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From Motivation to New Orientations in SLA

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مخلص :

يسعى كاتب هذا المقال إلى تسليط الضوء على إشكالية البحث في مجال اكتساب اللغة الثانية باعتماد نموذج كراشن "Krashen" كمثال.

يركز المقال على التحفيز، ويتطرق إلى مفاهيم الراصد (monitor) والمنظّم (organizer) وعناصر أخرى تشتمل عليها المصفاة (filter) .

يخلص نقاش نموذج كراشن إلى طرح فكرة الذات المتعددة الواجهات التي تندمج في إطار المجموعات اللغوية وجماعات الخطاب. الفكرة المطروحة تتناول بالبحث مكانة عدّة مصطلحات ومدلولها مثل لغة أجنبية، ولغة ثانية، وتحفيز اندماجي، وتحفيز نفعي، وتثاقف واكتساب اللغة.

ويطرح المقال مفاهيم بديلة للمصطلحات المذكورة، ويقترح طرقا لمواصلة البحث في مجال اكتساب اللغة الثانية.

1. Introduction

The history of second language acquisition (SLA) as a field of research is closely associated with the history of interlanguage (IL). From the early 1970s to the early 1990s, IL was defined as one homogeneous system (Selinker, 1972; Adjemian, 1976), a dual system (Krashen, 1981, Bialystok, 1985), and then a variable system (Tarone, 1985). Debates ensued and culminated in the Applied Linguistics 1993 special issue on theory construction in SLA. Since then, Applied Linguistics has published a number of articles that continued the debate (Block, 1996; Gregg et al, 1997; Sheen, 1999). All these articles point to the fact that SLA went through a process of inter-theory formation; where some competitive views received temporary fossilization while others were hardly noticed or at best served to refine a transitory view, and thus improve its competitiveness. The lack of a dominant theory, or what Kuhn (1970) calls a paradigm, reflects today's variability. Since 1993, research in SLA has been heading towards a state of orderly disorder. This is not a pre-

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science stage; it is today's science at work. It is quite in line with new trends represented by chaos/ complexity science theory in physics and deconstruction in philosophy and literary criticism. Larsen-Freeman's article, which appeared in 1998 in Applied Linguistics, epitomizes the current situation in SLA.

The current situation has its seeds in old controversies exacerbated by the aforementioned trends and by the plethora and variety of research today. Many applied linguists have looked for decades with aversion at isolated sentences (cf. Cook, 2001) and words. They often cite Wittgenstein's (1958, 31) "the meaning of a word is its use" and forget that Wittgenstein (1922, 3.3) also said, "Only propositions [staze] have sense [sinn]; only in the nexus of a proposition does a name have meaning [Beduetung]." Unperturbed, lexical semanticists and theoretical linguists have continued their insightful probing into the sentence and its constituents. Research in pragmatics and discourse analysis has attracted many language practitioners and bolstered their belief in a communicative approach whose shifting methodology is heavily dependent on the seesaws of pragmatics. But the sentence "still forms the core of examples and exercises in many textbooks. for national secondary syllabuses." (Cook, 2001, 366). Fresh attempts (Fuller, 1999) to integrate the study of language acquisition with that of code-switching in order to account for IL, while stressing universal constraints that transcend variation, are being resumed from old-new perspectives. A dominant theory, a paradigm, would jeopardize such attempts. It would not make them impossible, though, since the inquisitive mind transcends all set boundaries. Rational inquiry works in and on disorder to bring about transitory orders. Play, the illegitimate brother of rational inquiry, is often among the driving forces behind rational inquiry.

To encourage a dominant theory to emerge, as Gregg et al (1997, 547) suggest, may have the advantage of channelling curiosity and guiding creativity. However, once a theory becomes highly acclaimed, there is the likelihood that it may become exclusive and excluding. Paradoxically as this may sound, it wcould allow novice zealots to jump right into it (cf. de Beaugrande, 1997, 292) and misuse its terminology with confidence. Progress in science is primarily driven by openness and curiosity that breed healthy insecurity, but progress cannot be built on misuses of constructs. To adopt Taylor's (1989, 35) words, "the path to learning is littered with the bruised bodies of crest fallen scholars." The author of this paper wishes not to make an exception.

The first part of the present paper analyses Krashen's discourse and points out its weaknesses. Unlike the other IL descriptions, Krashen's is integrated in a model that aspires to be comprehensive. It departs from other models (Selinker, 1972; Bialystok, 1985; Tarone, 1985) which imply, but do not highlight, the roles of motivation and emotional state that Chomsky (1965, 58) excludes together with intelligence. Krashen's description attempts to circumvent variability that has fuelled controversies in SLA by adding an output filter hypothesis and bestowing on the monitor the additional function of output booster (Krashisten, 1985, 64). Furthermore, Krashen's discourse, despite its acknowledged role in the field of SLA, exemplifies the failure of accommodating discourses that stand at loggerheads and shows the danger a theory may run in equating itself (Kristashen, 1985, 100) with a current field of research.

The second part of the paper points towards new directions for SLA research. It proposes in accordance with Spolsky's (1999, 106) call, a conception of motivation inspired by the works of sociolinguists and psychologists and attempts to further clarify the distinction between second language learners and foreign language learners, on the one hand, and second language acquisition and foreign language acquisition, on the other. The proposed views draw on rehabilitated conceptions of social networks, discourse community, and self. The general approach in this paper tries to echo Ejxebaum's (1971, 29-23), who said in a different context, "we maintain no general, dogmatic positions that would bind our hands…" The reader may detect, however, a postmodernist flavour.

