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Survey article

Motivation in second and foreign language learning

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Introduction

Motivation has been widely accepted by both teachers and researchers as one of the key factors that influence the rate and success of second/foreign language (L2) learning. Motivation provides the primary impetus to initiate learning the L2 and later the driving force to sustain the long and often tedious learning process; indeed, all the other factors involved in L2 acquisition presuppose motivation to some extent. Without sufficient motivation, even individuals with the most remarkable abilities cannot accomplish long-term goals, and neither are appropriate curricula and good teaching enough on their own to ensure student achievement. On the other hand, high motivation can make up for considerable deficiencies both in one's language aptitude and learning conditions. In their seminal work, Gardner and Lambert (1972) emphasise that, although language aptitude accounts for a considerable proportion of individual variability in language learning achievement, motivational factors can override the aptitude effect. In certain language environments, as Gardner and Lambert point out, where the social setting demands it (e.g. when the L1 is a local vernacular and the L2 is the national language), many people seem to master an L2, regardless of their aptitude differences.

Because of the central importance attached to it by practitioners and researchers alike, L2 motivation has been the target of a great deal of research during the past decades. Until the 1990s this research had been largely dominated by a social psychological approach inspired by the influential work of Robert Gardner, Wallace Lambert, Richard Clément and their Canadian associates (notably Peter MacIntyre and Kim Noels) (for reviews, see Gardner, 1985; Gardner & Clément, 1990; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993a). The 1990s brought a marked shift in thought on L2 motivation as a number of researchers in various parts of the world attempted to reopen the

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research agenda in order to shed new light on the subject. This renewed interest has lead to a flourish of both empirical research and theorising on motivation; while this is a welcome phenomenon, the broadening of the theoretical scope has also led to the adoption of a range of new scientific terms and concepts (often taken over from mainstream motivational psychology) without sufficient discussion of their interrelationship, thus giving L2 motivation an aura of eclecticism and confusion.

In view of these new developments there appears to be a need for taking stock of what we have and where we are going in motivation research. In 1993, *Language Teaching* published a comprehensive review article on L2 motivation by Robert Gardner and Peter MacIntyre, but the considerable recent developments warrant a follow-up to this summary. The current paper takes up the review of L2 motivation research where Gardner and MacIntyre (1993a) left off, by focusing on three issues that seem to be central to understanding the present situation: (1) What is motivation? (2) What are the current motivational paradigms? Where have they 'come from'? And how do they relate to the established results in L2 motivation research? (3) What are the educational implications of L2 motivation research?

A general assumption underlying this overview is the belief that L2 motivation is a complex, multifaceted construct, and that the diverse approaches highlight different aspects of this complexity. Thus, they do not necessarily conflict, but rather can enrich our understanding–both from a theoretical and a practical point of view–provided they are properly integrated.

1. What is motivation?

Although 'motivation' is a term frequently used in both educational and research contexts, it is rather surprising how little agreement there is in the literature with regard to the exact meaning of this concept. Researchers seem to agree that motivation is responsible for determining human behaviour by energising it and giving it direction, but the great variety of accounts put forward in the literature of how this happens may surprise even the seasoned researcher. This diversity is, of course, no accident; as Dörnyei (1996a) points out, motivation theories in general seek to explain no less than the fundamental question of why humans behave as they do, and therefore it would be naive to assume any simple and

straightforward answer; indeed, every different psychological perspective on human behaviour is associated with a different theory of motivation and, thus, in general psychology it is not the lack but rather the abundance of motivation theories which confuses the scene.

Furthermore, motivation to learn an L2 presents a particularly complex and unique situation even within motivational psychology, due to the multifaceted nature and roles of language itself. Language is at the same time: (a) a *communication coding system* that can be taught as a school subject; (b) an *integral part of the individual's identity* involved in almost all mental activities; and also (c) the most important *channel of social organisation* embedded in the culture of the community where it is used. Therefore, the motivational basis of language attainment is not directly comparable to that of the mastery of other subject matters in that knowing an L2 also involves the development of some sort of 'L2 identity' and the incorporation of elements from the L2 culture (cf. Gardner, 1985); thus, in addition to the environmental and cognitive factors normally associated with learning in current educational psychology, L2 motivation also contains featured personality and social dimensions.

In sum, L2 motivation is necessarily a multifaceted construct, and describing its nature and its core features requires particular care. Unfortunately, it is common to find a limited or superficial representation of motivation in the L2 literature, for example, when the results of a few questionnaire items are equated with 'motivation'. It also happens that researchers take the concept of motivation for granted and refer to it without specifying in what sense they use the term: as affect? cognition? motivated behaviour? a personality trait? some kind of a process? mental energy? inner force or power? attitudinal complex? set of beliefs? stimulus appraisal? behavioural response to stimuli? directional choice? abstraction? latent, aggregated concept? or simply the score of motivation tests? Because there simply does not exist an absolute, straightforward and unequivocal concept of 'motivation', the current overview will start with the discussion of the basic issue of *what* motivation is, looking at various conceptualisations in mainstream psychology.

Motivation as a process

In a recent comprehensive volume on motivation in education, Pintrich and Schunk (1996) draw attention to a fundamental shift that has occurred in the field of motivation during the last two decades, namely the increasing tendency of motivational psychologists to incorporate cognitive concepts and variables in their theories. As Pintrich and Schunk (1996: v) conclude, 'Explanations of behaviour have moved away from stimuli and reinforcement contin-

gencies and instead emphasise learners' constructive interpretations of events and the role that their beliefs, cognitions, affects, and values play in achievement situations'. Motivation is no longer seen as a reflection of certain inner forces such as instincts, volition, will, and psychical energy; neither is it viewed in strictly behavioural terms as a function of stimuli and reinforcement. Rather, current cognitive approaches place the focus on the individual's thoughts and beliefs (and recently also emotions) that are transformed into action. Thus, in Pintrich and Schunk's view, motivation involves various *mental processes* that lead to the initiation and maintenance of action; as they define it, 'Motivation is the process whereby goal-directed activity is instigated and sustained' (1996: 4). From this process-oriented perspective, the main disagreements in motivation research concern *what* mental processes are involved in motivation, *how* these operate and affect learning and achievement, and *by what means* they can be enhanced and sustained at an optimal level.

Although this process-oriented view of motivation is convincing in many respects, we must note that it is at odds with the traditional usage of 'motivation' in everyday parlance, where 'motivation' is usually understood as a fairly static mental or emotional state (e.g. 'his motivation was so strong that nothing could discourage him'), or as a goal ('my main motivation to become a doctor is to be able to help people') but not as a process. Drawing on action control theory (e.g. Heckhausen, 1991; Kuhl, 1987, 1992), Dörnyei (1998) attempted to achieve a synthesis of the static and dynamic conceptions of motivation by defining it as a 'process whereby a certain amount of instigation force arises, initiates action, and persists as long as no other force comes into play to weaken it and thereby terminate action, or until the planned outcome has been reached'.

Conceptualisations of motivation in mainstream psychological research

In earlier papers (Dörnyei, 1994a, 1994b), I have argued that in psychology there have been two distinct traditions of explaining human behaviour: *motivational psychologists* tended to look for the *motors* of human behaviour in the *individual* rather than in the social being, focusing primarily on internal factors (e.g. drive, arousal, cognitive self-appraisal); in contrast, *social psychologists* tended to see action as the function of the social context and the interpersonal/intergroup relational patterns, as measured by means of the individual's social attitudes. The relevant literature in both areas is extensive and therefore the current overview will need to be restricted to what I consider to be the most important current conceptualisations. First I will briefly cover the most influential social psychological approach, the theory of *reasoned action* and its exten-

sion, the theory of *planned behaviour*, then describe three important approaches in motivational psychology: *expectancy-value theories*, *goal theories*, and *self-determination theory*. It needs to be noted at this point that during the last few years the gap between social psychological and motivational psychological approaches to understanding human behaviour has decreased as a growing number of motivational studies have tried to incorporate a social dimension (see, for example, Green, 1995; Maehr & Pintrich, 1995; Urdan & Maehr, 1995; Weiner, 1994); this tendency is in line with the recent growth of the more general field of 'social cognition', in which cognitive concepts are integrated into traditional social psychological models.

