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Learning experience reigns – Taiwanese learners’ motivation in learning eight additional languages as compared to English

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ABSTRACT

Informed by Dörnyei’s L2 Motivational Self System and intended to fill a gap in learning motivation research on languages other than English (LOTEs), this study investigated learners’ motivation for three language clusters – Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Thai and Malay), Northeast Asian (Japanese and Korean) and European (German, Spanish and French) – and compared the results against the same learners’ English learning motivation. Regression analyses revealed that for all three language groups, the strongest predictors of intended effort were learning experience, followed by ideal self and culture/community interest. Ought-to self and instrumentality, both promotional

In this article

out in all three LOTE regression models. The significance of
 motivational predictor was comparatively new in LOTE-related

attitude, culture/community interest, learning experience, ideal self and instrumentality. While externally imposed motivators played a role in English, they did not do so for the same learners in LOTE situations. Discrepancies with earlier results concerning LOTE motivation as well as with similar learner populations are discussed. Implications for both pedagogical practice and the theoretical development of foreign language motivation are suggested.

KEYWORDS: Language learning motivation, languages other than English (LOTE), English as a foreign language (EFL), L2MSS, Taiwan

Introduction

As English has become the global lingua franca with high utilitarian values and has blurred its association with specific ethnic and cultural groups, its characteristics are quite distinctive from those of other languages in many ways. However, research in second language motivation to date has largely been built upon English as a foreign/second language (EFL/ESL), leaving a myriad of other languages absent from the research landscape (Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan 2015; Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie 2017; Ushioda and Dörnyei 2017). This may be misleading if educators and policymakers base their decisions for other languages on such EFL/ESL-laden findings (Ushioda and Dörnyei 2017). In Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan's (2015) review of 416 publications on L2 motivation between 2004 and 2015, 73% of the empirical investigations were on ESL, and the study concluded that 'motivation research in Asian settings is almost exclusively concerned with the learning of English' (151). Such imbalance and possible bias are discussed extensively in a 2017 special issue of *The Modern Language Journal* (MLJ) dedicated to the motivation to learn languages other than English (LOTEs). With LOTEs missing from our understanding of L2 motivation, there is a pressing need for empirical studies on the motivation of LOTE learners. Nevertheless, when outlining research directions, Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) cite Henry (2010) in maintaining the importance of English as a referential yardstick for our understanding of LOTE motivation, and point to

within the same learner group may be especially informative in our attempts to understand LOTE motivation.

Another issue associated with language motivation, in spite of its strong individual-psychological nature, is the macro geopolitical and sociocultural contexts where the language, whether English or a LOTE, is taught and learnt. In fact, earlier development of the influential dichotomy of integrative and instrumental orientations (Gardner 1985) was modified partly because it fell short of accounting for contexts outside of Canada (Humphreys and Spratt 2008, 314). By contrast, the aforementioned 2017 MLJ special issue, in an effort to explore LOTE motivation, showcases a wide coverage of various languages in diverse geographical settings as varied as America, Europe and Japan. All the authors of the seven empirical studies provide unique contextual details to foreground their research for international readers and use this information in explaining their results.

The study reported here, as part of an aggregated effort to depict LOTE education in the greater Chinese-speaking areas, focused specifically on LOTE learners' motivation in Taiwan, where systematic government efforts to promote LOTE education at the tertiary level started in 2005 at one university in Taipei. The number of LOTEs started at four, increased to 20 within two years, and has remained in the twenties ever since. The number of registered learners grew from 116 in 2005 to 1892 in 2017. The most popular LOTEs have been Japanese, Spanish, French and German. Other languages taught include Korean, Thai, Vietnamese, Malay, Portuguese, Italian, Turkish, Czech, Persian, Polish, Arabic, Hebrew, Swahili, Latin, Ancient Greek, Tibetan, Mongolian, Zhuang and Uyghur. LOTE courses were open to all students and were not compulsory. Among the above plethora of LOTEs, eight languages from three geographical areas, namely Europe, Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia, were chosen as the targets of investigation because they consistently account for nearly 90% of the entire LOTE learner population.

Based on the above introduction, this study set out to compare the motivational profiles of Taiwanese college students who, in addition to fulfilling the English

mentioned in the hope that these would allow us to examine how the same learners' LOTE motivation could deviate from or resemble their English motivation. The specific research question that guided this study was: What were the Taiwanese college LOTE learners' motivational characteristics, and how did their LOTE motivation characteristics compare to those for English?

