



The Palgrave Handbook of Motivation for Language Learning

Edited by

Martin Lamb · Kata Csizér

Alastair Henry · Stephen Ryan

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Contents

1	Introduction	1
	<i>Martin Lamb, Kata Csizér, Alastair Henry, and Stephen Ryan</i>	
	A Handbook	1
	Of Motivation	2
	For Language Learning	4
	Part I: Theoretical Approaches to L2 Motivation	6
	Part II: L2 Motivation in Practice	9
	Part III: Contexts of L2 Motivation	10
	Part IV: Shifting Horizons in L2 Motivation	12
	References	15
Part I	Theoretical Approaches to L2 Motivation	19
2	The Socio-educational Model of Second Language Acquisition	21
	<i>Robert C. Gardner</i>	
	The Attitude Motivation Test Battery	23
	The Socio-educational Model of Second Language Acquisition	25
	Representative Research on the Socio-educational Model	26
	The Research Paradigm, Statistical and Methodological Issues	28
	The Socio-educational Model Applied to English as a Global Language	30
	Summary and Conclusions	34
	References	35

3	From Integrative Motivation to Directed Motivational Currents: The Evolution of the Understanding of L2 Motivation over Three Decades	39
	<i>Zoltán Dörnyei</i>	
	Developmental Drive 1: The Desire to Increase the Educational Relevance of L2 Motivation Research	40
	Developmental Drive 2: The Desire to Synchronise L2 Motivation Research with Advances in Educational and Motivational Psychology	44
	Developmental Drive 3: The Desire to View L2 Motivation from a Holistic and Dynamic Perspective	50
	Developmental Drive 4: The Desire to Understand Long-Term Motivation and Sustained Motivated Behaviour	57
	Conclusion	61
	References	62
4	The L2 Motivational Self System	71
	<i>Kata Csizér</i>	
	The Emergence of the L2 Motivational Self System Model	71
	The Model	73
	Studies on the Various Components of the L2 Motivational Self System	75
	Motivation as Vision	79
	Contextual Issues Shaping the Components of L2MSS	80
	Global English, Multilingualism and Languages Other Than English (LOTEs)	81
	L2 Motivational Self System and Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST)	82
	Criticism of the L2MSS Model	84
	Future Research Directions	85
	Concluding Remarks	87
	References	88
5	Self-determination and Motivated Engagement in Language Learning	95
	<i>Kimberly A. Noels, Nigel Mantou Lou, Dayuma I. Vargas Lascano, Kathryn E. Chaffee, Ali Dincer, Ying Shan Doris Zhang, and Xijia Zhang</i>	
	A Brief Review of Self-determination Theory	96

Modeling the Motivation Process	100
Review of SDT-Informed Research on LL	103
Future Directions for Research and Pedagogy	107
Conclusion	109
References	110
6 Complexity Theory and L2 Motivation	117
<i>Phil Hiver and Mostafa Papi</i>	
Conceptual Tools and Principles of Complexity	118
What Does Complexity Theory Mean for L2 Motivation Research?	125
Conclusion	131
References	132
7 Directed Motivational Currents: Extending the Theory of L2 Vision	139
<i>Alastair Henry</i>	
L2 Vision	140
Motivation and Temporal Dimensions	143
DMCs and Flow	144
A Complex Motivational Superstructure	146
Emergence and Demise	149
An Effective Re-triggering Mechanism	150
A Positive Emotional Climate: Eudaimonia and Self-authenticity	150
Effortlessness and Effort	152
Validity for the DMC Construct	153
Group-Level DMCs: A Blueprint for Focused Interventions?	154
Conclusion	157
References	158
8 Motivation and Individual Differences	163
<i>Stephen Ryan</i>	
Individual Differences in Psychology	164
Individual Differences in L2 Learning	168
Challenges to the ID Paradigm	172
Individual Differences and the Current Research Agenda	175
Summary	177
References	178

9	Emotions Are Motivating	183
	<i>Peter D. MacIntyre, Jessica Ross, and Richard Clément</i>	
	Emotions in SLA	184
	Emotions That Motivate Language Learning	190
	Future Research on Emotion and Motivation in SLA	193
	Conclusion	195
	References	197
10	L2 Motivation and Willingness to Communicate	203
	<i>Tomoko Yashima</i>	
	L2 WTC and the Pyramid Model	204
	Development of L2 WTC Research	206
	Relevance of L2 WTC to Asian EFL Contexts	213
	Pedagogical Implications of WTC Research	216
	Conclusion	218
	References	219
11	The Contexts of SLA Motivation: Linking Ideologies to Situational Variations	225
	<i>Odilia Yim, Richard Clément, and Peter D. MacIntyre</i>	
	What Is Context?	226
	What Is SLA Motivation?	227
	SLA as Contextualised Multilingual Communication	229
	Intergroup Context	230
	A Social Psychological Approach to Context	236
	Conclusion	239
	References	240
12	L2 Motivation and Investment	245
	<i>Ron Darwin</i>	
	Origins	246
	Theoretical Tools	248
	Review of Research	250
	Recent Theoretical Developments	252
	Research on the 2015 Model of Investment	256
	Investment vs Motivation	257
	Future Directions	259
	References	260

Part II L2 Motivation in Practice	265
13 Task Motivation	267
<i>Judit Kormos and James Wilby</i>	
Theories and Concepts of Task Motivation in Educational Psychology	268
Task Motivation Research in the Field of Second Language Acquisition	273
Pedagogical Implications	281
Directions for Future Research	282
References	283
14 Motivational Teaching Strategies	287
<i>Martin Lamb</i>	
Dörnyei's (2001) Taxonomy of Motivational Strategies	288
What Strategies Do Teachers Favour?	290
What Strategies Do Learners Favour?	292
How Do Motivational Strategies Affect Learners' Behaviour?	293
Challenges in Researching MotS	295
Dangers in Researching MotS	297
Ways Forward for MotS Research	299
Conclusion	301
References	302
15 Motivational Group Dynamics in SLA: The Interpersonal Interaction Imperative	307
<i>Yoshifumi Fukada, Joseph Falout, Tetsuya Fukuda, and Tim Murphey</i>	
A Brief History of Group Dynamics in SLA	307
Group Dynamics and L2 Motivation	309
Hurdles to Researching Group Dynamics in SLA	313
Conclusion	321
References	321
16 Motivation and Projects	327
<i>Christine Muir</i>	
What Is a Project?	327
A Brief Critique of Projects	329

Projects in L2 Education	331
Motivational Aspects of Projects	332
Future Research Directions	338
Conclusion	340
References	340
17 Motivation in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) Research	347
<i>David Lasagabaster</i>	
Motivation in CLIL Contexts: An Under-Researched Field	348
Theoretical Frameworks Used in CLIL Research	349
Studies on CLIL and Motivation	350
Multilingualism in CLIL Contexts	355
Discussion	357
An Agenda for Future Research	358
Pedagogical Implications	360
References	362
18 The Process of Demotivation in Language Learning: An Integrative Account	367
<i>Nick Thorner and Keita Kikuchi</i>	
Research into Demotivation	368
Demotivation as a Psychological Process	374
Demotivation from Contemporary Research Perspectives	377
Implications	380
Conclusion	383
References	383
19 Language Teacher Motivation Research: Its Ends, Means and Future Commitments	389
<i>Magdalena Kubanyiova</i>	
The Current Landscape of Teacher Motivation Research	390
The Ends of Language Teacher Motivation Research	392
The Means of Language Teacher Motivation Research: Theoretical Metaphors	394
The Means of Language Teacher Research: A Practice-Oriented Epistemology	400
Conclusion: Future Commitments of Language Teacher Motivation Research	402
References	403