Ajzen's theories on the directive influence of attitudes on behaviour

In social psychology a key tenet is the assumption that attitudes exert a directive influence on behaviour since someone's attitude towards a target influences the overall pattern of the person's responses to the target. Two theories in particular detailing how this process takes place have become well-known, the *theory of reasoned action* by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) and its extension, the *theory of planned behaviour*, put forward by Ajzen (1988). According to the first, the chief determinant of action is a person's *intention* to perform the particular behaviour, which is a function of two basic factors, the 'attitude towards the behaviour' and the 'subjective norm', the latter referring to the person's perception of the social pressures put on him/her to perform the behaviour in question. If there is a conflict between the two determinants, the relative importance of attitudinal and normative considerations determines the final intention. The theory of planned behaviour extends this model by adding a further modifying component to it, 'perceived behavioural control', which refers to the perceived ease or difficulty of performing the behaviour (e.g. perceptions of required resources and potential impediments or obstacles). Behavioural performance can then be predicted from people's intentions to perform the behaviour in question and from their perceptions of control over the behaviour. In situations where a person has complete control over behaviour, intention alone is sufficient to explain action, as described by the theory of reasoned action (for a review of empirical studies testing these models, see Ajzen, 1996; for a good critique, see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

Expectancy-value theories

In motivational psychology the most influential conceptualisations during the last four decades have tended to adopt an *expectancy-value* framework,

beginning with Atkinson's classic achievement motivation theory (e.g. Atkinson & Raynor, 1974) and subsequently further developed in various guises by a number of researchers (for a review, see Pintrich & Schunk, 1996; Wigfield, 1994). According to the main principles of expectancy-value theories, motivation to perform various tasks is the product of two key factors: the individual's *expectancy of success* in a given task and the *value* the individual attaches to success in that task. The greater the perceived likelihood of goal-attainment and the greater the incentive value of the goal, the higher the degree of the individual's positive motivation. Conversely, it is unlikely that effort will be invested in a task if either factor is missing, that is, if the individual is convinced that he/she cannot succeed no matter how hard he/she tries or if the task does not lead to valued outcomes. Underlying expectancy-value theories–similarly to most cognitive theories–is the belief that humans are innately active learners with an inborn curiosity and an urge to get to know their environment and meet challenges, and therefore the main issue in expectancy-value theories is not *what* motivates learners but rather what directs and shapes their inherent motivation.

Expectancy of success

How does an individual develop his/her *expectancy for success*? Researchers emphasise various different factors that form the individual's cognitive processes; from an educational point of view, the most important aspects include processing past experiences (*attribution theory*), judging one's own abilities and competence (*self-efficacy theory*), and attempting to maintain one's self-esteem (*self-worth theory*).

Attributional processes are one of the most important influences on the formation of students' expectancies, and their investigation was the dominant model in research on student motivation in the 1980s. The guiding principle in attribution theory is the assumption that the way humans explain their own past successes and failures will significantly affect their future achievement behaviour. For example, failure that is ascribed to stable and uncontrollable factors such as low ability decreases the expectation of future success more than failure that is ascribed to controllable factors such as effort (Weiner, 1979).

Self-efficacy theory refers to people's judgement of their capabilities to carry out certain specific tasks, and, accordingly, their sense of efficacy will determine their choice of the activities attempted, as well as the level of their aspirations, the amount of effort exerted, and the persistence displayed. As Bandura (1993) summarises, people with a low sense of self-efficacy in a given domain perceive difficult tasks as personal threats; they dwell on their own personal deficiencies and the obstacles they encounter rather than concentrating on how to perform the task

successfully. Consequently, they easily lose faith in their capabilities and are likely to give up. In contrast, a strong sense of self-efficacy enhances people's achievement behaviour by helping them to approach threatening situations with confidence, to maintain a task- rather than self-diagnostic focus during task-involvement, and to heighten and sustain effort in the face of failure. It is important to note that self-efficacy beliefs are only indirectly related to actual competence and abilities as they are the product of a complex process of self-persuasion that is based on cognitive processing of diverse sources (e.g. other people's opinions, feedback, evaluation, encouragement or reinforcement; past experiences and training; observing peers; information about appropriate task strategies).

According to Covington's (1992) *self-worth theory* of achievement motivation, the highest human priority is the need for self-acceptance and therefore 'in reality, the dynamics of school achievement largely reflect attempts to aggrandise and protect self-perceptions of ability' (Covington & Roberts, 1994: 161). It follows from this that the basic need for self-worth generates a number of unique patterns of motivational beliefs and behaviours in school settings. For example, in the case of successes, individuals may play down or hide the amount of effort they have invested in a task in order to make others think that they simply have high ability. A common face-saving strategy is to strive for unattainable goals that literally invite failure, but ' "failure with honour" because so few others can be expected to succeed against these odds' (Covington, 1992: 74). Alternatively, students may engage in self-handicapping patterns of behaviour, such as putting off preparation for an exam until the last minute: if they then underachieve in the exam, they have a self-protecting excuse (lack of time rather than ability), whereas successful test-performance underlies their high ability.

Value

The second component of expectancy-value theories, *value*, has been labelled in a number of ways by various psychologists: valence, incentive value, attainment value, task value, achievement task value, etc. As Eccles and Wigfield (1995) point out, until recently most theorists using the expectancy-value model have focused on the expectancy component, while paying little attention to defining or measuring the value component. In an attempt to fill this hiatus, Eccles and Wigfield have developed a comprehensive model of task values, defining them in terms of four components: *attainment value* (or importance), *intrinsic value* (or interest), *extrinsic utility value*, and *cost*.

The first three value types are attracting characteristics, making up the positive valence of the task. Attainment value refers to the subjective importance of doing well on a task with reference to one's basic personal values and needs. Intrinsic interest value is the enjoyment or pleasure that task engagement brings about, whereas extrinsic utility value refers to the usefulness of the task in reaching future goals. The fourth value type, cost, constitutes the negative valence of a task, involving factors such as expended effort and time, and emotional costs (e.g. anxiety, fear of failure). The overall achievement value of a task, then, will be made up of the interplay of these four components, and this value is believed to determine the strength or intensity of the behaviour.

Goal theories

A great deal of early research on general human motivation focused on basic human *needs*, the most important such paradigm being Maslow's (1970) hierarchy of needs, which distinguished five classes of needs: physiological, safety, love, esteem, and self-actualisation. In current research the concept of a 'need' has been replaced by the more specific construct of a 'goal', which is seen as the 'engine' to fire the action and provide the direction in which to act. Thus, in goal theories the cognitive perceptions of goal properties are seen as the basis of motivational processes. During the past decade two goal-theories have become particularly influential, *goal-setting theory* and *goal orientation theory*.

Locke and Latham's *goal-setting theory* (e.g. Locke, 1996; Locke & Latham, 1994) asserts that human action is caused by purpose, and for action to take place, goals have to be set and pursued by choice. There are two particularly important areas where goals may differ, the degree of their specificity and difficulty. Locke and Kristof (1996) report on meta-analyses of over 400 studies, which show unambiguously that goals that are both specific and difficult lead to higher performance than do vague goals or goals that are specific but easy. Another important attribute of goals is their 'intensity', and goal commitment in particular. Goal-setting theory is compatible with expectancy-value theories in that commitment is seen to be enhanced when people believe that achieving the goal is possible (cf. expectancy) and important (cf. task values).

There are four mechanisms by which goals affect performance: (a) they direct attention and effort towards goal-relevant activities at the expense of actions that are not relevant; (b) they regulate effort expenditure in that people adjust their effort to the difficulty level required by the task; (c) they encourage persistence until the goal is accomplished; (d) they promote the search for relevant action plans or task strategies. It is important to note that goals are not only outcomes to shoot for but also standards by which to evaluate one's performance. Thus, in the case of long-lasting, continuous activities such as language learning where there is only a rather distal goal of task completion (i.e. mastering the L2), the setting

of *proximal subgoals* (e.g. taking tests, passing exams, satisfying learning contracts) may have a powerful motivating function in that they mark progress and provide immediate incentive and feedback. Attainable subgoals can also serve as an important vehicle in the development of the students' self-efficacy.