The paper questions the validity of terms like 'instrumental' and 'integrative' motivation, draws attention to the ethnocentric attitude of those who have adopted such terms, and proposes, in accordance with Palsy's (1999, 106) call, a conception of motivation inspired by the works of sociolinguists and psychologists. The paper also attempts to refine the definition of second language learners/speakers and foreign language learners/speakers.

KRASHEN'S Theory2. Krashen's Discourse

Duelay, Burt, and Kristenashen (hereinafter DBK, 1982), following Gardner and Lambert (1972), listed two types of motivation, ""'instrumental motivation'"" and ""'integrative motivation'"", to which they added out of blue sky ""'social group identification'"". They associated instrumental motivation with those who want to use the language they are learning for utilitarian

purposes. They associated integrative motivation with those who have a sincere interest in the language and culture of the community in which they feel they are going to have an active role. These issues will be dealt with in much greater debt below. DBK claimed that learners who have a social group identification motive, which implies a possible loss of identification with their original home culture, would wish to become members of the group that speaks a target language variety.   Finally, they concluded that, ""'social group identification implies integrative motivation, but not vice versa.'"" (DBK, 1982, 51).

According to Spolsky (1999, 99), the Lambert-Gardner team were concerned that a native-like pronunciation and a native-like semantic system among learners who have an integrative motivation could lead to anomie, i.e. loss of identity. This is a healthy concern because it points to the fact that acquiring a second language is a lengthy and challenging process;. Ita process that may culminate for the very few who reach extremely advanced stages into a possible, butyet irresistibletempting anomie.

Many Sresearchers today,ocial psychologists today (Gardner, 1985, 2001) prefer to talk of a continuum whose extreme poles are instrumental motivation and integrative motivation. SLA researchers have assumed that the distinction between second language acquisition and foreign language acquisition depends, among other things, on the poles towards which the learner's motivation tends. For many of them the distinction between Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Foreign Language Acquisition (FLA) depends, among other things, on which pole the learner's motivation tends towards. It seems to me, though that the The termsadjectives " ''integrative"'' and ''"instrumental'"'', together with what they have come to imply in SLA and second language teaching, may be taken to conceal a self-centred attitude on the part of the society whose language is being learnt, and because of the status of English today,   the self-centredness of the English-speaking communities is may be all the more strong. Practitioners who blindly advocate a communicative approach that more often than not disregards the local context foster this self-centeredness. This self-centredness has found its way in SLA research as testified by Krashen's conception.

Motivation in Krashen's model is part of what he calls the affective filter.

In addition to the Monitor and the Organizer, Krashen, in his dual interlanguage paradigm (Tarone, 1983, 152; Abdesslem, 1992, 41), mentions the Affective Filter.

'' "There appear to be innate learning processors which guide L2 acquisition. We have called these the Filter, the Organizer, and the Monitor... The Filter and the Organizer work subconsciously, while the Monitor takes care of conscious processing.'''" (DBK, 1982, 261).

The affective Affective fFilter in Krashen's paradigm, like the mMonitor and perhaps even the oOrganizer, is a mere metaphor, not an actual mental organ.   As to its innateness, very little evidence is available. Indeed, the hypothesis that monitoring is developed as part of cognitive growth is more plausible. The Aaffective Filter filter metaphor '' "covers'''" a wide range of affective variables;, and this is quite in order, if the term model itself means '' "an approach to reality, which concentrates on major aspects." .'' (Leinfellner-Rupertsberger, 1990, 868). For Krashen,

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"The filter is that part of the internal processing system that subconsciously screens incoming language based on what psychologists call "affect": the learner's motives, needs, attitudes, and emotional states." (DBK, 1982, 46).Krashen"The filter is that part of the internal processing system that subconsciously screens incoming language based on what psychologists call 'affect': the learner's motives, needs, attitudes, and emotional state." (DBK, 1982, 46).

A close look at "affect" shows that motivation, as it transpires from this paper, permeates its 'components' (e.g. needs and attitudes). An inspection of the Affective affective filter's functions two and four, below, reveals that these functions are at the service of the Organizer organizer or are simply those of the Organizer organizer itself.

"The filter appears to be the first main hurdle that incoming language data must encounter before it is processed further. It determines (1) which target language models the learner will select (2) ; which parts of the language will be attended to first (3) ; when language acquisition efforts should cease ; and (4) how fast a learner can acquire the language.'' (DBK, 1982, 46).

Normally, in the Foreign foreign Language language classroom context the learner has the teacher as her model, and we cannot really talk of choice. Furthermore, choice undermines the built-in syllabus hypothesis, which is so

dear to the Chomskians. Which part of the language the learner attends to first is primarily the task of the Organizerorganizer, particularly that this function is supported by the natural order hypothesis, which in turn is based on the very dubious morpheme acquisition studies (Sheen, 1999) Sheen (1999, 370-71) has shown to be based on black-boxing. The cessation of language acquisition "efforts" is in normal circumstances closely linked to the learner's satisfied needs. Finally, the Affective affective Filter filter has little influence on the rate of acquisition, since acquisition depends largely on the appropriateness of the input in relation to the Organizerorganizer. Krashen defends the vital role of the Affective affective Filterfilter,

"If the affective filter is ''up'', no matter how beautifully the input is sequenced, no matter how meaningful and communicative the exercise is intended to be, little or no acquisition will take place." (1981, 10).