Part III	Contexts of L2 Motivation	409
20	EFL Learning Motivation in Korea: Historical Background and Current Situation	411
	<i>Tae-Young Kim and Youngmi Kim</i>	
	Historical Considerations for English Learning Motivation in South Korea	412
	Changes in EFL Learning Motivation Across Educational Stages	416
	Summary and Future Directions	422
	References	424
21	In the Shadow of Global English? Comparing Language Learner Motivation in Germany and the United Kingdom	429
	<i>Ursula Lanvers and Gary Chambers</i>	
	Language Policy and Language Uptake Trends in Germany and the UK	431
	Motivation Studies in Germany and the UK	434
	Conclusion	439
	References	442
22	Motivation for Learning Chinese in the Australian Context: A Research Focus on Tertiary Students	449
	<i>Hui Ling Xu and Robyn Moloney</i>	
	Chinese Language Education Internationally	449
	A Brief Overview of CFL Research	451
	Motivation of Australian Undergraduate Learners of Chinese	456
	Discussion	462
	Conclusion	464
	References	465
23	Motivation and Multilingualism in South Africa	471
	<i>Susan Coetzee-Van Rooy</i>	
	Contemporary Global and South African Multilingualism	472
	Motivation and Multilingualism	473
	Motivation and Multilingualism in Urban South Africa: Two Empirical Projects	475
	Discussion	486
	Implications and Avenues for Future Research	490
	References	491

24	The L2 Motivation of Learners with Special Educational Needs	495
	<i>Edit H. Kontra</i>	
	Learners with SEN in Foreign Language Classes: Who Are They?	497
	L2 Motivation in SEN	498
	Conclusion and Looking Forward	508
	References	509
25	Motivation of Young Learners of Foreign Languages	515
	<i>Jelena Mihaljević Djigunović and Marianne Nikolov</i>	
	YLs' Motivation as a Specific Phenomenon	516
	Trends in Researching YLs' Motivation	518
	A Framework for Researching YLs' Motivation for FL Learning	525
	Conclusions	530
	References	530
Part IV	Shifting Horizons in L2 Motivation	535
26	Language Mindsets, Meaning-Making, and Motivation	537
	<i>Nigel Mantou Lou and Kimberly A. Noels</i>	
	What Is Language Mindset?	538
	Language Mindsets and Motivation	543
	A Complex Dynamic Perspective on LMMS	548
	Research Agenda	549
	Conclusions	553
	References	555
27	Motivation and the Unconscious	561
	<i>Ali H. Al-Hoorie</i>	
	Background on Unconscious Attitudes	562
	Unconscious Attitudes in L2 Learning	565
	Conclusion	570
	Appendix: The Implicit Association Test	571
	References	573

28	Motivation and Flow	579
	<i>Katalin Piniel and Ágnes Albert</i>	
	Definition of the Flow Concept and Description of Flow	
	Components	580
	Flow and Motivation Research in Education	582
	Flow in Groups	584
	Flow Experiences in the Classroom	586
	Flow in Language Learning	588
	Broadening the Scope of Motivational Research in SLA	590
	Conclusion	593
	References	594
29	L2 Motivation and Digital Technologies	599
	<i>Alastair Henry and Martin Lamb</i>	
	Application of the SDT Framework	601
	An Interdisciplinary Perspective	605
	Conclusion	613
	References	614
30	Aligning Positive Psychology With Language Learning	
	Motivation	621
	<i>Tammy Gregersen</i>	
	Weaving PP Into Established SLA and L2 Motivation Research	622
	PP's Input on the "Why" Question of L2 Motivation: Initiating Action	624
	PP's Input on the "How" Question of L2 Motivation: Sustaining the Drive	629
	Future Directions for PP in the Study and Practice of L2 Motivation	634
	Final Words	636
	References	637
31	Motivation for Formal Learning of Multiple Languages	641
	<i>Amy S. Thompson</i>	
	Setting the Stage: Motivation for Formal Learning of Multiple Languages	643

New Directions: PPLI and the Ideal Multilingual Self	649
Directions for Future Research	653
References	656
32 Researching L2 Motivation: Past, Present and Future	661
<i>Ema Ushioda</i>	
Purpose and Scope	661
L2 Motivation: Core Issues Shaping Research Inquiry	662
The Quantitative Research Legacy	663
The Paradigm Shift to Qualitative and Mixed Methods Research	666
Researching L2 Motivation: Current Challenges	670
Researching L2 Motivation: New Approaches and Innovations	672
Concluding Thoughts on Research Approaches: Looking to the Future	675
References	677
Index	683

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List of Figures

Fig. 2.1	Path analysis linking the four aggregate variables to achievement as hypothesized in the Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition	31
Fig. 5.1	Motivational orientations and the self-determination continuum	98
Fig. 5.2	Schematic illustration of social contexts, interpersonal relations, self-dynamics, actions and capitals in the language learning motivational process (adapted from Noels, 2001b; Noels et al., 2016)	100
Fig. 10.1	Pyramid WTC model (MacIntyre et al., 1998, p. 547)	205
Fig. 11.1	Model of Multilingual Communication adapted from Sachdev and Bourhis (2001)	230
Fig. 12.1	Model of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015)	253
Fig. 18.1	Concept of demotivation and demotivators (adapted from Kikuchi 2015, p. 4)	369
Fig. 18.2	Core components in demotivation	380
Fig. 18.3	Resolving unmet needs	381
Fig. 22.1	Motivation orientations for Studying Chinese (Case Study 22.1, N = 44)	457
Fig. 22.2	Motivation orientations for Heritage Students Studying Chinese (Case Study 22.2, N = 44)	458
Fig. 22.3	Motivation orientations for Heritage Students Studying Chinese (Case Study 22.3, N = 12)	461
Fig. 25.1	A visual representation of how teacher and YL motivation are intertwined	521
Fig. 25.2	Visual representation of the framework	526
Fig. 27.1	An illustration of the Flower–Insect IAT. Panel A displays the ‘compatible’ task which most participants find easier to perform; Panel B displays the ‘incompatible’ task which most participants find harder.	572

List of Tables

Table 2.1	Scales contributing to the affective constructs in the Socio-Educational Model	24
Table 2.2	A summary of Cronbach reliability coefficients from Canadian samples presented by Masgoret and Gardner (2003) and from the six other countries presented by Gardner (2010)	30
Table 2.3	Summary of path analysis coefficients and goodness of fit	33
Table 7.1	Examples of DMC experiences	155
Table 9.1	Positive and negative emotions in the PANAS and mDES	190
Table 12.1	A comparison of investment and motivation	258
Table 22.1	Motivational factors (Case Study 22.2, N = 44)	459
Table 22.2	Motivational factors (Case Study 22.3, N = 12)	461
Table 23.1	Frequencies reported by Southern Sotho home language participants related to motivations to add the languages that they know to their repertoires	478
Table 26.1	A revised version of language mindsets inventory (LMI)	541
Table 26.2	Language-mindset meaning system	544



1

Introduction

Martin Lamb, Kata Csizér, Alastair Henry,
and Stephen Ryan

A Handbook

In his contribution to the debate about the proliferation of handbooks in *The Modern Language Journal*, Henry Widdowson (2011) wryly observes that far from being hard to put down, their usual heft makes them hard to pick up. For although the term ‘Handbook’ originally implied that it was a practical guide, light enough to be held in the hand while engaged in some practical task, the modern academic version is usually not so much a guide as a reference work, designed to be a comprehensive and authoritative review of a particular field of scholarship at a particular point in time. In the same debate Susan Gass (2011) points out that handbooks may have a ‘normalizing’ impact on the field, as recognized experts are assembled together to determine what is

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known, what is not yet known, and what are accepted methods of constructing new knowledge. One reason that handbooks have proliferated in recent times is that knowledge is being created at such an unprecedented pace that publishers believe there is a market for works that effectively summarize the ‘state-of-the-art’, with the target readership including specialists in one area who wish to learn about another area, as well as novice researchers who want to survey the lie of the land before planning their own explorations.

In this volume our goal has been to combine the virtues of a reference work with those of a guidebook. As the first collected volume of ‘state-of-the-art’ chapters in the field, the aim is to present a comprehensive picture of scholarly work in second language (L2) motivation. As editors, putting together Parts I and II was relatively easy; we brainstormed a range of topics in which there seemed to be sufficient weight of writing and research, either in the past or currently, to warrant a handbook-type treatment. We then invited leading experts to write about them. With regard to topic coverage, we feel we have achieved a degree of comprehensiveness. Of course, there may be potentially important topics not covered, for example the motivational impact of language testing and assessment, institutional rewards and punishments, and the relationship between motivation and self-confidence. However, because there is not yet a substantial body of established knowledge to report, we decided they did not merit their own chapter, though they make appearances in others.