Goal orientation theory was specifically developed to explain children's learning and performance in school settings. Currently it is probably the most active area of research on student motivation in classrooms (Pintrich & Schunk, 1996). As Ames (1992) summarises, the theory highlights two contrasting achievement goal constructs, or orientations, that students can adopt towards their academic work: they can follow a *mastery orientation* and pursue mastery goals (also labelled as task-involvement or learning goals) with the focus on learning the content; or they can follow a *performance orientation* in pursuit of performance goals (or ego-involvement goals) with the focus on demonstrating ability, getting good grades, or outdoing other students. Thus, mastery and performance goals represent different success criteria and different reasons for engaging in achievement activity. Central to a mastery goal is the belief that effort will lead to success and the emphasis is on one's own improvement and growth. In contrast, a performance orientation views learning only as a way to achieve a goal and the accompanying public recognition. Ames argues that mastery goals are superior to performance goals in that they are associated with a preference for challenging work, an intrinsic interest in learning activities, and positive attitudes towards learning.

Self-determination theory

One of the most general and well-known distinctions in motivation theories is that of *intrinsic* versus *extrinsic motivation*—as Vallerand (1997) reports, the paradigm has been explored in over 800 publications to date. The first type of motivation deals with behaviour performed for its own sake, in order to experience pleasure and satisfaction such as the joy of doing a particular activity or satisfying one's curiosity. The second involves performing a behaviour as a means to an end, that is, to receive some extrinsic reward (e.g. good grades) or to avoid punishment.

Although intrinsic motivation has typically been seen as a unidimensional construct, Vallerand and his colleagues (see Vallerand, 1997) have recently posited the existence of three subtypes: intrinsic motivation (a) *to learn* (engaging in an activity for the pleasure and satisfaction of understanding something new, satisfying one's curiosity and exploring the world); (b) *towards achievement* (engaging in an activity for the satisfaction of surpassing oneself, coping with challenges and accomplishing or creating something); and (c) *to experience stimulation* (engaging in an activity to experience pleasant sensations).

Extrinsic motivation has traditionally been seen as something that can undermine intrinsic motivation; several studies have confirmed that students will lose their natural intrinsic interest in an activity if they have to do it to meet some extrinsic requirement (as is often the case with compulsory reading at school). However, research has shown that under certain circumstances—if they are sufficiently *self-determined* and *internalised*—extrinsic rewards can be combined with, or can even lead to, intrinsic motivation. The *self-determination theory* was introduced by Deci and Ryan (1985) as an elaboration of the intrinsic/. extrinsic paradigm. According to Deci and Ryan, the need for autonomy is an innate human need, referring to the desire to be self-initiating and self-regulating of one's actions. Therefore self-determination, that is, engaging in an activity 'with a full sense of wanting, choosing, and personal endorsement' (Deci, 1992: 44), is seen as a prerequisite for any behaviour to be intrinsically rewarding. This view is shared by many other researchers, and Paris and Turner's (1994) assertion well expresses the current zeitgeist: 'The essence of motivated action is the ability to choose among alternative courses of action, or at least, to choose to expend varying degrees of effort for a particular purpose' (1994: 222).

In the light of self-determination theory, extrinsic motivation is no longer regarded as an antagonistic counterpart of intrinsic motivation but has been divided into four types along a continuum between self-determined and controlled forms of motivation (Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier & Ryan, 1991). *External lat2.psregulation* refers to the least self-determined form of extrinsic motivation, coming entirely from external sources such as rewards or threats (e.g. teacher's praise or parental confrontation). *Introjected regulation* involves externally imposed rules that the student accepts as norms he/she should follow in order not to feel guilty. *Identified regulation* occurs when the person engages in an activity because he/she highly values and identifies with the behaviour, and sees its usefulness. The most developmentally advanced form of extrinsic motivation is *integrated regulation*, which involves choiceful behaviour that is fully assimilated with the individual's other values, needs and identity (e.g. people deciding to learn a language which is necessary for them to be able to pursue their hobbies or interests).

2. Motivation to learn a second/foreign language

Having surveyed the most influential mainstream psychological constructs of motivation, let us now turn to research focusing on motivation to learn second/ foreign languages. Judging by the numerous articles that have come out in the 1990s, we may conclude that this decade has brought about a revival of interest in L2 motivation. A significant proportion of the

published works are characterised by some sort of 'paradigm seeking', that is, making attempts to extend the scope of existing motivational constructs by either setting up or importing new paradigms in the hope of better explaining the particular contexts analysed. Some of these studies also contain comprehensive reviews of the literature with the explicit purpose of surveying the available constructs in various branches of psychology in order to be able to select the most adequate paradigms for describing L2 motivation (e.g. Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Dörnyei, 1994a; Fotos, 1994; Oxford & Shearin, 1994, 1996; Schmidt, Boraie and Kassabgy, 1996; Skehan, 1989, 1991; Williams & Burden, 1993, 1997). A second group of studies are less concerned with motivation *per se* but rather are descriptive in nature, examining the learners' motivational patterns in a given sociocultural or educational environment. The following overview will begin by summarising the first group, that is, the theoretical contributions (models and approaches) to conceptualising L2 motivation.

Robert Gardner's social psychological approach

As mentioned in the introduction, the original impetus in L2 motivation research came from social psychology. This is understandable since learning the language of another community simply cannot be separated from the learners' social dispositions towards the speech community in question. The starting point in Gardner's theory is, therefore, that 'students' attitudes towards the specific language group are bound to influence how successful they will be in incorporating aspects of that language' (Gardner, 1985: 6). This means that, unlike several other school subjects, a foreign language is not a socially neutral field. In Williams's words (1994: 77):

> There is no question that learning a foreign language is different to learning other subjects. This is mainly because of the social nature of such a venture. Language, after all, belongs to a person's whole social being: it is part of one's identity, and is used to convey this identity to other people. The learning of a foreign language involves far more than simply learning skills, or a system of rules, or a grammar; it involves an alteration in self-image, the adoption of new social and cultural behaviours and ways of being, and therefore has a significant impact on the social nature of the learner.

We must not forget that most nations in the world are multicultural and that the majority of people in the world speak at least one second language, which underscores the importance of the social dimension of L2 motivation.

Gardner (1985: 10) defines L2 motivation as 'the extent to which an individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity'; more specifically, motivation is conceptualised to subsume three components, *motivational intensity, desire to learn*

the language, and an *attitude towards the act of learning the language*. Thus, according to Gardner's theory, 'motivation' refers to a kind of central mental 'engine' or 'energy-centre' that subsumes effort, want/will (cognition), and task-enjoyment (affect). Gardner argues that these three components belong together because the truly motivated individual displays all three; as he contends, 'My feeling is that such a mixture is necessary to adequately capture what is meant by motivation' (Gardner, 1995: 100), and 'it is the total configuration that will eventuate in second language achievement' (Gardner, 1985: 169).

One particular strength of Gardner's theory is that it has originated from, and was extensively tested by empirical research, and, indeed, one can clearly feel the assessment-oriented nature of his conceptualisation. In line with the saying 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating', the proof of motivation is in displaying it in action–hence the importance of the 'desire' measure, which directly taps into the individual's wish to perform the action; and, even more directly, the 'motivational intensity' measure that explicitly focuses on motivated behaviour.

At first sight, the attitude component may seem out of place because task-enjoyment is not always associated with strong motivation (i.e. we can be committed to carrying something out whilst gritting our teeth; note, however, that Gardner, 1985, talks only about the 'truly motivated individual' displaying all three motivational components, and someone gritting his/her teeth may not qualify for this). The rationale for including this attitude component, however, does not necessarily lie in the 'pleasure' aspect; rather, I see it as a reflection of the social psychological foundation of Gardner's approach. As described above, social psychologists assume a directive influence of attitudes on behaviour, and, as Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) argue, the more direct the correspondence between the attitudinal and behavioural targets, the higher the correlation between attitude and action. In other words, attitudes correlate most strongly with behaviour 'when they are assessed at the same level of generality and specificity as the behavioural criterion' (Ajzen, 1996: 385), that is, when we assess attitudes towards something which is in close relationship with the behaviour we are interested in (e.g. attitude towards blood donation and the actual act of donating blood). This means that we can expect the highest assessment accuracy when the attitudinal target is the action itself, in our case, language learning. Indeed, Gardner's attitude component focuses on the very 'act of learning the language', thus ensuring high predictive capacity.

