

Instrumental, Integrative, and Intrinsic: A Self-Determination Framework for Orientations Towards Language in a Puerto Rican Community

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Abstract

Using a critical discourse analytical approach, this paper applies self-determination theory to the analysis of orientations towards language acquisition in data collected through interviews with 26 participants from Puerto Rico. In light of significant Spanish-English contact on the island, the paper considers how the participants' discourses construct overlapping instrumental, integrative, and intrinsic orientations towards the presence of English in their community and, more broadly, towards language acquisition. The data suggest that both instrumental and integrative orientations are present, and that specific factors in this community's history and experience do not predispose the participants towards a clear distinction between these two but rather contribute to a melding of both with a third way, that of intrinsic motivation, which validates and promotes bi- or even multilingualism on a broader scale without being focused on any one particular language or group of speakers.

Résumé

Cet article adopte une méthode d'analyse critique du discours, et applique la théorie de l'autodétermination pour analyser les attitudes de 26 participants portoricains à l'égard de l'acquisition des langues. Étant donné l'intensité du contact entre l'espagnol et l'anglais dans l'île, l'article examine la construction des discours des participants par chevauchement des orientations instrumentales, intégratives et intrinsèques en ce qui concerne la présence de l'anglais dans leur communauté et, plus globalement, l'apprentissage des langues. Les données suggèrent que l'histoire et l'expérience de cette communauté ne prédisposent pas les participants à faire une distinction nette entre les deux orientations, mais qu'elles contribuent à les confondre avec une troisième possibilité, celle de la motivation intrinsèque, ce qui valide et favorise le bilinguisme voire le multilinguisme sans s'apesantir sur une seule langue ou un seul groupe de locuteurs.

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Introduction

The explanation of *how* speakers go about learning or acquiring a second language (L2), as well as *why* they do so, necessarily includes numerous factors. Proficiency levels among L2 learners vary widely, with some making more progress than others in their L2 skills at the phonetic, lexical, syntactic, or sociopragmatic levels. Settings for L2 learning and acquisition also vary greatly, ranging from classrooms to community-based contexts in which language contact may be significant, but in which learners never attend a traditional L2 class. Thus, research into L2 learning and acquisition has sought to explain not only the efficacy of different kinds of learning and acquisitional environments, but also the varying proficiency levels reached by individual L2 learners, seeking to bridge both individual and collective factors. One area of explanation in which both learner and setting are mutually implicated in this way is that of research into the role of L2 learners' orientations towards language learning, acquisition, and use. Researchers have focused considerable attention on instrumental and integrative orientations, primarily in language learning settings such as L2 and immersion classrooms, but also in contexts of study abroad or of societal language contact (Aziakpono & Bekker, 2010; Gardner & Lambert, 1959; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991; Hernández, 2006; Hernández, 2010; König, 2006; Lamb, 2004; Wright & Kurtoglu-Hooten, 2006). Other researchers have additionally examined the role of an intrinsic orientation towards language learning, frequently within the framework of self-determination (Jones, Llacer-Arras, & Newbill, 2009; Kouritzin, Piquemal, & Renaud 2009; Noels, 2001; Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2003; Pae, 2008; Pratt, Agnello, & Santos 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2002; Wesely, 2009).

Research conducted in language acquisition environments in which L2 learners have engaged with a second language primarily through interaction with native speakers of that language provides researchers with the opportunity to examine learners' orientations towards the L2 not only as an object of learning and acquisition, but also through their perspectives towards the presence of that language within their own community. Spanish-English contact in central mountain corridor communities in Puerto Rico implies a variety of "uses" for English, such as job-related factors, communication with native speakers of English, and cognitive benefits of learning or acquiring an L2. Both the setting and the qualitative methodologies used in this study provide a unique window through which to examine orientations towards L2 learning, acquisition, use, and more broadly, presence, within the community. The data, examined through the self-determination framework, suggests that these orientations overlap, with both extrinsic and intrinsic categories contributing to a model that focuses on autonomy and choice. This intersection of orientations as it occurs in community-based language contact settings need not be limited to contact settings, but instead may well provide sound evidence for a pedagogical model in which teachers work alongside students to support such an overlap in reasoning for students' own L2 learning.

Orientations towards Language Learning and Use

Two orientations towards language acquisition have traditionally predominated in discussion on L2 learning and acquisition. As articulated in some of the earliest research, an *instrumental* orientation involves an interest in acquiring language directed towards the achievement of practical objectives, particularly regarding employment, higher education, or other external incentives (Ellis, 1997/2008; Gardner, 1985, 2001; Gardner, Ginsberg, & Smythe, 1976; Gardner & Lambert, 1959, 1972; Hernández, 2006). An instrumental orientation points to language acquisition as part of Bourdieu's (1977) conceptualization of a broader linguistic marketplace exchange of goods and services, in that language is often used or perceived as a means to an end. An *integrative* orientation, on the other hand, indexes an interest in interacting with native speakers of the target language, involves positive attitudes towards target language speakers and the target language culture, and the desire to participate in that community (Ellis 1997/2008; Gardner 1985, 2001; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Hernández, 2006; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003).

Although these two orientations can be clearly distinguished from one another, the two are not mutually exclusive, in spite of the fact that some research on L2 learning or acquisition has highlighted the supposed dichotomy between these two orientations (Pae, 2008; Wei, 2007). Such a distinction may be particularly emphasized when examining the relationship of orientation to L2 achievement. On the one hand, research has shown a correlation between an integrative orientation and L2 proficiency, with emphasis on the aspect of motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1980); between an integrative orientation and continuing to maintain a heritage language (Wright & Kurtoglu-Hooten, 2006); and between an integrative orientation and studying an L2 beyond the intermediate level (Ramage, 1990).

