

MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS AND PERSISTENCE IN LEARNING JAPANESE AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE*

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This paper aims to discuss correlation of motivation with learning Japanese as a foreign language (JFL). It will investigate what features borne from the learning process are key factors that motivate learners to continue, and whether or not motivational features differ between continuing and discontinuing students, and at different proficiency levels. Motivation is one of the most important prerequisites for learning. It is often compared to the engine (intensity) and steering wheel (direction) of a car (Gage and Berliner, 1984). Hilgard *et al.* (1979) state that motivation is concerned with those factors which energise behaviour and give it direction. Motivation in education is generally understood as a trigger of students' thought of engaging in a particular subject, and maintains the intensity of acquiring the knowledge of the subject. Logan (1969: 155) says that 'motivation affects the way you practice, what you observe and what you do. And there are what you learn.'

Motivation is also an important factor in learning a foreign language. When learners start learning, they may already have some motives, and as they learn, they will experience various psychological stages. Because it takes a certain length of time for learners to reach a certain level of proficiency (and perhaps it takes longer, the more different the target language is from their first language), their initial motives may or may not change while learning. As they learn the language and its cultural background, they may pick up some stimulus that may become a new motive for them to continue their study. Other learners may find the same stimulus as hampering their learning, and terminate their study.

Motivation has been much discussed and theorised in educational psychology. On the other hand, studies in Second Language Acquisition

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(SLA) have not extensively explored motivational factors specific to language learning. Undoubtedly, education in general and SLA share common grounds due to their basic nature of 'learning in education'. Thus, studies in SLA have adopted some theories from educational psychology (e.g. 'achievement theory' and 'attribution theory' are commonly discussed in SLA studies). However, some motivational categories are quite exclusive to SLA; for example, Lambert and Gardner's (1959) distinction between instrumental and integrative motivations, and MacNamara's (1973) emphasis on 'communication' as a driving force in learning a second language. MacNamara, and Lambert and Gardner's integrative motivation refer to the fundamental nature of learning a foreign language as communicating with native speakers of the language, and as succeeding in becoming part of the community where the target language is spoken (This does not necessarily mean that, for example, learners of Japanese will end up living in Japan; 'part of the community' here means, in a broader sense, that even while residing elsewhere, they may keep in touch with the community and its members whether or not Japanese is used in a future profession). This feature is more distinctive in SLA than learning school subjects in general.

Because this paper aims to examine motivation in learning Japanese as a foreign language, our interest is limited to those features relevant to SLA. We will not discuss the details of educational motivation in general, unless our discussion requires elements from theories in educational psychology. The significance of this paper lies in our interest in eliciting factors which motivate learners to *continue* learning, rather than those which *achieve* success in learning, which is a common concern in traditional SLA studies. We do not deny a clear connection between motivation and success in learning. However, we have also empirically witnessed that some students terminate and others continue learning Japanese, regardless of their results (though 95 per cent of the students in tertiary education pass the exams, and in a sense they are successful in fulfilling their academic tasks). As far as language learning is concerned, those who are strongly motivated to continue are, after all, successful learners, as language learning is an open-end business, and may last long after the completion of academic study. Therefore, we believe that motives for continuation should be of more primary importance than those for a mere success in high grades.

In SLA studies, the terms, 'foreign' and 'second' language learning, are not clearly distinguished (e.g. Richards *et al.* 1992; Ellis 1985). Thus, 'foreign language acquisition' is often considered to be a subcategory of 'second language acquisition.' On the other hand, Klein (1986) and Oxford (1990) distinguish these two terms, asserting that a foreign language is taught as a school subject, but not used or readily available in the community where the language is taught, while a second language is a medium of communication in the community. In this paper, we differentiate 'foreign' from 'second language learning'. This is because we believe that different settings, learning environments and language situations may give rise to different motivational factors. For example, external stimuli differ between foreign and second language learning; the latter offers more opportunities for learners to practice what they learned, and its social utility is more direct than the former. Even before starting to learn a language, situations in foreign and second language

learning present different external factors, and will surely influence learners' motivation.

Review of Studies on Motivation in SLA

'Motivation' has been extensively explored in psychology. The primary role of motivation, which applies to every human conduct, is to execute human needs. Human needs may vary, from basic needs (such as need for 'food' and 'sleep') to intellectual needs (such as need to know and understand). Maslow's (1954) 'Hierarchy of Needs' classifies human needs ascending from basic physiological needs (e.g. need for food) to higher needs such as needs for knowledge, aesthetic needs, and need to fulfil self-actualisation. Educational psychology pays more attention to higher levels of needs in Maslow's Hierarchy. Such needs can be further sub-categorised, and different focuses and emphases on different needs have led to the development of various theories, such as 'achievement theory' (e.g. Atkinson, 1957; Weiner and Kukla, 1970), 'attribution theory' (e.g. Heider, 1958; Frieze and Weiner, 1971; Weiner, 1979), and 'situated motivation' (e.g. Paris and Turner 1994). Recently, motivation is considered to play a self-regulatory role in learning, thus, further studies on self-regulation have become one of major topics in educational psychology (e.g. Garcia & Pintrich, 1994; Zimmerman, 1994 & 1998; Meece, 1994; Schunk, 1994 to mention a few).

Motivation in SLA studies may share many features with that in educational psychology. As 'learning' is a thread through both areas, many motivational factors in educational psychology may apply to SLA. For example, O'Malley and Chamot's (1990:159f) statement on SLA support the primary concern of 'Achievement Theory':

Students who have experienced success in learning have developed confidence in their own ability to learn. They are therefore likely to approach new learning tasks with a higher degree of motivation than students, who, because they have not been successful in the past, may have developed a negative attitude towards their ability to learn.

On the other hand, SLA studies have also shown their idiosyncratic development (See Spolsky (2000), who summarises the history of motivation in SLA studies). This is mainly because the learning of a foreign/second language 'involves far more than simply learning skills, or a system of rules, or a grammar; it involves an alteration in self-image, the adoption of new social and cultural behaviours and ways of being, and therefore has a significant impact on the social nature of the learner.' (Williams & Burden, 1997:115).

One of the most extensive studies on motivation in SLA was conducted by Gardner and his associates (Gardner and Lambert, 1959 & 1972; Gardner and Smythe *et al.*, 1976; Gardner, 1968, 1979 & 1985). They draw a distinction between integrative and instrumental orientation to second language learning. The former means that the learner wishes to identify him/herself as part of the community where the target language is spoken. The latter occurs when the learner finds the utilitarian value in learning a language, such as a future career perspective. Gardner and his associates conclude that it is integrative motivation which promotes second/foreign language acquisition

more successfully. Spolsky (1969) supports this conclusion from the result of his study on foreign students learning English at American universities.