Literature review

The current study adopted Dörnyei's second language motivational self system (L2MSS) as a theoretical framework. L2MSS is currently the most referenced framework in second language motivation studies (Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan 2015). It takes into account Gardner's (1985) earlier socio-psychological model and its dichotomy of integrative and instrumental orientation, but changes the direction of reference from outwardly gauging the target language community to inwardly gauging the future vision of the learner's self. Relevant motivational factors are incorporated into three major variables – ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, and language learning experience (Dörnyei 2009). Ideal L2 self, the L2-specific aspiration of the learner's future image, a domain related to Gardner's integrativeness, is a desire to be integrated to the target language community. Ought-to L2 self, by contrast, is closely related to instrumentality, i.e. the utilitarian aspects of learning a language that embody the expectations and obligations the learner perceives from significant others or society. Language learning experience is related to a person's past and current learning experiences.

Generally speaking, ideal self has been identified as a very robust predictor of language learning motivation across age groups and geographical areas (e.g. Csizér and Dörnyei 2005a; Csizér and Kormos 2009; Ryan 2009; Taguchi 2013; Taguchi, Magid, and Papi 2009). For ought-to self, however, some studies indicate that it contributes less to motivated behaviour (e.g. Csizér and Kormos 2009; Kim 2012; Papi 2010), while others report complexity in its psychometric property (Kormos and Csizér 2008; Lamb 2012).

In the dearth of studies on LOTE motivation, integrativeness was identified in earlier reports as an important antecedent of motivation. This was found for learners of Russian, German, French, Italian, and English in Hungary (Csizér and Dörnyei 2005a, 2005b; Dörnyei and Clement 2001) and of Spanish in the US (Hernández 2006). However, scholars later found some mismatch between the concept of integrativeness and real-life scenarios. This 'signaled the need to replace "integrativeness" with a more holistic concept' (Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie 2017, 456).

In later research when L2MSS has been applied as the framework, the strongest predictor of motivation for LOTEs has predominantly been found to be the ideal self. This holds true for learners of German and English in Hungary (Csizér and Lukács 2010), of Mandarin and English in Hong Kong (Dörnyei and Chan 2013), and of German in Britain (Busse 2013). Interestingly, Busse (2013) reported that integrative orientation, when competing with the ideal self as one of the predictor scales, failed to predict German learners' motivation.

The above findings from LOTE studies are generally similar to those from research on learners of EFL/ESL. Despite these similarities, Thompson (2017) found that learners of up to 34 different LOTEs in Anglophone America had particularly low ought-to-self scores, and noted a large gap between ought-to and ideal selves. This 'differs from previous research using the L2MSS framework when the language in question is English' (495). It was suggested that while many English learners felt both strong internal desire (ideal self) and externally imposed necessity (ought-to self) to learn English, these American learners of LOTE possessed strong internal desire but did not feel the same kind of obligation as their EFL/ESL-learning counterparts did. For the ought-to self, Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) postulate that its very nature for LOTE learners may be more fragmented, sensitive to particular languages in particular contexts, and 'might reach such a degree that it cannot be considered a unified self-dimension anymore?' (460). In particular, they point out that, unlike English learning around the world that receives even and constant social support, the learning of LOTEs could face either support, indifference or discouraging attitudes.

LOTE studies. Unlike in English learning where there is evidence for its importance, as mentioned earlier, learning experience does not seem to play a role in LOTE motivation studies to date. In particular, Csizér and Lukács (2010) point out that for their German and English learners, learning experience did not emerge as a significant latent dimension. Moreover, Henry and Apelgren (2008) found a decline in attitudes to the learning situation between grades 5 and 6 among Swedish pupils studying German, French, Spanish and a sign language.

A number of LOTE studies make deliberate comparisons with English. Humphreys and Spratt (2008) compared motivation to learn the required English, Mandarin and a chosen language (French, German or Japanese) among college learners in Hong Kong. These learners expressed more positive affect and motivation for English, the global language, and for their selected LOTE than they did for Mandarin. In Sweden, Henry and Apelgren (2008) found positive attitudes toward LOTE, which, despite a decline after a year, was still higher than that toward English. These results seem to suggest that positive affect and attitude are related to utilitarian value and, moreover, free choice.