So that the handbook could function as a guidebook for current and future scholars in the field, we decided to include a section (Part III) showcasing L2 motivation research in action—that is, chapters which report what is known about L2 motivation in particular global contexts, or among particular types of learner. We also wanted to include a section (Part IV) where chapters focus on aspects of L2 motivation that are only beginning to attract the interest of researchers, and which promise to become fruitful lines of enquiry. Authors were asked not only to summarize existing knowledge and understandings of their topic, but to point readers towards the key questions that still need to be addressed and, where appropriate, advise on methods of investigation. The final chapter, by Ema Ushioda, deals directly with research methods in L2 motivation, describing how they have evolved over the past few decades and the direction they may, or should, take in the future.

Of Motivation

Motivation is wanting. It is a condition of an organism that includes a subjective sense (not necessarily conscious) of desiring some change in self and/or environment. Presumably this includes some predisposition to act in ways that will facilitate that change. (Baumeister, 2016, pp. 1–2)

An integral part of being human, motivation has been an important and valued strand of psychological science since the 1930s, as modern societies—governments and businesses—sought to understand what people wanted, why they wanted those things and, more cynically, how those wants could be manipulated. It gained renewed impetus in the late twentieth century from the cognitive revolution, which generated a host of goal-related theories, and more recently from a revival of interest in more fundamental motives like need satisfaction and threat avoidance. This prodigious academic enterprise is recognized in the compilation of several authoritative handbooks on motivational theory (e.g., Eliot, 2008; Elliot, Dweck, & Yeager, 2017; Ryan, 2012) as well as at least two on educational applications (Christenson, Reschly, & Wylie, 2012; Wentzel & Wigfield, 2009).

This handbook is the first to cover a sub-field of those educational applications; as far as we are aware, there is as yet no handbook of motivation for mathematics learning, science learning, or for that matter on teacher motivation. It is therefore worth asking why language learning motivation has generated a degree of scholarly attention, research and writing such as to warrant publication of a handbook. We think there are at least three reasons.

First, as Stephen Ryan describes in his chapter (also see Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011), for better or worse, the field of L2 motivation has to a large degree evolved independently of mainstream motivational psychology, developing its own unique constructs that appear to be especially relevant to understanding why people want to learn, or do not want to learn, another language. The ‘ideal L2 self’, for instance (see Kata Csizér’s chapter), has no equivalent in other fields of education, yet has struck an immediate chord with many educators working in teaching environments around the world where English is not just a subject on the school curriculum but a passport to personal advancement, and where “the constant reinvention of selves [...] seems to be part and parcel of being a good citizen” (Block, 2018, p. 452). In fact, the close relationship between language and identity is a vivid thread running through the story of L2 motivation since its inception in 1950s Canada (see the chapter by Robert Gardner) and long predates the mainstreaming of identity-based motivation (Kaplan & Flum, 2009). So although the field has, to its great benefit, borrowed liberally from mainstream psychology in recent years, scholars have a sense of working within an identifiable sub-discipline with its own history, accomplishments and community.

Another reason relates to the sheer quantity of language learning and teaching that is going on around the world, some of it very high stakes and some of it not. Put simply, there are a lot of people wanting, or needing, to learn new languages. As The Douglas Fir Group observe (2016, p. 19), “[t]he phenom-

enon of multilingualism is as old as humanity, but multilingualism has been catapulted to a new world order in the 21st century”. Globalization, advances in communication technology and increasing geographical mobility have brought languages into contact on an unprecedented scale, confronting people with the challenge of learning other languages, and teachers and institutions with the challenge of facilitating and encouraging that learning. Above all, globalization has promoted (and is promoted by) the spread of English, spawning a vast industry of ELT publishers, exam boards and private language schools, alongside higher education institutions which educate pre- and in-service English teachers, conduct research and produce academic publications. This intense intellectual energy has been channeled into the broad academic fields of Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition, in which L2 motivation studies traditionally sit. The prominence of these domains is witnessed by the proportionally larger number of Q1-ranked journals related to language learning (SJR, 2019), as compared to other areas of education. Yet, within these larger academic fields, L2 motivation seems to be particularly flourishing; Boo, Dörnyei, & Ryan (2015) count 416 pieces of work published in major journals or edited anthologies between 2005 and 2014, in what they describe as an “extraordinary surge” (p. 145) of academic interest. What is it about language learning that has demanded the attention of so many motivation scholars?

For Language Learning

The third reason for the existence of this handbook could be that learners of languages face unique challenges to their motivation. Making progress in most curriculum subjects demands incremental steps forward in building knowledge and developing conceptual understanding; the syllabus lays out what is to be learned each term, and an assiduous learner with a capable teacher can reasonably expect to be rewarded for their efforts by satisfactory exam results. In the era of communicative language teaching, language development is no longer conceived solely in terms of accumulating knowledge of structures, rules and lexis. Rather, language development involves acquiring a set of competences. It involves the deployment of the four skills, with their own sub-skills and strategies, which in turn rely on the acquisition of pragmatic, sociolinguistic, textual, and grammatical knowledge that is difficult for teachers to convey even when linguists have managed to accurately describe it. Of course, progress in other academic subjects also involves acquiring thinking and communicative skills, but many of these can be practised relatively easily, with skilful instruction, in a classroom. Language skills, by contrast,

need extensive practice in communicative contexts of use, for which monolingual classrooms are often poor substitutes. The result is that even for highly achievement-oriented, goal-driven language learners, progress can be frustratingly slow, and can easily lead to a downward spiral of negative learning experiences, reduced effort and fewer rewards. This has an impact not just on learners but on their teachers, whose own difficulties are channelled back directly and indirectly to educational authorities and training institutes who help to set research agendas. Thus it is that motivation has become a favoured topic of Master's and Doctoral students in applied linguistics—an audience that this handbook hopes to serve.

While everyone can learn another language, at any stage of the lifespan, the particular language being learned can bring its own motivational challenges. The majority of English language learners in the contemporary world are in Asia (Crystal, 2012), with mother tongues (e.g. Mandarin, Hindi, Japanese) whose spoken and written forms differ greatly from English; the mental effort and personal resilience required to achieve L2 success is considerable, especially when there may be so few opportunities for communicative practice in daily life (to what extent the internet is mitigating these challenges is considered in the chapter by Alastair Henry and Martin Lamb). In other global contexts, learners' desire for English may be complicated by its association with 'western' values, the Christian religion, colonial pasts or contemporary political ideologies (see the chapter by Darwin). Meanwhile in the Anglophone sphere, teachers meet a different kind of motivational problem. Although one well-intentioned research project in the UK came up with 700 reasons to learn a foreign language (Gallagher-Brett, 2004), young people in English-speaking countries struggle to find one when the rest of the world wants to practice English. Evidence shows that the motivational deficit is especially severe among boys and among lower socio-economic groups, and may even reflect recent political developments in the USA and UK (Lanvers, Doughty, & Thompson, 2018; see also the chapter by Ursula Lanvers and Gary Chambers).

We would suggest, therefore, that this handbook has ultimately emerged out of the confluence of two strong currents—a well-spring of concern from practitioners about how to help people develop, or sustain, a motivation to learn another language, and the intellectual enthusiasm of a growing international community of scholars for understanding the psychological constructs and mechanisms that facilitate these processes. When an academic field expands rapidly in this way, Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) rightly warn that it could become “self-contained and inward-looking, with motivation scholars talking exclusively or primarily to each other” (p. 104). Perhaps this risk is lessened in that many L2 motivation researchers began their careers as lan-

guage teachers—true not just for the editors, but for most of the other contributors to this volume—and so carry with them the memories of their own struggles to motivate language learners in and out of classrooms. It was our firm intention for this handbook to maintain and stimulate the dialogue between theory and practice by ensuring that two of the four sections (Parts II and III) were focussed on L2 motivation in *practice*, and in particular *contexts* of learning/teaching.