However, Gardner and his associates' research has been criticised and considered not to apply universally to language learning. For example, Lukmani's (1972) study of Indian students learning English in Bombay supports instrumental motivation. Strong (1984) did not find any significant correlation between integrative motivation and high achievement in language learning. Also, other studies pointed to a lack of direct evidence for integrative motivation, especially in the contexts of English as a foreign language (EFL) (e.g. Dörnyei, 1990; Skehan, 1991; Wenden, 1987). On the other hand, Kaylani's (1996) result neither accepts nor rejects Gardner and his associates' socio-psychological explanation.

Criticism of Gardner and his associates' claim, however, does not necessarily mean that their research result is not validated. Motivational factors may differ according to different age groups, different environments where the target language is taught and different expectations of the society where learners reside. Also, a typological difference between first and second/foreign languages may affect learners' motivation. For example, Strong (1984) examined pre-school children learning a foreign language, producing an opposing result to Gardner and Lambert's (1959) study of high school students. We doubt that these results are comparable because different age groups may give rise to different motivational factors. Given the same age group (high school students) examined by Lukmani (1972), and Gardner and Lambert (1959), Lukmani's concern was with Bombay students learning English while Gardner and Lambert with English speakers learning French in Montreal, Canada. Apparently, these situations are similar in that the target language is available in the community where learners reside. However, while English is a powerful social tool and a status symbol in India, French in Canada may not experience so strong a social drive.

Foreign language learning also needs to be more carefully examined. For example, Gardner and Lambert (1972) conducted studies of English speakers learning French as a school subject. Their result stressed the importance of integrative motivation. On the other hand, EFL studies (Dörnyei, 1990; Skehan, 1991; Wenden, 1987) presented opposing results. Our question is whether or not French learnt by English speakers is comparable with English taught in foreign countries. EFL is much more prevalent in the world than any other foreign language. English is nowadays an international language, and thus, whether it is a foreign or second language, it already promotes instrumental motivation due to its high social expectations. Therefore, learning English is more directly connected with its utilitarian purpose than with a particular culture (e.g. learning Australian culture). On the other hand, learning French (and also many other foreign languages) may intrigue a more integrative motivation. Considering its social availability and expectation that is far less than that of English, learners of French may need to exercise other motives whereby they will continue learning the language.

The primary purpose of the present paper is not to examine whether instrumental or integrative motivation is more strongly generated in learners' minds. Nonetheless, one of our concerns remains an interest in whether or not the case of JFL at the university level in Australian society differs from the experience discussed in previous works.

Our Research on Motivation

Our present study focuses on the so-called ‘learning persistence’, which has been extensively studied by Bartley (1970), Gardner and Smythe (1975), Gardner, Smythe, Clément and Gliksmann (1976), Gardner, Ginsberg and Smythe (1976) and Ramage (1990). Although these studies vary in their conclusions, such as Bartley’s focus on ‘attitudes’ and Gardner and Smythe’s value of ‘aptitude’, their common interest is to know what factors will make learners continue their study. Our study, focussing on university students learning Japanese in Australia, is interested in what features of motivation enable learners to continue their study. This is because we have seen some learners persist in learning, despite many hurdles hampering their continuation. Firstly, one half of the subjects referred to in this paper are native speakers of English, and learning Japanese for them is a longer process than learning other European languages. Komiya-Samimy and Tabuse (1992) show that it takes three or four times longer for American students to reach the same level of oral skills in Japanese as it does in French or Spanish.

Table 1
Enrollment Numbers in Japanese Language Courses

UNIVERSITIES:		Queensland	*QUT	Adelaide	WA	NSW	Melbourne	Bond
Year	Sem. 1	282	150	156	61	300	158	24
1	Sem. 2	203	90	150	48	180	122	15
Year	Sem. 1	123	**100	104	***69	120	109	****19
2	Sem. 2	111	80	97	55	120	99	6
Year	Sem. 1	87	60	76	41	90	96	5
3	Sem. 2	68	50	69	36	90	98	3

*QUT = Queensland University of Technology

** This number includes a recent graduate from high schools.

*** This number includes 38 recent high school graduates.

**** This number includes 6 recent high school graduates.

Secondly, ‘culture-shock’ is more striking for Westerners learning Japanese. Language learning involves learning culture, tradition, manners and customs. During this process, learners will experience the need to create another self-identity to fit into the community of the target language. The more different the first language is from the target language, the more ‘culture-shock’ learners may experience. Oxford (1990:142) says that anxiety is caused by culture shock, and too much or little anxiety will not produce successful language learning. Thirdly, the environment for learning is limited only to classrooms or at most to some communication with a limited number of Japanese peoples residing in Australia. This means that learners cannot

expect to be stimulated by their environment. Therefore, compared with conducive environments such as learning a similar language to the learner's first language, and learning a language which is a functional tool in the community, many non-conductive elements are involved in learning Japanese in Australia.

Despite these apparent difficulties, the number of learners of Japanese has been increasing in Australian universities. Currently nearly 20,000 students are learning Japanese at tertiary institutions (Japan Foundation's survey, 1997). However, it is also a fact that the number of learners considerably decreases as they advance to a higher level (See the **Table 1**). It is, therefore, worthwhile to see how continuing students maintain their learning persistence, and what is a major difference between continuing and discontinuing students.

Methodology

We conducted our survey at three universities: the University of Queensland, Griffith University on the Gold Coast, and Bond University. The subjects were either beginners or at intermediate levels. The former had no or very little experience of learning Japanese, and the latter had varied lengths of experience, from more than one to a few years, including studies at high school; however, students at this level are still in the process of learning basic grammar.[†] We did not investigate higher intermediate or advanced levels that provide authentic materials after learning all the basic grammar.[‡]

Two questionnaires were used at the beginning and the end of the semester (or term). The subjects were asked to write their names on each questionnaire, so that the researchers could detect how subjects changed their interest and attitude during the semester. The questionnaire consisted of yes-no questions, multiple-choice questions and marking scales. Multiple-choice questions also had columns for the subjects to provide their own answers, in order to obtain unpredicted viewpoints. Concerning marking scales; we used a Likert-type scale to detect the strength of the subjects' interest towards cultural issues in Japan, commitment to Japanese language study, and intention to continue study.

[†] The range of the basic grammar of Japanese may vary according to different texts. Also, the distinction between beginners' and intermediate levels is different between Japan and Australia (for example, the so-called 'advanced levels' in Australia are considered to be 'intermediate in Japan). In our understanding (perhaps this is commonly accepted in many Australian universities), basic grammar means what is covered by textbooks for beginners in general. For example, the textbook, 'Japanese for Beginners' is used at the University of Queensland. The first half of the book is learnt by beginners, the second half by intermediate students in Stream A. All the grammatical items covered in this textbook typically refer to basic grammar.