In addition to comparing English with LOTE, some LOTE research addresses the impact of global English on LOTE. Such impacts are found to be mostly negative (and are therefore labelled as interference), as demonstrated in pupils learning French in Sweden (Henry 2010) and college students learning French, Chinese, Spanish, German, Korean, Russian and other LOTE in Japan (Sugita McEown, Sawaki, and Harada 2017). Ushioda (2017) critically analyses such impact and suggests that it mainly stems from both an instrumentalist view of global English and the fact that motivation could be socially distributed onto individuals. However, Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) indicate that this impact from English could also function in a positive manner, such as in transferring linguistic confidence from one language to the other.

Another issue relates to the language specificity of learning motivation. Dörnyei and Chan (2013) found distinct language-specific visions in learners studying different

Learner population is one important aspect in language motivation studies. Although national identities are not as rigid in today's globalised world, it is generally believed that the cultures, social values and societal norms associated with ethnic groups play a significant role in shaping language motivation. Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan's (2015) review found a shift in the contexts of study from North America and Europe to East Asia during 2004–2015. Among the 53 countries where motivational studies were conducted, Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan (2015) found that mainland China ranked after Japan and the US, but the Chinese-as-L1 learner group became the largest cluster when studies carried out in Taiwan and Hong Kong were incorporated.

In Taiwan, Warden and Lin (2000) surveyed non-English-major students enrolled in required English courses in one vocational-track university and found that integrativeness was nonexistent among this learner group. Instead, their motivation was influenced by instrumental orientation and course requirements. The authors warn classroom teachers to be wary of adopting imported materials that assume learners can be motivated through cultural integration. Likewise, Chen, Warden, and Chang (2005) surveyed 15- to 40-year-olds, including students and office workers, and found the strongest predictor of skills to be requirement motivation, with no significant role played by integrative motivation. Drawing on the culture of Confucian meritocracy embedded in Chinese society, they coin the term 'Chinese imperative' to describe this phenomenon, pointing to the influence of culture on learning motivation and questioning the construct of integrativeness in a non-Western context.

Huang and Chen (2017) surveyed junior high English learners aged 11–16 across Taiwan. Their regression analyses indicated that a positive attitude toward language learning and classroom experiences fuelled these young learners' motivation. Similar to findings from Warden and Lin (2000) and Chen, Warden, and Chang (2005), the ought-to self was a more prominent predictor of intended learning effort and class involvement than the ideal self. For the same participants, Huang (2017) divided them into groups of those with and those without additional out-of-class tutoring and compared their motivational profiles. Those receiving tutoring demonstrated higher motivation and

Going beyond English, Huang, Hsu, and Chen (2015) investigated Taiwanese college students' motivation for learning English, Japanese, Korean, French and German. In light of the L2MSS and previous empirical findings, the authors were particularly interested in how social role obligations played out in a Confucian-influenced society. Other predictor variables which they examined included cultural interest and career opportunities. For all five languages, the ideal self and cultural interest emerged as the strongest predictors, a finding contrary to other Taiwanese studies on English motivation discussed above but consistent with many studies outside Taiwan. The ought-to self and social role obligations were predictive of motivation in some, but not all, of the languages studied.

A large-scale survey on English learning motivation conducted by You and Dörnyei (2016) across geographical regions and educational institutions in China provides a reference point that is representative and timely. A consistent rank ordering of the three components of the L2MSS was found across subpopulations; that is, learners' attitudes toward their learning experiences were by far the most highly associated with intended effort, followed by ideal self, with ought-to self coming third. They conclude that for Chinese learners 'the desire to invest time and energy in language learning seems to be associated first and foremost with the evaluation of the learning process' (512), and that Chinese learners are not so different from many of the Western learners reported in the literature. Their results provide powerful counterevidence to the concept of the 'Chinese Imperative' raised by Chen, Warden, and Chang (2005), as well as findings from Warden and Lin (2000), Huang and Chen (2017), and Huang (2017) regarding English learners in Taiwan.