There is hardly any doubt about what Krashen says here: anybody who has little self-esteem, little empathy towards her interlocutor, little or no need for the language she is exposed to, and feels that she is under a lot of stress, will not learn. Similarly, a person whose sole motive for studying a language is to get grades may be a student, but hardly a learner (Gardner, 2001, 11).

Krashen favours acquisition, i.e. the reliance on the Organiserorganizer. He maintains that acquisition is very much dependent on the lowering of the Affective affective Filterfilter. He even goes as far as to deny the possibility for what has been learnt to become acquired, and insists that the Monitor monitor starts to function only when there is a certain amount of acquired language (Krashen and Terrell, 1983, p. 72). Yet nobody can tell for sure whether the organizer or the monitor is at work whatever the activity pretends to promote.

Krashen (1985, 1989) has upgraded his model by introducing an "output filter hypothesis." This upgrading seeks to integrate the variationist approach of IL. It also implies that variability is a performance phenomenon that is independent of acquired IL. According to Krashen, the output filter contains two devices: a filter and a booster. The same affective conditions that work on the input filter also work on the output filter, he maintains. The booster, on the other hand, can help the learner via the monitor outperform her acquired IL in writing and speaking. Unfortunately, the more the model gains in sophistication, the more non-testable it becomes.

Krashen claims that the model represents a strong basis for the natural approach in teaching. Yet, Bourne (1988), who does not use the adjective "progressive" as an antonym of "backward" or "primitive," maintains that

Furthermore, English is an academic subject, like Geography or Mathematics; it is taught by teachers who are well respected; and it is a language spoken by tourists and businessmen visiting the country. Tunisians have always associated Tunisian Arabic with informal settings, particularly with conversation, and have given it a covert prestige. Classical Arabic and other languages have an overt prestige and are expected to be taught and learnt in formal settings, ie. the traditional classroom, where the practising of conversation is still staunchly, but unawarely, resisted. For Bourne,"As formal classrooms are also more 'traditional', we might in fact have a case in calling these more 'natural', and indeed, people from other cultures unfamiliar with progressive education seem to agree in this." (1988, 85).

He says,

"If we accept Goffman's claim that every activity is "real after its fashion", then it would be wiser for SLA researchers to avoid describing FL classrooms as artificial. There is no reason why teaching form to formal thinkers must be looked down upon. Equally, there is little sense in urging teachers to achieve "doing" without acknowledging the importance of practising." (1993, 225).

This state of affairs will prevail so long as SLA research continues to cater for learners of both second and foreign languages, while failing to acknowledge other traditions and other cultures, and to draw a clear demarcation line between what constitutes a second language and what constitutes a foreign language. For Krashen

For DBK,"Second language acquisition includes learning a new language in a foreign language context (e.g. English in Mexico or German in the United States) as well as learning a new language in a host language environment (e.g. German in Germany)…the term second language refers to both foreign and host languages, and the learning principles discussed apply to the acquisition of both." (DBK,1982, 10-11).

One's mother tongue context is qualified as a foreign context for "the guest" language, while one's non-native language context is qualified as one's (hospitable) host!

Krashen's model poses many other difficulties. To talk of unconscious acquisition and "filtering" and conscious learning is not very convincing, simply because it is difficult to draw the -line between consciousness and unconsciousness. (Brown and Levinson, 1987, 85). admit that "We cannot pretend to have any special insight into what is probably the biggest single stumbling block to theory throughout the social sciences : the nature of the unconscious and preconscious where all the most important determinants of action seem to lie." (1987, 85).

It is amasing how seemingly neat models, like Krashen's, on close scrutiny, border on "muddles". It is also amazing how scholars sometimes manage to evade crucial issues by resorting to rather deceptive metaphors or replacing one term by another (Abdesslem, 1991, 26).   Indeed, Krashen maintains that when the learner uses her Organizerorganizer, she tends to follow the natural order, i.e. moree or less the stages that children go through in their language acquisition process (Brown, 1973). If this is the case, then the Organizer organizer in Krashen's model is nothing but an unaltered LAD and the Affective affective Filter filter a sort of "hurdle" or gate that opens up to let input in. Whether the gate is "wide-open" or "ajar" makes little difference. The Affective affective Filter filter can block acquisition, but when the gate is open, it is the Organizer organizer, which becomes fully in charge of language processing. Thus, the Affective affective Ffilter,, which lookslooks at first sight very importantvital, at first sight has a small role in comparison to what Krashen calls the Organizerorganizer. Whether the filter is fully lowered or slightly lowered does not seem to make much difference, because for Krashen the learner follows a built-in-syllabus,. a syllabus that has never been clearly accounted for. Krashen, lLike many SLA researchers, Krashen has remained prisoner of the Chomskian school of thought, since, if compared to the Organizerorganizer/LAD, motivation, memory, and intelligence isare of little importance. It appears therefore that the learner is reduced to an Organizer organizer that processes the standard form. This view concurs with that of Corder who says,

"If we regard the learner as a learning device, then since we cannot study the device directly, by taking it to pieces, we have to infer its nature from a comparison of the input to the device with the output from the device..."