[‡] The reason for not investigating higher levels is that we anticipate that students at these levels most likely continue their study in order to obtain their degree. At this stage, regardless of their interest in learning the language, they strive to complete their study. On the other hand, at lower levels, although the completion of their study may be one of factors for students to continue, it is possible that strongly negative attitudes towards learning Japanese may enable students to terminate their study and change subjects.

The questionnaire conducted at the beginning of the course (QB) consisted of five categories: (1) personal data - the subject's name, age, sex, place of birth, first language, and the experience of other foreign languages; (2) reasons for studying Japanese; (3) the history of learning Japanese; (4) interest in aspects of the Japanese language and its culture, society and current issues; (5) intention and commitment rates. The questionnaire conducted at the end of the semester (QE) consisted of questions on how the subject's interest, attitude and commitment changed, what were the major factors that led to a change in his/her attitude, and questions on intention to continue and commitment rates. The questionnaire was originally intended to study more than what we will discuss in this paper, such as gender differences in learning Japanese, ethnic differences, and whether the previous knowledge of another foreign language affects persistence in learning Japanese. These aspects are equally important in investigating finer points on motivation. However, the present paper will limit its scope to major factors that determine learning persistence.

Questionnaires were given to and taken home by the students, and were collected by the researchers later. The data were statistically tabulated, and presented in tables, as shown in the next section. Because learners' changes in attitude, from favourable to unfavourable, and from continuing to discontinuing, and *vice versa*, are part of our main interest, the same subjects were expected to fill both a QB and a QE (This is the reason why we asked the subjects to write their names on the questionnaire). However, as some questionnaires were not returned, and some students deferred before the QE was conducted, the number of QBs does not coincide with that of QEs. Therefore, tables are organised with percentages rather than actual numbers of answers, except some (such as 'interest in cultural things') showing the number of answers where response rate is low.

Table 2-1
Comparison Between QB and QE,
and the Strength of the Intention to Continue the Study

	Elementary			Intermediate		
	QB	QE	QE - QB	QB	QE	QE - QB
C	126	53	---	95	58	---
D	31	35	---	3	2	---
Total	157	88	---	98	60	---
C per total	80.3%	60.2%	- 20.1%	96.9%	96.7%	-0.2%
S.I.	3.38	NA	---	3.52	NA	---

C = students who intend to continue the study

D = students who intend to discontinue the study

C per total = percentage of the continuing students per total number of the group

S.I. = mean score of the strength of students' intention for the continuation (Highest score = 4)

Findings

We received 157 and 88 responses at the time of QB and QE respectively at the elementary level, and 98 (QB) and 60 (QE) at the intermediate level. **Table 2-1** shows the number of students intending to continue or discontinue their study of Japanese. This question was provided in both QB and QE. The table reads that, at the elementary level, 80.3 per cent of the students intended to continue at the time of QB, but this had decreased to 60.2 per cent at the time of QE. On the other hand, the students at the intermediate level showed a much steadier rate of intention to continue (96.9 per cent at the time of QB and 96.7 per cent at the time of QE).

This implies that the less experience students had with language learning, the more readily they cease to study. We do not deny that some students at the elementary level study Japanese as an elective subject only for a semester, but this should have been indicated at the time of QB. More attention must be drawn to the significantly decreased number at the time of QE (a drop of 20.1 percentage points). Also, it is noteworthy, as shown in **Table 2-2**, that, at the elementary level, students with a non-*kanji* background decreased in number between QB and QE to a much larger degree than those with a *kanji* background; i.e., a 35.4 per cent drop compared with a 6.8 per cent drop.[§] On the other hand, the intermediate level does not show such a difference; that is, the students with both *kanji* and non-*kanji* backgrounds intend to continue their study.

Table 2-2
The Number of Kanji and non-Kanji Background Students at the Elementary and Intermediate Levels

	Elementary						Intermediate					
	QB		QE		QE - QB		QB		QE		QE - QB	
	Ka	Nk	Ka	Nk	Ka	Nk	Ka	Nk	Ka	Nk	Ka	Nk
C	60	66	31	22	---	---	32	63	20	38	---	---
D	24	7	17	18	---	---	2	1	1	1	---	---
Total	84	73	48	40	---	---	34	64	21	39	---	---
C per	71.4	90.4	64.6	55.0	-6.8	-35.4	94.1	98.4	95.2	97.4	1.1	-1.0
Total	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Ka = students with kanji background

[§] A *kanji* (Chinese character) background is distinguished from a non-*kanji* background on the grounds of either actual knowledge of Chinese or Korean as a first or native language (linguistic affinity to Japanese) and/or of familiarity with East Asian culture due to upbringing (psychological or cultural affinity). These features roughly match students' ethnic background. The non-*kanji* background students were largely native speakers of English, brought up in western culture, but a few students had knowledge of another European language as their first language.

Nk = students without kanji background

C per total = percentage of the continuing students per total number of the group

Students may have a variety of motives to begin learning Japanese, and these may or may not change during the study. The lesser they were exposed to Japanese previously, the greater gap they might find between their expectations and the reality of learning the language. Although we cannot extract their psychological changes only from the questionnaires, we assume that previous experience of learning Japanese may help students have more realistic expectations, such as a better understanding of the degree of difficulty in learning, the possible outcome of their study for one semester, and necessary learning strategies.

At the elementary level, it is indeed not entirely pleasurable to spend the first several weeks on learning characters and a phonetic system of the language. It also takes a considerable length of time, especially for English speakers, to memorise words and phrases which have no association with their mother tongue. In spite of their tremendous effort, what is gained at the end of the first semester is not a communicative proficiency, but only some fragments of sentences and greetings. Our question is what factors keep learners at this stage motivated to continue learning. This will be further discussed below and in the next section.

The intention of continuing learning seems to be closely related to degrees of commitment (**Table 3**). The subjects were asked to choose a number (1 to 4 on the scale, 'very weak' to 'very strong'), to judge their commitment to Japanese studies. This is a subjective judgement; the question may be interpreted in varied ways; e.g. learners' time and effort spent on their study, their interest in learning, and/or their emotional attachment to some aspects related to language learning, etc. Whatever their interpretations are, our attention is drawn to the correlation between their intention to continue and their commitment rates.