The motivation 'engine' made up of effort, will and attitude can be switched on by a number of motivational stimuli such as a test to be taken or an involving instructional task, but Gardner (1985: 169) states that 'the source of the motivating impetus is relatively unimportant provided that motivation is

aroused'. We need to comprehend this basic tenet of Gardner's theory in order to understand his objection to the common misinterpretation of his theory as merely consisting of a dichotomy of integrative and instrumental motivation. 'Motivation' in Gardner's theory does *not* contain any integrative or instrumental elements. There does exist an integrative/instrumental dichotomy in Gardner's model but this is at the *orientation* (i.e. goal) level, and as such, is not part of the core motivation component; rather, the two orientations function merely as motivational antecedents that help to arouse motivation and direct it towards a set of goals, either with a strong interpersonal quality (integrative) or a strong practical quality (instrumental).

Gardner's motivation theory has three particularly well developed areas: (a) the construct of the *integrative motive*; (b) the *Attitude/Motivation Test Battery* (AMTB), which, apart from being a frequently used standardised instrument with well documented psychometric properties, also offers a comprehensive list of motivational factors that have been found to affect learning achievement significantly in past empirical studies (including classroom-specific factors such as the appraisal of the teacher and the course); and (c) the *socio-educational model*, which is a general learning model that integrates motivation as a cornerstone. These were all described in detail in the 1993 predecessor of this paper (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993a) and will therefore not be discussed here. There is, however, one issue that should be addressed, namely the common misconception that Gardner's theory concerns only the social dimension of L2 motivation. While the emphasis of this dimension is certainly a featured element in Gardner's approach, he and his associates have carried out extensive empirical research on a number of motivational determinants not tied to the social milieu, such as pedagogical factors (e.g. the effects of the classroom environment, instructional techniques and attitudes towards the language teacher and course), language anxiety and parental influence (for reviews, see Gardner, 1985; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993a). Furthermore, the importance attached to the learning situation in Gardner's model is underscored by the fact that the 'Attitudes towards the Learning Situation' are seen as one of the key constituents of the integrative motive.

For further analyses of the integrative/instrumental dichotomy and discussions of the integrative motive, see Dörnyei (1994a, 1994b), Gardner (1996), Gardner and MacIntyre (1991), and Gardner and Tremblay (1994a, 1994b). For a detailed statistical analysis of the construct and predictive validity of the AMTB, see Gardner and MacIntyre (1993b). For a recent study investigating an extended version of the socio-educational model (also including variables such as learning strategy use and field independence), see Gardner, Tremblay and Masgoret (1997)

and Gardner (1996). For an interesting study adapting the socio-educational model to the study of statistics, see Lalonde and Gardner (1993).

Richard Clément's concept of linguistic self-confidence

Although no real expectancy-value model has been proposed in L2 motivation research, several components of the expectancy-value theory have been incorporated into L2 constructs (e.g. attributions by Dörnyei, 1990, and Skehan, 1989; self-efficacy by Ehrman, 1996; attributions and valence by Tremblay & Gardner, 1995). Over the last two decades, Richard Clément and his colleagues have conducted a series of empirical studies examining the interrelationship between social contextual variables (including ethnolinguistic vitality), attitudinal/motivational factors, self-confidence and L2 acquisition/acculturation processes (Clément, 1980; Clément, Dörnyei & Noels, 1994; Clément, Gardner & Smythe, 1977; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985; Labrie and Clément, 1986; Noels & Clément, 1996; Noels, Pon & Clément, 1996). These are, from our perspective, particularly important in that the *linguistic self-confidence* construct they conceptualised bears many similarities to self-efficacy theory discussed above.

Self-confidence in general refers to the belief that a person has the ability to produce results, accomplish goals or perform tasks competently. It appears to be akin to self-efficacy, but is used in a more general sense (i.e. self-efficacy is always task-specific). Linguistic self-confidence was first introduced in the L2 literature by Clément et al. (1977), and can be described as 'self-perceptions of communicative competence and concomitant low levels of anxiety in using the second language' (Noels et al. 1996: 248). The concept was originally used to describe a powerful mediating process in multi-ethnic settings that affects a person's motivation to learn and use the language of the other speech community. Clément and his associates provided evidence that, in contexts where different language communities live together, the quality and quantity of the *contact* between the members will be a major motivational factor, determining future desire for intercultural communication and the extent of identification with the L2 group. Thus, linguistic self-confidence in Clément's view is primarily a socially defined construct (although it also has a cognitive component, the perceived L2 proficiency). Recently, Clément et al. (1994) have extended the applicability of the self-confidence construct by showing that it is also a significant motivational subsystem in foreign language learning situations, in which there is little direct contact with members of the L2 community but considerable indirect contact with the L2 culture through the media, for example, as is the case with world languages such as English.

Self-determination theory in L2 research

Because of the widespread influence of Deci and Ryan's (1985) theory on intrinsic/extrinsic motivation and self-determination in mainstream psychology, several attempts have been made in L2 research to incorporate some of the elements of the theory in order to better understand L2 motivation. Douglas Brown (1981, 1990, 1994) has been one of the main proponents of emphasising the importance of intrinsic motivation in the L2 classroom. He argues that traditional school settings cultivate extrinsic motivation, which, over the long haul, 'focuses students too exclusively on the material or monetary rewards of an education rather than instilling an appreciation for creativity and for satisfying some of the more basic drives for knowledge and exploration' (Brown, 1994: 40). In contrast, 'an intrinsically oriented school can begin to transfer itself into a more positive, affirming environment [...] The result: an appreciation of love, intimacy, and respect for the wisdom of age' (Brown, 1994: 41). The same book also offers a number of strategies on how to achieve such an optimal state.

Another aspect of self-determination theory that has been applied to the L2 field has been the emphasis on fostering *learner autonomy* in L2 classrooms in order to increase the learners' motivation. This emphasis is relatively new; however, a number of recent reviews and discussions (e.g. Benson & Voller, 1997; Dickinson, 1995; Ehrman & Dörnyei, 1998; Ushioda, 1996b) provide evidence that L2 motivation and learner autonomy go hand in hand, that is, 'enhanced motivation is conditional on learners taking responsibility for their own learning [...] and perceiving that their learning successes and failures are to be attributed to their own efforts and strategies rather than to factors outside their control' (Dickinson, 1995: 173–4). These self-regulatory conditions are characteristics of learner autonomy, and thus, as Ushioda (1996b: 2) explicitly states, 'Autonomous language learners are by definition motivated learners'.

The most explicit treatment of self-determination theory in L2 contexts has been offered recently by Kim Noels and her colleagues. Noels, Pelletier, Clément and Vallerand (1997) argue that the self-determination paradigm offers several advantages over other motivational paradigms available in L2 research. First, it provides a comprehensive framework within which a large number of L2 learning orientations can be organised systematically. This is an important point, particularly in the light of reports that highlight the diversity of different goals learners might pursue when learning an L2 (e.g. Clément & Kruidenier, 1983; Coleman, 1995; Oxford & Shearin, 1996). The self-determination paradigm, as Noels *et al.* (1997) argue, is also useful in that by offering a continuum of self-determination along which the motives lie 'it suggests a process by which motivational orientation may change'. By applying various statistical procedures, the authors also provided empirical evidence that the motivational complex of language learners could be validly described using the intrinsic/extrinsic subtypes.

In a second study, Noels, Clément and Pelletier (in press) examined the relationship between students' intrinsic/extrinsic motivation and their language teachers' communicative style, and found empirical evidence for several meaningful links, for example, that a democratic (autonomy-supporting) teaching style fosters intrinsic motivation.

The 'educational' shift of the 1990s

Part of the revival of interest in L2 motivation in the 1990s was prompted by a large number of studies that attempted to reopen the research agenda with a 'new wave' educational focus (e.g. Brown, 1990, 1994; Clément, Dörnyei & Noels, 1994; Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Dörnyei, 1994a, 1994b; Julkunen, 1989, 1993; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Skehan, 1989, 1991; Ushioda, 1994, 1996a; Williams, 1994). This new movement cannot be specifically tied to any particular school or scholars because, as the above list shows, a number of researchers in different parts of the world appeared to come up with similar ideas at around the same time. The most influential pioneering article in this vein is usually considered to be Crookes and Schmidt (1991), and a good summary of the various positions is provided by the '*Modern Language Journal* debate' (Dörnyei, 1994a, 1994b; Gardner & Tremblay, 1994a, 1994b; Oxford, 1994; Oxford & Shearin, 1994). The reform papers shared three underlying themes:

(a) There was a conscious effort to complement the social psychological approach with a number of concepts that were seen as central to mainstream psychology but had not received significant attention in L2 research. These attempts have sometimes been seen as a 'counterreaction' to Gardner's work but, in fact, a closer reading of the articles in question reveals that none of the authors rejected the relevance of the social dimension of L2 motivation. The general claim was that in certain educational contexts this dimension may not be the only important one and may not even be the most important one—a claim that does not contradict Gardner's theory since the 'attitudes towards the learning environment' (and towards the teacher and the course in particular) have always been regarded as a principal factor in Gardner's approach and have been conceptualised as a key constituent of the integrative motive (see before).