On the other hand, research has also pointed out mixed results or even a negative correlation between integrative orientation and L2 proficiency, particularly in situations where interpersonal interaction with native speakers of that language is less readily available (Abu-Rabia, 2003; Au, 1988; Clément, 1986; Ellis, 1997/2008; Kruidenier & Clément, 1986; Lukmani, 1972; Oller, Baca, & Vigil, 1977; Oller & Perkins, 1978). These inconsistencies may have some relationship with the role of the broader context, since an integrative orientation may be more relevant for those who have ready access to native speakers of that language, and less so for those who do not (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983; Dörnyei & Clément, 2001). Kruidenier & Clément (1986) also incorporated more categories, including *travel*, *friendship*, and *knowledge*, although factors such as *travel* and *friendship* may more appropriately be considered part of an *integrative* orientation (Dörnyei, 1990).

Masgoret and Gardner (2003) state that the inconsistencies are due to a confusion between *motivation* and *orientation*, with the former holding the key to a relationship with L2 achievement. Gardner's (1985) original socio-educational framework connects orientation to the "underlying reasons for studying an L2" (Ellis, 1997, p.509; see also Masgoret & Gardner, 2003) and contrasts this with *motivation*, the learner's *specific efforts* to learn the language, or "the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes towards learning the language" (Gardner, 1985, p.10). Gardner and MacIntyre (1991) found that both integrative and instrumental motivations facilitated the learning of L2 vocabulary. Motivation is "goal-directed behavior" and not necessarily reflected in the orientation itself (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003,

p.173). In other words, it is possible to be integratively oriented without actively doing anything to learn the L2; a person with either orientation can be either motivated or unmotivated. Correlational studies do not indicate direction, and thus it is not clear whether integrative or instrumental orientations *cause* or *result from* L2 success (Ellis, 1997/2008; Noels, 2001).

Other research on orientations towards the second language has also highlighted a clear distinction between these two orientations, even when not focused specifically on L2 achievement. For example, research conducted with native speakers of Turkish, who were L2 English speakers and learning an L3, were found to have a stronger instrumental orientation as opposed to an integrative one (König, 2006). Nevertheless, in spite of the distinction sometimes placed on these orientations, learners are not necessarily restricted to one or the other, but rather may readily function out of both orientations (Ellis, 1997/2008). Both orientations surfaced in L2 Spanish learners in the United States (Ely, 1986; Muchnick, & Wolfe, 1982). Likewise, Lamb (2004) found that the two orientations were nearly inseparable for Indonesian children studying English, and attributed this finding to the decreasing association between English and Anglophone cultures and the increasing association between English and globalization whereby learners gain a bicultural (English-speaking) identity. In similar fashion, Iranian undergraduate students studying English demonstrated both orientations (Chalak & Kassaian, 2010).

Research has also moved beyond situations of formal language learning and L2 achievement to settings of language contact. Here, perhaps to an even greater extent than in formal L2 learning, orientations towards the L2 can readily overlap (Hernández, 2006). Hidalgo's (1986) work with Mexicans from the Mexico-U.S. border region, with significant long-term contact between Spanish and English, showed that an instrumental-integrative distinction was unfounded in this population, who instead "tended to display a combination of personal and material interests" (p. 204) towards English, with a balance between the two orientations, particularly for those who used the language regularly. Lai's (2005) research with ethnic Chinese born in or currently living in Hong Kong showed that speakers demonstrated a mixture of orientations (and levels of strength) towards the three contact languages (Cantonese, English, and Putonghua), confirmed by a matched guise test in which participants were asked to judge the personality traits of three voices, which were actually spoken by the same speaker using each of the three languages. Broermann (2007) found that, in spite of differences in minority language (*ml*) proficiency, language use, and sociopolitical contexts, there were many similarities for minority language speakers in Finland and in Germany, including both integrative and instrumental orientations towards the *ml* in both contexts. This overlapping of orientations is perhaps particularly obvious when the contact is ongoing and significant far beyond the classroom setting, such as that in Puerto Rico. Although Lladó Torres' (1984) earlier research suggested that students in Puerto Rico held primarily instrumental orientations towards English, Morris (2001) showed that high school Puerto Rican students were motivated to study English for reasons correlating strongly with both orientations, a finding that may be related to differences in socioeconomic status among the participants. Thus, we see that both in formal learning settings, as well as even more strongly in language contact settings, the distinction between the two orientations is often not so clear.

Self-Determination Theory: An Intrinsic Orientation towards Language

An *intrinsic orientation* is a third possibility that has received more recent attention, particularly in educational and psychological research that shows that self-directed behaviors and decision making are related to success in learning of different kinds, not just L2 learning (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Jones et al., 2009; Noels, 2001; Noels et al., 2003; Pae, 2008). One reason for exploring other models was precisely a need to supplement the two orientations above in order to explain adequately what happens in L2 acquisition, and additional models were seen as potentially complementing the two (Brown, 1993; Noels, 2001). Intrinsic and integrative motivations are clearly separate constructs, although Noels (2001) points out that both intrinsic (internal) and extrinsic (external) motivations may be found along a “continuum of self-determination” (p.38). Self-determination theory emphasizes autonomy in that individuals freely choose a particular interest as opposed to having that choice made due to factors outside themselves (Deci, 1992; Deci, Eghrari, Patrick, & Leone 1994; Jones et al., 2009; Noels, 2001; Noels et al., 2003; Pae 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2002; Vallerand 1997).