Table 3
Mean Score of the Strength of Commitment
to Japanese Language Study
(Highest score = 4.00)

	Elementary			Intermediate		
	QB	QE	QE - QB	QB	QE	QE - QB
C	3.21	3.01	-0.20	3.18	3.16	-0.02
D	2.84	2.70	-0.14	3.33	2.50	-0.83

C = Continuing students

D = Discontinuing students

In general, continuing students have more commitment to their study than discontinuing students. It seems that the intention of continuing provides more commitment to the study. It is also noted that a drop in the strength of commitment from QB to QE is greater at the elementary level than at the intermediate level (particularly in the case of continuing students). We assume

that this is related, as previously mentioned, to elementary level learners finding a greater gap between their expectation before study and the actual outcome (or even process) of learning the language. Thus, the less previous experience of learning Japanese, the more likely learners face such a gap, and the greater the gap is, the more disappointment they experience, which may hamper their motivation to continue. This is the gap between self-efficacy and the outcome. 'Self-efficacy' refers to personal beliefs about one's capabilities to learn or perform skills at designated levels (Schunk 1994: 75). Bandura (1982) says that self-referent thought to assess learners' abilities to perform the task (i.e. self-efficacy) influences their levels of goal-oriented behaviour. Self-efficacy is built up based on learners' competence, past experience and success with the task.

In this respect, learners of no or little knowledge of the target language do not easily succeed in estimating their self-efficacy. As mentioned before, language learning involves different features from other academic subjects, thus learners cannot resort to their previous experience of success in other subjects to establish their efficacy level. Therefore, learners with less experience of language learning may face a greater gap between their expectations and the actual outcome, which may result in their failure, disappointment, and/or loss of confidence to continue. This will be further elaborated in the next section.

Table 4
Degrees of Interest in the Five Categories

	Elementary						Intermediate					
	QB		QE		QE - QB		QB		QE		QE - QB	
	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D	C	D
I.J.L	97.6%	93.5%	98.1%	91.4%	0.5%	-2.1%	100%	100%	94.8%	100%	-5.2%	0%
Strength	3.46	3.12	3.30	2.97	-0.16	-0.15	3.46	3.67	3.43	3.00	-0.03	-0.67
I.J.P.	94.4%	93.5%	88.7%	85.7%	-5.7%	-7.8%	100%	100%	94.8%	100%	-5.2%	0%
Strength	3.14	3.07	3.16	2.98	0.02	-0.09	3.32	3.67	3.25	3.00	-0.07	-0.67
I.J.C.	90.5%	96.8%	92.5%	82.9%	2.0%	-13.9%	96.8%	100%	91.4%	100%	-5.4%	0%
Strength	3.18	3.05	3.13	2.91	-0.05	-0.14	3.33	3.67	3.39	3.00	0.06	-0.67
I.J.S.	84.9%	77.4%	79.2%	62.9%	-5.7%	-14.5%	90.5%	66.7%	89.7%	100%	-0.8%	33.3%
Strength	2.99	2.88	2.94	3.00	-0.05	0.12	2.97	3.50	3.05	3.00	0.08	-0.50
I.J.B.	77.0%	61.3%	64.2%	45.7%	-12.8%	-15.6%	71.6%	66.7%	53.4%	50.0%	-18.2%	-16.7%
Strength	3.02	2.95	3.19	3.09	0.17	0.14	2.89	4.00	2.92	4.00	0.03	0

C = Continuing students

D = Discontinuing students

Strength = mean score of the strength of interest (Highest score = 4.00)

I.J.L. = Interest in Japanese language

I.J.P. = Interest in Japanese people

I.J.C. = Interest in Japanese culture

I.J.S. = Interest in Japanese society

I.J.B. = Interest in Japanese business

Table 4 shows the result of yes-or-no questions concerning interest (in Japanese culture, society, language and business); if the answer is ‘yes’, the subjects were further asked to circle a number (1 to 4 on the scale) to show their degree of interest in each item. Also, each question was broken down into particular items, and the subjects were asked to choose three items that were most interesting to them (The results are shown in **Tables 6 - 8** below). **Table 4** suggests that, in general, continuing students show stronger interest in the language and its related matters than discontinuing students. This is more evident in the result of QE. However, we must disregard the case of discontinuing students at the intermediate level, because the number of students answering the questions was only three and two at the time of QB and QE respectively, which is not of significance for our comparative study.

Interestingly, interest in Japanese business considerably changed at both elementary and intermediate levels. As time goes by, interest in Japanese business decreased. It is predictable that discontinuing students have become less interested in Japanese business as they would not expect their future to be directed to this area. However, decreasing interest in Japanese business is also significant in the case of continuing students. At the time of QB, when the subjects were asked of the purpose (reason) of their study, a significant number of elementary students answered ‘business’ compared with ‘cultural’ orientation, as shown in **Table 5**. The students at the intermediate level, on the other hand, are more culture-oriented than business-oriented; or precisely speaking, business orientation may remain a strong motive at the intermediate level, but cultural orientation becomes more significantly strong after some experience of learning Japanese.

Table 5
The Purpose of Learning Japanese Language

	Elementary			Intermediate		
	C	D	Total	C	D	Total
BO	68 (54.0%)	11 (35.5%)	79 (50.3%)	39 (41.0%)	3 (100%)	42 (42.8%)
CO	48 (38.1%)	15 (48.4%)	63 (40.1%)	47 (49.5%)	0	47 (48.0%)
RE	7 (5.5%)	4 (12.9%)	11 (7.0%)	5 (5.3%)	0	5 (5.1%)
PC	3 (2.4%)	1 (3.2%)	4 (2.6%)	4 (4.2%)	0	4 (4.1%)
Total	126 (100%)	31 (100%)	157 (100%)	95 (100%)	3 (100%)	98 (100%)

C = Continuing students

BO = Business oriented purposes

RE = Receptive reasons

D = Discontinuing students

CO = Culture oriented purposes

PC = Personal challenge

Tables 4 and **5** show that learning experience may change a learner’s interest, particularly from external (utilitarian purposes such as future careers) to internal factors triggered by the experience of learning the language. In other words, the initial motive to learn Japanese often comes from an expectation of the benefit of study, but it can be readily shifted to other motivational factors

which are borne from the actual experience of learning the language and its culture. Those who answered that they were interested in the Japanese language were asked to answer what aspects of the language were most fascinating, as shown in **Table 6**.