(1981, 57).

The input and output filters make the inference of the learner's device hardly feasible and its description rather impossible. To reduce the learner to a learning device is to strip her of her emotions, her personality, and her past. The abstraction that Chomsky calls for is quite legitimate, but Krashen's account for difference and variability among learners clashes with his adherence to Chomsky's abstraction that sets aside variability.

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH 3. A sociolinguistic Perspective

Sociolinguistic research has revealed that native speakers often do not have an extended communicative competence. An average native speaker has one accent, uses a register or two, and is able to switch from one style to another style5. Individuals living in a community are drawn to particular groups with which they share similar values, aspirations, or living standard. Milroy (1980, 141-42), an advocate of the social network paradigmmodel, relied on objective criteria ("indicators") to quantify individual's network score in three working class communities in Belfast. These criteria are: (i) being a member of a high density, territorially based cluster; (ii (having-substantial ties of kinship in the neighbourhood; (iii- (wWorking at the same place as at least two others from the same area;) iv) -sSharing the same place of work at least with two others of the same sex from the same area; and (v) Mmeeting in a voluntary association with workmates in leisure hours. Milroy's work and similar ones, which use indicators that suit the specificities of the communities investigated, show that there is a correlation between the individuals''s network ties and their linguistic behaviour. A person can be associated at the same time with a number of groups within the community6. She may have a high-density network structure in a group and a low-density network structure in another. The migrant to an urban area in a developing country often finds herself " ''caught between two different forces pulling in opposite directions''" (Jabeur, 1988, p 43.43), and proceeds in a " ''second dialect acquisition''" process. A North African immigrant to France or Canada may find herself attracted to North African groups whose network ties are multiplex and dense ; she may acquire a group''s variety and confine herself to a restricted instrumental use of French. Many underclass Asians living in Britain feel they ought to be regarded as British for their thrift and industriousness, even though they often have a pronounced accent. These people may have ann instrumentalinstrumental use of English, but it is not their fault if they have multiplex ties among themselves. To expect them to

have an integrative motivation in a multi-cultural and multi-lingual society, where mainly the éliteelite haves uniplex ties (Blom and Gumperz, 1972), is short sighted and unrealistic.

Lambert (1979) was concerned about separatist movements in the 1980's. He wondered

"Have attempts to dissolve ethnic-group clustering in the name of democracy actually improved life in modern societies or might more respect for self and others be generated if societies were to encourage and support such clusterings and appreciate the sentiments underlying such clusterings? " (''(p1987, .190).

The resounding failure to dissolve ethnic groups can be illustrated by what goes on in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The tension created by the National front movements in Germany, France, and Britain does not offer good prospects for mutual respect between groups.

Milroy conducted her study in a deeply divided community where close-knit networks are a consequence of that division, and function as a catalyst for an even bitter conflict. The present paper purports that when individuals' self-perceptions tend to converge and shape up a group's overall self-perception, other individuals and other groups' self-perceptions may be affected; Abu-Rabia (1998, 13-14) offers a description of an extreme case in Israel. When the individuals' self-perceptions tend to diverge, the group's network structure loosens. This may have repercussions on the general fabric of the community and may even affect the fabric of other communities. Such changes may range from mere adjustment to severe turmoil, and there is no reason to suppose that these processes spare language, language attitudes, language acquisition, and language use.

The classification of motivation in the two or three categories aforementioned and relating them to the speed and efficiency of language learning may vindicate many states of affairs where conflicts between communities or groups are in the open. The few writers who have been able to publish their novels and poems in the ex-colonisers' language consider themselves as artists in exile. Some critics pity them, while others appreciate mainly the exotic side of their experience. But their fellow countrymen are having a difficult time as to where they could locate them.- familiar to the

layman-ma icult time as to where they can locate them7. An FL/SL learner or speaker may be seen as that OTHERother who tries to emulate US8 us; writers orand speakers of the "prestigious" linguistic form and members of the "superior culture." In his discussion of Wittgenstein's (1958) later philosophy, Tilghman, touches on such ethnocentrism. He says

"The real problem in our relations with peoples of other cultures and races is not that we deny them a mental life, but that we often do not know what is it in particular that they are thinking , feeling or doing... [There is] a frequent indifference exhibited toward others that sometimes seems almost like a kind of blindness in which one is simply not aware that one's actions are causing any significant distress."(1990, p.105.105   ).

When a second language is forced on a minority, which by definition has close-knit ties, a dreadful sense of loss and bitterness grows. Rodriguez, a college teacher, writes about his childhood experience in learning English and says,

"When I became a student, I was literally 'remade' ; neither I nor my teachers considered anything I had known before as relevant. I had to forget most of what my culture had provided, because to remember it was a disadvantage…

I remember when, 20 years ago, two grammar-school nuns visited my childhood home. They had come to suggest…that we make a greater effort to speak as much English around the house as possible… My mother and father complied as best they could. Heroically, they gave up speaking to us in Spanish – the language that formed so much of the family's sense of intimacy in an alien world... Instead of Spanish sounds, I began hearing sounds that were new, harder, less friendly… The bonds their voices once secured were loosened by the new tongue." (Ryan, et al. 1982, 1).