Intrinsically motivated individuals are less interested in an activity for personal gain or to integrate into a group of people and more interested in engaging because the activity is enjoyable, challenging, interesting, and personally satisfying, and to explore and expand their own abilities (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Jones et al., 2009; Noels, 2001; Ryan & Deci, 2000). An intrinsic orientation references speakers’ inherent curiosity about learning to use a language other than their own—an interest that is not necessarily focused on a particular language or group of speakers. Self-determination theory has been used in research on the foreign language classroom and in seeking ways to increase students’ intrinsic motivation (Jones et al., 2009). Within an intrinsic motivation can be found motivational subtypes, including knowledge, accomplishment, and stimulation, which all involve positive experiences through carrying out “self-initiated and challenging activity” (Noels et al, 2003, p. 38). Noels et al. (2003) observe that extrinsic motivation, or that which moves towards achieving a reward of some kind, also includes several subtypes, and of these, an “identified regulation,” or the way in which “individuals invest energy in an activity because they have chosen to do so for personally relevant reasons” is claimed as the most self-determined option of the extrinsic motivations, due to the individual’s having made a choice based on his/her own goals (p.39). In this way, Noels et al. (2003) open the door for various motivational subtypes to be integrated into a self-determination model, depending on the speakers’ goals and the ways in which they move towards fulfilling those goals.

Language Contact in Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico provides a rich context for study into orientations towards language. The island’s status as a commonwealth of the United States points to a significant relationship between the two governmental entities as well as between Spanish and English. The presence of English was imposed on the island through legislative means in government, federal courts, and in education early in the 20th century, and has continued in varying forms through the present (La Comisión de Educación, Ciencia y Cultura, 2001/2004; Dubord, 2007). Nevertheless, Spanish continues to be a core marker of identity on the island, and the struggle to protect the island from English has been portrayed as a distinctive part of this identity (Duany, 2005; Simounet-Geigel, 2004). Language

officialization legislation in 1991 established Spanish as the sole official language; two years later, legislation “reinstated” English as a second official language, returning the island to the de facto bilingual status it had had for most of the 20th century (Barreto, 2001; Torres González, 2002; Vélez, 2000; Vélez & Schweers, 1993). Public figures have articulated a variety of discourses that seek to protect the island’s sole official Spanish or to open Puerto Rico further to English (Kerkhof, 2001; Shenk, 2011, Torres González, 2002; Vélez & Schweers, 1993). Significant language contact occurs currently through required English courses at all levels of education, to varying degrees, in both public and private education and at the university level, through the migration of Puerto Ricans between the island and the continental U.S., and through the presence of tourists on the island’s coastal regions, particularly in the metropolitan capital city (Clachar, 2000; Fayer, Castro, Díaz, & Plata 1998; Kerkhof, 2001; Pousada, 2000). In Puerto Rico, language contact issues are intricately connected to political status, as can be seen in the reintroduction of H.R. 2499 in the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate in the spring of 2010, in which language policy provisions were inserted into legislation that ostensibly was intended to focus primarily on the authorization of a plebiscite to determine Puerto Rico’s future political status. It is within the context of this significant political and linguistic contact that the current study, on orientations towards language and towards English in particular, takes place.

Method

Participants

Using a critical discourse analytical approach, this paper analyzes discursive themes from data collected through interviews with 26 participants, from 18-81 years of age. All participants live in the central mountain corridor of Puerto Rico and are actively involved members of a small religious community, which was chosen for its historical contact with English speakers from the United States. In contrast to the Spanish-English contact prevalent in the island’s coastal region that stems significantly from tourism, this community’s exposure to English came through extended contact between Puerto Ricans and native speakers of English from the United States. The latter were initially appointed as voluntary service workers through the U.S. Civilian Public Service and later through a U.S. religious volunteer organization from the mid-1940s through the mid-1970s. These volunteers worked in Puerto Rico for at least two or, in some cases, many years. A few remain in the community due to employment and/or familial ties through marriage. This particular long-term contact with native speakers of English offered a significant and formative aspect for the community’s orientations towards language in ways that may well differ from the formative character of short-term contact that occurs regularly with tourists to the island. This research specifically sought to examine orientations of community members who had potentially been shaped by this contact—either through direct relationship with the U.S. volunteers or through the collective memory of the community. The participants for this study were recruited through a set of initial contacts who then named others who were both actively involved in the community and who also had a sense for the linguistic and cultural contact of the early days of the community.

The semi-structured interviews focused on the participants’ perspectives on language contact, legislation, learning, and use in their communities, and the relationship between Spanish and English. Orientations towards language were not the key focus *per se* of these interviews, although orientation discourses appeared frequently. Questions posed

to the participants revolved around a series of themes: language in educational experiences (i.e., whether their education had taken place in a predominantly monolingual, bilingual, or immersion environment, and their overall exposure to and use of the languages), current language use (i.e., the primary language spoken in the home, self-reported level of proficiency in both languages, language use according to particular domains and purposes including the home, workplace, church, or during leisure activities, as well as that accessed through television, radio, music, newspapers, and books), and language ideologies (i.e., on the use of Spanish and/or English, as well as language-related changes in the community during the participants' lifetime, the status of the two languages in Puerto Rico, legislative policies and their effect on the community, and overtly positive or negative experiences related to the use of one or the other language). Thus, the research questions related to instrumental, integrative, and intrinsic orientation, as posed in this paper, were not asked directly of the participants; rather, when the topic of English learning, acquisition, and use surfaced in the interviews, the participants were asked open-ended questions as to whether and/or why it was important. The discourses related to the three orientations that surfaced in these interviews were examined and coded as shown in Table 1.

