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THEORY OF ENDOGENOUS AND EXOGENOUS MOTIVATION IN L2 MIGRATION

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Implied in theories of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) is the notion that language learning is analogous to obtaining or acquiring a possession – thus the use of the term 'acquisition.' While this interpretation has gone relatively unchallenged in the literature, this article introduces a new analogy whereby language learning is seen as analogous to a process of permanent or semi-permanent migration towards a new socio-linguistic L2 space. As such, a theory of endogenous and exogenous motivation is delineated, entailing a dynamic interplay between internal (primarily psychological) and external (primarily sociological) push-pull factors. Endogenous and exogenous push-pull factors, together with various other personal factors, contribute to learner decisions to migrate towards, move away from or remain inert with regard to the target language. Further, motivation is framed in the larger theoretical context of causation.

Keywords: interlanguage, endogenous, exogenous, motivation, L2, migration

INTRODUCTION

In this article, past theories related to motivation in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) will be surveyed. Secondly, the author will propose a novel theory of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) that characterises SLA, rather, as L2 migration analogous, in many ways, to actual physical migration or 'cognitive expansion' towards a new socio-linguistic space. In drawing this analogy, Lee's (1966) theory of migration will form the primary source of inspiration. Further, the author will frame motivation in terms of a larger theoretical context of causation. Endogenous and exogenous pushes and pulls from within and external to the individual, respectively, will also be discussed as causative factors that play a role in L2 migration. Finally, the author will highlight points of convergence and divergence with predominant motivational theories in SLA and the current theory propounded in this article. In addition, the implications of the insights offered by this new theory are discussed.

There is much literature on the central role that motivation plays in foreign-language-learner motivation as a key determinant in successful language acquisition. The literature to date has focused on attempting to develop functional, practical and empirically relevant theoretical frameworks for describing the complex phenomenon of motivation in the context of Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Such theoretical frameworks have typically been proposed with the primary objective to help us understand external and internal factors that affect motivation of language learners. These theories will be discussed below.

PRINCIPAL MOTIVATION THEORIES IN SLA

Integrative-instrumental Motivation Theory

Foundational texts on Motivation in SLA come from the Integrative-instrumental Theory of Motivation. Formulations of the Integrative-instrumental Theory of Motivation began to challenge the *a priori* assumption that success or failure in the process of language learning may simply be ascribed to the learning aptitude of individual students. Prior to the rise of theories articulating the role of motivation in language learning, it was typically assumed that successful language learners were simply just endowed with an 'ear for language' that other unsuccessful learners did not have.

Integrative-instrumental theory argues that various motivational factors exist that influence the learner (Garner and Lambert, 1959). These factors can be distinguished from the teacher's scope or stimulus (Gardner and Lambert, 1959). Integrative-instrumental theory presents these motivational factors as 1) the student's desire to integrate into or interact with the target language community, 2) the student's conception of the usefulness of the target language to accomplish a defined set of goals and objectives and 3) the student's attitudes towards the target language and its associated community of speakers (Gardner and Lambert, 1972). The novelty of this theory is that it takes socio-cultural factors into account in terms of the learner's desire or lack thereof to become integrated into the society and/or culture of the target language as a means of developing meaningful social interactions. According to Gardner, in learners with an integrative motivational orientation, there is 'a high level of drive on the part of the individual to acquire the language of a valued second language community in order to facilitate communication with that group' (Gardner et al., 1976: 199).

According to Csizér and Dörnyei, 'integrativeness appears to be the single most important factor' in L2 acquisition (2005: 19). Indeed, past research indicates that 'that learners ranking high on integrative orientation work harder and learn faster than those who are low on integrative motivation' (Nicholson, 2013: 278; Gardner et al., 1983; Gardner et al., 1987; Gardner et al., 1985; Gardner et al., 1989; Gardner and MacIntyre, 1991; Masgoret and Gardner, 2003; Tremblay and Gardner, 1995; Liu, 2007: 127; Clément et al., 1994). Instrumental motivation, on the other hand, is related to the learner's perception of practical benefits that come with learning another language. An instrumental motivational orientation towards language learning is framed in terms of 'acquiring a language as a means for attaining instrumental goals: furthering a career, reading technical material, translation, and so forth' (Brown, 2000: 162). Practical concerns such as employment, salary and/or socio-economic mobility tend to be at the forefront for learners with instrumental motivation for L2 acquisition (Dörnyei, 2001; Gardner and Lambert, 1972).

Intrinsic-extrinsic Motivation Theory

Although Integrative-instrumental Theories of Motivation mark a decisive shift in moving the scholarly discussion away from discussions of learner aptitude, it was later argued that a simple integrative-instrumental dichotomy could not sufficiently account for the multifaceted nature of motivation's role in SLA. One major critique against Integrative-instrumental Theory dealt with an over-reliance on external factors such as a particular society into which the learner hopes to integrate and tangible/intangible pragmatic benefits to be gained by language learning. This led to the adoption of a systematic organisation of motivating factors in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic factors. In this markedly different line of thinking, there exists an interplay between external and internal factors, which heavily influences learner motivation. This decidedly cognitive view of motivation in SLA stresses the notion that 'human behaviour is influenced by the way people think about themselves and their

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environment' (Biehler and Snowman, 2011: 402). The way the learner thinks about themselves and the environment, in turn, is thought to play a significant role in motivation (or lack thereof) to engage in subsequent actions such as language learning.