(b) Researchers were trying to conceptualise motivation in such a way that it would have explanatory power with regard to specific language learning tasks and behaviours and not just broad, whole-community-level social tendencies. Thus, attempts were made to conceptualise situation- or task-specific

motivation (for reviews, see Julkunen's 1989 pioneering study, and Dörnyei's 1996a overview of the emergence of a situation-specific focus in L2 motivation research; for a theoretical discussion, see Tremblay, Goldberg & Gardner's 1995 analysis of trait vs. state motivation). We have seen that the focus in Gardner's model has not been on elaborating on the range of possible motivational antecedents but on determining whether motivation has been aroused and specifying the learning consequences of this arousal. As a reaction to Gardner's conclusion that the source of motivation is relatively unimportant provided motivation is aroused, Oxford and Shearin (1994: 15) summarise well the rationale behind the new approach:

> While this conclusion might be true for researchers, quite possibly the source of motivation is very important in a practical sense to teachers who want to stimulate students' motivation. Without knowing where the roots of motivation lie, how can teachers water those roots?

(c) Related to the above point, the reform articles expressed an explicit call for a more pragmatic, education-centred approach to motivation research which would be more relevant for classroom application. The main focus shifted from social attitudes to looking at classroom reality, and identifying and analysing classroom-specific motives. As Crookes and Schmidt (1991: 502) concluded in their article: 'In brief, we seek to encourage a program of research that will develop from, and be congruent with the concept of motivation that teachers are convinced is critical for SL [second language] success'.

Dörnyei's (1994a) extended framework

In order to examine motivation in a context where the social dimension might be less featured, Clément et al. (1994) examined Hungarian EFL learners who studied English in a school context without any substantial contact with members of the L2 community. The analysis of the data pointed to the existence of a tripartite motivation construct amongst these learners, consisting of integrativeness, linguistic self-confidence, and the appraisal of the classroom environment. The emergence of the first two components was not unexpected and confirmed the validity of earlier research findings also in a foreign language context. The third, the classroom-specific component—which subsumed the evaluation of the teacher and the course (in a similar way to the AMTB) and also included a novel element, the evaluation of the learner group in terms of its cohesiveness—corresponded to the 'attitudes towards the learning situation factor' in Gardner's (1985) integrative motive construct, and also provided empirical support for the validity of the 'pedagogical extension' of motivation research.

Taking the above tripartite framework as a basis, the author developed a more general framework of

Table 1. Components of foreign language learning motivation (Dörnyei, 1994a: 280)

Language Level	Integrative Motivational Subsystem
	Instrumental Motivational Subsystem
Learner Level	Need for Achievement
	Self-Confidence
	* Language Use Anxiety
	* Perceived L2 Competence
	* Causal Attributions
	* Self-Efficacy
Learning Situation Level	
Course-Specific	Interest
Motivational Components	Relevance
	Expectancy
	Satisfaction
Teacher-Specific	Affiliative Motive
Motivational Components	Authority Type
	Direct Socialisation of Motivation
	* Modelling
	* Task Presentation
	* Feedback
Group-Specific	Goal-orientedness
Motivational Components	Norm & Reward System
	Group Cohesion
	Classroom Goal Structure

L2 motivation (Dörnyei, 1994a) that attempted to synthesise various lines of research by offering an extensive list of motivational components categorised into three main dimensions, the *Language Level*, the *Learner Level*, and the *Learning Situation Level* (see Table 1).

The most elaborate part of the framework is the learning situation level, which is associated with situation-specific motives rooted in various aspects of language learning in a classroom setting. *Course-specific motivational components* are related to the syllabus, the teaching materials, the teaching method and the learning tasks, and can be well described within the framework of four motivational conditions proposed by Keller (1983) and subsequently by Crookes and Schmidt (1991): *intrinsic interest*; the *relevance* of the instruction to the learner's personal needs, values, or goals; *expectancy* of success; and *satisfaction* in the outcome of an activity and the associated intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. *Teacher-specific motivational components* concern the teacher's behaviour, personality and teaching style, and include the *affiliative motive* to please the teacher, authority type (authoritarian or democratic teaching style), and *direct socialisation of student motivation* (modelling, task presentation, and feedback). Finally, *group-specific motivational components* are related to the group dynamics of the learner group (for an overview, see Dörnyei and Malderez, 1997, in press; Ehrman and Dörnyei, 1998) and include *goal-orientedness*, the *norm and reward system* and *classroom goal structure* (competitive, cooperative or individualistic).

A detailed framework of this type is useful in

Table 2. Williams and Burden's (1997) framework of motivation in language learning

Internal factors	External factors

Intrinsic interest of activity
  • arousal of curiosity
  • optimal degree of challenge
Perceived value of activity
  • personal relevance
  • anticipated value of outcomes
  • intrinsic value attributed to the activity
Sense of agency
  • locus of causality
  • locus of control RE process and outcomes
  • ability to set appropriate goals
Mastery
  • feelings of competence
  • awareness of developing skills and mastery in a chosen area
  • self-efficacy
Self-concept
  • realistic awareness of personal
  • strengths and weaknesses in skills required
  • personal definitions and judgements of success and failure
  • self-worth concern learned helplessness
Attitudes language learning in general
  • to the target language
  • to the target language community and culture
Other affective states
  • confidence
  • anxiey, fear
Developmental age and stage
Gender
	Significant others
	  • parents
	  • teachers
	  • peers
	The nature of interaction with significant others
	  • mediated learning experiences
	  • the nature and amount of feedback
	  • rewards
	  • the nature and amount of appropriate praise
	  • punishments, sanctions
	The learning environment
	  • comfort
	  • resources
	  • time of day, week, year
	  • size of class and school
	  • class and school ethos
	The broader context
	  • wider family networks
	  • the local education system
	  • conflicting interests
	  • cultural norms
	  • societal expectations and attitudes

emphasising the multidimensional nature of L2 motivation, pulling together a number of different lines of research and providing an elaborate enough specification of relevant motives for the purpose of in-depth analysis of particular learning situations and design of intervention techniques to enhance them. An example of the analysis is Dörnyei (1997b), which examines the motivational basis of cooperative language learning; regarding the second point, motivational enhancement, classroom strategies based on the framework have been provided by Dörnyei (1994a) and Dörnyei and Csizér (in press) (see later for more detail).

Dörnyei's list, however, lacks an indication of any relationships between the components and therefore cannot be seen as a motivation model proper; what is more, the components listed are quite diverse in nature and thus cannot be easily submitted to empirical testing. The framework also lacks a goal component and does not reflect sufficiently recent findings in self-determination theory. Finally, the integrative/instrumental motivational dichotomy at the language level is obviously misleading in providing a simplification of the intricate processes determining the social dimension of L2 motivation.

Williams and Burden's (1997) extended framework

Another comprehensive attempt to summarise the motivational components that are relevant to L2

instruction has been recently made by Williams and Burden (1997) as part of a larger overview of psychology for language teachers. The authors are among the few L2 motivation researchers who provide an elaborate definition of motivation (Williams & Burden, 1997: 120):

Motivation may be construed as a state of cognitive and emotional arousal, which leads to a conscious decision to act, and which gives rise to a period of sustained intellectual and/or physical effort in order to attain a previously set goal (or goals).

Having discussed the inherent conflict of the static and process-oriented conceptualisations of motivation earlier, we can appreciate the care with which this definition has been formulated in order to achieve a compromise.