We end this part of the introduction with a separate observation on the terms ‘language’ and ‘learning’. Most contributors to the handbook adopt the conventional acronym ‘L2’ to denote the language being learned, and though this refers to ‘second language’ we acknowledge that many people in the world grow up with more than one home language, and that the language which they may choose or be required to learn at school or later in adult life may be their third, fourth or fifth language (see the chapters by Amy Thompson, and by Susan Coetzee-Rooy). As for ‘learning’, this implies conscious effortful behaviour which has to be initiated, directed and sustained—by motivation—over a period of time; yet it is well-known that the language of young children, and some of the language of adults, is acquired unconsciously, and that many aspects of language ‘improvement’, whether viewed from a universal grammar perspective as the gradual approximation to a native-speaker norm, or from a complexity theory perspective as a self-organizing system of linguistic resources, does not result directly from intentional human behaviour (Larsen-Freeman, 2015). In most of the chapters ‘learning’ is used as a cover term for L2 achievement, or more loosely, expansion in the range of things that a person can do in the L2 (from passing exams to flying aircraft). The precise role that motivation plays in some of the less visible or conscious processes of L2 development, such as noticing and restructuring (cf. Ushioda, 2016), is, we predict, one of the new topics that may feature in a future edition of this handbook.

Part I: Theoretical Approaches to L2 Motivation

The first part of the handbook reflects the rich history of L2 motivation over the past five decades. This is a period which has witnessed the formation of specific theoretical approaches, the utilization and adaptation of theories from other fields, the investigation of salient individual characteristics relevant to motivation, and the identification of important features of the contexts in which individuals learn and use other languages. It starts with overview chapters written by the two researchers whose work has come to define the field, Robert Gardner and Zoltán Dörnyei.

Gardner takes us back to the dawn of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) studies, as Canadian social psychologists endeavored to understand why some Anglophone citizens were more successful than others in learning French. Having established motivation as a prominent factor, and identification processes as often central to motivation, Gardner describes how he and colleagues adopted a theoretically-grounded, construct-oriented approach to understanding L2 motivation—one that has profoundly influenced generations of scholars in the field. In an era of Global English and of intensifying intercultural exchange, his chapter concludes with a robust defense, based on more recent empirical research, of the relevance of the Socio-educational Model of SLA.

Dörnyei also traces his early involvement in the field of L2 motivation, but as part of a new generation of language educators with an interest in psychology, rather than the other way round. This distinct perspective, he argues, at least partly underlies four developmental drives that have shaped the field in the three decades since 1990, and which have ultimately brought it into closer alignment with the needs and concerns of the teaching profession. Dörnyei's intention is to provide a coherent account of contemporary theoretical developments which can be used as a backdrop while reading other handbook chapters. But in displaying so clearly the intellectual vitality of L2 motivation studies, he may also draw in new readers to the field.

The chapters that follow present some of the key individual theories that have informed the thinking of L2 motivation researchers and the design of their studies. Kata Csizér provides a summary of the L2 Motivational Self System, a model that has been deployed in countless empirical studies, and where development and refinement is still taking place. Kimberly Noels has long pioneered the application to L2 motivation of Self-Determination Theory (SDT), a major paradigm in mainstream motivational psychology. In their chapter, Noels and her team describe the core tenets of the theory, present, explain and justify their own comprehensive model of its relevance to L2 motivation processes, and set out an exciting research agenda for furthering our understanding of self-determination in L2 motivation (and possibly for using L2 motivation constructs to extend understandings of self-determination). Phil Hiver and Mostafa Papi present the concepts and principles of Complexity Theory and, through a series of empirical examples, show how a complexity approach can be applied to the study of important L2 motivational issues. Representing an early product of this dynamic perspective, and a potential contribution to mainstream motivational psychology, Alastair Henry describes Directed Motivational Currents, a complex motivational superstructure that includes vision-related goals, behavioral

routines and affirmative feedback, and which can provide insights into periods of intense motivated activity that can be experienced in language learning.

The next three chapters move from theory to deal with some of the key components of L2 motivation. Stephen Ryan demonstrates how L2 motivation itself began life as one of the key individual differences in second language acquisition research, emerging eventually as the pre-eminent variable in L2 learning, just as motivation researchers themselves were recognizing its inherent complexity and mutability (and thus the dangers of over-simplified causal explanations). In his chapter, Ryan points to interesting developments in contemporary applied psychology that may help resolve this apparent dilemma. Peter MacIntyre, Jessica Ross and Richard Clément consider the role of emotions in motivation and offer insights into how they shape second language acquisition in general, and L2 motivation in particular. They argue convincingly that emotions are an integral component of motivation and that they ought to have a more central place in the future research agenda. Actually using the L2 in live communication has long been acknowledged as one of the more emotional aspects of SLA. It is therefore not surprising that there is a close overlap between the concept of ‘willingness to communicate’ (WTC) and L2 motivation, as discussed in the next chapter by leading WTC researcher Tomoko Yashima.

Context, as it impacts on L2 motivation, has made its appearance in all the previous chapters with varying degrees of emphasis, but it takes center stage in the final two chapters. Both argue, from different perspectives, that social context is pivotal to understanding individual L2 motivation, not just an illustrative backdrop, and both offer a heuristic model to elaborate their viewpoint and guide researchers towards interesting questions and angles of investigation. Odilia Yim, Richard Clément and Peter MacIntyre, adopting a broadly social psychological stance, describe the different levels of context—national, community, family, interactional—that could be expected to affect a learner’s motivation to acquire or use a second language, drawing on an extensive range of sociolinguistic and social psychological research to make their case. In their conclusion they cite Bourdieu’s observation that “[t]he value of a language is equivalent to the value of its speakers” (1977, p. 22, authors’ translation), an axiom that underpins a view of L2 motivation as an investment in symbolic capital. In his chapter, Ron Darvin recounts the emergence over two decades of this parallel line of enquiry, one whose primary goal has been to uncover the less visible aspects of context—ideologies, values, power relations—that shape and constrain individual agency, the learner’s desire for language and their capacity to find and exploit affordances for L2

learning and use in their various social contexts. Both chapters explicitly reject deterministic accounts of contextual influence, and instead offer two complementary paths for exploration.

Part II: L2 Motivation in Practice

In the second part of the book, we move from broad theoretical discussions of motivation in language learning to a more focused consideration of specific ways in which theory has been applied in practice. The recent, rapid expansion of the field of language learning motivation research has been largely predicated on the perception of practical value, perhaps in contrast to other more theoretically oriented areas of applied linguistics and SLA. The relationship between theory and practice is key to any applied discipline, but for language learning motivation research these connections are perhaps even more crucial.

In the section's first chapter, Judit Kormos and James Wilby consider the under-researched area of task motivation. Incorporating a highly informative overview of key motivational concepts from cognitive psychology, the chapter looks at the ways in which learners are motivated to perform specific learning tasks, making the point that this approach to the study of motivation may be more pedagogically relevant than the currently dominant studies on general motivational dispositions. Developing the theme of pedagogic relevance, Martin Lamb considers the role teachers play in motivating learners. In his chapter, he argues that while raising learner motivation is an implied assumption of much motivation research, studies looking at motivational teaching strategies have remained a 'minority interest' among language learning motivation researchers. In addition to a comprehensive survey of existing research into motivational teaching strategies, the chapter concludes with a call for further research in this area together with a suggested agenda.

Appropriately enough, it is a group of authors—Yoshifumi Fukuda, Joseph Falout, Tetsuya Fukuda and Tim Murphey—that moves the unit of analysis from individual learners to a consideration of the ways in which the various groups that learners belong to and participate in can affect motivation. While emphasizing the importance of group processes in language learning, the authors acknowledge some of the challenges inherent in adjusting from an individual perspective on language learning to a group oriented one. Accordingly, the chapter offers valuable suggestions for researchers searching for meaningful techniques to investigate group dynamics as well as for teach-

ers seeking to better understand the effects of group processes in their classrooms.

The next two chapters identify some of the ways in which the provision of language education is changing, creating new challenges for motivation researchers. First, Christine Muir's chapter considers the motivational dimension of project-based language learning. In doing so, the chapter touches upon core themes of recent motivation theory, such as its dynamic nature—sustaining motivation over an extended period—and the social context—cooperating and collaborating with others in the pursuit of language learning. Thereafter, David Lasagabaster's contribution looks at motivation when the learning of a language is combined with the learning of other subject content. The continued growth of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programmes suggests that this is likely to be a key area of investigation in the coming years as the nature and aims of these programmes expand and diversify.