The concept of intrinsic motivation is based on the premise that human beings are innately endowed with 1) autonomy and 2) curiosity with regard to learning (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Ryan and Deci, 2000; Ushioda, 1996, Little et al., 2003). The construct of intrinsic motivation is linked to learners engaging in activities related to SLA without a need for external reward. In research based on the intrinsic-extrinsic dichotomy, it was found that learners with a high degree of intrinsic motivation tend to remember concepts for longer durations of time and do not require as much review and revision as students who lack sufficient intrinsic motivation (Dev, 1997). Further, according to Kohn (1999), intrinsically motivated students not only do not need external motivating 'bribes' but, rather, such external incentives may also prove to be counterproductive in the long run. In other findings, it has been shown that there is a tendency for intrinsically motivated students to become lifelong learners of the target language in that they continue to educate themselves outside of the 'formal school setting long after external motivators such as grades and diplomas are removed' (Nicholson, 2013: 278). For such learners, success itself is seen as its own reward (Oxford and Shearin, 1994; Noels et al., 2003).

Extrinsic motivation, in turn, pertains to learning a language as a result of external motivating factors such as those first considered in the integrative-instrumental theories of SLA. Such incentives may be related to monetary gain, social access or academic distinction – all examples of extrinsic motivation. Extrinsic motivation can also include motivation to avoid social sanction or physical harm. According to Dörnyei, extrinsic motivation is related to behaviours that 'the individual performs to receive some extrinsic reward such as getting good grades, being praised by the teacher or to avoid punishment,' which makes it similar, in many ways, to earlier conceptions of instrumental motivation (Dörnyei, 1994: 275).

Self-determination Motivation Theory

Self-determination Theory (SDT) of motivation in language learning focuses primarily on the internal resources that humans have at their disposal for use in 'personality development and behavioural self-regulation' (Ryan and Deci, 2000: 68). SDT conceives both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as being located on a continuum of self-determination wherein extrinsic factors become 'progressively transformed into intrinsic (self-determined) values and motivations' (Dörnyei, 2003; Noels et al., 2003; Nicholson, 2013: 279).

Extrinsic motivation includes external regulation, which represents externalised rationales used as a basis for performing actions. Such behaviours are engaged in due to the possibilities of rewards and punishments or because of some type of external demand (Ryan and Deci, 2000). Such extrinsic motivation may include grades, 'gold stars,' course credit, praise and awards. Introjected regulation, in turn, is somewhat more internalised, but not fully so. Introjected regulation is typically thought of as that which is used to sustain feelings of worth or to exhibit linguistic aptitude in some social context in which aptitude will be recognised and lauded by others. Learners with introjected regulation as their primary source of motivation tend to attempt to impress other people with their ability or cram for tests to avoid feelings of failure. Identified regulation is still more internalised in that it involves 'the conscious valuing of a behavioural goal or regulation such as that the action is accepted or owned as personally important' (Nicholson, 2013: 279). Integrated regulation is the most internalised and autonomous along the continuum. According to Ryan and Deci (2000: 73), 'Integration occurs when identified regulations are fully assimilated to the self.' An example

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of this would be learning based on life-guiding principles or possessing an internal conviction that the activity of learning a language is valuable (as in studies that show that language learning is valuable for cognitive development and offsetting the effect of dementia later in life). SDT, thus, focuses on psychological needs and the means by which these needs are fulfilled (Deci and Ryan, 1985). According to Ryan and Deci (2000), the three primary psychological needs are competence, relationships/relatedness and autonomy. In the context of SDT, classrooms, tutorials and other social environments where language learning takes place that meet the aforementioned three primary psychological needs can facilitate the development of intrinsic motivation in learners (Ryan and Deci, 2000). The core aspect of SDT is the idea that motivation is dynamic and that typically one will be more motivated to do something as a result of one's own volition as opposed to an activity in which one is forced to engage (Dörnyei, 2001).

'The Ideal Self' Motivation Theory

The 'Ideal Self' Motivation Theory expresses motivation in terms of more contemporary psychological conceptions of identity and the self (Dörnyei, 2007). In Dörnyei's articulation of the Motivational Self-system, 'motivation comes about from the student's desire to lessen the gap between their actual self and their ought-to self' (Nicholson, 2013: 279). The first aspect of the theory conceptualises the Ideal L2 Self as the internal cognitive representation of the attributes that the learner would like to possess in relationship to the L2. For example, the learner's Ideal L2 self may include the idea that he or she ought to integrate into the L2 community, be proficient in the language or master the language to the point of being able to teach it (Dörnyei, 2007). Related to the Ideal Self is the notion of the Ought-to L2 Self whereby there is a motivational relationship between the attributes that one thinks one currently possesses, the attributes that one thinks one should acquire and what one's own actual desires are (Dörnyei, 2007). The Ideal Self as a motivational construct may be linked to previous expressions of extrinsic/instrumental motivation and may also include one's perception of what others think one should do or be (Kormos and Csizér, 2008). Related to both the Ideal Self and the Ought-to self is the L2 Learning Experience which encompasses attributes related to the immediate learning experience and the environment in which language learning takes place (Kormos and Csizér, 2008). A major aspect of the Ideal Self model of motivation is that it addresses motivation in terms of integrating into a globalised community (of English speakers) rather than older conceptions of integration into a community of native speakers within the context of national boundaries (Nicholson, 2013).

While all of the predominant theories of motivation outlined above are valuable, in this article, a theory of language learning will be presented that postulates language learning as analogous to a type of semi-permanent or permanent L2 migration from origin to destination. As such, Lee's (1966) theory of migration will be employed to draw this analogy. While other theories of migration exist, which take factors such as climate, economics and intervening opportunities into account, it is thought that Lee's foundational theory – from which many others draw inspiration – is general enough to be malleable and useful for drawing the language learning-to-migration analogy articulated in this article.