Table 6
What Aspect of Japanese Language is Most Fascinating

	Elementary		Intermediate	
	C	D	C	D
Number of students who are interested in Japanese language	47	20	45	1
The way of communication	17	6	17	0
The excitement in talking with Japanese people	10	6	19	0
Strong influence in business career	13	4	14	0
Difference from your mother tongue	12	2	11	1
Kanji	11	2	11	1
Written system	10	2	9	0
Sounds	7	2	10	0
Cultural background	7	2	9	1
Similarity to your mother tongue	7	2	9	0
How to express ideas	6	0	8	0
Easiness in learning	3	0	1	0
Grammatical sentence structure	2	0	7	0
Vocabulary	0	0	5	0
Dialects	0	0	1	0

In general, ‘ways of communication’ and ‘excitement in talking with Japanese people’ occupy the top two positions in the Table. The association of the language skill with future careers cannot be ignored (the third top), but those top two items signify that the Japanese language is regarded as a communicative rather than an utilitarian tool, and this trend is more outstanding at the intermediate level. Although less significant than the above, the intermediate level, compared with the elementary level, goes deeper into the system and background of the language. For example, the items such as ‘how to express ideas’, ‘grammatical structure’ and ‘vocabulary’ attracted more positive replies from students at the intermediate level. It is understandable that at the elementary level, learners may not have developed their insight into the language system or its background; thus, the number showing interest in these is less than that at the intermediate level. On the other hand, **Table 6** also implies that, compared with continuing students, discontinuing students at the elementary level are much less or the least

interested in these aspects of the language. This means that more experienced and committed learners go beyond a mere accumulation of language knowledge, and develop their insight into the abstract system of the language.

An interesting contrast is found between the items, ‘difference from’ and ‘similarity to your mother tongue’. This is because the subjects concerned were of *kanji* or of no-*kanji* background, which resulted in diverse replies. It is noteworthy that a different language from the mother tongue does not necessarily hamper student motivation; it may be more intriguing for learners to continue to study.

Table 7
What Kind of Japanese Culture is the Most Fascinating

	C	D	C	D
Number of students who are interested in Japanese culture	37	16	43	1
Life style	18	7	31	1
TV program	12	3	14	0
History	12	2	13	1
Comic books	13	5	5	0
Fashion	12	2	6	0
Traditional arts (i.e. flower arrangement)	7	3	11	0
Modern music	7	1	6	0
Movies	4	1	3	1
Traditional buildings	3	1	7	0
Economics	2	1	4	0
Spiritual things	2	0	8	0
Daily crafts	2	2	1	0
Politics	2	0	2	0
Modern architecture	2	0	0	0
Technology	2	0	0	0
Literature	1	0	4	0
Modern paintings	1	0	0	0
Comic cartoons	1	0	0	0
Traditional music	0	1	2	0
Traditional plays	0	1	1	0
Seasonal events	0	0	1	0
Cooking	0	0	1	0

Table 7 is the result of the question, ‘What aspects of Japanese culture are most interesting?’ In general, students at both elementary and intermediate levels were largely interested in so-called ‘popular culture’, issues such as ‘life styles’, ‘TV programmes’, ‘comic books’ and ‘fashion’. However, the intermediate level students show further interest in traditional culture, such as ‘literature’, ‘spiritual things’ (such as religion), ‘traditional buildings’, and ‘traditional arts’ (such as flower arrangement). Both levels show high interest in ‘history’.

This indicates that, at the beginning of learning the language, learners may be drawn to what is readily available from a textbook and through media; thus, popular culture may be the first choice of interest. As their level advances, learners develop their interest in what is obtained by reading other books, or joining activities outside class. Learners undertake these activities as voluntary pursuits rather than simply for academic fulfillment. As **Tables 2** and **3** show, the intention of continuing study and degrees of commitment to the study are higher at the intermediate level, which automatically predicts that the learners’ commitment at this level is not only to succeeding in their academic record, but also to further pursuing their understanding of culture underlying the language. This phenomenon is closely related to the result shown in **Table 6**. The intermediate level shows more interest in the system of the language and its background than the elementary level. As the level of proficiency in the language advances, learners’ interest shift from superficial (thus, readily available) to deeper (thus, more analytic or insightful) aspects of the language and its background.

Table 8
What Aspect of Japanese Society is Most Fascinating

	Elementary		Intermediate	
	C	D	C	D
Number of students who are interested in Japanese society	37	12	42	1
Japanese family	27	6	33	0
Educational system	14	1	18	0
Economic system	8	3	9	0
Company decision making	8	2	5	0
Media	6	4	11	1
Problem solving system	5	0	2	0
Marriage system	4	1	11	0
Political system	3	1	2	0
Military system	1	0	0	1
Hierarchy	1	0	1	0
Medical system	0	0	0	1
Social manners	0	0	1	0

Less significant though it may be, **Table 7** shows some difference between continuing and discontinuing students at the elementary level. While continuing students show interest in various aspects of Japanese culture, discontinuing students show much less interest in them (except 'life style' and 'comic books'). We cannot discuss the same comparison at the intermediate level as there is only one (out of two at the time of QE) reply from discontinuing students to this question.

Table 8 shows students' interest in aspects of Japanese society. In general, the item 'Japanese family' occupies the top position in the list. This item overlaps with 'life style' listed in **Table 7**. The second item in the list is 'educational system'. Together with the fifth item, 'marriage system', these three issues are readily comparable with the learners' own environment, and easy targets for cross-cultural studies. As business orientation was equally as strong a motive, as was found in the previous tables, students show great interest in the 'economic system' (the fourth top in the list) and 'company decision making' (the sixth top). This may also come from students' commitment to other studies in the university. Many students pursue dual degrees, and commerce and economics degrees are their favourite choices while studying Japanese in their Arts degree.

In the following, we will seek reasons for learners' change of mind during the course. Those who changed their intention to continue or discontinue, and/or changed their attitude to Japanese study during the course, were asked to choose reasons from the list or to write their own answer at the time of QE. These results are shown in **Tables 9 - 11**.

Table 9
Reasons for the Change from 'Continuing' to 'Discontinuing'

	Elementary	Intermediate
Number of students who changed their mind from C to D	13	1
Heavy workload	4	1
Anxiety of being left behind in the class	2	0
Kanji learning	1	0
Speaking practice	1	0
Listening practice	1	0
Pressure to pass the course	1	0
Teacher's attitude towards students	1	0
'Katakana' study	1	0
Repeating the same mistakes	1	0
Little improvement in spite of long, hard work	1	0
Difficulty in study compared to European languages	1	0
No time to continue	1	0
Graduating	1	0
To concentrate on major study	0	1

Table 9 shows that in total thirteen elementary students and one intermediate student answered 'yes' to the question about changing their mind from 'continuing' to 'discontinuing' during the course, and chose appropriate reasons for this. The number of such students in reality should be larger than that in the Table. This is because, for example, 88 elementary students responded to QE compared with 157 to QB, which indicates that those who decided to discontinue may have already withdrawn before the time of QE, although the difference in number also includes non-returned questionnaires.