The literature reviewed provides insights into LOTE learning motivation in other parts of the world, mainly European and North American contexts. While research results on the specific motivational characteristics of learner populations in Taiwan and the greater Chinese area are also informative, they are mostly limited to the learning of English. The current study was thus designed to focus on Taiwanese learners'

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Participants and sampling

Participants in this survey were students enrolled in the eight chosen LOTEs at National Chengchi University in Taipei in the autumn of 2017. They came from disciplines including various sciences, social sciences, liberal arts, business, law and mass communication. According to the university's course regulations, the students' foreign language requirement was two semesters of College English I and II, each worth two credits. All the other LOTE courses were electives in a three-credit-hour design, with some only available as I and II for a year and others as I through IV spanning two years. Those who had completed the English requirement or who qualified for exemption could take a LOTE. At the time of the study, the total number of students learning these eight LOTEs was 1655, representing 87.5% of the total 1892 students registered in the 21 languages offered in 43 course sections. As shown in Table 1, our sample represented an average of 35.6% of the eight-language population (ranging from 27.9% for Spanish to 44.8% for Vietnamese). The average age of the participants was 19.83 years, and female learners accounted for 72.7% of the sample. When surveyed, 362 (61.4%) reported having started learning English before entering elementary school, and 203 (34.4%) had started within the first three years of elementary school; together these individuals accounted for 95.8% of the sample. Also, 445 participants (77.1%) reported having learned a LOTE before, but the rest of them had not.

Table 1. Distribution of participants among language groups.



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Data collection procedure

In this article



the same learners' EFL and LOTE motivation, the survey was the first at the beginning of the semester for English. and

questions. In the two waves, 633 and 626 complete responses were gathered respectively. Among these, 590 learners participated in both waves and the paired data from their responses was used for analysis.

Right before the Autumn 2017 semester, the researcher contacted all 12 instructors of the eight languages via email to explain the study and ask for their assistance. After obtaining the instructors' permission, two research assistants brought and distributed leaflets to the 31 class sections during 10-minute breaks between class periods from weeks three to five, to inform the students of the survey's purpose and logistics. On the leaflets, in addition to information about the background of the study, was a QR code providing easy access for smartphone users to enter the survey website. Participation was voluntary and incentives were provided in a raffle drawing system, with 20% of those who completed all procedures in both waves having a chance to win a convenience store voucher or a movie ticket worth NT\$200 (approximately US\$7). Two weeks before the end of the 18-week semester, the research assistants visited and distributed leaflets again to remind students about the second-phase survey.

On the online survey portal, participants read the researcher's invitation letter, provided consent, rated learning- and motivation-related statements, and gave personal demographic information. In the second wave, participants chose their own course number from a dropdown list and were automatically directed to the version that matched their LOTEs.

Instrument

The questionnaires developed and used in both phases, for English and LOTEs, were parallel in content. Both consisted of 30 items and used 5-point Likert scales with 1 indicating 'never' or 'strongly disagree' and 5 indicating 'always' or 'strongly agree'. The items used were adopted from established motivation questionnaires with adequate validity and reliability (e.g. Huang 2017; Lamb 2012). Intended learning effort, represented by six items, was the criterion measure because compared to other self-report criterion variables used for the Taiwanese college learner population, regression

also unrealistic for participants to sit a single English test.

In addition to major L2MSS predictors, both forms of instrumentality, promotion and prevention, were included because past studies on Taiwanese learners have shown instrumentality to be an important factor (Chen, Warden, and Chang 2005; Warden and Lin 2000). The same reasoning applied to two more variables: language learning attitude (Huang and Chen 2017) and culture/community interest (Huang, Hsu, and Chen 2015). Nine versions of the questionnaire, tailored for English and the eight LOTEs, were written in the learners' native language, Mandarin Chinese, and were piloted with three student informants who did not participate in the formal study. Discussions followed regarding the clarification of meaning and wording. The same procedure was repeated with the research assistants involved in this project. All seven predictor scales in the questionnaire are briefly summarised below with item examples, in which Language represents the language being surveyed in different circumstances.

1. Learning Experience (5 items): the extent to which learners enjoy their learning experience. Example: 'I found learning Language very interesting.'
2. Ideal Self (4 items): the learner's future self-vision related to the language being studied. Example: 'I can imagine myself communicating with people in Language.'
3. Ought-to Self (3 items): learners' sense of duty and obligation towards learning the language. Example: 'Learning Language is what I should do.'
4. Instrumentality–Promotion (3 items): the regulation of pragmatic benefits associated with learning the language. Example: 'Being proficient in Language will help me get a good job or make more money.'
5. Instrumentality–Prevention (3 items): regulation of fears for negative consequences associated with language learning failure. Example: 'I may be looked down upon if I don't have a good command of Language.'
6. Learning Attitude (3 items): the extent to which the learner enjoys learning the language. Example: 'I enjoy learning Language.'