It seems that many SLA researchers and ELT practitioners have fallen into the perilous pit of blind ethnocentrism. Excessive idealisations of the TL community, its members, and its culture, together with a stripping of the learner of her humanity by focussing on her ''learning device'', have all contributed to minimising the roles of attitude and motivation, which social networks and self-conceptions underpin.

The history of sociolinguistics is associated with the breaking of barriers; geographical dialectology gave rise to social dialectology, which has brought to light social networks. Social networks models, which have revealed the intricate texture of the linguistic community, may have to make room for the notion of discourse community and extend to other linguistic communities. This may call for a redefinition of the already controversial concept of "speech community." SLA research could be the vehicle of such extension.

A discourse community is a grouping, normally an occupational grouping (Wenger, 1998), within a given linguistic community. For Swales (1990, 24-27), a discourse community has a broad set of common public goals, some specific and recurrent rhetorical devices, one or more genres (Askehave and Swales, 2001) utilised in the communicative furtherance of its aims, and some specialised lexis. Experts and novices constitute the group's members. Persevering novices often manage to move within the discourse community network and reach expert status. They bring new blood to the body of experts whose old members cease to be active.

Discourse communities are located within and across linguistic communities. They are essential for understanding the dynamic nature of second language acquisition. Milroy's notion of social networks and Swales' notion of discourse community may gain more vitality and flexibility in the light of a psychological approach that takes into consideration the multiplicity of the self.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH4. A Psychological Perspective

For Gergen (1996) "psychological essentialism" has prevailed from Greek philosophy to today's psychology. The self has always been endowed with an outer and an inner life, with the latter being more real and fixed. This trend, which the twentieth century western social sciences have tried to objectify, has given rise to a homogeneous discourse and has buttressed a dominant ontology. The human mind's relentless questioning of its own products is conspicuously reflected in modern technological progress, which has contributed tremendously to a further diffusion of the immutable self. As has been indicated in the present paper, linguistics and, more specifically, SLA research have not been totally spared. Like many fields in the humanities, they have been going through a phase of trepidation and fluctuation. An embryonic non-nomethic, multi-faceted concept of the self is in the making.

Leonard et al (1999) account for the multi-faceted self according to three attributes :

(i)-Traits represent broad reaction tendencies that the individual has. They express relatively permanent patterns of a person's behaviour. For instance, an individual could view herself, and be viewed, as being dependable, conservative, and/or hardworking.

(ii)-Competencies refer to skills, abilities, talents, and knowledge the individual holds perception of. Competencies range from being global to being very specific.

(iii)-Values are concepts and beliefs the individual holds about desirable end states or behaviours that transcend specific situations. Values guide the individual's behaviour options or evaluation of other people's behaviour.

One's self-concept is fashioned along three parameters. These parameters are:

(i)-The perceived-self stands for the set of perceptions the person holds about her traits, competencies, and values. It also refers to how strongly the individual perceives her traits, competencies, and values.

(ii)- The ideal-self stands in close relation to the perceived-self. It describes the traits, competencies, and values the individual wishes to have.

(iii)- Social identities refer to the various ways the individual locates herself (and others) in the social environments where she evolves. For instance, a person may identify herself as a mother, a teacher, and an environmentalist.

The degree to which a person associates herself with a speech community and/or a discourse community depends on where she perceives herself and where others perceive her in the web of social networks. The perceived-self according to Leonard et al (1999) is a result of the interactions one has with others. Consistent feedback relative to the individual's traits, competencies, and/or values strengthens her held self-perceptions. Lack or inconsistency of feedback results in weakening her held self-perceptions. The perceived-self is closely linked to the ideal-self. A child, an adolescent, or a grown-up has a reference group. Primary reference groups include the family for a child or the school-mates for an adolescent. Secondary reference groups

are what this paper has termed discourse community members. When the individual receives unconditional positive feedback, she is prone to internalise the traits, competencies, and values of her reference group. That internalisation leads progressively to an inner-directed person who has her "own" high standards of excellence, and who, eventually, becomes her own audience. On the other hand, when the individual receives positive, but conditional feedback from her reference group, she is prone to remain other-directed. Her audience will remain her reference group. Finally, the individual who receives forthright negative feedback tends to withdraw from the reference group and seek another reference group. If a correlation is undertaken between what has been said in the previous section and the present one, the following propositions can be advanced. A language learner who receives clear and consistent negative feedback from the target speech community members or representatives of that speech community will very likely withdraw to her NL speech community. A language learner who receives positive, but conditional feedback from members or representatives of the target speech community may move from having a low density network structure to having a high density network structure and multiplex ties within a particular discourse community. This movement hinges on the learner's perseverance and the degree of perceived openness and transparency of the discourse community. As the conditional feedback retreats, the learner's other-directedness recedes and her inner-directedness increases. Having a high density network structure and multiplex ties within a discourse community becomes of little significance to the inner-directed language learner. Task-challenge and task-reward become more valuable than others' reactions, and a sense of freedom outweighs the sense of belongingness. Ultimately, as the present paper argues, a second language learner who becomes an expert in the discourse community she has entered and fared in successfully, does not suffer from anomie, but enjoys belongingness and above all freedom.