Three categories of reasons were considered: teacher and class matters (e.g. class dynamics, teachers' attitude and teaching skills), actual language learning (e.g. speaking, *kanji* practice) and anxiety (e.g. pressure to pass the course, repeating mistakes). Among them, teacher and class matters did not attract replies as negative causes, except for one elementary student who responding to the item, 'teacher's attitude towards students'. All the other students considered the other categories to be major reasons for discontinuing. The result shown in **Table 9** confirm the assumption made earlier that the less learners are previously exposed to language learning, the greater gap they may find between their expectations and the reality, which may hamper their motivation to continue.

Table 10
Reasons for the Change from 'Discontinuing' to 'Continuing'

	Elementary	Intermediate
Number of students who changed their mind from D to C	13	1
Having found that Japanese is beneficial for the future	4	3
Teacher's attitude towards students	4	1
Clear improvement of Japanese	3	1
Class atmosphere	3	0
Method of teaching	3	0
Teacher's personal assistance	3	0
Good marks in assignments/exams	3	0
Classmates' attitude	2	0
Having found that being good at learning a language	1	2
Understanding Japan and Japanese culture	0	2
Well organized class	1	0
Small workload	1	0
Found a Japanese girl/boy friend	1	0
Pressure from the family	0	1
Course materials/textbooks	0	0

In contrast with **Table 9**, those who changed their mind from discontinuing to continuing (the result of which is shown in **Table 10**) responded positively to the items related to teacher and class matters. For example, ‘teacher’s attitude towards students’, ‘class atmosphere’, ‘teacher’s personal assistance’, and ‘method of teaching’ attracted many responses from such students. This will be further discussed in the next section.

Anxiety caused by heavy workload and the pressure to pass exams seems to have been a primary reason for losing motivation to continue (**Table 9**). However, when such anxiety is overcome, for instance, by improving their skills, learners may be readily motivated to continue their study (**Table 10**). This contrast refers to the so-called ‘achievement motivation’ in educational psychology. It is ‘the generalised tendency to strive for success and to choose goal-oriented, success/failure activities’ (Slavin 1988: 369).

Table 11
Reasons for the Students’ Changing Attitude to the Language Unfavorably.

	Elementary		Intermediate	
	C	D	C	D
Number of students who unfavorably changed their attitude towards Japanese	8	5	6	0
Japanese is more difficult than expected	7	4	6	---
Having bad marks	4	1	2	---
Not knowing how to study Japanese	3	0	0	---
Anxiety of being left behind in class	2	2	2	---
Teaching method	2	0	3	---
Teaching materials/textbooks	2	1	0	---
Having found that not being good at learning a language	2	0	0	---
Teacher’s attitude towards students	0	1	0	---
Heavy workload	0	1	0	---
The class did not offer what you wanted	0	0	3	---

Some additional opinions on the reasons:

Teacher’s teaching method

Monotonous practices (2)

More difficult than expected

More difficult than high school (1)

Grammar & Kanji study is too difficult (1)

Spent one year in Japan is not enough for reading & writing (1)

Anxiety of being left behind

No experience of visiting Japan though many classmates have (1)

Class does not offer what you need

Too much career-centered though wanting more cultural study (1)

In achievement theory, it is often not clear whether success in the study leads to high motivation or *vice versa*. Slavin (1988: 370) says that each contributes to the other; success breeds the desire for more success, which in turn breeds success. Our survey suggests that success generates motivation to continue, but does not clearly show that highly motivated students succeed in their study. However, compared with items related to teacher and class, 'improvement in Japanese' scored relatively low. The students chose more items related to 'enjoyable environments', which are created by teachers and classmates. Regardless of their proficiency level, language learners seem to be greatly concerned with *how* they learn in class rather than *how much* they have achieved. In **Table 10**, 'finding Japanese as beneficial for the future' scored highest at both elementary and intermediate levels. This reason supports 'instrumental motivation'. The table indicates that a future goal in language learning seems to be so powerful for students to change their mind from discontinuing to continuing their study.

Table 11 shows reasons for the students' changing their attitude to Japanese language from favourable to unfavourable. The result is closely related to that shown in **Table 9**, although in **Table 11**, students may or may not continue despite their unfavourable attitude to the language, while **Table 9** refers to those who will not continue their study. **Table 11** indicates that the reason, 'Japanese is more difficult than expected', won the highest score at both elementary and intermediate levels; also, at the elementary level, both continuing and discontinuing students responded to this item. This item correlates with 'bad marks', which predicts 'anxiety to be left behind in class'. These three items score quite high in the Table.

Discussion

Difference Between the Elementary and Intermediate Levels

Major differences between the elementary and intermediate levels are found in (1) degrees of commitment, (2) interest in things related to language learning, and (3) impact of features of 'teacher and class'. Concerning (1), the intermediate level shows more commitment to language studies than the elementary level. This phenomenon is closely related to different continuing rates between the two levels; the intermediate level intends to continue more steadily than the elementary level. We assume that degrees of commitment are correlated with (2) above; more interest in various things related to language learning will enhance learner commitment, thus, learner persistence. Our findings show that interest goes deeper and more widely at the intermediate level than the elementary level. For example, the former is directed towards the system of the language, communication with native speakers, and cultural things that require more self-study than mere academic fulfillment. As the level of proficiency advances, learners show a better understanding of the language system, which may become a new motive for learner persistence. Also, they start to communicate better with native speakers of the target language, which provides a good foundation for further pursuit of their study.

The ultimate aim of learning a foreign language is to interact with the community of the language. As mentioned before, language learning is like creating another social self, adjustable to a new environment (i.e. the society of the target language). This cannot be easily achieved only through knowledge of socio-cultural aspects of the language. It is accomplished through actual experience of language learning and interacting with native speakers by using the target language. For this reason, language is *acquired* rather than *learned*. Acquisition occurs unconsciously and spontaneously, while learning is conscious knowledge (Oxford 1990: 4). We believe that language acquisition includes the learner's psychological change through entering a new culture.

The above mentioned hardly occurs at the elementary level. This is because learners at this stage have to spend several weeks on mere mechanical study, such as learning Japanese characters and the phonetic system, and what is obtained at the end of the semester is some fragments of sentences and greetings. At this stage, their language level is not of communicative function. They have not yet grasped what is behind the language. Their interest in its culture remains superficial, and is not yet directed towards acquiring its deeper level. Nor do they start creating another social self. Therefore, it is difficult for learners at this stage to keep motivated unless they find something else to promote their learning persistence. Students of non-*kanji* background suffer more than those of *kanji* background because they have more difficulty in learning *kanji*, memorising vocabulary which has no association with their mother tongue, and relating themselves to a diverse culture. Thus, as our results show, students of non-*kanji* background at the elementary level considerably decrease in number towards the end of the semester.

