

Please cite this paper as follows:

Nizigama, E., Fazilatfar, A. M., Jabbari, A. K., & Rezai, M. J. (2023). Motivation and International Posture of Multiple Language Learners in Burundi Urban and Rural Settings. *International Journal of Foreign Language Teaching and Research*, 11 (46), 29-48. <http://doi.org/10.30495/IJFL.2023.703378>

Research Paper

Motivation and International Posture of Multiple Language Learners in Burundi Urban and Rural Settings

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Received: February 08, 2023

Accepted: June 26, 2023

Abstract

This present study compares the motivation of Burundi junior high school students from urban and rural settings to learn L2 French and L3 English, mainly focusing on Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self-system. A total of 348 (grades 7 through 9) pupils participated in the present study which used a 40-item questionnaire to collect the data. The results indicated that the students from both learning contexts have distinct motivational dispositions for learning both French and English. French is more popular among rural school learners while English enjoys more popularity among urban school students. Moreover, region-specific differences were found in the participants with learners from rural schools exhibiting more positive motivation to learn both languages than their urban counterparts. The results also revealed that independent of the region, L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self were the two variables that respectively predicted most the students' intended effort to learn each target language. One region and the language-related difference was that the variable of international posture emerged as a significant contributor to the students' intended language learning effort only among urban school learners uniquely in relation to their English learning. In the light of the results of this study, pedagogical implications are provided.

Keywords: L2 motivation; L2 Motivational Self-system; International posture; Learning context; Multiple language learning.

وضعیت انگیزشی و جهانی فراگیران چند زبانی در مناطق شهری و روستایی در کشور بروندي در قاره افريقا
مطالعه حاضر به مقایسه انگیزش دانش آموزان چند مدرسه در دو منطقه شهری و روستایی در کشور بروندي در قاره افريقا در خصوص یادگیری زبان فرانسه بعنوان زبان دوم و زبان انگلیسی بعنوان زبان سوم می پردازد. این مقایسه بر اساس نظریات دورنیه در چهارچوب "نظام خود انگیزی در زبان دوم L2 motivational self-system" که در نظریات سالهای 2005 و 2009 او مطرح شده است پایه گذاری شده است. در این رابطه از مجموع 348 دانش آموز که در کلاسهای هفتم الی نهم دبیرستان مشغول تحصیل بودند درخواست گردید که به یک پرسشنامه 40 سوالی پاسخ دهند. نتایج تحقیق نشان داد که عامل فراگیری دانش آموزان دو منطقه در دو زبان فرانسه و انگلیسی از دو منبع متفاوت و مجزای انگیزشی ناشی می شود. به این معنی که در منطقه روستایی زبان فرانسه و در منطقه شهری زبان انگلیسی از استقبال بیشتری در بین دانش آموزان برخوردار است. علاوه بر این نتایج تحقیق خاطر نشان می کند که در منطقه روستایی دانش آموزان انگیزه بیشتری برای فراگیری هر دو زبان دارند. اما در دانش آموزان مناطق شهری واقعیت اینگونه نیست. آنها به یادگیری زبان انگلیسی تمایل بیشتری دارند. همچنین سواى شهری یا روستایی بودن دانش آموزان مشخص گردید که متغیرهای "تجربه فراگیری" و "خود برتر" باعث انگیزه بیشتری در همه دانش آموزان جهت فراگیری زبانهای خارجی است. شاخص یک زبان و یک منطقه در بین دانش آموزان منطقه شهری حاکی از آن است که وضعیت جهانی زبان انگلیسی عامل انگیزشی برتری در کمک به دانش آموزان شهری به یادگیری زبان انگلیسی تلقی می شود. در پایان با توجه به نتایج تحقیق نویسنده سعی نموده است برداشتهای موثری در خصوص آموزش زبان انگلیسی ارائه نماید.

امل انگیزشی زبان دوم - نظام خود انگیزی در زبان دوم - وضعیت جهانی محیط یادگیری - فرایند یادگیری چند زبانی

Introduction

Motivation for learning a language is one of the most well-researched constructs in second language acquisition (SLA) studies (Boo, Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015). It is also a research area that has received unrivaled attention in comparison to other individual variables influencing second language learning (Ellis, 2008). This substantial and growing body of research might result from the fact that motivation seems to be very critical to L2 learning success and achievement as such a learning process generally requires sustained endeavor often over several years (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). The first empirical interest in exploring this area of SLA was Gardner and Lambert's (1959, 1972) pioneering works that laid the foundation of the field of L2 motivation and introduced prominent concepts of integrative and instrumental orientations. The socio-educational model of these social psychologists (see Gardner, 1985; Gardner & Lambert, 1972), which was based on the concept of integrativeness, was highly influential across the subsequent three decades among L2 researchers and practitioners. Integrativeness was defined as 'a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other group' (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 132). In other words, a successful L2 learner should have a desire to identify with members of the target ethnolinguistic community or, in its extreme form, have a willingness to integration into that L2 community (Gardner, 2006).