Table 1.

Coding Choices for Instrumental, Integrative, and Intrinsic Orientations towards Language

Speakers' articulated interest	Goal type	Specific reference made	Classification
	Pragmatic/ Practical	University education (texts/materials often in English)	Instrumental
		Employment (job listings, interviews, actual job skills)	
English language skills	Communication	Communicate with English speakers – no job-related reference	Integrative
		Communicate with English speakers (job- or tourism industry-related)	Integrative/ Instrumental
L2 skills in any language <hr/> L2 skills in more than one L2	Interest/ Curiosity	Language learning in general as enjoyable; beneficial for its own sake	Intrinsic

Discourses referencing the need for English language skills, whether for the purposes of end goals such as a university education or employment interviews, were coded as *instrumental*. Discourses referencing the importance of communication with English

speakers were coded as *integrative*; notably, if the reference included the idea of effective communication within the context of a job or tourism, this was dually coded as both integrative and instrumental.¹ References to the value of knowing more than one language, to language learning in a general sense without reference to a particular language, or to the pleasurable or enjoyable quality of language learning, were coded as *intrinsic*.

Findings and Discussion

Instrumental Orientation

The participants' discourses clearly indexed an instrumental orientation. The perception of the value of English proficiency in finding, obtaining, and retaining a good job was clearly present in the data. An English teacher at a bilingual school stated that even her young grade school students understood the necessity of learning English in order to get a good job, as in (1):

(1)

Ellos saben—ellos saben ya que les hace falta el inglés para conseguir un buen trabajo. Porque y este muchas veces tú buscas un— anuncio que pide para un trabajo y lo primero hay que ser— por ing— gente y fully bilingual. O sea que están tan conscientes desde chiquitos que que si no aprenden inglés no van para ningún sitio. [P2, MA female]²

They know—they already know that they need English to get a good job. Because and um a lot of times you look for an— advertisement for a job and the first thing is that you have to be— for Eng— people and [fully bilingual]. I mean they are so aware from little on up that that if they don't learn English they aren't going anywhere.

The participants of this study were all over the age of 18; none were children or students at this particular school. Thus, it is impossible to know whether this teacher's students themselves would have articulated this orientation towards English. Nevertheless, her opening phrase in example (1), "*they know*," emphasized through repetition, indicated her assurance that this reality was known even by the youngest members of the society. Her reference to job advertisements that required bilingual applicants emphasized, and indeed reified, the intangible connection between specific linguistic skills and economic benefits. It is unlikely that the students to whom she referred had searched the classified ads; nevertheless, she offered this information to confirm the reality with which they were supposedly already familiar. This same participant also discussed her students' level of awareness of the growing push to learn English and that she has explained it in terms of

¹ As pointed out by one anonymous reviewer, this dual coding may not be entirely convincing, due to its being situated within an employment context. However, the decision was made to dually code it in this way due to the participants' reference or inclusion of effective *communication* within the context of the job or employment as, as opposed to simply "making the sale" effectively, which would be a more clear cut case of an instrumental orientation.

² Each participant is identified by a unique number (i.e., P1, P2) as well as by gender, and approximate age (YA=young adult, 18-30 years of age; MA = middle-aged adult, 31-60 years of age; OA= older adult, 61+ years of age).

una puerta abierta “an open door.” This evidence of an instrumental orientation, related to jobs and job security, was also confirmed by other participants. In particular, the reiteration of a public, shared knowledge, confirmed the sense that the correlation between English and professional or work-related interests was a given, as seen in (2) and (3).

(2)

Todo el mundo sabe que para tener más oportunidades debe debe conocer el inglés y otro idioma tal vez ¿verdad? Que es bien importante. [P8, MA male]

Everyone knows that in order to have more opportunities one should should be familiar with English and another language perhaps, you know? That it is very important.

In (2), the participant not only referenced “everyone” as knowing the importance of English, but also colluded with the interviewer to also join “everyone” in confirming his own perspective. The word *¿verdad?*, which translates literally as “true?” or “right?,” but pragmatically as “you know?,” can be read either as a simple comprehension check or as seeking an implicit confirmation of what he had just said. This same participant affirmed that a great majority of families who would want their children to learn English had specific work-related purposes in mind. When asked whether those who promoted Spanish as the only official language on the island clearly represented the perspectives held by this community’s members, and whether these members felt at some level the fear of English incursion into their community, he responded as cited in (3), clearly referencing the extrinsic and instrumental rewards for doing so:

(3)

Yo creo que el el noventa el noventa y cinco por ciento de las familias que tienen niños y están empezando a criar niños si tú les preguntas te van a decir no, yo quiero que mi hijo aprenda inglés, que le abre más oportunidades para para trabajar para el mundo de la computadora y, tantas cosas. [P8, MA male]

I believe that ninety ninety-five percent of the families that have children and are beginning to raise children if you ask them they are going to tell you no, I want my child to learn English, that it will offer him/her more opportunities to to work for the computer world and, so many things.

The prefacing of the assertion with the phrase, “I believe,” served to attenuate somewhat the cited statistic (90-95%). Nevertheless this participant was convinced that he knew the people in his community well enough that he switched into first person to cite their hypothetical words, “No, I want my children to learn English.” The growth of North American companies on the island, particularly in the past 25-30 years, and the requirement that applicants be bilingual clearly influenced some participants’ orientations towards language. Based on information gleaned from the interviews with community members, these requirements were more common in, although not limited to, San Juan or the other coastal regions as opposed to the central mountain corridor. Nevertheless, these participants repeatedly voiced the difficulties of obtaining a job when so many jobs required bilingual skills and more specifically English language skills, as in (4).