Results

The data obtained were analysed using R Studio 9.9. Learner responses at the end of the semester regarding the eight LOTEs were grouped by the three geographic areas. Results from the same learners’ beginning-of-term responses on English were analysed, both: (1) as a whole for comparison with the three LOTE clusters; and (2) by LOTE learner group for within-subject comparisons between English and the LOTEs. Preliminary assumptions regarding the normality, linearity and homogeneity of variance were examined, and no violation of assumptions in data sets was found. Statistical examinations are explained below.

Reliability, descriptive statistics and correlation analyses

The results of the reliability analyses, shown in Table 2, indicated that the Cronbach alphas of subscales under the different language groups and for the entire sample in English were mostly in the .80s and .90s. Learning experience and learning attitude were the two most reliable variables, with alpha values above .90 for all the language clusters and subpopulations. On the other hand, the ought-to self had alpha values constantly lower than the other variables. All the alpha values were above .60 except for one item, which was the ought-to self value of .53 for Northeast Asian languages. The criterion variable, intended effort, had all alphas above .80, and the same was also true for ideal self except for Northeast Asian Languages.

Table 2. Cronbach alpha coefficients of scales.

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Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 3. Within-subject *t*-tests were also performed between English and the LOTEs. On the Likert scale of 1–5, only three of the 56 means were below 3 (italicized), and they all related to instrumentality–prevention

In this article

☰ ▲ had values above 4 (underlined). *T*-test results showed ▼ en English and the LOTEs. For all three LOTE clusters.

self, ought-to self, instrumentality–promotion and instrumentality–prevention.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics and *t*-test results.

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Correlation analyses were conducted to understand the strength of the linear relationships between the predictor and the seven criterion variables. Most of the correlation coefficients reached the .01 significance level (apart from on three occasions, i.e. in instrumentality–prevention for all three LOTE clusters). The preventive instrumentality measure was statistically significant only for English. The strongest linear relationship was found in learning experience in all language groups, followed by learning attitude and culture/community interest. Comparatively, the correlation coefficients of ideal self with intended learning effort were generally lower than the aforementioned measures. Coefficients for the ought-to self and promotional instrumentality were mostly around .400, ranging from .310 to .507. Correlations of instrumentality–prevention with the criterion measure were low across all the languages (Table 4).

Table 4. Correlations between predictor and criterion variables.

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Regression analysis

Stepwise multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the predictive power of the selected motivational variables. The resultant final models and the remaining variables are presented in Table 5. The adjusted *R*² values indicate that 52%, 54%, 66% and 62% of the variance were accounted for by the final models for Southeast Asian, Northeast Asian, European and English languages, respectively.



For Southeast Asian languages, significant contributors to intended learning effort included, in descending order, learning experience, ideal self and culture/community interest. For Northeast Asian languages, the strongest predictor was again learning experience, followed by culture/community interest and ideal self. For European languages the picture was almost the same, with learning experience having a standard beta of .37 followed by .28 and .21 for ideal self and culture/community interest respectively. Learning attitude played a minor role in the European model with a beta of .11. The English model showed a more complicated scenario. The most prominent predictor was again learning experience. Here, learning attitude, despite having no significant roles in predicting effort for LOTEs, obtained a beta of .24. Ideal self and culture/community interest, the two secondary variables in all three LOTE models, had a similar position in English motivation. They were then followed by two variables that were entirely absent from all LOTE models, i.e. the two types of instrumentality – promotion and prevention.

In summary, regression models for LOTEs – Southeast Asian, Northeast Asian, and European languages – all demonstrated that learning experience was the strongest predictor of intended learning effort, followed by ideal self and culture/community interest, with each explaining roughly a quarter of the variance. Excluded from all LOTE models were externally imposed motivation, ought-to self, instrumentality–prevention and instrumentality–promotion. Although differences among language groups had been conjectured, such as instrumentality boosted by current governmental policy for Southeast Asian languages, in fact no difference was found. The motivational profiles of different LOTE clusters were strikingly similar. Regardless of which language they were learning, these LOTE learners were driven by their learning experience, ideal self and culture/community interest, and unequivocally not by ought-to self or by promotional or preventive instrumentality.

