Retrieved from <http://works.bepress.com/taeyoungkim/2>
- Kim, T. J. (2009). The sociocultural interface between ideal self and ought-to self: A case study of two Korean students' ESL motivation. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 274–294). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Kormos, J., Kiddle, T., & Csizér, K. (2011). Systems of goals, attitudes, and self-related beliefs in second-language-learning motivation. *Applied Linguistics*, 32, 495 – 516.
- Kurata, N. (2011). *Foreign language learning and use: Interaction in informal social networks*. London: Continuum.
- Lamb, M. (2007). The impact of school on EFL learning motivation: An Indonesian case-study. *TESOL Quarterly* 41(4), 757–780.
- Lamb, M. (2009). Situating the L2 self: Two Indonesian school learners of English. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 229–247). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

- Lockwood, P., Jordan, C. H., & Kunda, Z. (2002). Motivation by positive or negative role models: Regulatory focus determines who will best inspire us. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83(4), 854–864.
- MacIntyre, P. D., Mackinnon, S. P., & Clément, R. (2009). Toward the development of scale to assess possible selves as a source of language learning motivation. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 193–214). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist*, 41, 954–969.
- Marriott, E. H. (2004). A programmatic exploration of issues in the academic interaction of Japanese students overseas. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 14(1), 33–54.
- Matsumoto, M. (2009). Persistence in Japanese language study and learners' cultural/linguistic backgrounds. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 32(2), 10.1–10.17.
- Matsumoto, M., & Obana, Y. (2001). Motivational factors and persistence in learning Japanese as a foreign language. *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 3, 95–86.
- Nakamura, T. (2015). Motivation for learning Japanese and other additional languages: A study of L2 self-images across multiple languages. *New Voices in Japanese Studies*, 7, 39–58.
- Neustupný, J. V. (2004). A theory of contact situations and the study of academic interaction. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 14(1), 3–31.
- Northwood, B., & Thomson, C. K. (2012). What keeps them going? Investigating ongoing learners of Japanese in Australian universities. *Japanese Studies*, 32(3), 335–355.
- Oyserman, D., & Markus, H. R. (1990). Possible selves and delinquency. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59(1), 112–125.
- Oyserman, D., Bybee, D., Terry, K., & Hart-Johnson, T. (2004). Possible selves as roadmaps. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 38, 130–149.
- Ryan, S. (2009). Self and identity in L2 Motivation in Japan: The ideal L2 self and Japanese learners of English. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 120–143). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Sealey, A., & Carter, B. (2004). *Applied linguistics as social science*. London: Continuum.
- Taguchi, T., Magid, M., & Papi, M. (2009). The L2 motivational self system amongst Chinese, Japanese, and Iranian learners of English: A comparative study. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 66–97). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Thomson, C. K. (2010). Oosutoraria no nihongo gakushuushazoo o saguru [Understanding Australian learners of Japanese]. *Oosutoraria kenkyuu kiyoo [Australian Studies Bulletin]*, 36, 157–170.
- Unemori, P., Omeregie, H., & Markus, H. (2004). Self-portraits: Possible selves in European-American, Chilean, Japanese and Japanese-American cultural contexts. *Self and Identity*, 3(4), 321–338.
- Ushioda, E. (2001). Language learning at university: Exploring the role of motivational thinking. In Z. Dörnyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and second language acquisition* (pp. 93–124). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii.
- Ushioda, E. (2009). A person-in context relational view of emergent motivation, self and identity. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation language identities and the L2 self* (pp. 215–228). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Ushioda, E. (2011). Language learning motivation, self and identity: Current theoretical perspectives. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 24(3), 199–210.
- Yung, Y., & Luk, L. (2010). Motivational factors in the continuation of Japanese language study. *Monash University Linguistics Papers*, 7(1), 13–33.
- White, C., & Ding, A. (2009). Identity and self in e-language teaching. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identities and the L2 self* (pp. 333–349). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Appendix

Semi-structured interview questions

I - Motivated behaviour and effort for Japanese study

- 1) Why are you interested in learning Japanese?
- 2) If a Japanese course were not offered at Monash University, would you try to obtain Japanese lessons somewhere else?
- 3) What is your main goal for learning Japanese?
- 4) Do you have any specific plans for achieving the goal?
- 5) Do you work hard at learning Japanese?

- 6) What are your perceived challenges in improving your Japanese?
- 7) Do you use Japanese outside of school?
- 8) Do you want to visit or live in Japan?
- 9) Who are you studying Japanese for? Yourself, or someone else?

II - L2 History and use

- 1) What is your most pleasant memory as a Japanese language learner? How did it affect your motivation for learning Japanese?
- 2) What is your most unpleasant memory as a Japanese language learner? How did it affect your motivation for learning Japanese?
- 3) Is there anyone who has influenced you or encouraged you to learn Japanese?
- 4) What personal events or family incidents have affected your Japanese study?
- 5) Have you ever considered stopping Japanese study? If yes, why?

III - Learning Environment

- 1) How do you feel about your Japanese teacher's teaching style?
- 2) When you have a problem understanding something during class, do you ask the teacher for help?
- 3) What do you think about the learning activities and materials used in class?
- 4) Is there any particular student in your class who hinders your learning?
- 5) Do you have a particular friend(s) in your Japanese class? How do they help you with your Japanese study?
- 6) Other than your teacher, is there anyone who helps you with your Japanese study?
- 7) Do you have Japanese friends in Melbourne? Please describe your friendship with them.

IV. Sociocultural context

- 1) How do you feel about learning Japanese as a foreign language in Australia?
- 2) Is Japanese language skill or ability important in your country?
- 3) (*Only to international students) How did you find learning Japanese in Australia compared with doing so in your country?
- 4) How do you think your current socioeconomic status is related to your life as a language learner?
- 5) What learning tools or resources do you have access to? How and why do you use them?
- 6) What is your family's attitude towards Japanese study?

V. The participants' L2 self

- 1) What do you think your Japanese proficiency level is?
- 2) Among the four macro skills, which one(s) is most necessary or important for you?
- 3) To improve the skill(s) mentioned above, what effort do you make?
- 4) Do you feel or have you ever felt obligated to learn Japanese? What was the factor?
- 5) Do you think you have a particular identity/personality when you use Japanese? Please describe how the identity/personality differs from the one that emerges when you speak your first language?
- 6) Do you imagine yourself using Japanese in your future career? If so, please describe as specifically as possible.
- 7) Can you imagine yourself speaking Japanese fluently in the future?