Because competencies range from being global to being very specific, they contribute to the individual's perception of her levels of self-esteem. According to Brown (1981), there are three levels: global self-esteem, specific self-esteem, and task-self-esteem. Because perception of one's traits, competencies, and values is defined in terms of levels of strength and because a social identity may be more prominent than another in a given speech event, the proposed self-concept is very flexible. Leonard et al's (1999) original model accounts for consistency and variability in a person's behaviour. It provides, in the version adopted here, a possible theoretical account for a person's complexity of network-ties across discourse communities within a

given linguistic community. In the case of SLA, it suggests a possible account for how far the learner has fared in the TL discourse community or communities and the repercussions this has on her anchorage in the native language discourse community or communities.

It is worth mentioning that the delineation of the perceived-self develops early in life. The development of a memory of evocation and linguistic competence at the pre-operational level for Piaget and Inhelder (1969), for instance, give rise to long lasting affects, i.e. sympathies and antipathies. The child's relation with the others determines how she projects herself. Those whom she respects and fears are the ones who shape up her later moral obligations or values. Therefore, it is safe to claim that the second language learner comes to her TL with a perceived-self, an ideal-self, and social identities. She also comes with a given attitude. These four parameters, which may be somewhat stable, may play a role in faring across linguistic communities and discourse communities.

5. Motivation

At the beginning of the twentieth century, intelligence was considered the major force behind any achievement, including language learning. Intelligent Quotient tests claimed to "measure innate ability independently of the language/dialect and experience of the test takers." (Oller, 1997, 467). IQ tests were found later to be nothing but language tests that required mainly a good understanding of the instructions and a good knowledge of the culture.

The interest in motivation from the early thirties to the late sixties reflected the spirit of the age. Markwardt (1948) suggested five motives for learning a second language. He described two of them as non-utilitarian and three of them as practical. The non-utilitarian motives were (i)- to be a cultivated person and (ii)- to maintain a minority's language whose speakers are resisting assimilation into a dominant culture. The practical motives are (iii)- to foster assimilation into a dominant culture (iv)- to promote trade and colonisation, and (v)- to have access to scientific knowledge and technical skills.

Markwardt's first motive was a reminder of the detached, aristocratic, and humanistic view of man. The remaining four motives, however, typified an era of scientific and technological progress paralleled with capitalism,

colonisation, trade, and classical wars. The micro-self contributed to the shaping up of (and was shaped by) a macro-self, which was equally nomethic. Markwardt's discourse buttressed a dominant ideology and ontology. The minority group that resisted colonisation and hegemony would not profit from technological progress like the community, which sought assimilation and acculturation. However, for governmentality purposes, colonies were assisted in holding to their own language and culture, (Pennycook, 2002: 17-21). Planters, settlers, and merchants had to learn the language of the people their country had colonised to make them civilised and good consumers of manufactured products. Markwardt's motives reflected the spirit of the age in which they originated.

Carroll (1962) looked at motivation and particularly aptitude from a behaviourist and a structuralist perspective. He defined motivation as the amount of time the learner was prepared to spend on learning tasks (Spolsky, 2000, 98). He related motivation to language learning aptitude. Aptitude tests assessed learners' phonetic sensitivity, i.e. the ability to distinguish sounds from one another, and grammatical sensitivity, i.e. the ability to discern items that belong to the same word class, phrase type, or clause type. By relating motivation measurement to language learning aptitude, Carroll thought he was able to predict the level of achievement from a given amount of instruction. The main purpose was to select candidates to the American government-sponsored and defence-related intensive instruction courses (Spolsky, 2000, 98). Elitism in diplomacy and intelligence characterised the cold-war era. The learner, who was at the service of her country, had to have an analytical power, patience, and efficiency.

Ausubel (1968, 368-79) determined six factors for motivation. They were: (i)- the need for exploration or probing the unknown, (ii)- the need for manipulation or causing change to the environment, (iii)- the need for mental or physical activity, (iv)- the need for stimulation by the environment; this included other people, other thoughts and feelings. The above four factors gave rise to a fifth factor (v)- the need for knowledge, i.e. "the need to process and internalize the results of exploration, manipulation, activity, and stimulation, to solve contradictions, to quest for solutions to problems and self-consistent systems of knowledge." (Brown, 1981, 122). The sixth factor which may be a consequence of the fifth one was (vi)- the need for ego-enhancement, i.e. to be known, accepted, and approved by others. This was a very eloquent definition of motivation factors where the individual's curiosity and self-satisfaction played a central role in generating thought and knowledge and where the

physical and social environment functioned as a driving force. Ausubel's insightful definition, which maintained a nomethic view of the self though, would have enjoyed a better fate had behaviourism not suffered from Chomsky's ferocious campaign. Chomsky had a product to launch on the market: a theory that reduces the individual to a language device. That reduction makes more sense in a theory of language than in a theory of language learning.