(4)

Pues que él que sabe los dos idiomas pues tiene más posibilidades de de ocupar un un puesto verdad? Que pague un poco más. [...] Si sabemos los dos idiomas pues este tenemos cierta cierta ventaja hablando los dos idiomas. E: creo que pues en las en las fábricas en todo lo que es el sistema pues si uno sabe manejar los dos idiomas los los dos idiomas pues tiene una ventaja. [P19, MA male]

Well, it's that the person who knows both languages, well, s/he has more possibilities of of getting a job you know? That pays a little better [...] If we know both languages well, um, we have a certain, certain advantage speaking both languages. Um, I think that, well, in the, in the factories in the whole system, well, if you know how to speak both languages both languages well, you have an advantage.

Several participants referenced common knowledge of the difficulties of others who had experienced trouble getting a job for these reasons, and emphasized that proficient bilinguals were better prepared to find a job. Clearly, these participants referenced an instrumental orientation that correlated English proficiency with the ability to acquire a job. The instrumental orientation also applied to the correlation of English proficiency with academic success at the university level, a reality that a number of the participants mentioned as a key reason for learning or acquiring English. This was due to the fact that texts and other materials are often in English even when class discussions or lectures are done in Spanish. The discourse in (5) highlights an instrumental orientation towards English specifically geared to university functioning and success:

(5)

Bueno yo creo que que que, para para que ellos sigan estudiando estudios universitarios es fundamental. Porque la mayoría de los textos en inglés— es en inglés. Y entonces si no tienen el conocimiento [...] Será lo que me pasó a mí. Fue muy cuesta arriba en la universidad. Fue bien cuesta arriba. Aunque pude—porque como que tenía bastante— una buena base pues me ayudé. Hice lo mejor pero pero, fue cuesta arriba. [P6, MA female]

Well I think that that that, for for them to keep on studying university level it is fundamental. Because the majority of the texts in English— are in English. And then if they don't have the knowledge [...] It might be what happened to me. It was very much uphill in the university. It was all uphill. Although I was able to— because since I had a lot—a good base well I helped myself. I did my best but but, it was all uphill.

For this participant, the need to acquire English was specifically related to the importance of being well-prepared for a university education. Learning English is not necessarily an additional part of university education in Puerto Rico, as it is in many U.S. universities with their minimal foreign-language requirements, but rather comprises a part of the essential preparation to enter the university. Notably, none of the participants questioned the fact that

the universities used texts and materials in English alongside class discussions in Spanish. When asked directly why this pattern occurred in the universities, the participants did not identify this as an issue that had been debated or resisted, even though it was widely recognized as a common difficulty for university students. Examples (1) through (5) show that an instrumental orientation was clearly present for the participants in terms of both the realms of employment and university education.

Integrative orientation

As seen above, although these community members clearly articulated economic reasons for wanting to speak English, discourses indexing an integrative orientation were also evident. Middle-aged to older community members had experienced intensive contact with U.S. volunteer workers who came to work in Puerto Rico's Reconstruction Plan as part of U.S. Civilian Public Service in the 1940s; later, volunteers came to help in projects established during this time in health care and education. The participants referenced this personal, linguistic, and cultural contact with some frequency as they talked about current issues related to language, citing the importance of being able to communicate with native speakers of English, not only generically, but also in terms of specific past experiences with those working in these communities. They indexed the importance of using language to connect with people, whether in English or in other languages. One participant had travelled to Africa, and emphasized the importance of learning language for integrative reasons:

(6)

*Con lo importante que es— todos los idiomas que tú puedes aprender verdad que si estás en otro país pues tú puedes entender [...] Lo importante que es poder hablar.
[P12, MA female]*

With how important it is— all the languages that you can learn, you know, that if you are in another country well you can understand [...] the important thing is to be able to speak.

For her, interpersonal relationships were the primary reason for wanting to learn a language—it served the function of connecting people. Notably her comments in this example referenced communication on a broader level than simply that made possible through a particular language. Instead, the discourse of an integrative orientation focused on increasing one's own linguistic repertoire in order to meet future communicative needs. Language learning seen in this way is clearly extrinsic, oriented towards connecting in the present or future with some interlocutor.

Another participant echoed this value, pointing out that the importance of knowing another language was increasingly being seen in Puerto Rican society, and emphasized by the news media, as in (7), although here the emphasis was on English:

(7)

Anteriormente no se le daba mucha importancia pero últimamente veo que sí le dan mucha importancia. Este, a que los niños las personas dominen los dos idiomas. Y los medios de— de de publicidad la radio la televisión pues tienen mucho que ver

porque enfatizan mucho en eso conocer los dos idiomas. [...] Porque se les ayuda porque se les mejora la vida. Ellos saben que si, si encuentran con un americano pueden establecer una conversación. [P5, MA female]

Earlier there was not as much emphasis given to it but recently I see that they do emphasize it. Um, that children people speak both languages. And the the press—radio television well they have a lot to do with it because they emphasize knowing both languages a lot [...] because it helps them because it improves their lives. They know that if, if they meet up with an American they can begin a conversation.

This participant situated language learning, specifically of English, clearly within an integrative orientation. Taking a closer look at the structure of this discourse, we see that the participant frames the argument with the perspective of others—first, some unknown entity “they,” and later the role of the media, both radio and television, in emphasizing the importance of being bilingual in Spanish and English. This participant also cites the knowledge held and passed on by others with the phrase *ellos saben* “they know.” This externalization suggests that the participant, like the participant who spoke in examples (2) and (3) above, is significantly engaged with her community enough to feel able to speak on their behalf.