Despite the unequalled importance of integrativeness in L2 motivation research for many decades, starting from the cognitive-situated period (during the 1990s) of the L2 motivation research history, Gardner's notion of integrativeness faced a barrage of criticisms (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). In language learning situations other than the bilingual Canadian context, integrativeness was seen as problematic and enigmatic for a number of reasons: (1) Gardner's theory overlooked cognitive theories of learning motivation (Oxford & Shearin, 1994), (2) issues of applicability of the concept of integrativeness in situated and immediate L2 learning contexts (Dörnyei, 1998), (3) its irrelevance in foreign language learning settings where learners have no, if not very limited, opportunities to interact with native speakers of the target language (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Yashima, 2000), (4) world English identity (Dörnyei, 2005), and (5) globalisation where ownership of English is considered global and not specifically associated with one single L2 community (Widdowson, 1997).

Due to the shortcomings associated with the concept of integrative motivation, several L2 motivation scholars have called for a redefinition or alteration of the construct (see, Lamb, 2004; McClelland, 2000; Norton, 2000; Yashima, 2000). In this respect, McClelland (2000) argued for a substitute for the notion of integrativeness that emphasizes the global community instead of a desire to identify with native speakers of one specific L2 community to fit the current perception of English as a global language. In this regard, Yashima (2000, 2002) for instance proposed an 'international posture' as an alternative. It refers to an "interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go overseas to study or work ... [and] a non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures" (Yashima, 2000, p.57). Moreover, many researchers in the field of L2 motivation have also suggested to investigate L2 motivation from the perspectives of psychological contemporary notions of learner self and identity (e.g., Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Ryan, 2009, Ushioda, 2009). This has resulted in another alternative motivation theory, Dörnyei's (2005; 2009) L2 Motivational Self-system (L2MSS). Built on the previous L2 motivation conceptualizations and having included in its reformulation other significant psychological theoretical developments such as possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987), the L2MSS has become the dominant theory in the field of L2 motivation (see, Boo et al., 2015).

The purpose of this study is, therefore, to explore motivations for simultaneously learning two foreign languages –French and English– in the under-researched context of Burundi using

Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS as the main theoretical framework. Although the field of SLA has welcomed the "multilingual turn" (Ortega, 2013), there is still a scarcity of studies examining motivation of multiple language learners (Siridetkoon & Dewaele, 2017). Most of the L2 motivation studies have mainly focused on a single second/foreign language, with studies in which English was the primary target language receiving the lion's share (Boo et al., 2015). This study intends, thus, to fill this gap by also investigating the effect of the students' regional backgrounds on their language learning motivation.

Literature Review

L2 Motivational Self-system

The L2 motivational self-system (L2MSS) was developed by Dörnyei (2005, 2009). It built on past L2 motivation research particularly on understandings obtained from the socio-educational model of SLA (Gardner, 1985; Gardner & Lambert, 1972). The paradigm, which has drawn on two fundamental psychological theories namely possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987), suggests that language learners' future self-images are the main powerful motivators for language learning instead of their identification with the L2 target community as previously held. The L2MSS framework subsumes three major constituents: (1) the ideal L2 self (the future self-image an individual wishes to possess in terms of language competence), (2) the ought-to L2 self (attributes that a person feels compelled to have due to external expectations and pressures or to avoid future negative L2 learning consequences), and (3) the L2 learning experience (which concerns situation-specific motives related to aspects of the immediate L2 learning environment such as teachers, peer group, curriculum and learner experience of success). According to this theory, possible future selves (i.e., ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self) can affect learning behaviour in a sense that motivation results from both an individual's desire to reduce the gap between one's future and current self-state, on the one hand, and a person's intention to lessen the discrepancy between their actual and ought-to-self, on the other. Empirically tested and validated in various national and instructional learning contexts such as China, Hungary, Iran, Japan, and Saudi Arabia (see, for a review, Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009), the L2MSS has become the dominant theoretical model used to examine language learner motivation (Boo et al., 2015).

In addition to those studies that were particularly conducted for validity purposes, Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS has been gaining popularity as several other empirical studies have been investigated using the framework in different language learning contexts. Overall, results of L2 motivation studies conducted so far have largely upheld the explanatory power of this tripartite L2MSS model, with either the ideal L2 self or L2 learning experience being the strongest predictor of students' intended effort or motivated behaviors in language learning (e.g., Azarnoosh & Birjandi, 2012; Kong, Han, Kim, Park, & Park, 2018; Kormos & Csizér, 2008; Lamb, 2012; Lasagabaster, 2015; Papi, 2010). The ought-to L2 self, however, does not consistently contribute to the criterion measure related to language learning behaviors. The construct failed to reach an acceptable Cronbach alpha reliability value (Csizér & Lukacs, 2010; Lamb, 2012) and its influence on learning effort has either been non-significant (Kormos, Kiddle, & Csizér, 2011; Lasagabaster, 2015) or marginal (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Papi, 2010). Contrary to the above findings, however, some studies that were conducted in Asian countries such as Japan (Ueki & Takeuchi, 2013), Pakistan (Islam, 2013), Taiwan (Huang, Hsu and Chen, 2015), and China, Iran, and Japan (Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009) repeatedly found that the ought-to L2 self-contributed either moderately or strongly to the subjects' motivated learning behavior. This finding seems to support a claim made by some researchers (e.g. Dörnyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006; Kormos et al., 2011) that the ought-to L2 self may play a substantial role in Arab and Asian contexts due to the crucial influence that family has in those cultures.