Nick Thorner and Keita Kikuchi begin their chapter with the bold claim that it is actually demotivation, rather than motivation itself, that demands our attention. After all, a group of motivated learners is rarely a problem for teachers; it is understanding the psychological processes contributing to demotivation that is of most immediate interest to practising teachers. In their chapter, they make the case that demotivation is not simply a product of external factors, so-called 'demotivators', but that demotivation should be better understood as a complex psychological process, and offer a systematic framework for teachers seeking solutions to issues of demotivation in their classes. The role of teachers resurfaces in the final chapter of this section. In her contribution, Magdalena Kubanyiova turns our attention to the 'other side of the desk', powerfully illustrating how the motivation of teachers is an area that we cannot afford to ignore if we hope to provide a truly meaningful account of motivation in language learning. The chapter offers an extensive review of established research into language teacher motivation and ends with a call for a broader, transdisciplinary approach to research that stretches the conventional psychologically-informed agenda. This is a timely appeal that should echo beyond the domain of teacher motivation research.

Part III: Contexts of L2 Motivation

In this part of the handbook writers present studies of L2 motivation among particular population groups, defined either by geography, or by type of language learner. The main purpose for including these chapters is to illustrate how the theories and pedagogical concepts described in Parts I and II are

applied to the study of actual populations. A secondary purpose is to showcase language learning motivation in contexts that are intrinsically interesting, or have particular importance. Here the rationale is that explorations can raise issues that will resonate with readers who do not share the particular geographical location or learner group but who nevertheless have to confront the complex, situated nature of human motivation.

As one of the tiger economies of East Asia, South Korea has in recent decades challenged its young people to develop skills in English, to enable them to participate in the global labour market and to take advantage of international knowledge exchange in education, business and culture. The drive to learn English, or at least earn qualifications in the language, has at times reached ‘fever’ pitch (Park, 2009), but Tae-Young Kim and Youngmi Kim take a historical perspective to show how contemporary attitudes towards the English language, and how it is taught and learned at different ages, are at least partly shaped by the nation’s traumatic experiences in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ursula Lanvers and Gary Chambers compare L2 motivation in two European countries, Germany and the UK. They vividly portray how the behemoth of global English looms over the two country’s language education systems, in both cases potentially stifling people’s motivation to learn other languages. In Germany educators now struggle to realize the European Union’s plurilingual goals (English plus at least one other foreign language) (European Commission, n.d.), while British educators seem to be fighting a losing battle to make even one foreign language a study choice for most young people after the age of 14. Lanvers and Chambers also forcefully make the point, noted above, that there is far less research dedicated to understanding motivation for languages other than English (LOTEs), yet paradoxically it is those languages that currently have dwindling classes.

There is one LOTE though that shows signs of healthy growth in education systems worldwide—Mandarin Chinese. In their chapter about the learning of Mandarin in an Australian university, Hui Ling Xu and Robin Moloney describe a gradual increase in enrolment, driven ostensibly by second or third generation ethnic Chinese migrants wishing to learn their heritage language, and by young Australians of other ethnicities recognizing the utility of Mandarin for their future careers. However, their longitudinal research shows that learner motivations are much more complex than this—for example, parental influences and affective reactions to the language itself seem to play surprisingly important roles in motivating, or demotivating, learners. It is important to remember that there are many contexts where multilingualism is the natural state of affairs. South African townships are one such context. In her chapter charting the linguistic repertoires of university undergraduates in

the Western Cape, Susan Coetzee-Van Rooy raises important questions about the relevance of some established motivational concepts with origins in monolingual or explicitly bilingual contexts in the west, to societies where young people acquire bits of language in an ad-hoc way, as and when needed in their social lives.

The final two chapters in this part report on research with learner groups that have been relatively neglected by the field. This is certainly true for learners with special educational needs (SEN), who as Edit Kontra reports have often been deliberately dissuaded from language study because it is considered too difficult for them. Thankfully Kontra is able to cite SEN individuals who are strongly motivated to learn a language and to meet that very challenge. However, the general picture is rather mixed. Though there are undoubtedly unique factors at play in the L2 motivation of learners with different SEN characteristics (e.g. deafness, dyslexia, blindness, motor-impairment), Kontra also shows that core constructs such as the ideal and ought-to selves are highly relevant too, and she encourages mainstream motivation researchers to give this group more attention, so as to help raise their L2 achievement levels.

As is the case with much research within psychology, language learning motivation theory has been based on empirical findings mostly obtained from young adults—more often than not, from convenient samples of university students. In their chapter, Jelena Mihaljević Djigunović and Marianne Nikolov highlight some of the ways in which such findings may not apply to the motivation of young language learners and how a more focused approach to discussions of motivation and younger language learners is required. They conclude their discussion by offering a valuable framework for future research into the motivation of young language learners that, together with developmental changes, gives consideration to the nature of classroom activities, feedback from teachers, and the role of parents and peers.

Part IV: Shifting Horizons in L2 Motivation

In the final section of the handbook, chapters focus on aspects of L2 motivation that have not been extensively researched, but which constitute important directions for future work. Even though L2 motivation research has been conducted for some 60 years now, and constructs central to understanding learners' motivation have been validated in all manner of contexts, it is remarkable that at no stage in its history has the field shown signs of stagnation. Indeed, it would seem that the dynamic nature of the motivation construct is closely paralleled by seemingly unceasing theoretical and methodological innovation, and by inventive proposals for pedagogical interventions.

Because initial conceptualizations of L2 motivation were predicated on understandings of processes of L1 development, and on the assumption that the acquisition of another language would have implications for a person's cultural identification (Gardner, this volume), as a field of inquiry L2 motivation developed separately from advances in mainstream psychology. As a consequence, subsequent innovations have tended to align more closely with mainstream paradigms (see e.g. Dörnyei, this volume; Ryan, this volume). Continuing this trend of 'returning to the mainstream', the chapters in this final section present work that, while representing the cutting-edge of research in our field, draw on well-established psychological constructs. The opening chapter in this section is a good example. Highlighting how L2 motivation is an interdisciplinary paradigm that draws on the conceptual domains of social and educational psychology as a means of explaining language learners' behaviours and orientations, Nigel Mantou Lou and Kimberly Noels discuss the conceptualization of implicit theories or "mindsets" that relate to beliefs about whether personal characteristics such as intelligence are mutable or immutable. Drawing on Dweck's (1996, 2006) proposals that the type of mindset that a person holds influences commitment to learning, Lou and Noels suggest that fixed and growth language mindsets are linked to separate meaning-making systems that underpin and condition language learners' motivation. Reviewing emerging research on the topic, they argue that a growth-oriented system includes positive beliefs about effort, self-confidence, mastery goals, controllable attributions, and self-improvement strategies, and that a fixed-oriented system encompasses performance goals, self-defensive strategies, negative beliefs about effort, and language anxiety.

While Mantou Lou and Noels focus on implicit *theories*, in his chapter Ali Al-Hoorie focuses on implicit *attitudes*. Providing a commentary on findings from mainstream psychology that point to the pervasive role of unconscious processes in human motivation, Al-Hoorie argues that similar processes are at play in language learning. Reviewing recent research, he shows how unconscious processes shape L2 attitudes and motivation. Drawing on these findings, as well as a wealth of mainstream work on the implicit dimensions of psychological constructs and dual-processing approaches, he highlights the need to expand the L2 research horizon in ways that include investigation of implicit processes, and which can shed light on the unconscious sides of language learners' motivation.

In a similar act of borrowing from mainstream psychology, in their chapter on flow and L2 motivation, Katalin Piniel and Ágnes Albert consider how Csíkszentmihályi's (1997) classic concept can be used to understand peak experiences in language learning. Making a convincing case for the need to

engage with the phenomenology of language learners' motivation, they also point to the importance of mainstream research that focuses on collective experiences of optimal functioning. In this regard, the authors emphasise the value of constructs such as "group" and "networked" flow (Gaggioli, Milani, Mazzoni, & Riva, 2011; Sawyer, 2015) in examining and explaining the types of high intensity engagement that can often arise when language learning takes place in virtual environments. It is motivation that emerges through interactions involving digital technologies, and which arises in networked environments, that forms the focus of the following chapter. Here Alastair Henry and Martin Lamb review work from the Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) paradigm that describes positive learning behaviours associated with technology use. Here too the authors borrow from mainstream motivation research. Drawing on recent work by Richard Ryan where he and his colleagues use the theory of Self Determination to account for motivation arising in networked environments (Rigby & Ryan, 2017), Henry and Lamb argue that the accounts of learner engagement found in the CALL literature can be understood in terms of the influences of the "psychological nourishments" of autonomy, competence and relatedness. Recognising the importance of interdisciplinary approaches in researching language learning psychology, they identify three additional ways in which motivation evolves through technology use: the development of L2 vision through engagement with digital media, influences stemming from positive appraisals of verisimilitude when digital artefacts and digitally-mediated interactive practices form a part of learning, and positive effects associated with the seeking of validation from online publics when L2 media is created in networked environments.