Overlapping Orientations: Instrumental and Integrative

In examples (1) through (7) above, then, we see that the participants in this Puerto Rican community articulated both decidedly instrumental as well as decidedly integrative orientations towards language. However, as suggested by some of the studies discussed earlier, these two orientations did not occur in complete isolation from one another, as demonstrated in the discourses present in (8):

(8)

Cuando se viaja es una. La comunicación. Este: en los trabajos. Si tú eres este: bilingüe tienes muchas más oportunidades. Tanto aquí como allí afuera. Porque yo recuerdo que que aquí mismo cuando yo empecé en el setenta. Y luego [...] en el hospital. Estuve dos años trabajando de noche de once a siete de la mañana. Y luego una muchacha se— ah de la clínica externa se casó. [...] Pero surgió esa plaza pero necesitaban como había muchos doctores americanos necesitaban una— alguien que tradu— que le tradujeran al paciente y me dieron la plaza a mí o sea que tuve ventaja [risa]. [P14, MA female]

When you travel that’s one [reason]. Communication. Um: in the workplace. If you are um: bilingual you have many more opportunities. [That happens] as much here as it does there [outside PR]. Because I remember that that right here when I began in 1970. And later [...] in the hospital. I was working nights for two years from eleven to seven in the morning. And later a girl got—um from the external clinic got married.[...] But that job came up but they needed since there were a lot of American doctors they needed a – someone to trans—that could translate for the patient and they gave me the job I mean I had the advantage [laughter].

This participant blended reasons for learning English according to her own experiences, having lived in the U.S., as well as benefited from a job offer in Puerto Rico specifically due to her bilingual skills. For this participant, the role of L2 skills in travel and communication were articulated first, but these were accompanied by an allusion to the pragmatic benefits offered by L2 skills, exemplified by her own personal experience. Although this participant also reified the connection between English language skills and *opportunities*, she laid claim on this reality through the connecting word “because,” highlighting the cause and effect—her truth claim was based on a specific job offer she had received. Her laughter at the end of the statement possibly serves to attenuate the perception that she is boasting about this advantage, but it may also function to question slightly whether Puerto Ricans who speak English should receive that advantage on their own island to translate for doctors who could not speak Spanish; nevertheless, she makes clear that this reality had benefitted her personally.

In Puerto Rico English language skills are often helpful in obtaining work related to the tourist industry, but the participants also referenced language skills as being about communicating and connecting effectively with tourists in that role. In this way, instrumental and integrative orientations began to blend when the discussion came to tourists:

(9)

En Puerto Rico este se dan—las personas se han dado cuenta, de que, tener dos idiomas es una puerta, hacia: la la la la hacia la trabajos y prefieren personas— como en Puerto Rico vienen muchos turistas. Vienen muchas personas que hablen inglés. Si una persona dice— viene hablando un segundo idioma [?] ellos le pueden entender pues se le hace más difícil a la persona poder seguir adelante. Pero si hay una persona que sabe hablar los dos idiomas le fluye la conversación y se ponen de acuerdo. Es más fácil pues para cualquier persona. [P7, MA female]

In Puerto Rico um they’ve noticed—people have noticed that having two languages is a door, towards: the the the the towards jobs and they prefer people—since a lot of tourists come to Puerto Rico. A lot of people who speak English come. If a person says— comes and speaks a second language [*inaudible*] they can understand him/her, well, it makes it more difficult for the person to get ahead. But if there is a person who knows how to speak both languages, the conversation flows for him/her and they can agree [on things]. So it is easier, then, for anyone.

Although this participant clearly began by acknowledging tourism in Puerto Rico as a prime contributor to the presence of English, as well as the presence of monolingual English speakers, she also integrated into this discussion a sense not only of Puerto Ricans needing English to obtain a job to work with these tourists, but also to interact with them in various ways. Clearly, this participant’s expectation was not that tourists would be bilingual, or that tourists bore the burden of communication; rather, she saw Puerto Ricans as providing cultural and linguistic brokerage by choosing to be bilingual to facilitate the communication. Although this indexes the imposition of English that many on the island experience, not only through the presence of tourists but also in the government and the system of federal courts on the island (where English is required, in spite of the fact that it

is the second language of many, if not most, of the court's protagonists), this participant chose to articulate the bilingual skills of Puerto Ricans as making it easier "for anyone."

Intrinsic Orientation

As seen in the previous sections, for a number of the participants, the discourses moved fluidly between work, travel, academic study, correspondence, and effective communication with English speakers, both on and off the job, articulating both instrumental and integrative orientations towards language learning and L2 use. Nevertheless, these two were not the only orientations that surfaced in the discourse. Importantly, the participants articulated what has been described earlier as an *intrinsic orientation* as to the value of language learning and acquisition. Thus, English not only opened the door to jobs, or to integration with an English language target population, but was also an activity or practice that was challenging, interesting, and enabled the participants to expand their own cognitive and social abilities, as seen in (10):

(10)

Ahora mientras estábamos libres en la hora del recreo siempre hablábamos el inglés. [...] O sea tratábamos. [...] En mi caso porque me gustaba. A los demás les gustaba. [P11, MA male]

Now when we were free at recess time we would always speak English. [...] I mean we would try. [...] In my case because I liked it. The rest liked it.