What, then, is the most important factor for students at the elementary level to keep motivated in spite of many hurdles in learning? Our data indicate that the impact of features of 'teacher and class' is strong at this level. Learners at this level cannot resort to communication for their learning persistence, nonetheless, they may find it enjoyable to attend the class because of the appealing atmosphere created by their teachers and classmates. This may apply to any other educational situation. However, language learning takes this aspect more seriously because it involves more interactions between teacher and student, and students' performance is more clearly exposed in class, which is quite a frightening and inhibiting experience, and may negatively affect learner motivation. Also, considering class size and contact hours, class atmosphere will inevitably affect class attendance. Therefore, the impact of teacher and class is much stronger in language learning than other subjects in tertiary education. No doubt this is important no matter what level learners are at, but it is crucial at the elementary level.

Dörnyei (1994) suggests three levels of second language motivation; the language level (the language, culture and community), the learner level (learners' characteristics, tasks, achievement and confidence), and the situation level (the course, the teacher and the group dynamics). However, our data indicate that these three levels do not necessarily occur at the same time or at every level of proficiency. Our data clearly conform to Dörnyei's 'situation level' at both elementary and intermediate levels. Or, precisely speaking, at the elementary level there is more dependence on the situational level in order for students to continue Japanese study. However, 'the language level' can seldom be expected to occur at the elementary level; on the contrary, it may

affect students in a negative way due to its workload and mechanical memorisation. At this level, the pleasure of a learning language system and its background is not easily generated because of the lack of resources. The intermediate level, on the other hand, readily takes 'the language level' as a key factor arousing learning persistence. The second item, the learner level, was not clearly shown in our data, especially concerning learners' characteristics and tasks. However, our data indicate some correlation between achievement and motivation when students changed their mind from discontinuing to continuing. However, compared with 'the situation level', this may be placed secondary at the elementary level.

We have looked at learning persistence. Let us now examine reasons for the termination of study. There may be various reasons, from circumstances to individual dispositions, but one point significant at the elementary level is the gap created by the discrepancy between the level of self-efficacy and the outcome of study. Schunk (1994: 79) says that the level of self-efficacy is determined by comparing oneself with others, pre-knowledge of the target object (Japanese learning in this case) and one's already obtained skills before learning. This level of self-efficacy forms outcome expectations. If the actual outcome does not reach the level of one's self-efficacy, the greater their gap is, the more disappointment one experiences, which will affect one's motivation. At this point, we do not question the level of achievement (such as high grades) because it varies at the time when students form their own self-efficacy. Self-efficacy functions to build up one's confidence, leading to learning persistence, and thus it is primarily important that learners have realistic outcome expectations. It is especially the case in language learning, whatever the level of achievement (e.g. high marks in the examination), that students may be disappointed if they expected a higher proficiency (outcome) at the end of the course. This may become a good reason for termination of language study. The problem created by self-efficacy occurs more often at the elementary level than at the intermediate level. Our data indicate that no or very little previous knowledge of the Japanese language is more likely to result in unrealistic outcome expectations.

In sum, language persistence is aroused for different reasons at different levels. The elementary level more likely resorts to features of 'teacher and class'. In other words, students at this level maintain learning persistence if they consider their study to be *enjoyable*. This is a fundamental of human psychology, that one pursues what activates one's pleasure. Students at the intermediate level, on the other hand, maintain learning persistence by expanding their interest in the language system, its culture, people and backgrounds (although 'teacher and class' may be equally important). Their experience of communication by using the target language will enhance their interest in these things. This means that while at the elementary level students are motivated by interaction in class (between teacher and student, and between students), at the intermediate level they are motivated by interaction with the community of the target language, and begin to experience the creation of another social self. Therefore, to advance from the elementary level to the intermediate level, learners may experience the shift from mechanical learning and memorisation to acquiring deeper and wider scopes of language learning. The nature of motivation for learning persistence changes as language proficiency changes.

In this section, we have not discussed the utilitarian aspects of learning Japanese. Both at elementary and intermediate levels students showed great interest in 'future career perspective', 'business orientation', and their related matters. This is closely related to 'instrumental' motivation, and our data showed its clear impact on students in learning persistence. This will be discussed below.

The Difference Between Continuing and Discontinuing Students

In general, continuing students have higher degrees of commitment than discontinuing students. This correlates with the finding that continuing students have more varied interest in language and culture. This correlation was also true when we compared elementary with intermediate levels; the latter showed more commitment and wider ranges of interest, and thus a higher continuing rate than the former. The primary reason why students change their mind from discontinuing to continuing is the future benefit of learning Japanese. On the other hand, the main reason for changing their mind from continuing to discontinuing is their poor academic achievement, and anxiety triggered by this.

This summary shows a sharp contrast between continuing and discontinuing students in that the former see language learning in perspective; that is, not only do they enjoy learning the language, but also they expand their orientation, interest, and goals, which will enhance the enjoyment of their study. Discontinuing students, on the other hand, do not carry such an extensive vista. They tend to focus on 'learning' itself, treating it as a mere academic subject; therefore, their academic achievement becomes their primary concern, and its poor result readily affects their learning persistence. We do not deny that both continuing and discontinuing students are equally concerned with their academic record because they are students at university. However, the former can resort to various factors for learning persistence, and will eventually pursue the fundamental nature of language learning; that is, ultimately learning to be another social person. In this respect, their academic achievement may become secondary. On the other hand, discontinuing students remain concerned with their academic fulfillment only, which will not be likely to lead them to adopt another socio-cultural and socio-psychological identity. Also, we have found that continuing students are interested in the language itself. Particular aspects of the language, such as *kanji*, sounds, and grammatical structure, more clearly attract continuing students than discontinuing students. This is the so-called 'intrinsic motivation' well-known in psychology (Deci & Ryan 1985; Lepper 1983; Lepper & Greene 1975 & 1978).

Ramage (1990) compared continuing with discontinuing students, and reports that although the importance of extrinsic motives is attributed by continuing students, it is intrinsic motives which 'emerged as stronger contributors than did extrinsic motives... when all factors were considered together...' (Ramage 1990: 208). She also states that continuing students excel discontinuing students in both intrinsic and extrinsic motives. Ramage's 'extrinsic' incentive focuses on 'language as a means to other goals', such as a

future perspective. This coincides with instrumental motivation. However, extrinsic motivation in psychology is interpreted in a broader sense. It includes 'a reward that is external to the study', such as recognition or a good grade (Slavin 1988:379). Schmidt *et al.* (1996:14) adds integrative motivation (i.e., interacting with the community of the target language) to extrinsic motivation, because it is goal-oriented. Ramage's extrinsic motivation is a long-term goal orientation whereas 'a reward' (e.g., good grades) is a short-term incentive. In this respect, our data show that different extrinsic motives attract different types of learners. Finding a future goal seems to be so strong as to change a learner's mind from discontinuing to continuing; thus, a long-term extrinsic motive may become a key factor for learning persistence. On the other hand, academic achievement (short-term extrinsic motivation) readily affects learners negatively if they cannot fulfil their academic task. Discontinuing students seem to be more concerned with short-term extrinsic motivation.