LEE'S CLASSICAL THEORY OF MIGRATION

Lee's (1966) classical theory of migration outlines four major factors in an individual's motivation and ultimate decision to move from a place of origin to a destination. These are:

1. Factors associated with the area of origin.
2. Factors associated with the area of destination.

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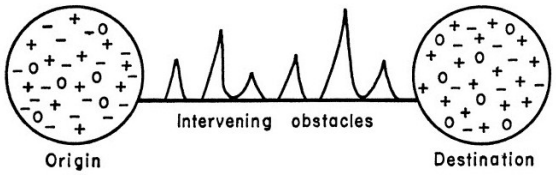
3. Intervening obstacles.
4. Personal factors. (Lee, 1966: 50)

These factors are represented in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Origin and Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration



While usually referred to as 'push-pull' factors, Lee's original formulation frames these factors more in terms of pluses and minuses in both the origin and destination that factor into decisions. However, Lee (1966: 51) also notes that:

> [A] simple calculus of +'s and -'s does not decide the act of migration. The balance in favor of the move must be enough to overcome the natural inertia which always exists. Furthermore, between every two points there stands a set of intervening obstacles which may be slight in some instances and insurmountable in others.

In migration, distance is usually the most prominent of potential barriers, which can be likened to psychological distance and other such obstacles to language learning. However, one of the most astute observations made by Lee is that different people are affected in different ways by the same or similar obstacles and that what may be a trivial obstacle to some may be perceived as insurmountable to others. Key in this proposition is the centrality of individual (or typological collective) perception of obstacles as well as individual (or collective) perception of the pluses or minuses at the locale of origin and/or destination. Lee (1966: 51) notes that 'it is not so much the actual factors at origin and destination as the perception of these factors which results in migration.' It is thought that the same holds true in the theory of L2 migration expounded in this article.

Another significant observation is that there are 'many personal factors which affect individual thresholds and facilitate or retard migration' (Lee, 1966: 51). Lee (1966: 51) notes that some personal factors tend to be constant throughout one's life while others are marked by transitions between one stage of life and another. Such factors include:

1.
    a. Personal sensitivities,
    b. Intelligence,
    c. Awareness of conditions of situation at origin,
    d. Knowledge of the situation at destination,
    e. Personal contacts,
    f. Non-universal sources of information, and
    g. Personality traits (e.g. resistance to change vs openness to change). (Lee, 1966: 51)

Due to these and other personal factors, some individuals or classes (types) of people may respond and react in a similar fashion in the face of general sets of factors at the origin or

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destination. Thus, pluses and minuses are differently defined based on perceptions of each individual migrant or type of migrant. For some migrants, there must be significant and overwhelming motivating reasons to move, while, for others, comparatively little provocation in the form of internal whim or external stimulus is necessary. As such, there may be 'rational' and 'irrational' components in the decision-making process which may include 'transient emotions, mental disorder, and accidental occurrences' (Lee, 1966: 51). Lee's (1966) discussion of individual perception of pluses and minuses at the origin and destination constitutes an attempt to develop an understanding of factors that would be expected to push a person away from their place or origin or pull one towards a target destination.

Typical push-pull factors expected to hold in most prototypical cases are illustrated in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Push-Pull Factors in Physical Migration

Push Factors (Real or perceived)	Pull Factors (Real or perceived)
Lack of employment	Prevalence of employment opportunities
Lack of educational opportunities	Prevalence of educational opportunities
Lack of politico-religious freedom	Prevalence of politico-religious freedom
Lack of conducive climate	Prevalence of attractive climatic conditions
Lack of adequate medical care	Prevalence of adequate medical care
Lack of wealth	Prevalence of wealth
Lack of security	Prevalence of security
Prevalence of disease	Lack of disease
Prevalence of pollution	Lack of pollution
Prevalence of poor housing	Lack of poor housing
Prevalence of discrimination	Lack of discrimination
Prevalence of war	Lack of war

These considerations, while not exhaustive by any means, would be expected to hold true for a great number of individuals. However, in theory formulation, one must account for the 'outliers' at the fuzzy boundaries. For example, while 'prevalence of disease' would be expected to push people away from their place of origin, in the recent Ebola outbreak in West Africa, health care workers intentionally moved towards affected regions. Thus, for academics, generalisations to cover the most prototypical groups and examples are useful, but

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room must be made to account for the less-prototypical examples located at the 'fuzzy boundaries.' Thus, a good theoretical framework will account for both the most salient examples of a given phenomenon as well as the graded continuum, which stretches to progressively less and less salient examples. As such, an appeal is made to prototype theory as formulated by Rosch and associates (Rosch, 1978; Rosch, 1983; Rosch and Mervis, 1975) as a means of understanding individual and typological variance in terms of categorisation and divergence from the expected.

Causality, Motivation and L2 Migration

That which links motivation to the action of migration (physical or socio-linguistic) is the concept of causality. Related to this line of inquiry are several questions such as:

1. a. What causes motivation to be created in an individual or group of individuals?
   b. What is the causative relationship between the self and internal/external factors?
   c. What actions may be realised as a result of intervening internal and external causative factors?

The notion of causality incorporates that which causes an individual to be motivated in the first place and, subsequently, that which causes motivation to be transformed into movement (L2 migration). Thus, causality can be thought of as the simple initiation of a cause or the extended effect of a cause (Talmy, 2000: 418; 420, Duah, 2013: 190).

In terms of motivation, the types of causality can be thought of as that which initiates the initial spark to learn a language vs that which sustains this drive over time. Further, this causative relationship may be endogenous or exogenous and may also occur through the removal of intervening obstacles (letting) or the provision of impetus for L2 migration (causation). In either case endogenous or exogenous motivation and the complex interaction between the two may serve as the onset or extended motivating factors in L2 migration.

In causation, the causer may be an animate person who acts with volition and intention, for example someone who provides information about the destination (in our case, information about target-language vocabulary or grammatical structures), or an inanimate author whose actions are wholly or in part unintentional or without volition. In turn, the causee may be animate or inanimate with or without the control (autonomy/volition) typically assumed in the case of the language learner (Talmy, 2000: 415; Duah, 2013: 197).

As language learning is discussed in the context of this article, we will focus on what causes the animate causee to be motivated in terms of endogenous and/or exogenous motivation. At this juncture, it is important to note that endogenous and exogenous motivation are not mutually exclusive and while one may be perceived as most prominent in a given situation, the two may work in synchrony or in conflict as complementary aspects of the whole.