This example referred back to the participants' days in grade school, and he highlighted the enjoyable aspects of using his L2 English. Like other participants, he acknowledged the challenge and the difficulty of doing so, yet articulated a positive perspective on that challenge. Other participants valued the process of language learning not for English but specifically spoke of learning languages other than English as well, as in (11):

(11)

Los idiomas no no tienen necesariamente que afectar la relación entre los pueblos. Podemos aprender a hablar inglés como podemos aprender a hablar el francés o italiano o chino, que sería bien interesante aprenderlo por la hegemonía eh alrededor del mundo. [P9, MA male]

Languages do not necessarily have to affect the relationship among people. We can learn to speak English just like we can learn to speak French or Italian or Chinese, which would be very interesting to learn due to the hegemony um around the world.

Although the concept of hegemony indexes an influence or power imposed externally, the participant in (11) notably subordinates English within a globalizing discourse that identifies it as only one of many options and thereby diminishes its own more typically hegemonic status. Although aside from Spanish, English is clearly the language most at stake in Puerto Rican society, this participant clearly linked learning an L2 to a language-plus, or additive, stance rather than recurring to the language conflict metaphor sometimes

discussed or observed in Puerto Rico (Torres González, 2002). In this way, L2 learning and usage was tied most clearly to an intrinsic motivation springing from the individual's choice to learn, as opposed to needing to learn a particular language for a particular purpose.

In keeping with the sense that language learning and acquisition was beneficial in and of itself, one participant associated monolingualism with mediocrity, and emphasized that learning another language was a way of improving oneself [P13, OA male]. The discourses in the data also pointed to the importance of the person's own internal interest in the learning task. One participant overtly rejected, albeit somewhat controversially, the idea that English is a language that has been (or can be) forced upon the Puerto Rican people: "*Nadie le obliga a hacer nada,*" "no one makes you do anything" [P10, OA female]; she suggested that in spite of frequent exposure to another language, each person has to decide for him/herself whether s/he truly desires to learn the language—the end result of proficiency cannot be demanded of anyone. Instead this participant referenced the individual's interest as a major factor in the learning and the potential success in becoming bilingual. Nevertheless, for her, learning an L2 was something that Puerto Ricans *should* take on as an obligation, and not only a second language, but knowing more than two languages, again decreasing the hegemony of English as the only obvious choice: "*Pero deben aprenderse los idiomas. Y quizás más de uno. Más de dos,*" "But they should learn languages. And perhaps more than one. More than two" [P10, MA female].

Other participants utilized intrinsically oriented discourses that portrayed the language learning process as favorable and positive in and of itself. The participant in (12) below discussed at length her becoming an English language teacher during her university studies, although she currently teaches Spanish language at a bilingual school:

(12)

Y me encanta. Aprendí yo digo que yo aprendí más que lo que enseñé. Porque para poderlo enseñar tuve que aprender. Y me ayudó mucho. Y me encanta. Sinceramente se lo digo. Me encanta el inglés. [P7, MA female]

I love it. I learned I say that I learned more than what I taught. Because in order to be able to teach it I had to learn. And it helped me a lot. And I love it. I tell you the truth. I love English.

This participant's love for language learning in general, whether L1 development and expansion in writing or L2 learning, was clearly evident, and reinforced the sense that an intrinsic orientation was unmistakably present for some members of the community. Clearly, however, learning English grew out of both an intrinsic and extrinsic orientation—she had to learn the language in order to do her job well (instrumental/extrinsic), but the task in and of itself was inherently enjoyable (intrinsic). As someone who had taught both English and Spanish, she engaged with the interviewer on a variety of lexical and syntactic phenomena that appeared both in dialectal variations of Spanish as well as code-switching and translation issues that she had encountered in the classroom and beyond.

Self-Determination: A Synthesis of Instrumental, Integrative, and Intrinsic

Just as the participants rarely articulated an exclusively instrumental or integrative orientation, as demonstrated earlier, they also combined one or both of these with an intrinsic orientation, at times incorporating all three. As one example, the bilingual school English teacher, from example (1) above, employed a common discourse of obligation and need (*instrumental*) to discuss how she pushed her students to study English; nevertheless, she also articulated a clearly *intrinsic* orientation, paralleling a language appreciation model, as in (12):

(13)

Tiene que darles un objetivo. Un un por qué. Pero lo necesitan. They really need it. [...] Aunque no está mal también saber otro idioma. Why not? O sea no tan solo porque lo necesitan sino why not? [...] [P2, MA female]

You have to give them an objective. A a reason. Because they need it. THEY REALLY NEED IT. [...] Although it's not bad to also know another language. WHY NOT? I mean it's not just because they need it but also WHY NOT?

Notably this participant echoes with her own codeswitching (shown in the translation above by the use of small capital letters for the part stated in English) her perception of the normality of knowing and using two languages. This teacher had no question about the instrumental orientation that will serve her students well in the future, whether for jobs or university education. Nevertheless, she went beyond this orientation to express an intrinsic value in the process itself; she also left the language of choice wide open—*otro idioma* “another language.” Likewise, a number of the participants moved fluidly between the topics of work, travel, academic study, the requirements of a globalized world, communicating effectively, and the value of being bi- and even multilingual beyond English itself, as in (13):

(14)

Yo creo que [risa] no da solamente saber el español e inglés. Si tú pudieras hablar otro idioma sería eficaz. Sería bueno [...] en el sentido de que tú puedes comunicarte con, con distintas personas, con distintas razas mejor. Si yo supiera hablar alemán podía, podía relacionarme mejor con los alemanes o cualquier idioma que uno aprenda. Eso no— eso es es para el beneficio de uno. [P13, OA male]

I believe that [laughter] it's not enough to know Spanish and English. If you could speak another language it would be effective. It would be good [...] in the sense that you can communicate better with, with different people, with different races. If I knew how to speak German I could, I could relate better to the Germans or whatever language that one might learn. That's not—that is is to one's benefit.