A few contrasts were observed between LOTEs and English. First, preventive instrumentality was uniformly the lowest among the predictor variables for all LOTEs, but this was not the case for English. Second, learning experience was consistently

self and culture/community interest. The difference lay in the fact that both types of instrumentality were ruled out in LOTE models but played a role in English, albeit minor. Unlike in learning LOTEs where they were driven solely by positive aspirations, these learners were also influenced by external expectations and utilitarian values while they were learning English.

Discussion

Unlike the empirical evidence reviewed earlier that revealed integrativeness (Csizér and Dörnyei 2005a, 2005b; Dörnyei and Clement 2001; Hernández 2006) or ideal self (Busse 2013; Csizér and Lukács 2010; Dörnyei and Chan 2013) to be the major predictors in LOTE motivation, this study provided consistent evidence across eight LOTEs in three clusters – European, Northeast Asian, and Southeast Asian languages – in addition to English, that the strongest predictor was learning experience for these Taiwanese learners of both LOTE and English in their learning of LOTEs and English. The three major L2MSS components are discussed in detail later.

Second, although some previous studies have pointed to the negative and competing influence from English on LOTE learning (Henry 2010; Sugita McEown, Sawaki, and Harada 2017; Ushioda 2017), this study added to the findings of Henry and Apelgren (2008) and offered evidence that LOTE motivation was reliably higher than English motivation in the same learners. Previous reasons given for English motivation being higher and outdoing that of LOTEs mostly centred on its global presence and pragmatic value (e.g. Ushioda 2017), whereas in other studies higher LOTE motivation has been attributed to failures in English or the uniqueness and competitive edge associated with LOTEs (Siridetkoon and Dewaele 2017). The transfer from English to a LOTE seems to be more than a positive/negative binary and warrants more research.

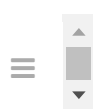
Third, this study found distinct motivational patterns between LOTEs and English, partially supporting Dörnyei and Chan (2013) and Henry (2010) on the language

LOTES studied were all foreign, rather than second, languages in general day-to-day life in Taiwan. As LOTES cover a wide range of languages around the world with various social norms and practices, a more important question to explore may be the underlying causes of either specificity or commonality in LOTE motivation.

Consistently in four regression models for LOTES and English, learning experience was the most robust predictor of intended learning effort, explaining more than 30% of the variance while the influence of all other variables stood well below this level. In fact, although it is one of the three pillars of L2MSS, learning experience seems to have received less attention than the concepts of ideal and ought-to selves. It was purposefully omitted from the instruments and analyses in a number of important motivational studies (Csizér and Dörnyei 2005a, 2005b; Csizér and Kormos 2009; Kormos, Csizér, and Iwaniec 2014) to focus more on self concepts. However, when learning experience was included (e.g. Csizér and Kormos 2009; Islam, Lamb, and Chambers 2013; Lamb 2012) it was often the most powerful predictor. Similarly, for Taiwanese adolescents, the role of learning experience was significant in Huang (2017) and Huang and Chen (2017). More importantly, You and Dörnyei's (2016) large-scale survey in China arrived at the same conclusion.

It has to be noted, however, that the target language in these past studies was English, and the same results may not apply to LOTES. In rarer studies of LOTES, Huang, Hsu, and Chen (2015) found that learning experience played a role in only one of four LOTES. Furthermore, counterevidence to the importance of learning experience was offered by Csizér and Lukács (2010) and Henry and Apelgren (2008). Results from the current study suggested the significance of learning experience in LOTE motivation could be explored further.

It is interesting that while the learners in this study were voluntarily enrolled in elective courses and, as they self-reported, 77% of them had learned a LOTE before, their motivation was still very much dependent upon learning experience. It could be speculated that in daily life in Taiwan where LOTE contact is rare, interaction with teachers and peers dedicated to these LOTES was still the major source of impact on



students similarly on their class experience, which is largely related to classroom teachers and peers.

Learning experience and learning attitude were also highly related, although the former played a more significant role in LOTEs than the latter, which reached significant levels only for English and European languages. In their operationalisation in this study, learning experience was more related to immediate classroom contexts, while attitude was more of an accumulation of experiences over time. The distinction between these two factors deserves additional study, especially given their significance and the fact that they have been neglected in the past.