In relation to the animate cause, i.e. the learner, the first type of motivation as a causative factor is manipulation, which, in and of itself, can be broken down into coercive and directive manipulation. The properties of manipulation are shown below:

a. Coercive manipulation:

- Animate/inanimate causer.
- Animate/inanimate causee.
- Causer possesses stronger force quantity.
- Causee is under control of causer and is totally affected.
- Direct contact between causer and causee.

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- Causer applies physical force on causee. (Duah, 2013: 207)

b. Directive manipulation:

- Animate causer.
- Animate causee.
- Causer's stronger force consists of social authority or influence rather than physical force.
- Causee is not totally affected, but controls the caused event.
- No direct contact between causer and causee.
- Causee complies because of perceived sanctions or benefits.
- Causer's action is verbal (instruction or directive) rather than physical force. (Duah, 2013: 207)

Whereas coercive manipulation may be more associated with corporal punishment in school or in the home, directive manipulation would be the expected norm in the modern learning environment. Directive manipulation is most closely correlated with the notion of exogenous motivation, which will be articulated further below (Duah, 2013).

In the context of the current discussion, either type of manipulation can be grouped under the rubric of exogenous push factors that motivate the causee to 'migrate towards' the L2 and/or away from the L1. Although it is not necessarily 100 per cent necessary for the migration towards the L2 to entail a 'permanent' movement away from the L1, at the very least, at the time of the speech act, there is an active decision not to use the L1 and rather to communicate in the L2 – cf. McCroskey and Richmond's (1990) discussion of 'Willingness to Communicate' in any given moment. This choice to use the L2 rather than the L1 can be thought of as a temporary or short-distance socio-linguistic migration. In his original theory of migration, Lee (1966: 49) lamented that

> Generally speaking, considerations of internal migration have been divorced from considerations of immigration and emigration, and very short moves, such as those within counties [like] the United States or within *Kreise* in Germany, have not been considered along with the longer distance movement that is labelled.

While this is no longer the predominating case in terms of Migration Theory, short or temporary migration is relevant in our own discussion that draws a parallel between physical migration and L2 migration that takes place on a cognitive socio-linguistic level. According to Lee (1966: 49), 'migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semipermanent change of residence.' Lee (1966: 49) further argues that 'No matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles. Among the set of intervening obstacles, we include the distance of the move as one that is always present.' This distinction is very relevant to the current discussion in that our link to migration does not mean that the 'socio-linguistic L2 migrant' has forever left behind the origin (L1) never to return. What is implied, however, which may be linked to the notion of willingness to communicate (WTC), is, at the very least, the need for the learner to speak (and/or think in) the L2 for short or extended periods tantamount to 'semipermanent changes of residence.' (Lee 1966: 49)

In terms of manipulation as an example of exogenous motivation, the most relevant to the majority of language-learning contexts is the directive manipulation where the causer may be a language teacher or a speaker of the language. This type of causation may be most readily associated with extrinsic motivation. In any case, there is a change in state (from unmotivated to motivated) that takes place.

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Yet another cause of motivation may be a triggering event. The properties of such a trigger are the following:

- Causer is an event rather than an agent.
- Animate causee.
- Causee perceives causing event as stimulus.
- There is no physical contact between causing event and causee.
- Causing event triggers an involuntary reaction in causee.
- Causee does not control the caused state; it is totally affected. (Duah, 2013: 215)

This can be most clearly seen in a moment of epiphany whereby a desire to learn is engendered in a learner as an involuntary reaction due to a salient event (or series of events). This moment of epiphany may occur in a variety of contexts with no two moments or experiences necessarily being exactly the same for any two learners (Duah, 2013).

Another cause of motivation in language learning in particular and in general is the prompt. *Prompt* shares similarities with *trigger* in that in each case the causer is an event or an activity. In the case of *prompt* causation, the following properties comprise defining characteristics:

- Causer is an event/activity rather than an object.
- Causee is animate.
- Causee perceives causing event as stimulus.
- Causing event does not act physically on the causee.
- Causing event prompts a causee to undergo a voluntary emotional or psychological state.
- Causee controls the caused state; it is not totally affected. (Duah, 2013: 218)

In a language-learning context, such a prompting event may be exemplified through the exogenous social push to train government personnel in Arabic after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in the United States (although this prompt may be seen as working in conjunction with manipulation in the form of rewards and benefits offered to learn the language). On an individual basis, *prompt* is most closely tied to personal inspiration as a result of events or activities as a motivating factor.

The primary expression of *create* causation in the language-learning context is in the creation of motivation itself. This type of causation is particularly intriguing as it gives rise to questions that have predominated much of the motivation theory literature in terms of what causes motivation to be created in a learner. Related to this point is the idea that motivation can be created where none existed before. *Create* causation can potentially have the learner or an outside entity as the causer. This broaches the question of not only what causes a student to be motivated, but also what the causes are for motivation to be created in the first place and how they operate. Duah (2013) outlines the properties of creation below:

- Typically animate causer
- Animate/inanimate causee
- There is no causee at the beginning of the interaction
- Causer initiates an action which brings the causee into being
- Causee does not control the caused event; it is totally affected by the causer's action (Duah, 2013: 224)

According to Duah (2013), 'unlike in manipulation, there is no representation for a shift in the state of the now created causee. Rather, the result of the causer's action is represented by the

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downward pointing arrow which shows the newly created entity; the broken circle is intended as shorthand for the newly created entity' (Duah, 2013: 224).