In the next chapter in this part, borrowing takes place on an even grander scale. In addressing the "why" and the "how" questions of motivation—why something is desired, and how goal-directed actions can be facilitated—Tammy Gregersen argues that positive psychology can offer compelling answers. With clarity and precision, she provides an overview of the principles of positive psychology, arguing that the five elements that underpin well-being in Seligman's (2011) PERMA model—Positive emotion, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment—function to provide a multi-angled lens through which researchers can investigate and understand language learners' motivation. She argues convincingly that while motives to initiate language learning may be found in a quest for *meaning* and in the potential for developing *relationships*, sustainment of long-term effort needed to learn a language can be understood through focused *engagement* where *accomplishment* and *positive emotions* are intricately connected.

While in all of the preceding chapters borrowing has been from mainstream psychology, in her chapter on motivation and the learning of more than one foreign language, Amy Thompson borrows from within SLA. Focusing on multilingualism that arises as a result of classroom instruction, and with a perspective that is psycholinguistic in scope, Thompson identifies Herdina and Jessner's (2002) Dynamic Model of Multilingualism, and its assertion that separate language systems constitute parts of a larger multi-componential psycholinguistic system, as having a crucial role to play in understanding L2 motivation in contexts of multiple language learning. Calling for work that explores motivational experiences in such contexts, Thompson makes clear that "re-thinking how motivation for multiple languages is embedded in the mind of a single language user is of utmost importance".

Horizons shift. "To move toward one horizon is simply to create another" (Covington, van Hoene, & Voge, 2017, p. 10). It is therefore fortuitous that the final chapter in this section is written by Ema Ushioda, a researcher who has consistently advocated the need for innovation in the research methodologies used to study L2 motivation. Ushioda explains how, in interaction with theoretical developments, certain investigative approaches have come to define the field. Highlighting trends and innovations, as well as design and methodological challenges, she maps out the directions in which L2 motivation research is currently moving. However, rather than making predictions about future trends, or outlining an agenda for continued methodological innovation, Ushioda extends the horizon by highlighting the importance of three issues with which future research needs to engage: the need for a sharpened empirical focus where study designs employ a "small lens" approach, the desirability of studies that move beyond self-report data and which make use of ethnographic approaches, and, finally, the need for research that is meaningful to the people who stand to benefit from the findings, and which is sensitive to the ways it might affect those directly involved in investigations. It is our hope too that in future years this ethical agenda no longer remains on the horizon, but becomes an essential part of undertakings in our field.

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Part I

Theoretical Approaches to L2 Motivation



2

The Socio-educational Model of Second Language Acquisition

Robert C. Gardner

When I was invited to write this chapter I intended to provide an overview of our research on motivation in second language acquisition and discuss some of the studies we conducted over the years but the more I worked on it the more I thought that it would be more informative to discuss it as a developing project. The initial idea was simple and straightforward; to identify characteristics of people that could account for differences in their interest and success in learning a second language. Over the years it has become much more complex and has taken on a more directed empirical and theoretical perspective for me with implications for research methodology, data analysis and interpretation, relation of statistical methods to psychological constructs, and the distinction between simple vs. complex variables.

It all began with my MSc thesis in psychology at McGill University in Montreal, Canada. It was 1956 when I began the program, and there was sensitivity at the time between the French and English in many parts of Canada. My thesis director, W. E. Lambert, was very active in studying French English relations (see for example, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960), and it was decided that I might search for individual difference variables related to interest and achievement or lack thereof in learning French among English speakers in Montreal.

We began our research by considering both ability and motivation as potential determinants of achievement in learning French in Canada. We

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identified ability in terms of the Modern Language Aptitude Test (Carroll & Sapon, 1960) which was popular at the time, and two indices of verbal intelligence. We identified motivation from a social psychological perspective based on Mowrer's (1950) theory of first language development, and Ervin's (1954) adaptation of it to bilingualism. Mowrer proposed that children imitate the verbal productions of their parents because in the past they have been associated with satisfactions provided by the parent. He referred to this as identification. Ervin (1954) discussed bilingual development and proposed that older language learners would not readily surrender their earlier identities but that any such identification would be partial nonetheless; the implication being that language plays an important role in one's self identity. This background was consistent with Lambert's research at the time. In his study of bilingual development, Lambert (1955) proposed that becoming bilingual involved passing through a series of barriers beginning with the easiest one, the vocabulary barrier, and progressing ultimately to the toughest one, the cultural barrier. This later stage results in acquiring native-like skill and proficiency and some partial identification with the language community. In his study, Lambert identified two students who had achieved that level, one for obvious integrative reasons and the other for strong instrumental ones. We proposed that truly learning another language would have implications for an individual's feelings of cultural identification to the extent that they had become dependent on their native language. As a consequence learning a second language in school would differ from most other school subjects that were more directly linked to their cultural community.

Our first publication on the topic (Gardner & Lambert, 1959) was based on my MSc. thesis. Participants were 75 grade 11 students enrolled in French classes. They had an average of 7 years formal training in French. The primary results consisted of a correlation matrix for 14 individual difference variables, and the resulting Centroid and Varimax factor matrices. Four factors were obtained, two of which related to teachers' ratings of French proficiency of their students. The first factor was defined as Linguistic Aptitude because high loadings were obtained from the teacher ratings, five language aptitude measures, and two measures of verbal intelligence. The second factor obtained high loadings from the teacher ratings and three affective measures (Orientation Index, Attitudes toward French Canadians, and Motivational Intensity) and was defined as a Motivation factor, "characterized by a willingness to be like valued members of the language community" (p. 271).

My Ph.D. dissertation (Gardner, 1960, see also <http://publish.uwo.ca/~gardner/>) was the next study. It involved 83 grade 10 students and 31 variables. Factor analysis of the results indicated that achievement in French

was associated with language aptitude, motivation toward learning French, and an integrative orientation. Interviews with a sample of the students' mothers indicated that student orientations were similar to the mother's and that those who were integratively oriented tended to have mothers who expressed positive attitudes toward French Canadians. Subsequent studies were conducted in 1961 with samples of high school students from three American states, Maine, Louisiana, and Connecticut. There were samples from English speaking backgrounds in all three states plus samples of students with French backgrounds from Maine and Louisiana. Testing was done in English and the focus was on learning French as a second language. The results were complex, varying from state to state and language background to language background, but there was evidence in all samples to demonstrate the importance of motivation in learning French. This research was done in 1961, but it was published later (Gardner & Lambert, 1972).

A more formal approach to our research began in 1972 when P.C. Smythe and I formed the Language Research Group at the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. Our initial studies were modelled after the 1959 publication and were directed at English speaking students in grades 7–11 studying French in the public school system in London. The prime purpose was to use a construct-oriented approach (Jackson, 1970) to develop a set of questionnaire items (the Attitude Motivation Test Battery—AMTB) based on a clear theoretical foundation and consisting of a broad coverage of each variable. The theoretical model (i.e., the Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition) was based on the previous research and initially involved 19 variables (see Gardner & Smythe, 1974).

The Attitude Motivation Test Battery

The bulk of our research on second language acquisition was based on versions of the AMTB. The initial one, consisting of 64 Likert and 20 multiple choice items plus two semantic differential scales, was developed in 1972 and is available on my web page at <http://publish.uwo.ca/~gardner/>. This version was used to investigate the acquisition of French as a second language in grades 7–11 in seven cities across Canada (Gardner, Smythe, Clément, & Glikzman, 1976). Later versions using the same general format but differing numbers of items were published. One by Clément, Smythe, and Gardner (1976) was in French for use with Canadian francophone high school students learning English as a second language. Another was published in English for a study by Glikzman, Gardner, and Smythe (1982) for use with students

in Grades 9, 10, and 11 learning French. Gardner, Tremblay, and Masgoret (1997) produced a version for university students learning French. This version used Likert items and semantic differential scales and controlled for item response style by using an equal number of positively and negatively keyed items. Finally, for research conducted early in the 2000s, an AMTB for English as a foreign language battery was produced. It consisted of 104 Likert items involving 12 scales, eight of which had an equal number of positively and negatively keyed items. The English version of the battery and a scoring key are available on my web page. It was subsequently translated and adapted for use in six countries, Japan, Brazil, Croatia, Poland, Romania, and Spain.