Although the L2MSS has been very popular, most of the L2 motivation studies have, with the exception of a few studies (e.g., Islam, 2013; Lamb, 2012), been conducted with language learners uniquely from urban centers. Though this line of research has attracted little attention, sociocultural language learning contexts determine learners' motivational states (Kozaki & Ross, 2011). Indeed, despite they being unique to each individual, future-self guides are, nonetheless, socially constructed (Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006). In Burundi, for instance, there is an enormous disparity between citizens living in rural areas and the ones from major cities in terms of contact with a second or foreign language. For example, in Bujumbura, the economic capital and largest city of the country, French (L2) enjoys favourable socio-cultural environment in some of its quarters, as the city is more open to modernity and globalisation. In rural areas not bordering Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) where Kiswahili is widely spoken, however, the first contact with an L2/FL takes place solely at school (Mazunya, 2011). Given that sociocultural context of the classroom affects learner language learning motivation (Kozaki & Ross, 2011), Burundi students from rural and urban localities are likely to be differently motivated to learn foreign languages. Besides, as Djigunović and Nikolov (2019) have noticed, L2 motivation studies involving primary and junior high school pupils as participants are scarcer in comparison to those with older and more mature students. Therefore, this study set out specifically to compare the motivation to learn French (L2) and English (L3) of Burundi junior high school learners enrolled in state schools in two different national contexts: Bujumbura, the economic and largest city of the country and a rural district from a rural province.

Multiple Language Learning Motivation

Multilingualism has been propelled to “to a new world order in the 21st century” (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 19). As a direct consequence, the past few decades have seen a proliferation of multilingual programs in a large number of schools in many parts of the world aiming at promoting both multilingualism and multiliteracy (Cenoz, 2000; De Angelis, 2007). However, although over the past half-century there has been a substantial volume of L2 motivation research (Dörnyei, 2019; Gardner & Lambert, 1959), studies examining motivation for learning multiple languages are very limited (Siridetkoon & Dewaele, 2017). In fact, the study of L2 motivation has had a “longstanding monolingual bias” (Henry & Thorsen, 2017, p. 1), that is, L2 motivation research has largely been concerned with situations where learners are engaged in learning a single language (Henry, 2010) with studies in which English was the primary target language constituting the largest part (Boo et al., 2015). This is unfortunate in the current global context where multilingual development is a common practice (De Angelis, 2007). To redress that monolingual bias, appeals have recently been made to incorporate multiple foreign languages into the study of L2 motivation (Ushioda, 2017). Overall, results of empirical studies conducted so far that specifically examined the interface between the construct of L2 motivation and multilingualism often point to an uneven distribution of motivation for foreign languages, with English generally impeding the learning of languages other than English (LOTES) (e.g., Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Dewaele, 2005; Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017; Dörnyei et al., 2006; Henry, 2010). This was attributed to the unparalleled global status and high instrumentality of English, with this contrast between global English and LOTES having non-negligible implications for simultaneous multiple foreign language learning (e.g., Dörnyei & Csizér 2002; Henry, 2010).

Contrary to the above studies whose findings revealed that in the context of multiple language learning the ideal English self negatively impacts on motivations for learning LOTES, research evidence from Nakamura's (2015) indicates that global English does not necessarily weaken interest in other foreign languages. In fact, Nakamura compared in a qualitative study college students' motivation for learning Japanese (L2) with motivations for learning additional

languages. Unlike the previous findings suggesting competition between learners' multiple possible selves in which English ideal self can be detrimental to LOTEs learning, the findings from Nakamura's investigation demonstrated that the students' multiple future self-guides can co-exist without competition, particularly if each language is linked to a specific domain of language use (e.g., career, education, extracurricular) in the students' current or future life. This finding, according to which there is a positive correlation between language learning motivation and specific domains of learner's current or future language use, emerged also in other studies (e.g., Siridetkoon & Dewaele 2017; Zaragoza, 2011) in which the participants were adult or university students involved in simultaneous multiple language learning often out of their own volition.

In the under-researched context of Burundi, although the country is historically monolingual, four languages (Kirundi-L1, French-L2, English-L3, and Kiswahili-L3) are simultaneously taught from grade one of the country's public educational systems since 2007, a year corresponding to the country's formal integration into the East African Community (EAC) where both English and Kiswahili are the community's official languages. French (the ex-colonial language and a medium of instruction from grade 7 upwards) and English are considered as the main foreign language school subjects at junior high school level (grade 7 through 9). In fact, French has five periods and English four while Kiswahili has one period of 45 minutes in each school grade per week (Mazunya & Habonimana, 2010; Ndayimirije, 2015; Rwantabagu, 2011). Despite its educational system being multilingual, no L2 motivation study has dealt with multiple language learning motivation using Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS as a theoretical framework in Burundi to date however. The scant available literature (e.g., Bigirimana, 2018; Irakoze, 2015) focused on language attitudes and was mainly influenced by Gardner's (1985, 2006) socio-educational theory of SLA. In brief, respondents in these studies reported to have more positive attitudes towards English (L3) to the detriment of both French and Kiswahili. Moreover, though L2 motivation research revealed that English is detrimental to LOTEs learning, little is however known about learners' motivation in situations where English is the L3. Geopolitically situated between the Francophone Central Africa and the Anglophone East Africa, whether junior high school pupils are more motivated to learn L3 English in this French-speaking country to the detriment of L2 French seems to be a significant research gap.