The final method of causation delimited by Duah (2013) is that of *allow*. This aspect of causation is most closely tied to Lee's idea of intervening obstacles that have the potential to act as a barrier between origin and destination to different degrees for different (types of) people. In the instance of *allow* causality, the removal of such obstacles may enable or allow the individual to proceed with physical and/or the socio-linguistic L2 migration towards the destination (e.g. the target language and the ideal self). In actual terms, these obstacles may be mental blocks such as fear, anxiety, lack of know-how and other personal factors outlined above in (1). Restraints or instigators may also be social. In the broader context, access to language-learning materials and enabling environments, or lack thereof, may constitute either enabling (instigating) or restraining factors. The properties of *allow* are as follows:

- Animate/inanimate causer.
- Animate/inanimate causee.
- Causer's force may be physical or social (authority, rights and privileges).
- Causer does not act on causee or refrains from blocking it.
- Causee displays an urge, tendency or disposition toward a certain result.
- Causee is able to display its tendency or disposition when the causer does not assert its greater force, physically or socially. (Talmy, 2000: 418; Duah, 2013: 228)

The notion of *allow* causation is the closest to the notion of endogenous motivation whereby the causee has a pre-existing tendency towards its destination that it may fulfil when 1) obstacles are not present and/or 2) the causee's perception of the obstacles and self-evaluation work together to allow the causee to overcome any real or imagined obstacles. In this formulation, the entity is able to proceed with its endogenous tendency upon interaction with a possible instigator or upon removal of real or perceived restraints.

According to Duah (2013: 228), *allow* causality, on the one hand, with the causer as (possible) instigator, 'represents a situation where a stronger causer who had overturned a causee's disposition toward rest suddenly stays out of position thus allowing the causee to display its original disposition.'. This original disposition is thought to be in play for an entity that already has some level of motivation to one degree or another. *Allow* causality, on the other hand, with the causer as (possible) restraint, exhibits a 'stronger causer who had hitherto blocked a causee[, but] suddenly removes its force allowing the causee to proceed' (Duah, 2013: 228). The procession of the causee may be towards the direction of the L2 or could also be thought of as a progression towards one's conception of the Ideal Self (Dörnyei, 2007).

To round out this discussion of causality and its relevance to motivation in L2 migration, there is a spatio-temporal aspect in effect with regard to direct and indirect causation.

Under direct causation the location and time are conceived as being one while in the case of indirect causation, cause and effect are conceptualised as taking place over the course of time and/or place. This is relevant in that the creation of motivation itself as well as the effect that motivation has on the learner can be conceived of as either direct or indirect causation. In turn, this distinction accounts for the convergence of past and current influences on the learner at the present moment. As such, cumulative traits over the course of one's life as well as situationally relevant elements at a given instant can be taken into account as both types of causation may be in play to various degrees at any given point in time.

The purpose of this section has been to show that, at its most basic level, the discussion of motivation in language learning is essentially a discussion of causality. What causes

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motivation to be created in a learner? What causes motivation to have an effect on the learner and his or her behaviour? It is thought that once causative relationships are understood, this understanding can provide insight into how motivation works in the context of language learning as L2 migration and the decision-making process(es) entailed therein.

FACTORS IN L2 MIGRATION MOTIVATION

This article proposes a theory of interlanguage development as analogous to physical migration. The primary research question addresses endogenous and/or exogenous factors that cause a person to be motivated to move from origin (L1) to destination (L2).1 Both endogenous and exogenous motivation are understood within the prism of the 'push-pull' factors typically associated with the classical formulation of Lee's Migration Theory (Lee, 1966). While this classical view of Migration Theory focuses on physical movement from one location to another, in language learning, we are discussing mental and cognitive 'migration' to a new socio-linguistic milieu and the psycho-social factors and choice(s) that undergird this decision (which may be seen as the cumulative effect of multiple sub-decisions along the way). There are endogenous and exogenous socio-linguistic push-pull factors that may influence one's movement towards a new language or an 'Ideal Linguistic Self' who has competence in the language. By the same token, endogenous and exogenous factors may cause one to stay put or may drive a person away from the new socio-linguistic space. Movement towards new mental spaces is seen as analogous to movement to new physical spaces with similar mitigating factors. However, this movement must also take into account the relative ease of 'mental movement' as opposed to physical movement although motivations for either may be similar. This distinction vis-à-vis physical vs mental movements must similarly take into account the possibility of more nuanced movements towards or away from the new socio-linguistic space at frequencies that may exceed what could be accomplished in physical migration (due to physical, monetary, immigration or other intervening obstacles). While the complex interaction between both endogenous and exogenous factors are intertwined, ultimately, endogenous motivation is viewed as the most important determining factor in language-learning achievement potentially empowering the learner to overcome contextual limitations imposed by exogenous push-pull factors.

It has been argued that to be motivated means to be 'moved' to do something in the sense that 'A person who feels no impetus or inspiration to act is thus characterized as unmotivated, whereas someone who is energized or activated toward an end is considered motivated' (Deci and Ryan, 1985: 54). This idea of motivation as 'moving' meshes well with our own conception of the pushes and pulls of L2 'migration' towards or away from a target language.

It should be noted that although Lee's Migration Theory is appealed to for inspiration, the current theory is not an exact graft of the ideas expressed therein. In the prevailing understanding of Lee's theory, pushes are thought to occur in the context of the place of origin (i.e. that which pushes the person away from origin), while pulls are associated primarily with the area of destination (i.e. forces which attract the person to the destination). In the current formulation expressed in this article, there is thought to be a dynamic interplay of minuses and

[1] As noted previously, this migration can also be conceived as migration from actual self towards Ought-to Self or Ideal Self as articulated by Dörnyei (2007).

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pluses or pushes and pulls with regard to both origin and destination that occur both within and external to the individual.