The versions of the AMTB developed over the years were directed at assessing individual differences in four classes of complex variables that been shown to have motivational implications in second language acquisition as expected on the basis of our socio-educational model (see Gardner, 1985, 2010). Table 2.1 presents the classes of variables and the individual scales involved in each class.¹ **Integrativeness** is assessed by three scales, Integrative Orientation, Attitudes toward the Second Language Community, and Interest in Foreign Languages. Together, they identify motivational features associated with the cultural implications of learning another language. Individuals with high scores on these scales evidence an interest, willingness, or openness to adopting features of another cultural group, as distinct from those with low scores.

The second class of the scales involves **Attitudes toward the Learning Situation**, on the assumption that reactions toward the learning situation could play a dominant role in supporting or not the motivation to learn the language. This measure involves evaluations of the teacher and the course respectively.

Table 2.1 Scales contributing to the affective constructs in the Socio-Educational Model

Class of complex variables	Scales
Integrativeness	Integrative Orientation (IO) Attitudes toward the Language Community (ALC) Interest in Foreign Languages (IFL)
Attitudes toward the Learning Situation	Teacher Evaluation Course Evaluation
Language Anxiety	Language Class Anxiety Language Use Anxiety
Motivation	Motivational Intensity (MI) Desire to Learn the Language (D) Attitudes toward Learning the Language (ALL)

The third class is **Language Anxiety** where we distinguished between Language Class anxiety focusing on affective reactions about using the language in the classroom and Language Use Anxiety for settings outside the classroom. An assumption in this respect was that such anxiety was not of a general nature (see for example, MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991) but rather was something that developed during the learning process.

The fourth class is **Motivation**. It is assessed with three scales, Motivational Intensity, Desire to Learn the Language, and Attitudes toward Learning the Language. These three scales assess different aspects of the actual learning process, the persistence and vigor involved in the activity of learning, the personal interest and enthusiasm associated with the goal of learning the language and the affect experienced in learning the language. Each involves different components of motivation to learn the language but from a distinct perspective. Any one by itself assesses only one aspect of motivation.

The Socio-educational Model of Second Language Acquisition

A number of different versions of our formal model have developed over the years. Gardner and Smythe (1974) presented a classification of scales with motivational properties; Gardner (1979) presented a flow chart of the model linking four different components, the social milieu, individual differences, acquisition contexts, and outcomes; and Gardner (2006) proposed a structural equation representation linking the scales listed in Table 2.1 to latent forms of the complex variables. A more recent version (Gardner, 2010) underlies research we conducted in a number of countries on the learning of English as a global language.

The formal model recognizes that the motivation to learn a second language is influenced by the three classes of variables, Integrativeness, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, and Language Anxiety. As currently depicted, it is a mediational model, where motivation acts as the mediator between these three influences and achievement in the language. Thus, instead of just investigating individuals' responses to the AMTB our research always includes a criterion variable that links the results to some external variable that reflects outcomes that themselves are indicative of achievement in the language, such as measures of proficiency, classroom behavior, participation in bicultural excursions, etc.... Without such anchors, responding to questionnaire items simply provides information on the respondent's beliefs. That is, although the

AMTB assesses the role played by social psychological variables, their effects are understood in terms of relevant external criteria. The following section presents some examples of the types of studies we conducted using various external criteria.

Representative Research on the Socio-educational Model

Language achievement. The predominant criterion in much of our research is some measure of achievement in the language, assessed either by objective tests, ratings of actual performance by independent observers, grades in the language course, etc.... In general, the results indicate associations between many of the scales from the AMTB and indices of achievement in different contexts. Many of these studies are referenced in Gardner and Lambert (1972), Gardner (1985, 2010) while a meta-analysis by Masgoret and Gardner (2003) presents summary statistics from a number of our studies.

Drop-out vs stay-in. In one study, students in grades 9, 10, and 11 were tested at the end of one academic year and again early the next year (see Gardner & Smythe, 1974). In addition to assessing the relation of the AMTB measures to achievement in the first year of the study it was possible to study those attributes assessed in the first year that distinguished between those students who were in the course the next year vs those who had dropped out of French study. For each of the three groups of students, the stay-ins vs the drop-outs obtained higher scores on the measures of each of integrativeness, motivation, and French achievement (assessed with the Canadian Test of French Achievement and ratings of pronunciation). The stay-ins also reported significantly higher levels of parental encouragement to study French. Measures of Attitudes toward the Learning Situation were not taken in this study.

Bicultural excursions. Clément, Gardner, and Smythe (1977) investigated the effects of bicultural excursion programs on affective variables by contrasting three groups of students, two in the experimental group who participated and reported high (N = 94) vs low (N = 87) levels of speaking French while there (based on a median split) and a control group who did not participate in the program (N = 198). All students were tested 2 weeks before and 4 weeks after the excursion. Analysis of variance on the pretest AMTB scores demonstrated significant variation among the three groups on most measures; in particular on the three measures of integrativeness and the three measures

of motivation with the scores lowest for the control group, higher for the Low contact group and even higher for the high contact group. Analysis of covariance on the post-test scores indicated that most of the variation was due to higher scores from the high contact group. In short, actual participation in the excursion was related to the initial integrative and motivation measures whereas the affective measures after the excursion were influenced more by those students who reported contact with community members while there.

Classroom behavior. Glikzman et al. (1982) investigated the relation of integrative motivation to classroom behaviour. Students in grades 9, 10, and 11 were administered a version of the AMTB in the first week of class and were observed in their French class at 2 week intervals for six sessions by two trained observers. Observations were made on each student on how many times they volunteered to answer a question, how often the teacher elicited an answer, the total number of correct and incorrect answers, and a judgement by each observer at the end of each class of the student's interest in the class. The students were classified as integratively motivated vs not integratively motivated based on a median split of their scores on the AMTB. The data were analyzed with a split plot analysis of variance, and it was demonstrated that integratively motivated students tended to volunteer more, were more correct in their answers, and more satisfied with their participation at the end of classes than those not so motivated.

Language retention. Gardner, Lalonde, Moorcroft, and Evers (1987) studied the relation of affective variables on language retention on measures of French achievement over the summer vacation. Although the affective measures were correlated with French proficiency at both the end of the term and the beginning of the next term, they did not correlate with changes in proficiency. That is, there was no direct effect of affective variables on language loss over the summer. Nonetheless, a structural equation model indicated that motivation was supported by affective variables and that it had direct effects on achievement before the summer vacation and reported use of the language during the summer. Both of these had direct effects on achievement after the summer vacation.

Experimental Studies. Some studies used laboratory paradigms. Gardner and MacIntyre (1991) used a paired associates learning task to study the effects of integrative and instrumental motivation on the rate of learning French/English vocabulary pairs. Integrative motivation was defined in terms of a median split on the AMTB while instrumental motivation was determined by the use of no incentive vs monetary incentive for successful performance after 6 trials. The results indicated that the rate of learning the pairs was related to both the integrative and instrumental conditions. The instru-

mentally motivated individuals spent significantly more time studying the pairs than individuals who were not instrumentally motivated until the last trial when the difference was no longer significant. Once it was clear that they were not going to achieve their goal, individuals in the instrumental condition stopped studying.

The Research Paradigm, Statistical and Methodological Issues

Our research has provided ample evidence that an integrative motive is associated with learning a second language. Although it began with an interest in identifying individual social psychological variables that would predict degrees of success in learning a second language, it became clear that it was more complex than that. There were groupings of variables that seemed to characterize different aspects of motivation and that even the construct itself was multivariate in nature. An assumption underlying our research was that it was primarily focused on learning the second language in the classroom by students who were comfortable with their home language(s) and that as a result it served as an index of their self-identities. As a consequence, we hypothesized that learning another language is different from learning other school subjects. The other language is representative of another culture while most school subjects are associated with their own culture. Although we initially believed we could predict potential success in the other language, we came to accept that learning another language was a lengthy process, and that many of our research participants had years of prior training in the language before we tested them. We couldn't unequivocally state that integrative motivation accounted for their degree of success, but rather that there was a continuous interplay between the characteristics of the integrative motive and the language learning process itself. With time and developing proficiency, those who are most successful with the language will demonstrate characteristics of the integrative motive.