This discourse of both communication and integration into a target language community was situated unmistakably outside of the Spanish-English bilingual paradigm to incorporate other languages that one might learn. It is not merely the mention of German that

communicates this idea; rather, again the preposing of *yo creo* “I believe,” followed by laughter, is an attempt to attenuate slightly the speaker’s follow up comments, which is that Spanish and English are not enough on their own. The laughter here may have been intended to soften the impact of the statement on the interviewer (a native speaker of English, of which the participant was clearly aware); nevertheless, his comments served to reinforce his globalizing the need for other languages, not only English.

Thus in this section, we see that discourses related to at least two, if not all three, orientations were frequently present within the same conversation, demonstrating clearly the overlapping of orientations within the same framework.

Conclusions

Summarizing, it is clear that many of the interviewees articulated instrumental orientations towards English in their community and, more broadly, on the island. Although they indexed the economic benefits to speaking English, they also expressed integrative reasons for learning and using English, likely a result of the intense contact between U.S. volunteers and early community members, since this contact was cited in a number of conversations. Some indexed improved communication with native speakers of English as well as more generalized cultural access to English language materials, as was the reality of instructional product materials. The examples analyzed here thus indicate the presence of both instrumental and integrative orientations in this community, and additionally, show that these two are not dichotomized in the members’ discourses, nor are they the sole orientations present in this community. Rather, we see a synthesis of these two orientations with an intrinsic orientation that validates multilingualism on a broader scale than that of Spanish-English bilingualism alone. As was stated above, self-determination theory points to the role that autonomy plays in individuals’ choices, whether these choices tend towards the intrinsic side or whether they lean towards the more extrinsic (instrumental and/or integrative) side of the spectrum, since the latter earn the speaker some kind of an external reward, whether that is the interaction with and approval of others outside of themselves or some other kind of financial or job-related reward. This subset of community members articulates a third way that recognizes both the practical need for extrinsic reward (jobs, university status, integration and communication with target language speakers) typically associated with English, as well as a more intrinsic orientation, that may or may not be associated clearly with English as opposed to other languages.

Several factors are relevant and have been alluded to and discussed in the sections above. It can be argued that English, a colonial language, has been imposed on the Puerto Rican people; as a result, the relationship between the two languages has often been portrayed as dueling and conflictive with discourses on both sides of the divide (Pousada 1996a; Rúa, 2002; Shenk, 2011; Torres González, 2002). However, in this particular community, the intensive level of contact in the 1940s–1970s between Puerto Rican community members and U.S. Civilian Public Service volunteers (as well as later U.S. volunteer workers) has shaped the community’s perspectives to at least some extent. Regular interpersonal contact with native speakers of English, combined with the community’s constructed and collective memory, may well serve in constructing an overlapping set of orientations that would allow for an integrative orientation towards English and its speakers. Notably, however, this historical contact has not predisposed these participants towards an exclusively integrative orientation towards English and its speakers,

but rather has additionally included an instrumental orientation focused on U.S. companies, job opportunities, and English-speaking tourists, as well as an understanding of language learning as an inherently interesting, challenging, stimulating activity that explores and expands speakers' own cognitive abilities. In this way, community members appear to be oriented towards a third way that combines integrative, instrumental, and intrinsic orientations in a way that validates and promotes bi-/multilingualism on a broader scale, beyond the learning of English alone.

Thus, some of the discourses examined here parallel and express tenets of Language Awareness, which emphasizes the importance of promoting an appreciation for, attentiveness to, and specific knowledge about language issues, whether for a first, second, or third language (Hawkins, 1987; Oliveira & Anca, 2009; Svalberg, 2009). In recent years, the field of Language Awareness has given rise to calls for the development and application of these tenets on the island in an effort to move beyond the often conflictive contact between Spanish and English (Pousada 1996b). An intrinsic motivation, superseding reference to financial, educational, or social goals, is indirectly related to this field.

The overlapping of intrinsic and extrinsic (instrumental and integrative) orientations found in the discourses presented here not only demonstrate what occurs in language contact settings, but also hold pedagogical implications for educators teaching a second language in the classroom. As indicated in (1) and (13), students can be presented with, as well as challenged to articulate for themselves, factors related to a combination of these orientations in terms of their L2 learning goals, as opposed to focusing on only one of them (see also Modern Language Association, 2007). Exposure and overt discussion in the classroom of the ways in which integrative, instrumental, and intrinsic orientations can support and promote language learning will advance the understanding that these orientations overlap and interact with each other, as opposed to one being validated in the classroom discourse over the others. Students should be encouraged to examine, and adopt, a combination of orientations towards language learning, even if they as individuals tend to identify at the outset with one more than another.

When learners are presented with a set of questions specifically targeted to elicit the strength of a particular orientation in each individual learner, these questions may serve to confirm, unknowingly, a distinction between orientations in a way that is not reflective of lived experience. This potential shortcoming of current research studies on orientations in learners can be supplemented by qualitative investigations such as the current one that allow themes to emerge from the learners' own discourses. Puerto Rico, and the SRC in particular, provide a unique setting in which to examine the overlapping orientations towards language. Self-determination theory provides an additional framework within which to examine how the participants in this contact setting construct the overlapping of orientations beyond that sometimes seen in formal learning contexts. This demonstration of intermingling orientations towards language as expressed by incipient or fully bilingual speakers in contact settings may provide some counterbalance to the oft-cited divide between reasons for learning an L2, given that this divide is less clear outside of academia.

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