Table 2: Endogenous/Exogenous Pushes and Pulls in L2 Migration

Endogenous (Feelings, psychological needs, desires, character traits)				Exogenous (society, learning environment, peers, language speakers)			
Push towards new socio-linguistic space	Push away from new socio-linguistic space	Pull towards new socio-linguistic space	Pull away from new socio-linguistic space	Push towards new socio-linguistic space	Push away from new socio-linguistic space	Pull towards new socio-linguistic space	Pull away from new socio-linguistic space
Disdain for L1	Disdain for L2	Affection for L2	Affection for L1	Social disregard associated with L1	Social disregard associated with L2	Social prestige associated with L2	Social prestige associated with L1
Discom-fort with L1	Discom-fort with L2	Comfort with L2	Comfort with L1	Anxiety caused by socio-linguistic space of L1	Anxiety caused by socio-linguistic space of L2	Ease caused by socio-linguistic space of L2	Ease caused by socio-linguistic space of L1

The left side of Table 1 illustrates endogenous pushes and pulls that are caused by the learner or have their origin internal to the learner. As such, it focuses on pushes and pulls as a result of feelings or psychological states. The right side of Table 1, in turn, illustrates exogenous pushes and pulls that may affect the learner. The focus here is on the social context in which prestige or disregard may prevail within the social context in which language learning takes place as in the case of diglossia. It is expected that certain pushes and pulls will typically occur for the majority of learners in a context where there are either individual or collective social values tied to the language in question. Similarly, on a personal level, notions of comfort and anxiety may come into play at this level with regard to pushes and pulls that take place due to endogenous and/or exogenous factors. In the dynamic interplay between endogenous and exogenous factors, the learner will make decisions that either converge with prototypical expectations of what would push or pull one towards or away from a language or diverge away from such expectation.

In terms of typical expectations, it is thought that a learner's affective relationship with the L1 and his or her willingness to move away from the comfort zone of the L1 can be analysed in the context of endogenous pulls to stay put or move away from the new socio-linguistic mental space that may overcome any pulls that may exist with regard to moving towards the L2. As such, a learner's affective relationship with regard to L1 may constitute one of several determinants in successful or unsuccessful L2 migration as situated in the complex socio-linguistic considerations found in the specific learning context in which he or she finds himself or herself. According to Corder (1978: 75), 'Interlanguage, particularly in its earliest developmental stages, frequently manifests various characteristics of the learner's native language. However, not all learners show consistent evidence of transfer from the native

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language and certainly not to the same degree across learners.' Thus, beyond simple affective attachment, the L1 can pull on the learner in the form of interference at a cognitive level. This idea of interference from the L1 can be thought of a pulling effect from within the learner and/or the origin (L1) in which the learner is situated. According to Omaggio-Hadley (2001: 259–262), such instances of interference from the L1 may include:

> […] language transfer, or interference from the mother tongue, transfer of training, or errors due to the nature of the language-learning materials and approaches themselves, strategies of second language learning, or errors due to the learner's own approach to the material to be learned, strategies of second language communication, or errors due to the way in which the learner attempts to communicate with native speakers in natural language-use situations, and overgeneralization of target language rules, or errors due to the way in which the learner restructures and reorganizes linguistic material.

This point will be returned to below in our discussion of implications and conclusions.

Despite the fact that there are expectations with regard to prototypical decisions and behaviours as a result of endogenous and exogenous pushes and pulls as motivating factors, just as in the case of physical migration, it should be noted that not every person reacts in the same way in the face of the same factors and circumstances. For example, some people may experience social anxiety but will still move forward with their task while others who feel anxiety may refuse to move or move away from the situation that causes anxiety.

It is worth noting that a major impetus underlying the rise of motivation-based theories was in the desire to move away from a discussion of individual traits or aptitude colloquially termed having a so-called 'ear for language'. However, in our rush to recognise the role of motivation, it is important that we not throw out the proverbial baby with the bathwater. Indeed, not everyone has the same reaction to the same environment and these distinctions may indeed be affected by individual traits. In fact, any language teacher worth his or her salt will take note of individual differences in terms of learning styles, such as those identified in Bloom's Taxonomy, and tailor pedagogical strategies based on these and other types of individual student needs (Bloom and Krathwohl, 1956). In a similar way, it is important to get an understanding of how individuals react and respond to various stimuli rather than making broad assumptions as is typically made in the literature as in the case of anxiety and affective domain, for example. In fact, such factors can be thought of as being on par with Lee's (1966) concept of intervening obstacles to migration, which, while in the view of some seem insurmountable, may be trivial for others. In the context of language learning, according to Krashen (1982: 25),

> The newer methods, the more successful ones, are the ones that encourage a low filter. They provide a relaxed classroom where the student is not on the defensive. So good methods concentrate generally on getting comprehensible input in and/or getting the filter down. When we do both, we're going to have real success.

While I am not advocating for a learning environment fraught with tension and anxiety, I am arguing that, in the interest of understanding the reality of language learning, it would behove theorists to take note of distinctions between individuals and types of individuals and variations in how different types of learners may respond to stress. For example, in life in

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general both the person who is viewed as acting with bravery and the person who is seen as acting out of cowardice may be equally afraid, but there is a substantive difference in that the one who demonstrates bravery just chooses to move forward anyway while the one marked by cowardice is overcome by fear. In fact, it could be argued that, by definition, bravery requires a level of anxiety, otherwise one is just moving along with a random mundane task. Action or inaction in a given situation is the distinguishing markers of identification between the two types of responses or two types of personalities. Such decisions to act in a particular way or not to act in a particular way may come about as a result of indirect causation and events that took place in the remote past that may have an impact on the decision-making process of the present moment. Not every individual makes the same decision when faced with the same situation and even the same person may make a different decision at different points in time due to a variety of endogenous and exogenous and/or direct and indirect causative factors.