International Posture

In response to the voiced irrelevance of the concept of integrativeness in foreign language learning settings (see, Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Lamb, 2004; Yashima, 2000), Yashima (2002, 2009) developed the notion of international posture, as a measure of how Japanese EFL learners can relate themselves to the world English-speaking discourse community rather than one specific L2 group. International posture describes learners' genuine willingness to become active members of the international community (Yashima, 2009) and is characterised by students' interest in global or international affairs, a desire to travel, stay or work overseas, and readiness to interact with people of different foreign cultures (Dörnyei, 2005, Yashima, 2000). Yashima (2009) suggested that learner higher level of international posture likely leads to higher English learning motivation and more willingness to communicate with people of other cultures. Since its coinage, a number of researchers have examined the relationship between this concept and Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS, particularly the relationship between international posture and the two future self-guides (ideal and ought-to L2 selves). Most of these studies found that the ideal L2 self was highly correlated with international posture (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Islam, 2013; Kormos & Csizér, 2008; Yashima, 2009; Véliz-Campos, Polanco-Soto & Biedroń, 2020). Regarding the ought-to L2 self, no correlation with international posture was reported in some

studies (Csizer & Kormos, 2009; Véliz-campos et al., 2020), while in others a weaker (Kim & Lee, 2015) or a negative (Kong et al., 2018) correlation was found between the two constructs.

Although the concept of international posture was initially developed to specifically explain the motivation of learners of English as an international language (Yashima, 2002), Siridetkoon (2015) discovered that international posture was not strictly limited to learning English. In her study that involved Thai university students simultaneously learning multiple languages, results indicated that international posture was also linked to motivation to learn other foreign languages of wider communication such as Chinese and Korean. She concluded that LOTEs learners might also be able “to obtain intercultural orientation and have future self-image in imagined international community” (p.182) through their competence in or learning those LOTEs. Her research findings opened the applicability of the concept of international posture to learners of LOTEs (e.g., Kong et al., 2018).

Purpose of the Study

Utilizing the L2 motivational self-system as the main theoretical framework, this study aims at examining the motivation of Burundi junior high school students (grades 7 through 9) for learning both French and English simultaneously. Taking the socio-cultural learning milieu of the participants into account, the present study intended to investigate whether the students from urban and rural schools simultaneously learning both L2 French and L3 English have distinct motivational profiles as measured by different motivational scales. More specifically, this study addresses the following research questions:

1. *How does L2 motivation among Burundi junior high school students from each geographical area differ between the two foreign languages (L2 French and L3 English)?*
2. *Does motivation for learning the two foreign languages differ between urban and rural school learners?*
3. *What are the sources of differences between the students from the two learning contexts in terms of the motivational factors significantly contributing to the learners' intended effort to learn each foreign language?*

Method

Participants

To understand any potential source of divergence in motivation for learning both L2 French and L3 English, two research sites were chosen to represent Burundi junior high school students from urban and rural learning contexts. In each context, two state-owned schools with a junior high school level (grades 7-9) were selected. The four selected schools are located in Ntakangwa District (from the urban province of Bujumbura Municipality) and Matongo District (of the rural province of Kayanza). All the schools were following a national curriculum. Besides its being a medium of instruction at that education level, French was taught 5 hours each of 45 minutes every week in each school grade. Regarding English, it had four periods a week in each class. In selecting both the districts and schools, judgement sampling method was used.

The sample in this study consisted of 348 pupils from three consecutive junior high school grades, namely 7, 8 and 9. Among them, 148 students were boys and 200 were girls. Regarding their social background, 208 pupils were from urban schools while 140 students were studying in rural localities. The pupils were all Burundians and spoke Kirundi as their native language. The participants' mean age was 14.78 years. Although this sample of 348 pupils seems not to be very

large, there were two sets of scores of data to be processed. The number of students sampled at each category of school is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Number of school grades, schools, and respondents (N) in the two research contexts

Research site	No. of school grades	No. of schools	N
Urban locality	6	2	208
Rural area	6	2	140

Instrument

For the current study, a 40-item questionnaire was developed with a focus on the two target languages, French and English (see Appendix). The questionnaire had two main parts: The first part consists of questions eliciting the participants' background information (i.e. sex, age, school grade level, and name of their urban or rural school), and the second part contains 40 items on learners' motivation for French and English learning. In designing the questionnaire, items were adapted from previous L2 motivation studies on the L2 Motivational Self-system (e.g., Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010; Lamb, 2012; Taguchi et al., 2009). Five different constructs were targeted: ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience, international posture, and the criterion measure of intended learning effort. The items consisted of statements to which respondents had to indicate their degree of agreement on a five-point Likert scale ranging from one (strongly disagree) to five (strongly agree). Table 2 shows, for each language, the number of items and internal reliability for each motivational factor. The English version of the questionnaire was translated into Kirundi by the first author and was thereafter edited by a professional English-Kirundi translator. Before its main administration, the questionnaire was piloted in a school grade (grade 7, N = 40) from a state high school not participating in the main study. No comprehension issues were reported. Nonetheless, based on the students' feedback, the questionnaire format was changed.

Procedures for Data Collection

Before the administration of the final version of the questionnaire, the first author made a preliminary visit first to the sampled district education offices to request permission to conduct the research. After the permission was granted, the first author approached each sampled school and discussed with the school principals for their cooperation. All agreed to participate and each school designated one schoolteacher as a contact person to help in the administration process. Data collection took place in March-April 2022. Hard copies of the questionnaire (in Kirundi) were filled in during class time in the students' ordinary classrooms during day lessons; the first author was always present at the administration, explaining the purpose of the research and overseeing the procedure. Prior to any administration, it was stressed that the pupils' responses would be treated confidentially. The students took approximately between 20 and 25 minutes to complete the paper questionnaires and were always thanked for their cooperation.