After reviewing a wide range of relevant motivational theories, Williams and Burden (1997) draw them together in a highly detailed framework of motivational factors (Table 2). This is similar to Dörnyei's (1994a) list in that it does not offer any directional relationships between the listed items, but some aspects of it (e.g. external, contextual factors) represent the most detailed treatment of the particular issue in the L2 literature. It is also clear when looking at the framework that the authors used primarily mainstream rather than L2 motivational theories as their sources, which places their work very much in line with the 'paradigm-seeking spirit' of the reform movements in the 1990s.
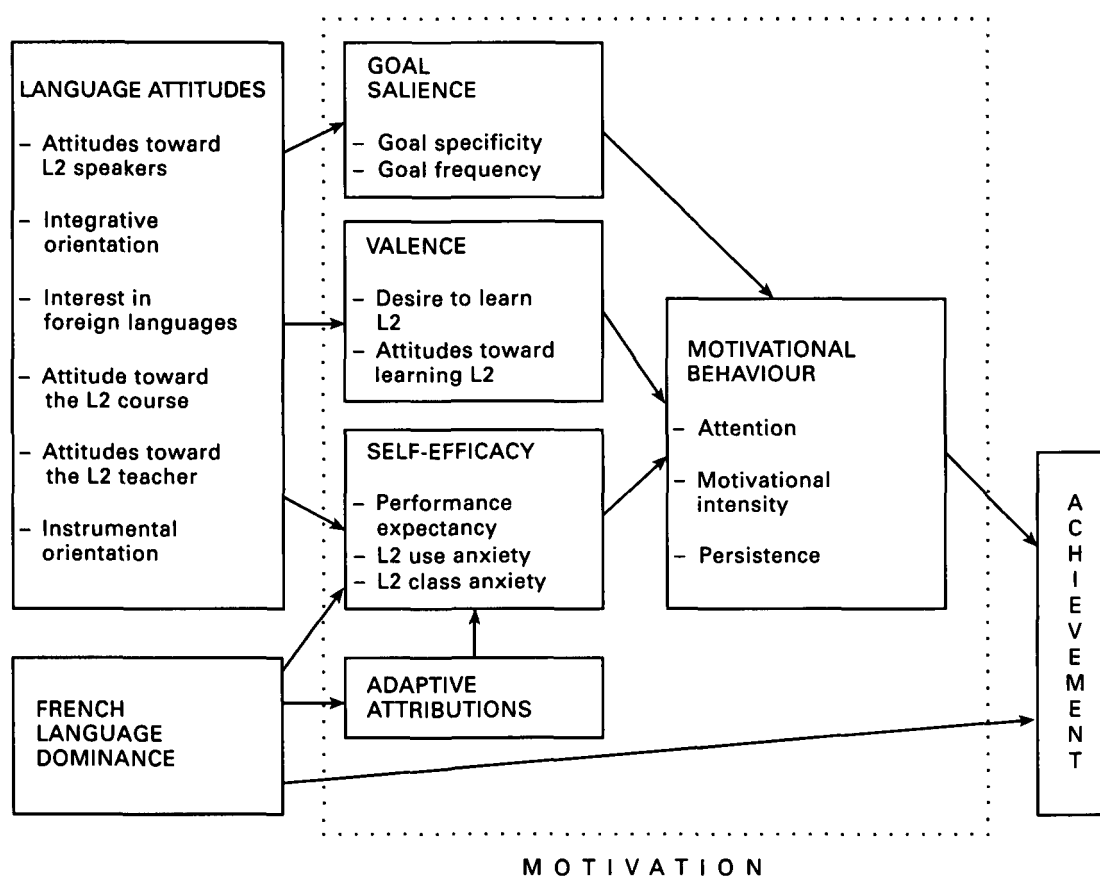
LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

- Attitudes toward
  L2 speakers

- Integrative
  orientation

- Interest in
  foreign languages

- Attitude toward
  the L2 course

- Attitudes toward
  the L2 teacher

- Instrumental
  orientation

GOAL SALIENCE

- Goal specificity
- Goal frequency

VALENCE

- Desire to learn
  L2
- Attitudes toward
  learning L2

SELF-EFFICACY

- Performance
  expectancy
- L2 use anxiety
- L2 class anxiety

MOTIVATIONAL BEHAVIOUR

- Attention

- Motivational
  intensity

- Persistence

ACHIEVEMENT

FRENCH
LANGUAGE
DOMINANCE

ADAPTIVE
ATTRIBUTIONS

MOTIVATION

Fig. 1 Tremblay and Gardner's (1995) model of L2 motivation

Tremblay and Gardner's (1995) extended model

In response to calls for the 'adoption of a wider vision of motivation' (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995: 505), Tremblay and Gardner extended Gardner's social psychological construct of L2 motivation by incorporating into it new elements from expectancy-value and goal theories. Figure 1 presents their proposed extended model, which is fairly straightforward in suggesting a *language attitudes → motivational behaviour → achievement sequence*. The novel element is the inclusion of three mediating variables between attitudes and behaviour: *goal salience, valence* and *self-efficacy*. Thus, the model offers a synthesis of Gardner's earlier, socially motivated construct and recent cognitive motivational theories, and demonstrates that additional variables can be incorporated into Gardner's socio-educational model of L2 learning without damaging its integrity.

In line with Gardner's past approach, the new model has also been empirically tested, and in a sample of 75 Canadian students learning French a statistically adequate goodness of fit index was demonstrated. The firm empirical grounding and the theoretical clarity of the model make the Gardner and Tremblay (1995) study a particularly important data-based investigation, and one that will undoubtedly inspire further research.

Schumann's neurobiological model

During the last decade, John Schumann and his colleagues have been pursuing a very novel line of research by examining L2 acquisition from a neuro-biological perspective (Jacobs & Schumann, 1992; Pulvermüller & Schumann, 1994; Schumann, 1990, 1994, 1998, in press). As a result, Schumann has developed a model of sustained deep learning (as he refers to long-term learning experiences such as mastering an L2) based on a number of *stimulus appraisal processes*. According to the model, the brain evaluates the stimuli it receives and this leads to an emotional response. Based on a comprehensive review of the relevant literature, Schumann (1998) postulates five dimensions along which stimulus appraisals are made: *novelty* (degree of unexpectedness/familiarity), *pleasantness* (attractiveness), *goal/need significance* (whether the stimulus is instrumental in satisfying needs or achieving goals), *coping potential* (whether the individual expects to be able to cope with the event), and *self and social image* (whether the event is compatible with social norms and the individual's self-concept).

The connections between this neurobiological approach and other motivational constructs discussed above are obvious, and Schumann (1998) convincingly demonstrates that L2 motivation 'consists of various permutations and patterns of these stimulus

127

appraisal dimensions and, in fact, if one does an item by item analysis of motivation questionnaires, the items can quite readily be classified according to the appraisal categories' (Schumann, in press). Thus, Schumann's model is a reductionist one in the sense that it collapses different concepts at the psychological level into five appraisals at the neurobiological level.

Further data-based motivational constructs

Besides the constructs presented above, there exist a number of further conceptualisations of motivation that are the result of submitting empirical data to statistical analyses. One particularly important such contribution is Schmidt et al. (1996), which presents the analysis of a detailed motivation questionnaire administered to over 1500 Egyptian learners of English. Interestingly, when different statistical procedures were applied, different underlying constructs emerged: by factor analysing the data, a matrix of nine main factors emerged (see below for details), while multi-dimensional scaling produced a more parsimonious construct of three components that were labelled as affect, goal-orientedness and expectancy. The resemblance of this latter construct to major psychological approaches is particularly interesting, although we must note that in multi-dimensional scaling the labelling of the scales is far more ambiguous than the labelling of factors in factor analysis.

Schmidt et al. (1996) also conducted a comparative analysis of their results with two other data-based studies, Dörnyei (1990) and Julkunen (1989). Motivated by a similar goal to summarise different conceptualisations, Dörnyei (1996b) presented a synthesis of 13 different constructs, which included all the ones discussed above plus Laine's (1995) general model of 'national language attitudes', which is a unique socially-based model that uses a paradigm different from Gardner and his associates' conceptualisation. Table 3 presents the main motivational dimensions underlying the various constructs.

Descriptive studies of motivation in particular sociocultural contexts

Numerous studies have been written in the 1990s with the purpose of describing the motivation of language learners in specific sociocultural, ethnolinguistic and educational contexts. These descriptions provide further evidence of the fact, pointed out by many, that motivation is subject to considerable contextual variation.