This discussion is relevant in light of overarching assumptions that 'roles and motives combine with L2 self-confidence that represents perceptions of communicative competence coupled with a lack of anxiety' (Macintyre, 2007: 568). However, again, it is worth noting that while an environment marked by lack of anxiety may be our vision of a prototypically ideal learning environment and empirical data may overwhelmingly show this to be the case, not all learners respond in the same way to anxiety just as not all migrants respond in the same way to intervening obstacles. Indeed, for some, ease or lack of anxiety and stress may be linked to laziness and lack of motivation. Varied responses to various situations is something that becomes clear in the recognition of the substantive differences between some people who become prize fighters or frontline soldiers, for example, contrasted with those who become librarians or accountants. In certain instances, a person may fear physical harm and seek intellectual pursuits while in another case another person (or even the same person at a different point in time) may actually fear intellectual pursuits and seek physically dangerous situations. In whatever case, the mere existence of fear is not necessarily a sufficient predictor of what behaviour will follow. Indeed, while one may be tempted to make sweeping statements like 'People avoid situations where they will be harmed,' one must find a way of reconciling our understanding of such fundamental psychological assumptions with the fact of suicide. While more modern theories of motivation have become more closely tied to considerations relevant to modern psychology, it may be discovered that endogenous and exogenous factors must be addressed to understand that which accounts for situational decisions and how they may be affected by trait-level differences between different types of individuals. Again, while typically fear and anxiety may be shown to have an adverse effect on learning due to differences in individual psychological make-ups, the mere existence of fear and anxiety does not necessarily predict what behaviour will take place as a result of them, nor is the arising of a particular situation always a sufficient correlating predictor for success or failure in the context of that situation. It is recognition of these distinctions that cause us to emphasise the fact that Table 2 is a personal push-pull matrix and that, while motivation-in-second-language-learning theorists may have certain expectations that we would expect to hold across the board, in truth, each person would need to self-reflect on what factors push or pull him or her towards or away from the target language vs what causes inertia and lack of movement.

A basic assumption necessary for Table 2 is the existence of volition and autonomy, although, even here, there are degrees as shown in the above discussion on causality. It is typically expected that unless subjected to actual physical force (which may be the case in coercive

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manipulation causation), there is an aspect of free will or volition upon which a choice or series of choices can, and indeed, must be made in language learning. It is asserted that learners have the latent potential power to realise control over endogenous push-pull motivational factors. Some level of autonomy is requisite for moving into alignment with pulls towards the new socio-linguistic mental space and/or overcoming any exogenous pushes away from the new space or hindering pulls towards the original socio-linguistic mental (and/or physical) space. This is because, ultimately, learners have a choice. The decision to move or not is up to them. However, as in the case of physical migration, perception is key in one's assessment of motivating endogenous and exogenous pull factors, push factors, personal factors and intervening obstacles.

Endogenous Pushes and Pulls

Endogenous motivation can be understood as that which has an internal cause or origin. In this section, endogenous pushes and pulls are addressed. These pushes and pulls primarily relate to the psychological state of the individual and find their basis in one's perceptions of oneself as well as one's perceptions of the situation in the area of origin (L1) and the area of destination (L2). Dörnyei (2007) argues that linguistic self-confidence is of the utmost importance in terms of motivation in SLA. This linguistic self-confidence relates to and derives from one's perceptions of his or her own competence and ability to successfully accomplish tasks (Dörnyei, 2007).

In a linguistic milieu where one's L1 is the dominant language, a potential learner may feel a level of personal disdain for the L2 that may be supported by broader social disregard for the L2. In the case where one's L1 is a minority language, however, the situation may be reversed. In all, there are endogenous factors that occur within the individual and push and pull the learner towards or away from the L2. These include perceptions and feelings (about the L1, the L2 and the actual and/or ideal self) and desires (which may be thought of as largely instrumental or integrative). All of these culminate in a move towards or away from the L2 or, in a third possibility, they lead to inertia, which acts to keep the learner stagnant with regard to language learning.

Again, due to the fact that different individuals may respond and react differently to different stimuli, it is not necessary for an individual to necessarily have disdain for one's own L1 to be successful at an L2. However, in some cases, this may be a motivating factor which overcomes inertia. Likewise, it is not necessary for a learner to have a degree of affection for the L2 to become a successful learner. However, again, it is expected that, all other things remaining equal, such a factor could pull one towards the socio-linguistic mental and/or physical space of the L2 and, at the very least, temporarily assist the learner in leaving the more familiar space represented by the L1.

Exogenous Pushes and Pulls

Exogenous pushes and pulls are thought of as emanating from the society, the learning environment, peers and language speakers, among others. In terms of causation, exogenous pushes and pulls to migrate can be understood primarily in terms of directive manipulation causation or *allow* causation. For example, in the broader society, there may be a degree of social disregard for either the L1 or the L2 that may have an impact on the learner's motivation. It should be noted that while an impact is expected, exactly what that impact may be is not necessarily predicted for all or even most potential learners. This is where the

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individual learner's volition and autonomy clearly play a major role in that a learner can choose to buck convention and learn a language that is not necessarily tied to expected motivating factors like economic value or clout in the global marketplace. Examples of this can be found in the reAfrikanisation movement wherein heritage learners counter trends toward globalisation (oftentimes seen as a euphemism for westernisation or whitenisation) in favour of learning the language of their parents or more remote ancestors that they may not have learned from childhood (Akoto and Akoto, 2000). This is seen as analogous to Lee's (1966: 52) discussion of 'the development of stream and counter stream' in migration where migrants begin to reverse the trend of migration due to a variety of perceived changes. On the other end of the spectrum, social prestige may also have an impact upon the learner's motivation to move towards or away from the L1 or the L2.