Data Analysis

The collected data were entered into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, version 22) for statistical analyses. After computing Cronbach's alpha internal consistency reliability values, three inferential statistical procedures were performed. Paired-samples t-tests were conducted to compare the students' motivations for learning the two target languages. Independent-samples t-tests were run to ascertain if there were differences between the students from urban and rural learning contexts on the three aspects of the L2MSS, international posture and their intended learning effort across the two languages. Lastly, multiple regression analyses

Table 3

Descriptive statistics for the two regions, with paired samples t-test of motivation for French and English

Scales	Sample	N	Language		t-value	p (2-tailed)	Cohen's d
			French (Mean/SD)	English (Mean/SD)			
Ideal L2 Self	Urban	208	3.96 / .82	4.03 / .87	-.974	.331	----
	Rural	140	4.22 / .64	4.09 / .78	2.944	.004**	.25
Ought-to L2 Self	Urban	208	3.21 / 1.00	3.31 / 1.02	-1.464	.145	----
	Rural	140	3.78 / .80	3.71 / .83	1.070	.286	----
L2 Learning Experience	Urban	208	3.72 / .86	4.09 / .89	-4.570	.000***	-.32
	Rural	140	4.45 / .54	4.31 / .75	2.327	.021*	.20
Intended Learning Effort	Urban	208	3.83 / .80	4.06 / .80	-3.162	.002**	-.22
	Rural	140	4.19 / .65	4.17 / .79	.245	.806	----
International Posture	Urban	208	3.79 / .94	4.39 / .70	-7.930	.000***	-.55
	Rural	140	4.29 / .76	4.29 / .68	.010	.992	----

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

To check whether the observed differences were statistically significant, paired samples *t*-tests were employed. Besides, effect size is reported alongside statistically significant *p* values using Cohen's *d*. To interpret *d* values, the following scale is used: .20 = small effect, .50 = medium effect, and .80 = large effect (see, Cohen, 1988). According to the results from Table 3, out of the five measured motivational dimensions, differences were statistically significant in three motivational scales (i.e., L2 learning experience, intended learning effort, and international posture) for learners from urban schools. Regarding students from rural areas, however, statistically significant differences were obtained only in ideal L2 self and L2 learning experience motivational factors. For both regions, the statistically significant differences had a mostly small-medium effect size.

Comparative Analysis of the Motivational Scales across the two regions

To identify differences in terms of the students' L2 motivation on the basis of their regional backgrounds, a variable that was consistently found to affect the participants' language learning motivation (see, Islam, 2013; Lamb, 2012), a comparison of mean scores on the three aspects of the L2MSS, international posture and their intended learning effort across the two languages using an independent samples *t*-test was made. Results are presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4

Descriptive statistics for the two regions, with independent samples t-test comparison of motivation scores

Scales	Language	Sample	N	Mean	SD	t	p	Cohen's d
Ideal L2 self	French	Urban	208	3.96	.82	-3.002	.003**	-.33
		Rural	140	4.22	.64			
	English	Urban	208	4.03	.87	-.660	.510	----
		Rural	140	4.09	.78			
Ought-to L2 self	French	Urban	208	3.21	1.00	-5.582	.000***	-.58
		Rural	140	3.78	.80			
	English	Urban	208	3.31	1.02	-3.772	.000***	-.40
		Rural	140	3.71	.83			
L2 learning experience	French	Urban	208	3.72	.86	-8.641	.000***	-.86
		Rural	140	4.45	.54			
	English	Urban	208	4.09	.89	-2.444	.015*	-.26

International posture	French	Rural	140	4.31	.75			
		Urban	208	3.79	.94	-5.158	.000***	-.54
	English	Rural	140	4.29	.76			
		Urban	208	4.39	.70	1.329	.185	-----
Intended learning effort	French	Rural	140	4.29	.68			
		Urban	208	3.83	.80	-4.324	.000***	-.46
	English	Urban	208	4.19	.65			
		Urban	208	4.06	.80	-1.281	.201	----
		Rural	140	4.17	.79			

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.

As results in Table 4 above indicate, with the exception of the scale of international posture for English, students learning in rural school consistently scored higher than their peers studying in urban areas on all scales and across the two foreign languages. With only three scales related to English (ideal L2 self, international posture, and intended efforts to learn) where the difference was not significant, students studying in rural schools statistically significantly scored differently than their counterparts from urban schools on all the remaining scales and across both target languages. Regarding the scale of international posture for English, although the difference was not significantly different, students from rural areas obtained a lower mean value on this scale than their peers from urban schools. Concerning the effect size of the observed differences, it was generally small or medium. In other words, with one exception related to the motivational dimension of French learning experience in which the participating students from the two regions showed large differences ($d = -.86$), all the remaining significant differences had either a small or a medium effect size.

Relationship Between the Motivational Scales and the Criterion Measure

To find out which motivational factors were significant predictors of reported intended effort in learning each foreign language by the students from the two participating learning contexts, multiple regression analyses with a stepwise approach were performed. The results are presented in Tables 5 - 6.