Lambert and Gardner, who never pledged allegiance to behaviourism or mentalism, continued the work they had started on motivation from the fifties. Indeed, the dichotomy integrative vs. instrumental motivation has its traces in Lambert's early (1955) work. Although, as alluded to in section two of this paper and as Spolsky (2000, 99) asserts, "Lambert did not argue that integrative motivation led to faster or better language learning," Lambert was concerned that those who have an integrative motivation could succumb to anomie. Since anomie is a clear sign of TL mastery, then Lambert, and later on Gardner (1985), did, if anything, make it understood that integrative motivation might be conducive to faster and/or better learning. The dichotomy integrative vs. instrumental motivation has had a special appeal to scholars, who have been brought up in a dichotomous world out of which Gergen (1996) has labelled the self-vision "psychological essentialism." In psychological essentialism one constituent of the self is more essential, more genuine, and more real than its peripheral and somewhat inconsequential counterpart.

For Gardner and Lambert (1972), motivation has integrative reasons: for example to learn more about the people who speak the language, to make friends among them. It also has instrumental reasons: for example to get a good job, to be better educated. Integrative reasons reflect an integrative orientation, while instrumental reasons reflect an instrumental orientation. Integrative orientation subsumes an unambiguous positive attitude towards the speakers of the TL. Gardner avers that a set of reasons that shape up orientation is not sufficient. A motivated individual has to display a number of attributes: she expends effort to achieve her goal, has persistence and attentiveness to complete tasks, and enjoys the challenge of the activity at hand. Reasons, orientations, and attributes contribute to motivation.

In his socio-educational model of second language acquisition, Gardner (1985) exposes his earlier views in a more elaborate and lucid way and underscores what he terms as "attitudes towards the learning situation." He concentrates in particular on the second language classroom situation where the

learner's attitudes to the teacher, the classmates, the course materials, the course activities, etc. contribute towards her motivation, which in turn, affects her achievement, (Gardner, 2001, 13). He also acknowledges that it is an oversimplification to assume that an instrumentally oriented person does not have an integrative orientation (2001, 10) and adds that each integrative reason "seems to reflect an interest in integration with (or specifically in becoming closer psychologically to) the group who speaks the language."

Gardner's hedging and his parenthetical clarification that looks as though it were an afterthought, but is indeed a clear replacement of "a worn out belief", point to a mounting unease in maintaining the word "integration". Integration presumes acculturation, it also presumes an openness on the part of the TL group or community, i.e. an "indoors integrativeness". However, there is in some severe cases an "outdoors integrativeness" that can be traced among Northern Ireland Catholics and is clearly present among Arabs in Israel (Abu-Rabia, 1998, 17) today, where people "accept" living and working in a community, but refuse to make concessions as far as their values and separate territory are concerned. Gardner's "psychological closeness" may not have an ethnocentric touch, but is at best opaque and at worst specious. To clarify "psychological closeness," there is a need to operationalise it. Such operationalisation calls for its study in terms of social network-ties and discourse community levels of belongingness. It also calls for a multi-faceted conception of the self. Since the ideal-self acts on the perceived-self, with its traits, competencies, and values, the social identity (or identities) and the degree of commitment to that social identity reflect the position the multifaceted-self occupies in the social network fabric and the discourse community web.

The abandonment of one component in any dichotomy provokes the loss of its counterpart. Gardner's admission that keeping the two orientations apart is an oversimplification lends further support to the abandonment of the adjectives "integrative" and "instrumental" in accounting for motivation (Dornyei and Ott, 1998, do not mention these terms in their process model). If motivation is a driving force, reasons and attributes are perhaps sufficient to account for it. Reasons and attributes are reflections of one's self-perception and one's social network-ties within and across one's linguistic community. They are also reflections of one's belongingness to one's native language discourse community (or communities) and TL discourse community (or communities).

6. Implications

The traditional definition says that a second language is the language which the learner has easy access to either in her native community (e.g. English in India) or in the TL community, (e.g. English in England). It also states that a foreign language is a language, with which the learner comes into contact after puberty and learns in formal settings in her own linguistic community, (e.g. German in England). This seemingly straightforward definition is, as has been pointed out earlier in the present paper, not often plausible. Many immigrant housewives living in Britain or Germany, for instance, hardly speak any English or German or hold close ties with members of a group in the host community. Furthermore, it is perhaps unfair to consider university North African teachers of English, for instance, as foreign language speakers of that language, especially when their French is not as good as their English. Yet, diglossic distribution and code-switching aside, in terms of which language is more used in the community as a whole and which language is more associated with the history of the country, then French comes second after Arabic. Whether a language is second or foreign depends on its historical and/or political status. This is a community-oriented conception that is more often than not untenable. Gardner (2001, 2) has revealed that Canada which is taken as a bilingual community has only two provinces out of twelve that qualify as such.

English is no longer the language of the English people only. The emergence of various Englishes urges researchers to take the improved notions of social networks and discourse community seriously. Looked at from this perspective, there is nothing scandalous about Sir E. Gowers' anecdote (1954, 4) where he recalls

"an old story of an Indian official who, on finding his British superior laboriously correcting a letter he had drafted to a Brother Indian official, remarked 'Your honour puts yourself to much trouble correcting my English and doubtless the final letter will be much better literature; but it will go from me Mukheji to him Bannerji, and he Bannerji will understand it a great deal better as I Mukheji write it than as your honour corrects it.'"

One could claim that Mukheji and Bannerji have close social network ties but do not necessarily belong to the same discourse community. Members of a discourse community share a code of linguistic and rhetorical conduct,

together with an acknowledged expertise, of which specialists, who have slowly moved to a commanding position, are the custodians. Some leading experts may be native speakers while others may not necessarily be. The native speakers generally enforce the code of linguistic and rhetorical conduct and ensure a reasonable degree of conformity within the discourse community. History is rife with exceptions; St Augustine was of a Berber origin while Sibawjhi, the great authority on Classical Arabic grammar, was of a Persian origin.