The most notable descriptions of learning contexts have concerned European environments: no fewer than four European studies have been conducted in the 1990s involving over 1,000 partici-

Table 3. Main motivational dimensions underlying 13 L2 motivation constructs (based on Dörnyei. 1996b)

(1) Affective/integrative dimension
Integrative motive: Clément et al. (1994), Dörnyei (1990, 1994a), Gardner (1985), Gardner's AMTB, Julkunen (1989)
Affective motive: Schmidt et al. (1996: MDS)
Language attitudes: Laine (1995); Schmidt et al. (1996: FA), Tremblay & Gardner (1995), Williams & Burden (1997)
Intrinsic motive/Attitudes toward L2 learning/Enjoyment/Interest: AMTB, Dörnyei (1990, 1994a), Gardner (1985), Julkunen (1989), Schmidt et al. (1996: FA), Schumann (1998), Tremblay & Gardner (1995)*, Williams & Burden (1997)

(2) Instrumental/pragmatic dimension
AMTB, Dörnyei (1990, 1994a), Oxford & Shearin (1994), Schmidt et al. (1996: FA), Schumann (1998), Tremblay & Gardner (1995)*, Williams & Burden (1997)

(3) Macro-context-related dimension (multicultural/intergroup/ethnolinguistic relations)
Laine (1995), Tremblay & Gardner (1995)

(4) Self-concept-related dimension (generalised/trait-like personality factors)
Self-concept: Laine (1995), Schumann (1998), Williams & Burden (1997)
Confidence/self-efficacy: Clément et al. (1994), Dörnyei (1994a), Schumann (1998), Tremblay & Gardner (1995), Williams & Burden (1997)
Anxiety/inhibitions: AMTB, Julkunen (1989), Laine (1995), Oxford & Shearin (1994), Schmidt et al. (1996: FA), Williams & Burden (1997)
Success/failure-related (attributional) factor: Dörnyei (1990, 1994a), Julkunen (1989), Schmidt et al. (1996: FA, MDS), Schumann (1998), Tremblay & Gardner (1995), Williams & Burden (1997)
Expectancy: Oxford & Shearin (1994), Schmidt et al. (1996: MDS)
Need for achievement: Dörnyei (1990, 1994a), Oxford & Shearin (1994)

(5) Goal-related dimension
Oxford & Shearin (1994), Schmidt et al. (1996: MDS), Schumann (1998), Tremblay & Gardner (1995), Williams & Burden (1997)

(6) Educational context-related dimension (learning/classroom/school environment)
Clément at al. (1994), Dörnyei (1994a), Julkunen (1989), Laine (1995), Williams & Burden (1997)

(7) Significant others-related dimension (parents, family, friends)
AMTB, Williams & Burden (1997)

AMTB=Gardner's Attitude/Motivation Test Battery; MDS=Multi-dimensional scaling; FA=Factor analysis
* Included as a subcomponent of a main factor

pants. In a particularly large-scale study including over 25,000 participants and focusing on several aspects of L2 learning, Coleman (1994, 1995, 1996) investigated the L2 motivation of British university students as compared to students in Ireland, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Austria and France. The reports of this project contain a wealth of data describing the proficiency, background, attitudes and motivations of the samples, and provide various comparative analyses.

Dörnyei, Nyilasi and Clément (1996) conducted a

national survey in Hungary examining over 4,700 8th grade school children in terms of their motivation to learn five different target languages: English, German, French, Italian and Russian. One of the many results obtained was that in this context English was by far the most popular L2, followed by German. In spite of the British English traditions in the region, learners were mainly attracted to the English language because of sociocultural aspects associated with the US (see also Dörnyei, 1997a, for a review of motivation research conducted in Hungary). Laine (1995) compared two officially bilingual countries, Finland and Belgium, in terms of the ethnic groups' (Finns and Swedo-Finns; Flemish speakers of Dutch and Walloon speakers of French) motivation to learn the other speech community's language. The analysis of the data obtained from 1951 15–18-year-old learners sheds light on a number of important issues concerning the relationship between ethnolinguistic vitality, language-attitudes and L2 learning achievement both from the majority and the minority groups' perspective. Kuhlemeier, Bergh and Melse (1996) conducted a survey among over 1100 Dutch learners of German and found that, contrary to their expectations, attitudes towards German did not prove to have a direct effect on the learners' final course achievement. Another interesting result of their study was that students who were taught on a communicative course had more favourable attitudes towards the course than those who followed a grammatically oriented curriculum. Julkunen and Borzova (1997) administered a detailed questionnaire to 423 learners in two towns not too distant from each other on either side of the Finnish-Russian border, investigating the similarities and the differences in the students' motivation to learn English. Finally, Jelena Mihaljevic Djigunovic conducted a series of studies (Mihaljevic, 1991; Djigunovic, 1996, in press) to obtain a better understanding of the attitudinal and motivational patterns of Croatian language learners.

Descriptive studies, although involving smaller samples, were also conducted in other parts of the world. Gardner, Tremblay and Castillo (1997) investigated language learners in The Philippines by reanalysing (via LISREL) data obtained in the 1960s. Nocon (1995) examined the attitudes of American university students on the US-Mexico border towards learning Spanish in view of the very low status they attached to the local Mexican population. Dodick (1996) analysed American high school students' motivation to learn French, and Wen (1997) examined Asian and Asian-American students learning Chinese in the US. MacFarlane and Wesche (1995) provided further evidence about the positive experiences learners can gain in Canadian immersion programmes; in their study, the attitudes of those students who also had some extracurricular contact with Francophones besides being exposed to French in the programme showed particular improvement.

The unique ethnolinguistic setup of the Middle East has inspired several studies. In an investigation of the study of Arabic among Israeli high school students, Kraemer (1993) successfully demonstrated that Gardner's motivation model also works in environments that are considerably different from the Canadian context where it originated. In a series of studies, Abu-Rabia (1996a, 1996b) and Abu-Rabia and Feuerverger (1996) analysed and compared three different social contexts: Israeli Arab students learning Hebrew, Israeli Jewish students learning English, and Canadian Arab students learning English. Two further countries in the region have been subject to investigation: Fahmy and Bilton (1992) provided a socially sensitive description of university TEFL students in Oman, and in a large-scale study already described, Schmidt et al. (1996) looked into the motivation and learning strategy use of adult Egyptian learners of English.

Finally, the growing importance of learning English in the Far East has also warranted a number of motivational studies. Besides dealing with general motivational issues, Fotos's (1994) overview (mentioned earlier) also gives a summary of the motivational disposition of Japanese language learners. In a longitudinal study of Japanese school children, Koizumi and Matsuo (1993) found that the participants' motivation dropped after the initial stage of the learning process, and the study attempts to explain this phenomenon. Nakata (1995a, 1995b) highlighted an important individual difference variable among Japanese learners, namely international orientation, which involved a general cosmopolitan outlook. Tachibana, Matsukawa and Zhong (1996) provided a comparison of Japanese and Chinese high school student's motivation to learn English.

Other issues investigated

In this last section I review a number of studies which focused on important issues not covered in earlier sections of this paper. Gender differences in learner motivation are often reported in the literature, but two articles, by Julkunen (1994) and Djigunovic (1993), have specifically focused on this issue. In line with the 'educational shift', a number of studies investigated the role of classroom-specific variables in shaping learner motivation: Green (1993) looked at the relationship of task enjoyment with task effectiveness and Peacock (1997) examined the effects of authentic teaching materials. Using instruments originally developed by Gardner and his associates, two studies (Djigunovic, 1994; Mihaljevic, 1992) analysed how the appraisal of the language teacher and the course influenced Croatian learners' motivation, producing similar findings to those obtained in Canadian contexts (see Gardner, 1985).

In a recent study, Gardner, Masgoret and Tremblay (1997) looked into the effects of parental influence

on motivation. Although in the 1980s Gardner (1985) devoted a whole chapter to the topic in his seminal book, and Colletta, Clément and Edwards (1983) also provided a detailed analysis of the question, this issue has been somewhat neglected during the past decade relative to its paramount importance in shaping learner motivation.

The interrelationship of motivation and learner strategy use has received a great deal of attention in educational psychology (e.g. Corno, 1993; Garcia & Pintrich, 1994; Pintrich & Garcia, 1994; Pressley, El-Dinary, Marks, Brown & Stein, 1992), which is understandable since the voluntary use of strategies to facilitate one's own learning process presupposes a great deal of commitment. Accordingly, there has been an increasing amount of interest in the topic in the L2 field as well; see, for example, Gardner (1991), Gardner, Tremblay & Masgoret (1997), MacIntyre and Noels (1996), Okada, Oxford and Abo (1996), and Schmidt et al. (1996).