Table 5

The final models of regression analyses predicting students' intended effort to learn French

Sample	Predictors	R ²	F	B	SE B	β
Urban		.56	183.10***			
	L2 learning experience			.65	.04	.68***
Rural	Ideal L2 self			.34	.05	.34***
		.36	46.13***			
Both groups	Ideal L2 self			.50	.07	.50***
	L2 learning experience			.41	.08	.34***
Both groups		.52	248.07***			
	L2 learning experience			.60	.03	.64***
	Ideal L2 self			.37	.04	.36***

Table 6

The final models of regression analyses predicting students' intended effort to learn English

Sample	Predictors	R ²	F	B	SE B	β
Urban		.60	196.38***			
	L2 learning experience			.63	.04	.69***

	International posture			.39	.06	.34***
	Ideal L2 self			.21	.05	.23***
Rural		.56	140.51***			
	L2 learning experience			.78	.06	.71***
	Ideal L2 self			.29	.06	.28***
Both groups		.58	335.28***			
	L2 learning experience			.67	.03	.70***
	Ideal L2 self			.31	.04	.32***
	International posture			.19	.05	.16***

As seen in tables 5 and 6 above, for the whole sample of Burundi junior high school students, L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self, two of the three components of Dörnyei's (2005; 2009) tripartite model of L2 motivation, were consistently the first and second highest predictors of the students' intended learning effort regardless of the target language. For English learning, however, international posture appeared to be the third variable significantly contributing to the participants' effort reported to be invested in learning the language.

Regarding which aspects of the learners' motivation contribute most to willingness to invest effort in learning French, L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self are the two variables that appeared to have the most effect in both learning contexts. In the urban locality, the first strongest predictor of the students' French learning effort was the L2 learning experience while in the rural area, the ideal L2 self-emerged to be the first significant contributing factor. Concerning effort invested in learning English, the variable of L2 learning experience explained most of the variance in the intended effort to learn the language of the participants from both urban and rural schools. In addition to L2 learning experience, international posture and ideal L2 self-appeared respectively to be the second and third highest significant predictors of invested English learning effort by learners from urban schools. For students studying in rural schools, on the other hand, it was ideal L2 self that turned out to be the other variable significantly contributing to the students' English intended learning effort.

Stark differences were found between the two regression models in terms of the magnitude of influence exerted by the variables on the criterion measure for each foreign language in both groups. First, in the urban setting, the ideal L2 self-had a significant stronger impact on intended effort to learn French ($\beta = 0.34$) than on the effort invested in learning English ($\beta = 0.23$). In this learning context, the variable of international posture only contributed significantly in learning English ($\beta = 0.34$), not with learning French. With regard to the L2 learning experience, however, its impact on learning both French and English was almost the same. Second, in the rural learning context, the influence of the ideal L2 self was higher for learning French ($\beta = 0.50$) compared to the English model ($\beta = 0.28$). The L2 learning experience, the second strong predictor of the students' intended language learning effort in this context, had a lower significant impact on the students' intended effort to learn French ($\beta = .0.34$) than on English learning ($\beta = .71$).

Overall, two variables namely L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self consistently appeared as significant predictors of intended effort to learn both French and English for learners from both learning contexts. For English learning and uniquely with students from urban schools, international posture appeared to be the other significant variable influencing the language learning process. Regarding the variable of ought-to L2 self, the third constituent variable of Dörnyei's (2005; 2009) L2MSS theory, it never emerged as a significant predictor of the students' intended effort to learn any of the two foreign languages in any of the two sub-sample groups.

Discussion

Using Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 motivational self-system as the main theoretical framework, the overall objective of the present study was to describe the motivation to learn L2 French and L3 English of young adolescents in two distinct geographical regions in Burundi. The results obtained for the first research question (see Table 3) which aimed at examining whether the motivation of Burundi junior high school students for learning French and English was different indicated that, although the pupils had been simultaneously learning both languages throughout their formal education, the students had indeed distinct motivational dispositions for each foreign language regardless of the geographical area. For learners studying in urban schools, their motivational dispositions were consistently higher for English, while for the ones from rural areas, French consistently obtained higher means. In the context of Burundi, English is, thus, more popular among adolescent learners from urban localities while French enjoys more popularity among learners from rural settings. These findings from the present study align with the previous ones in that students had distinct motivational dispositions for each foreign language (Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Huy, 2016). Moreover, unlike with learners from rural schools, they are also in line with most previous studies in which English was repeatedly found to be the most popular foreign language among multiple foreign language learners (e.g., Calafato & Tang, 2019; Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Dewaele, 2005; Dörnyei et al., 2006; Henry, 2010; Lasagabaster, 2015). As Burundi is French-speaking where French is the first and dominant foreign language, the popularity of English among urban school learners is a finding that was unexpected. However, as inhabitants of major cities in Burundi are more open to modernity and globalisation (Mazunya, 2011), these young participants might have already realized the importance of English, the official language of the East African Community (of which Burundi is a member state) (Mazunya & Habonimana, 2010) and the modern world lingua franca (Crystal, 2003). This result also corroborates the findings of other language attitudes-related studies conducted in Burundi in which both French-medium university students (Irakoze, 2015) and senior high school learners (Bigirimana, 2018) were found to have more positive attitudes towards English than towards any other FL taught to them. As the simultaneous learning of French and English is compulsory for these young Burundi students, investing effort into learning French in the presence of English might, however, be negatively impacted for these learners from urban schools, as it has been observed elsewhere (see, Dörnyei et al., 2006), since the two target languages compete for the same amount of the learners' motivational and cognitive resources.