While the ideal self has been found to be the most powerful predictor in large-scale surveys (Busse 2013; Csizér and Lukács 2010; Dörnyei and Chan 2013), its role was only secondary here, a result consistent with the Chinese English learners studied by You and Dörnyei (2016). As the predictor next to learning experience in all four regression models, the ideal self's beta values were higher for LOTEs than for English (.25, .24, .28 for Southeast Asian, Northeast Asian, and European languages respectively, compared to .18 for English). This suggests a higher influence of future self-vision in LOTEs than in global English for these multi-language learners.

As expected, culture/community interest was a significant factor. Its connotation for global English has evolved and become different from that for LOTEs, whose underlying cultures are more discernable. Although beta values were higher in Northeast Asian and European languages, cultural interest did not stand out as more salient for LOTE learning than for English.

Ought-to self and instrumentality, the more externally imposed types of motivation, did not account for intended effort among these learners of LOTEs. However, instrumentality was one part of their English motivation. The especially low LOTE ought-to self scores, and the large gap between LOTE and English ought-to self, presented a scenario similar to Thompson's (2017) American LOTE learners. While Thompson's learners did not have to learn global English, findings from participants in this study

discussion. Warden and Lin (2000), Chen, Warden, and Chang (2005), Huang (2017), Huang and Chen (2017), and Huang, Hsu, and Chen (2015) found instrumentality or ought-to self to be highly related to Taiwanese learners' English motivation, and attributed this phenomenon to the Confucian tradition of meritocracy (Chen, Warden, and Chang 2005) and social role obligation (Huang, Hsu, and Chen 2015). However, You and Dörnyei's (2016) results from English learners in China largely refuted these assertions. The current study supported You and Dörnyei's (2016) conclusion with empirical findings from learners in Taiwan that the ought-to self did not do full justice to language motivation in the Confucian-dominated societies.

Nevertheless, some important differences exist between the current study and previous ones. First, the target language was mostly English in earlier studies (except for Huang, Hsu, and Chen 2015), but target languages in the current study were three LOTE groups and English. Second, while the language in most previous studies was a course requirement, the LOTEs in this study were studied by choice. It should be noted that the existence of choice is an important factor in motivation (Humphreys and Spratt 2008). Third, learner demographics differed. Populations in the past included: (a) vocational-track students, whose academic achievement was usually lower, in Warden and Lin (2000); (b) 15- to 40-year-old students and office workers in Chen, Warden, and Chang (2005); and (c) junior high students in Huang (2017) and Huang and Chen (2017). Only the college students in Huang, Hsu, and Chen (2015) were similar to the participants in this study. It is possible that those who chose to study a non-compulsory LOTE were an exclusive group very different from the average English learner. They may have a high interest in learning languages, like the LOTE learners described in Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017), given that 77% of them had learned a LOTE before.

Conclusion, limitations and implications

not so different from their motivations for learning Northeast and Southeast Asian languages. The English learning motivation of these learners was similar, with learning experience explaining most of the variance, followed by learning attitude, which seemed to be an aggregation of past learning experiences. Secondary predictors in English were also the ideal self and culture/community interest. The uniqueness of English motivation in contrast with that of LOTEs lay in the fact that instrumentality played a role, both promotional and preventive.

A few limitations should be noted. Other than being limited to sampling, uneven gender distribution, self-reporting and the variables chosen for the survey, this study was also constrained by the types of languages chosen and how they were clustered. Despite a focus on LOTE motivation in general, claims cannot be made about other LOTEs. Moreover, this cross-sectional study provides only a static picture; temporal changes or causal relationships between languages were not captured. Also, attempts were not made to differentiate between learners with more or less LOTE experience, or in terms of their proficiency levels. Given these limitations, however, pedagogical and theoretical implications are drawn below.

The fact that learning experience was the most powerful predictor across LOTEs is significant for language teachers and curriculum designers, especially in a time when machines are replacing humans and free online courses are replacing traditional classrooms. Even for such voluntary learners, who in our imagination may be more independent and self-sufficient, the classroom learning experience was the most important factor driving their efforts. High-quality teaching and positive learning experience that is fulfilling may well still be the fundamental basis for motivating language learners.

At a time when scholars are trying to redress the imbalance between English and LOTEs in motivation research, this study has contributed a piece of the puzzle from Taiwan using data from learners of both English and LOTEs. It has also added to our understanding of the concept of the Chinese imperative and its role in LOTE learning.

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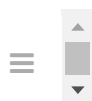
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