Finally, I would like to highlight two areas—group-specific motivation and teacher motivation—that I consider extremely important and which, I feel, have not been given due attention in L2 research. Swezey, Meltzer, and Salas (1994) point out that most theories of motivation in mainstream psychology attempt to explain motivational processes at the individual level, even though action conducted within groups might show motivational characteristics which stem from the group as a social unit rather than from the individual members. In response to this recognition, a growing number of studies in social and educational psychology have recently looked into group-specific cognitive constructs (such as efficacy; e.g. Little & Madigan, 1997; Silver & Bufanio, 1996; Stroebe, Diehl & Abakoumkin 1996; Weldon & Weingart, 1993). In the L2 field, individual-level motives have been traditionally supplemented by motives associated with the larger speech communities (cf. the social psychological approach), but motivation associated specifically with learner groups has been analysed very little. Some exceptions are Dörnyei's (1994a) model of L2 motivation, which includes a set of group-specific motivational components (see Table 1); Clément et al.'s (1994) investigation into the relationship between learner motivation and group cohesiveness; and Hotho-Jackson's (1995) analysis of the role of the group context in the learners' tendency to give up their language studies.

The second issue to be highlighted, teacher motivation, has been a largely uncharted area in the L2 field, an important exception being the work done by Martha Pennington on work satisfaction, motivation and commitment in teaching English as a second language (for a review, see Pennington, 1995). As far as I am aware, no L2 study has explicitly linked the level of teacher motivation with that of students, and the topic of teacher motivation has also received little attention in general educational psychology.

This is all the more surprising since the teacher's level of enthusiasm and commitment is one of the most important factors that affect the learners' motivation to learn (see, for example, Dörnyei and Csizér, in press). Readers interested in this issue should refer to a very recent edited volume by Bess (1997), in which some of the most well-known motivational psychologists analyse 'faculty motivation'.

3. Educational implications of L2 motivation research

With motivation being as important a factor in learning success as argued earlier, teacher skills in motivating learners should be seen as central to teaching effectiveness. Although the educational-oriented motivation articles in the 1990s typically contained summaries of relevant classroom-specific motives, these did not offer a sufficiently serviceable guide to practitioners: they helped L2 teachers understand what was going on motivationwise in their classrooms, but the lists of motives themselves were not readily applicable. What teachers usually want to know is how they can intervene, that is, what they can actually do to motivate their learners.

Although the above may sound self-evident, until the mid-1990s there were absolutely no attempts in the L2 literature to design motivational strategies for classroom application. Recently, a number of publications have analysed and described motivational techniques (e.g. Brown, 1994; Cranmer, 1996; Dörnyei, 1994a; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Williams & Burden, 1997), yet the amount of research devoted to motivating learners has been rather meagre relative to the total amount of research on L2 motivation. The same tendency can be noted if we look at general motivational psychology: far more research has been conducted on identifying various motives and validating motivational theories than on developing techniques to increase motivation. As Good and Brophy (1994: 212) summarise, 'motivation [in the classroom] did not receive much scholarly attention until recently, so that teachers were forced to rely on unsystematic 'bag-of-tricks' approaches or on advice coming from questionable theorising'.

There have, however, been some valuable exceptions to this generalisation; examples include Burden (1995), Good and Brophy (1994), Jones and Jones (1995), McCombs (1994), Raffini (1993, 1996); particularly noteworthy works in this vein are Brophy's (1987) synthesis of research on motivational strategies, the comprehensive overview of motivation in education by Pintrich and Schunk (1996) already mentioned, and a highly accessible summary of how to motivate hard-to-reach students by McCombs and Pope (1994), sponsored by the American Psychological Association.

Reflecting on the potential usefulness of motivational strategies, Gardner and Tremblay (1994a)

Table 4. Ten Commandments for Motivating Language Learners (Dörnyei & Csizér, in press)

1. Set a personal example with your own behaviour.
2. Create a pleasant, relaxed atmosphere in the classroom.
3. Present the tasks properly.
4. Develop a good relationship with the learners.
5. Increase the learner's linguistic self-confidence.
6. Make the language classes interesting.
7. Promote learner autonomy.
8. Personalise the learning process.
9. Increase the learners' goal-orientedness.
10. Familiarise learners with the target language culture.

emphasise that intuitive appeal without empirical evidence is not enough to justify strong claims in favour of the use of such strategies from a scientific point of view. They therefore recommend that such strategies be considered hypotheses that could be tested, and they also highlight possible pitfalls to avoid in such research. Until very recently, I had been aware of only one study (and even that is unpublished), by Reilly (1994), that attempted to verify the usefulness of L2 motivational strategies by means of an experimental research design. Reilly's results indicated that intrinsic goal orientation did indeed increase in the experimental group that received motivational treatment.

In response to Gardner and Tremblay's (1994a) call, Dörnyei and Csizér (in press) conducted a survey in which an extensive list of potentially useful motivational strategies was evaluated in terms of their classroom relevance by a sample of 200 practising teachers working in various teaching institutions. The main purpose of the study was to draw up a set of motivational macrostrategies to which teachers could pay special attention when trying to implement a motivation-conscious teaching approach. The need for such a concise list, as expressed by teachers in various teacher-training courses, motivated Dörnyei's (1996c) earlier attempt to generate the 'Ten Commandments for Motivating Language Learners', and the Dörnyei and Csizér study was an attempt to revise the original list by basing the 'commandments' on empirical data concerning the beliefs and practices of language teachers. The revised list is presented in Table 4.

Conclusion

The main conclusion emerging from this overview is that motivation is indeed a multifaceted rather than a uniform factor and no available theory has yet managed to represent it in its total complexity. This implies that researchers need to be particularly careful when conceptualising and assessing motivation variables, and should be well aware of the fact that the specific motivation measure or concept they are focusing on is likely to represent only a segment of a

more intricate psychological construct. As Williams (1994: 84) succinctly states: 'there is no room for simplistic approaches to such complex issues as motivation'.

Looking at the two main sections of this article—the brief summary of the most infuential attitudinal/motivational approaches in mainstream psychology and the overview of research on L2 motivation in the 1990s—it is evident that, in their effort to develop language-specific motivation constructs, the main approaches in the L2 field have increasingly adopted concepts originally introduced in related disciplines. Due to the standards set by Gardner, Clément and their associates, L2 motivation research has always been strong on empirical research, and the 1990s have brought along a welcome tendency to incorporate contemporary theoretical concepts into established L2-specific frameworks and models—an approach which is likely to remain a fertile ground for future research. As a result, the main components of the prevailing motivational approaches (expectancy-value theories, goal theories and self-determination theory) have all been validated in certain L2 contexts, and it is hoped that future models of L2 motivation will demonstrate an increasingly elaborate synthesis of the various constituents.

This overview has already presented a number of potentially productive directions for future research. Rather than reiterate these here, I would like to highlight an area which I believe may present perhaps the greatest challenge for L2 motivation researchers: the analysis of the *temporal organisation of motivation*, that is, drawing up a model that portrays motivational processes as they happen in time. Although mainstream psychological approaches have included some time elements, for example when discussing past attributions of future goals (e.g Karniol & Ross, 1996; Raynor & Roeder, 1987), I am not aware of any studies that have analysed the interplay of subsequent motivational patterns in sustained learning activities such as the mastery of an L2. Furthermore, a process-oriented perception of motivation (as proposed at the beginning of this paper) requires an explicit description of the various stages of this process. Key components in such a process-oriented representation might include planning, intention-formulation, the appraisal of the situation and the generation of concrete tasks, prioritising between multiple tasks, the enactment of intentions, and the evaluation of outcomes. The various stages of the decision-making, action-implementation and action-controlling process would also need to be connected to a number of learner-internal and external variables such as personality traits and macro/micro-environmental factors (e.g. social milieu or the affect of significant others).

Finally, a process-oriented conception of motivation also has important consequences for measurement purposes. Different items tap into different

levels (for example the belief level or the intention level) of the motivational process and it is no unambiguous task to decide which items can be simply pooled to form a composite score and which should be kept separate because they are associated with mental activities and learning behaviours belonging to different levels.

In sum, these are indeed exciting times in motivation research, with enough food for thought for both researchers focusing on theoretical and measurement issues and methodologists interested in classroom implications and applications.

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