With regard to the second research question, region-specific differences in motivation for learning both French and English were detected in the participants (see Table 4). Students from rural localities consistently scored higher on most of the motivational scales than their peers from urban schools across the two target languages. Although similar to the findings of the previous studies (i.e., Islam, 2013; Lamb, 2012) in which regional backgrounds of the students were also found to influence the participants' L2 motivation, the results of the present study however slightly diverge from Lamb's (2012) study whose findings indicated that it was the urban EFL learners who obtained higher means on most of the measured scales. One exception in the results of this study was that the participants from rural areas reported lesser level of international posture for English as compared to their urban counterparts. This finding seems not to be surprising for learners living in Bujumbura municipality, the economic capital and largest city of the country, because they are assumed to have more opportunities to meet or communicate in English with foreign people visiting Burundi. In addition, as the city is more open to modernity and globalization, they may have come to know the prominent role of English in the current global context through their expected better and faster access to TV, radio or electronic media

including the internet. All these factors might have positively contributed to seeing English as the language they will use more when relating to the international community.

In brief, the socio-cultural urban-rural divide was found to have important effects on the L2 motivation of these young Burundi multilingual learners. However, learners from rural schools significantly scoring higher on most of the measured scales across both target languages was a surprising and not expected finding. In fact, major discrepancies have been observed between schools in Burundi, especially between those in rural and urban areas with learning conditions being worse in rural settings. For example, in most of the rural provinces, a very low percentage of teachers and pupils had access to an English textbook (Mivuba, 2009). Besides, in rural areas it was common that a primary school teacher (grades 1-6) could teach up to grade nine not only language subjects but also all subjects for the grade they were assigned due to shortage of teachers (Passauer, 2019). As a commonality to both learning contexts, nonetheless, the introduction of English in the curriculum of primary school in 2007 was a policy denounced by a number of Burundi education stakeholders because, at that time, almost all the primary teachers had very limited competence in English (Nduwayo, 2014), and the majority of them had not received any pre-service preparation to teach the language (Mivuba, 2009; Ndayimirije, 2015).

As for which motivational factors among the measured scales in this study (i.e., ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience, and international posture) significantly contribute to the intended effort that the students from both learning contexts are willing to invest in learning both French and English, multiple regression analyses with a stepwise approach were performed to find the results. Tables 5 and 6 can be used to see, for the whole sample and for each of the two groups, which motivational variables appeared to have the most importance in motivating the participants to learn each language. In this study, with the exception of rural students learning French, the contribution of the L2 learning experience to the French and English learning efforts of the participants from all the two settings – urban and rural- confirms the importance of this variable among the participants from both learning contexts in Burundi. For the whole sample or for each group, L2 learning experience consistently appeared to be the highest predictor of the students' intended effort to learn both French and English. This result is extremely surprising given the unsatisfactory language learning conditions described earlier (see, Mivuba, 2009; Nduwayo, 2014; Rwantabagu, 2011). Nonetheless, this finding is in line with Lamb's (2012) study in which learning experiences had the most effect on the motivated English learning behavior of Indonesian secondary school students in all (metropolitan, provincial and rural) settings. This means that what makes these young Burundians more likely to invest effort in learning French and English is whether they feel positive about the process of learning each language. This suggests that the role of the teacher, the impact of the curriculum or learning activities, and the learner experience of success in each language are potentially the most important factors triggering and sustaining the actual language learning effort. In this respect Burundi is similar to other L2 or FL learning contexts (e.g., Azarnoosh & Birjandi, 2012; Islam, 2013; Papi, 2010; Taguchi et al., 2009; Véliz-campos et al., 2020) where L2 learning experience has been shown to be the component of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self-system that contributes most to the students' intended language learning effort.

Regarding the ideal L2 self, the variable generally emerged as the second greatest contributor to the students' French and English learning process. Although ideal L2 self-contributed to the motivated behavior of the students to a lesser extent for learners in the urban setting regardless of the target language, this finding indicates, nonetheless, that the variable is indeed an effective L2 motivator for learners from different regions within the Burundi language learning context. However, the importance of the ideal L2 self in motivating the students to learn both French and English was lower as compared to the influence exerted by the L2 leaning experience. One possible explanation for this might relate to the participants' younger age and to the compulsory

nature of the learning process. As a matter of fact, these results accord well with findings of other studies whose participants were secondary school students involved in compulsory language learning (see, Azarnoosh & Birjandi, 2012; Lamb, 2012; Papi, 2010). They are, however, in contradiction with the findings of studies in which the participants were university students or adult language learners (see, Altalib, 2019; Far, Rajab & Etemadzadeh, 2012; Lasagabaster, 2015; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2013; Yilmaz, 2017) in which ideal L2 self was the most influential component of the L2 motivational self-system. This may suggest that, in compulsory learning contexts, ideal selves of younger students are less realistic than their older counterparts’.