Concerning intrinsic motivation, our data conform to Ramage's result that continuing students show more interest in the language itself. However, as mentioned earlier, different aspects of the language motivate learners at different levels of proficiency. Students at the intermediate level are directed towards deeper aspects of the language system than those at the elementary level (e.g. how to express ideas, grammatical structure). This statement should not be interpreted to mean that discontinuing students are not interested in the language or any other aspect related to language learning. Both continuing and discontinuing students showed great interest in these things. The difference is, firstly, their commitment rates; secondly, their range of interest; and, above all, their persistence of interest. The last item means that continuing students continually maintained high rates of interest from the time of QB till that of QE, while discontinuing students lost their interest as time went by (interest in 'business' is exceptional; both types of students lost their interest at the time of QE; this will be discussed in the next subsection). In fact, these three differences relate to one another. A higher commitment promotes further persistence, the range of interest is the evidence of commitment, and interest will not be easily lost as learners can resort to many socio-cultural aspects related to language learning. This is also true with the comparison between elementary and intermediate levels. The latter showed more commitment, more varied interest, and thus a better continuing rate than the former.

Integrative versus Instrumental Motivation

A number of previous works on EFL presented opposing results to Gardner and his associates' conclusion that integrative motivation implies more successful and effective learning. Also, Dörnyei (1990) suggests that instrumental motivation is more important than integrative motivation for foreign language learners. However, as mentioned previously, we assume that different motives may be found in different age groups, different settings for language learning, and even in different target languages. It is, therefore, worthwhile to examine the case of Japanese learning in tertiary education in Australian.

Our data show that continuing students are interested in various socio-cultural aspects of language learning, and interacting with native speakers of Japanese. Students at the higher levels of proficiency show more significant interest in the depth and complexity of the language and its background. Although their attempts to integrate with the community of the target language are quite limited by their learning environment, those who have learning persistence definitely develop integrative motives.

However, a closer look at this phenomenon reveals that integrative motivation is more clearly generated at a higher level of proficiency. We do not deny that it exists at the elementary level, but instrumental motivation predominantly attracts students at this level. On the other hand, by the intermediate level students become more culture-oriented than utilitarian-oriented. This is because, as mentioned earlier, it is neither possible for students at the elementary level to have the sheer pleasure of interacting with the community of the Japanese language, nor to go into the depth of socio-cultural and socio-psychological orientation of Japanese learning. This level does not provide sufficient resources for learners to create another social self.

Therefore, it is understandable that instrumental motivation is the first-hand attraction for the elementary level. This is also backed up by the expectations Australian society has towards learning Japanese. The fact that Australia has many cultural, political and industrial contacts with Japan has encouraged the learning of Japanese from primary to tertiary levels. In this respect, the utilitarian purpose of learning Japanese is more outstanding than that of many other foreign languages in Australia. Such a social expectation readily promotes instrumental motivation. Whether or not learners have previous experience of Japanese studies, the Japanese language attracts them for its utilitarian reason. However, we refrain from asserting that JFL is always instrumental. Instrumental motivation needs a high social expectation, and depends on how the target language is operated in or viewed by the society where learners reside. Therefore, JFL may offer different facets of motivation in other societies where Japanese is taught. Also, motivation differs at different levels of proficiency. As students learn Japanese and its related backgrounds, their first-hand (instrumental) motivation decreases considerably; instead, the degree of integrative motivation increases. This phenomenon applies regardless of the level of proficiency.

Learning persistence depends on how deeply learners are driven to socio-cultural and socio-psychological aspects of language learning. Instrumental motivation may ignite the starting of learning, but learning persistence is primarily maintained by integrative and intrinsic motivation. Learners must reach the stage that they enjoy interactions with the community of the target language, and have the pleasure of learning the language itself. This is because instrumental motivation may be a good 'bait' for learners to jump at, but their future perspectives are quite distant from the reality of day-to-day learning. It requires a fairly long time to reach the level of 'the working language' (in the case of Japanese, three years at university is not sufficient to achieve such a level). During this period, learning persistence must be aroused by other motives; or precisely speaking, instrumental motivation is not strong enough to keep learners engaging in daily tasks.

At the elementary level, class dynamics may be a key factor for learners to continue. At the intermediate level, integrative and intrinsic motives

function as generating learning persistence. Therefore, as far as Japanese learning in Australia is concerned, we interpret integrative and instrumental motives as the main and foreshadowing drives. Before learning, instrumental motivation may act as an igniter, and during learning, it functions as a 'dream' learners can look forward to as a long-term reward. Integrative motivation, on the other hand, promotes actual learning persistence on the daily basis.

It should be noted that the above phenomenon might be limited to the case of JFL in tertiary education. Unlike school pupils, university students have freedom to choose their major, and certainly consider their choice in relation to their future. It is thus evident in our data that the strength of instrumental motivation cannot be ignored, regardless of proficiency levels. This was more evident in our data when referring to those who changed their mind from discontinuing to continuing; that is, finding a future goal motivated them strong enough to decide to continue their study.

Conclusion

This paper attempted to find motivational factors for learning persistence in learning Japanese as a foreign language. It also posited the question of whether or not JFL in tertiary education may differ from other cases of language learning. We assumed that different target languages, age groups, and environments for learning may present different motivational factors. Indeed, our study has shown many features shared with other previous works, but has also revealed its own significant features.

First, motivational factors differ at different levels of proficiency, and change their nature as students learn more of the target language and its culture. Second, continuing and discontinuing students show different commitment rates, interest, orientation and goals. Third, JFL in tertiary education seems to invite both instrumental and integrative motives; however, the former is rather a foreshadowing feature, and it is the latter which keeps students engage in their actual learning. Also, intrinsic motivation plays an important role for learning persistence; integrative and intrinsic motives go hand in hand to build up a strong learning persistence. However, these motives emerge only after learning more of the language and its culture; at the beginning of learning, students resort to teachers and class dynamics because they do not have enough resources to arouse integrative or intrinsic motives. This may be also because they reside in a society where no external stimuli motivate them to continue learning.

It is not our intention to extract pedagogical implications from this study, but it is important for us, teachers of Japanese, to keep the result in mind when considering our teaching strategies and methods.

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