The terms foreign language acquisition and second language acquisition are so widely used, and it is perhaps unwise to replace them or do without them. However, a foreign language learner is not just that learner who stays in her native language community or who goes to a host country and takes language courses in order to register for a graduate degree. Nor is a second language learner simply that person who has passed the home office test for immigrants or who has managed to obtain the green card through the lottery. A learner of a foreign language is that learner who has embarked on developing social network-ties with representative members of the TL community. Members could be actual people in the street, people whose names and deeds receive a lot of "positive" publicity, authors of, and characters in, books, films or cartoons, and pen friends or e-mail gossipers.

Vladimir Nabokov in Speak Memories wrote,

"My first English friends were four simple souls in my grammar

– Ben, Dan, Sam and Ned. There used to be a great deal of fuss about their identities and whereabouts - 'who is Ben?' 'He is Dan', 'Sam is in bed', and so on. Although it all remained stiff and patchy...my imagination somehow managed to obtain the necessary data...and at the very end of the brown ink-stained volume, a real, sensible story unfolded its adult sentences. ('One day Ted said to Ann: Let us...'), the little reader's triumph and reward. I was thrilled by the thought that some day I might attain such proficiency..." (quoted in Brumfit, 1991).

The little Vladimir's triumph was not just due to his success in going through a linear textbook that adopts a synthetic, form-oriented syllabus, it is also due to developing "unidirectional" network ties with Ben, Dan, Sam, and Ned through a model speaker of the target language community, who is his

teacher. There are many little Nabokovs and young Conrads, learning languages around the world, who receive little attention. The present paper argues that the more networks the foreign language learner develops and the denser those networks are, the more she progresses in her TL mastery.

A learner of a second language is a person who has developed dense social network ties with members of an established group within the target linguistic community normally, the established group being a discourse community. The learner of a second language enters a discourse community by acquiring its linguistic and rhetorical code of behaviour. In some cases, the learner may share the discourse community's broad set of common public goals prior to engaging in the process of acquiring her second language. This applies to the so-called learning English for Special Purposes (ESP). The learner's self-perception and her motivation affect her position in the network. Thus, it makes a lot of sense to claim that the learner's self-perception and motivation affect the speed of her language acquisition. The learner who moves from being other-directed in the discourse community to being inner-directed is prone to reach the status of an expert. The expert status gives rise to a belongingness that when challenged, inner-directedness comes to its rescue, but more importantly to freedom from alienation. In general, the expert's flexible self-perception allows her to maintain good social network ties with members of her native linguistic community. It may even enhance those ties, especially when individuals' self-perceptions in the native linguistic community are not converging towards a rigid or immutable group self-perception.

The present paper hypothesises that Foreign Language acquisition may be characterised by the fact that an already learned language functions as a matrix language (Fuller, 1999). The latter provides system morphemes, e.g. determiners, morpheme marking gender, number, and case. It also provides syntactic order. The TL functions as an embedded language; it contributes content morphemes and some formulaic expressions that appear as islands or stretches that have been memorised (automatised) without being fully or partially unpacked. Second language acquisition is characterised by a sophisticated mastery of the TL system morphemes, as well as TL syntactic system. SLA is a process of developing the linguistic and rhetorical codes of behaviour proper to a particular discourse community. The successful learner develops a native-like semantic and pragmatic knowledge, especially in her TL discourse community, but does not necessarily suffer from anomie or acculturation. Empirical bilingual interlanguage research (e.g. Myers-Scotton,

1993) may refine or refute the hypotheses formulated in this paper. The various foci on linguistic levels and the seemingly contradictory approaches that characterise the current situation depicted in the introduction to this paper will contribute to the enrichment of our understanding of language, language acquisition, and language use.

Conclusion

This paper has started off with a discussion of SLA research by taking Krashen's model as an example. To overcome some of the controversial issues that prevail in SLA research, the paper has proposed the integration of social networks and discourse community, together with a multifaceted conception of self, in the hope of accounting for motivation and opening up new horizons for SLA. The paper has tried to argue for the abandonment of the adjectives "integrative" and "instrumental" in studying motivation. It has proposed that researchers look at the learner as a human and social being who has a multi-faceted self and who fares, often while remaining attached to her native linguistic community, into another linguistic community through network ties. As soon as she enters a target language discourse community, her status changes from being a foreign language learner to being a second language learner. This change of status is heralded by a change from having the first language as a matrix language to a sophisticated mastery of the target language linguistic rules, a native-like semantic and pragmatic knowledge, and, above all, a mastery of the rhetorical devices and lexical jargon characteristic of the TL discourse community. Colossal as it might seem, the fieldwork the paper subsumes requires triangulation and meticulousness. But, to echo Wittgenstein (1958, viii), "I should not like my writing to spare other people the trouble of thinking. But, if possible, to stimulate someone to thoughts of his own."

This paper has sought to answer some questions, but it hopes to raise many questions in the astute and well-informed reader. Such intellectual skepticism will constitute a significant driving force for research in SLA.

Acknowledgements

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