Moreover, international posture was among the variables that significantly contribute to the students’ English learning effort uniquely for learners from urban settings. This suggests that, for students from urban schools, part of their motivation to learn English stems from their belief that the language is or will be very important in helping them to relate to the international community. Concerning the contribution of ought-to L2 self, the third component of the L2MSS, to the students’ intended effort to learn each foreign language, the variable never appeared to be a significant predictor in any of the two sub-groups. This finding is corroborated in other L2 motivation studies (Kormos et al., 2011; Lamb, 2012; Lasagabaster, 2015). Such a finding indicates that, although the students are still young, the expectations of their significant others (e.g., parents, older siblings...) and fear of future negative outcomes have no effect on their language learning motivation.

Conclusion

Utilising Dörnyei’s (2005, 2009) L2 motivational self-system as the main theoretical framework, the present study aimed to explore whether Burundi junior high school learners from urban and rural geographical areas have different motivational profiles for French and English. The study showed that the students had indeed distinct motivational dispositions for each foreign language regardless of the geographical area. The results indicated that French is more popular among rural school students while English enjoys more popularity among learners from urban settings.

The results of the present study also provided solid evidence for the existence of region-specific differences in junior high school students’ motivation to learn each of the two target languages. In brief, although the learners from both groups were positively motivated to learn the two foreign languages, those living and studying in rural areas were found to be more motivated to learn both languages than their peers from urban schools. One exception in the results of this study was that the participants from rural areas reported lesser level of international posture for English as compared to their urban counterparts.

Finally, it is worth noting that pupils’ intended efforts to learn French and English, independent of their regional backgrounds, is strongly determined respectively by their L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self, a finding similar to past research in which secondary school students involved in compulsory language learning were the participants (e.g., Azarnoosh & Birjandi, 2012; Lamb, 2012; Papi, 2010). One region and language-related difference was that the variable of international posture emerged as a significant contributor to the students’ motivated learning behavior only among urban school learners just in relation to their English learning.

All in all, the findings of this present study accord well with the results of other studies in which the participants’ geographical backgrounds were found to influence their L2 motivation (see, Islam, 2013; Lamb, 2012). They equally align with other studies’ findings in which their subjects who were involved in multiple language learning reported to have distinct motivational dispositions for each target language (Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Huy, 2016). However, since the construct of ought-to L2 self never appeared to be a significant

predictor in any of the two sub-groups, Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS only gained partial support in the context of Burundi.

With respect to the pedagogical implications of this study, the present study provides empirical data for Burundi language teachers, materials designers and educational policy makers to understand the L2 motivation of these simultaneous multilingual learners from the two contexts examined herein. The subjects displayed different motivational dispositions for each target language. Besides, participants from rural areas showed more motivation to learn both target languages. Moreover, our findings also indicate that the effort that the students are willing to invest in learning each of the two target languages is mainly determined by L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self, independent of the participants' regional background. It is obvious, thus, that the role of the teacher, curriculum, teaching materials and learning activities are very important in shaping the students' positive language learning experience. Therefore, the curriculum and teaching materials should be motivating and relevant to the learner. It is equally important for language teachers at that level to provide a motivating and positive classroom through employing a variety of motivational strategies (e.g., Dörnyei, 2008). The significant impact of ideal L2 self on the students' effort to learn each language entails that this motivational dimension should also be considered all along the process of foreign language teaching. Teachers and their learners can hold discussions about the images that students have of themselves as future language users and about the roles that each language plays in their current situation as school students or in the current global context. Such a technique can positively impact on the students' ideal L2 self and probably help in improving or sustaining the students' language learning motivations. Moreover, as each foreign language was found to be more popular among participants from one specific geographical area, discussing in class about the role of each language and, as Nakamura (2015) argues, linking each target language to a specific domain (e.g., career, education, interpersonal) of language use in the learners' current or future life might lead to not neglecting one FL over another when learning them.

This study certainly has a number of limitations. This research relied on a structured questionnaire for quantitative data collection. Qualitative data might have helped us understand why French is more popular among rural school learners and why English enjoys more popularity among urban school students. Moreover, interviews could have offered additional insights about potential causes for lower foreign language motivation of urban school students. Taking the participants' regional backgrounds into account, another possible extension of this investigation could be the exploration of L2 motivation among junior high school learners studying in private schools to see whether the findings converge or diverge.

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Appendix

The English version of the administered questionnaire

A. Ideal L2 self-items

- I see myself as a person who in the future is good at speaking French/English.
- If my dreams come true, I'll one day use French/English effectively.
- Studying French/English can be important to me because I think it will someday be useful in getting a good job.
- The things I want to do in the future require me to use French/English.
- Learning French/English well can help me get into a good school when I finish grade 9 (e.g., Excellence school, boarding school).

B. Ought-to L2 self-items

- I should learn French/English because all my classmates are learning it.
- I have to learn French/English because my family expects me to.
- I have to learn French/English because without passing the French course I cannot get the Basic School certificate.
- Studying French/English is important to me because, if I don't have knowledge of French/English, I'll be considered a weak learner.

C. L2 learning experience items

- I really enjoy learning French/English.
- I always look forward to French/English classes.
- I would you like to have more French/English lessons at school

D. Intended learning effort items

- I can honestly say that I am really doing my best to learn French/English.
- I put a lot of time and energy into studying French/English.
- If my teacher would give the class an optional assignment, I would certainly volunteer to do it.
- I put much effort into learning French/English outside school.

E. International posture items

- I think that French/English will help me meet more people from other countries.
- Learning French/English is important to me because with French I will enjoy travelling abroad.
- Learning French/English is necessary because it is an international language.
- French/English is important in the world these days.

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