Another exogenous factor may be the often-discussed anxiety caused by the socio-linguistic space of the L2 (or the L1). On the hand, anxiety may be caused by a variety of factors such as speaker attitude towards learner accents or perceived difficulty of the target language. In the case of African people in the US, for example, the anxiety associated with racism may also serve as a push factor away from the L1, namely English. On the other hand, anxiety associated with the L2 may be lessened by greater access to learning resources (human, textual, aural, and digital). However, again, it must be noted that not all learners will respond to anxiety in the same way and, as such, endogenous factors will play a major role in determining how learner perception operates to facilitate or undercut L2 migration. Further, although it would be expected that ease would typically be a desired factor in terms of L2 migration, account must be taken for those who desire challenges over ease or who perform best under pressure rather than in relative comfort. The personal motivation matrix outlined in Table 2 takes account of endogenous and exogenous factors that may vary from person to person, yet that could, potentially, be generalised from group to group.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

It is argued that a modified version of the 'push-pull' effect in Migration Theory may offer insight in terms of language learning with regard to decisions to 'move' closer, further away, or simply to remain inert with regard to socio-linguistic L2 migration. The metaphor of distance in physical and psychological migration is particularly relevant, as it has been advanced through Schumann's (1984) acculturation model. This model incorporates the idea that as social and psychological distance between the learner and L2 group diminish, the likelihood of approximation to second language standards of grammatical usage increases (Van Patten, 1986: 58, Schumann, 1984). According to Schulz (1991), this 'Positive psychological distance is established if learners encounter neither language nor culture shock nor culture stress and if they bring high motivation and ego permeability to the task' [italics mine].

In addition to distance, the metaphor of intervening obstacles is a pertinent one in that these obstacles can be seen as analogous to affective filters and other challenges in SLA. According to Krashen (1982: 25):

> A filter, an affective filter, can keep input from getting in. We used to speak of a mental block, a block against language learning. Filter is another word for mental block. You have to let the input in. There can't be a filter keeping the input out, which is what we think the effect of attitude motivation is. With acquirers who do not have

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> self-confidence, where the situation is tense, where (in Stevick's terms) they are on the defensive, the filter goes up. Even when the input is there, even when it is understood, they do not acquire with full efficiency. [emphasis added]

These blocks are seen as potentially interfering with socio-linguistic migration to differing degrees for different learners. While differences between learners can be affected by rational choices based on a calculus of pluses and minuses factoring in intervening obstacles, there is also room for a discussion of certain learner predispositions in cognitive decision-making processes as in the case of allow causation. What is the cumulative effect of psychosocial life experiences on the decision made in the current moment? This question is relevant to our earlier discussion of indirect causation, which, in the moment, may be thought of as character or personality traits that may affect differently for different learners and motivate them to move and inform their decisions.

Because decision-making is a complex process, it is not necessary for a choice to learn or not to be made solely on the basis of low anxiety. Again, in some situations, people still follow through with doing things that make them anxious. In addition, with autonomy, there is the possibility of engaging in an action regardless of the consequences. The logic does not necessarily follow that in all cases one single factor must necessarily be a predictor for the choice to engage in an action such as language learning.

This is conceptualised at the trait and state level in that there is always a dynamic relationship between who the learner is and their state of readiness to make a decision in the present moment. Neither should be discounted. While there are immediate endogenous and exogenous influences in the decision to migrate socio-linguistically in a specific moment such as state of self-confidence and desire to communicate with a specific person, there are also influences that may be further removed from the current moment but may be equally or even more relevant. Such influences may take place at the level of the pedagogical, psychological, socio-political, situational, socio-linguistic, and other considerations. Decisions may be influenced by the removal of intervening obstacles (such as anxiety) or the provision of enablers (such as a perception of L2 competence). However, neither of these can accurately lead to a 100% certain prediction of how a given person will respond and react when the proverbial rubber hits the road. Rather, the various endogenous and exogenous pulls resulting from direct and indirect causation should be taken into account in the decision to move towards, remain in place or move away from the L2.

As such, it is argued that concepts rooted in the learner's past (e.g. attained proficiency, prior intergroup conflict, and existing personality traits), those rooted in the learner's future (e.g. plans and goals, possible selves, and language learning orientations) as well as those of the moment (situational factors) should be evaluated to understand how the learner decides to move if at all.

In a prototype theory framework, exceptions to the rule are not considered error variance or noise, but are rather understood as complementary aspects of the necessary whole that incorporates the more prototypical behaviour as well as gradations of progressively less prototypical behaviour. As such, while the literature speaks voluminously about learners being inhibited by anxiety, prototype theory can even account for those learners who are motivated by anxiety or perform best under pressure and stress engendered by tests or being put on the spot.

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Such distinctions based on individual proclivities and tendencies were understood by Lee (1966) in saying that

> Indeed, since we can never specify the exact set of factors which impels or prohibits migration for a given person, we can, in general, only set forth a few which seem of special importance and note the general or average reaction of a considerable group. Needless to say, the factors that hold and attract or repel people are precisely understood neither by the social scientist nor the persons directly affected. Like Bentham's calculus of pleasure and pain, the calculus of +'s and -'s at origin and destination is always inexact.

However, through self-reporting in surveys and observation, it may be possible to gain a greater understanding with regard to how certain endogenous and exogenous push-pull factors affect different learners in different ways in their decision-making processes.

Studying volitional choices that occur in the interplay between endogenous and exogenous pushes and pulls and how they converge to affect L2 learning has the potential to greatly enrich our understanding of how L2 migration works.

Given that the parallel has been drawn between physical migration and socio-linguistic L2 migration, an area of further research may be the study of unsuccessful or 'incomplete' migrations. This could be understood in terms of fossilisation of 'certain items, rules, or subsystems that are not fully congruent with the target language [and that] can become a permanent part of the learner's interlanguage, resistant to further instruction or explanation' (Selinker, 1974: 118–9). This is because the metaphorical movement from origin to destination can be thought of as 'transitional competence' that exists on a continuum between the learner's 'native language' and the target language (Corder, 1967).

While literature to date has focused on notions of SLA, it is thought that a fresh perspective on Second Language Migration may open up new avenues of research and lines of inquiry with regard to language learning. Given that, at the end of the day, both are simply analogies employed to gain a better understanding of the situation of motivation in language learning, it is thought that research on motivation in SLA would be served by looking at what motivates people to acquire personal property or possessions in congruence with the notion of 'acquisition.' Similarly, the current proposition of language learning as migration may be served by looking further at that which motivates people to migrate from one space to another to truly probe these analogies for their usefulness and to follow them to their logical conclusions in our collective pursuit of knowledge and understanding.

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