When administering the AMTB the individual items are presented in a random order rather than grouped in scales. This approach focuses attention on the individual items on the assumption that students are more likely to express their feelings and experiences with each one. The items in the AMTB for English as a foreign language are answered on seven-point Likert scales, and when scoring the individual scales, use is made of item mean scoring so

that scale scores are on the same 1–7 point scale as the items. This permits one to compare the mean and standard deviation of each scale to get a general impression of each of the attributes in a particular sample. Aggregate scoring can also be extended to the class level. Given that each scale score is based on a 1–7 scale, mean aggregate scores of each class can be computed so that comparisons can be made between the classes again using a 1–7 scale. Finally, an aggregate can be made of the scales scores in the same manner to produce an Integrative Motive score defined as “Motivation plus Integrativeness plus Attitudes Toward the Learning Situation minus Language Anxiety”, yielding a score reflecting high levels of motivation, integrativeness, and attitudes toward the learning situation and low levels of anxiety.

Aggregate scores have the advantage of linking different aspects of a complex variable to provide a more comprehensive summary of a series of simple variables that are associated with potential criteria. When identifying groupings of scales it is important to have a solid foundation for determining how they should be aggregated. Also, when dealing with groupings it is important to have internally consistent scales. For example, the aggregate score for motivation is the item mean sum of the three scales, Motivational Intensity, Desire to Learn the Language, and Attitudes toward Learning the Language, and in our research, the Cronbach reliability of each of the scales is high.² As demonstrated by Nunnally (1978), however, the Cronbach reliability of their aggregate can be high or low depending on the correlations among the scales. Low correlations among the three scales will result in lower reliability of the aggregate but higher correlations of the aggregate with other variables, and this applies to the other forms of aggregation referred to above.

The preceding refers to aggregates of raw scores. An alternative is the aggregation of standard scores, which is commonly employed. The difficulty with this is that the mean and variance of each scale are 0 and 1 respectively, so that actual scale differences are no longer obvious, and are not reflective in each individual's aggregate score. Neufeld and Gardner (1990) describe alternative procedures using multivariate analyses; one such example is multiple regression. In this case aggregation is done on residualized variables where variation common to each other variable forming the aggregate is partialled out of each one. The result is that the residualized variables correlate differently with each other than is the case with the original variables, and the aggregate score for each individual reflects only that variation that is not common to the other original variables.

The Socio-educational Model Applied to English as a Global Language

Our research was initially concerned with investigating social psychological variables involved in learning a second language. That is, in each case there was a distinguishable other language community in the country, and it became an issue as to whether the model would apply to other contexts. In this regard, Gardner (2006, 2010) presented findings based on the AMTB that were obtained in the early 2000s in six countries (Croatia, Poland, Romania, Spain, Brazil, and Japan) to investigate the learning of English as a global language. There were two age-defined samples in each country, varying in sample size from 132 to 232. Table 2.2 compares summaries of Cronbach Internal Consistency reliability estimates for the 12 samples with those for our earlier research (see Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). As can be seen, the reliabilities are generally high and comparable in the two settings.

In our research we have used the term integrative motive to characterize the complex of variables from the AMTB that are related to achievement in another language. Gardner (2010) has proposed that this does not mean that an integrative motive causes the successful acquisition of another language. Rather he suggests that individuals who achieve high levels of proficiency and skill in another language, passing through what Lambert referred to as the cultural barrier, invariably display attributes akin to integrative motivation. He explicitly defines an integrative motive score as the aggregate of Integrativeness plus Attitudes toward the Learning Situation plus Motivation minus Language Anxiety, based on item mean scoring as discussed earlier. He presented correlations between this Integrative Motive score and grades in

Table 2.2 A summary of Cronbach reliability coefficients from Canadian samples presented by Masgoret and Gardner (2003) and from the six other countries presented by Gardner (2010)

Scale	Canadian samples	Other countries
Integrative Orientation (IO)	.79	.74
Attitudes to Language Community (ALC)	.85	.83
Interest in Foreign Languages (IFL)	.83	.79
Teacher Evaluation	.91	.90
Course Evaluation	.93	.89
Language Class Anxiety ^a		.87
Language Use Anxiety ^a		.87
Motivational Intensity (MI)	.80	.75
Desire to Learn The Language (D)	.84	.83
Attitudes toward Learning the Language (ALL)	.91	.90

^aThe two Anxiety scales were not included in the Masgoret and Gardner study

English for 10 of the samples from five of the countries (Grades were not available for the two samples from Japan). These coefficients were significant in each of the samples and varied from .21 to .50. The median correlations were .44 for the five young samples and .45 for the five older samples.

As indicated earlier, the socio-educational model is a mediational one, and the four aggregate variables develop over the years in which the language is being learned. That is the four aggregate variables interact with the language learning process. The model assumes that all four aggregate variables have links with achievement in the language, but that Motivation mediates the relationship of the affective variables to Achievement. Figure 2.1 displays a path diagram showing the fundamentals of the model using aggregate scores of the four groupings of motivational variables and their relation to achievement in English in the ten samples. It shows six paths linking the five variables. An advantage of path analysis is that it begins with the fundamental model but proceeds step by step to determine whether some paths do not support the model or whether additions can be made that add significantly to the model. Thus, it can be used to test aspects of the model in different contexts. As shown in Fig. 2.1, the model proposes that Motivation and Anxiety are directly related to Grades in English, the three affective variables are directly related to Motivation, and thus indirectly to Grades, and that Integrativeness and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation are directly related to each other. That is, all four variables are related to learning English but in different ways. Note that some paths, like the correlations between Anxiety and Integrativeness and Anxiety and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation and are not indicated in the fundamental model. This does not mean that they are not related to each other necessarily. It would probably

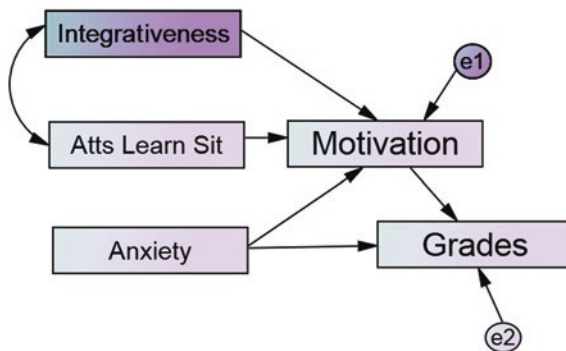


Fig. 2.1 Path analysis linking the four aggregate variables to achievement as hypothesized in the Socio-Educational Model of Second Language Acquisition

depend on the context. By comparing the patterns in the different samples it is possible to understand possible age and cultural effects on the model as a whole, as well as some of the unspecified paths.

In conducting a path analysis using SPSS-AMOS, the steps proceed as follows. AMOS calculates values for the paths as shown in Fig. 2.1, and assesses whether they add significantly to the model. Following that, modification indices assess possible links not shown in the model, and if they are significant they are added to the model. Table 2.3 presents the path coefficients in the final models for the younger and older samples in each country. Close inspection of Table 2.3 will show that in three of the older samples (Croatia, Poland, and Spain) the 6 hypothesized paths are significant and that no more are required. Romania requires 7 paths, 5 of the 6 hypothesized ones plus 3 others, but the link between motivation and grades is not significant. That is, in Romania, although the affective variables are related as predicted, their link with English Grades is mediated by language anxiety, not motivation. The fifth country, Brazil, requires only 5 paths all of which are as predicted. Only the path from anxiety to grades was not significant. In essence, the model applies very closely to the older samples.

For the younger students, the results are much more complex. Three of the samples involve 8 paths (Croatia, Poland, and Romania) indicating somewhat greater complexity among the affective variables. Romania added correlations between integrativeness and anxiety, and attitudes toward the learning situation and English grades, while Poland and Croatia added integrativeness and anxiety and attitudes toward the learning situation and English grades. Moreover, the path linking motivation to grades in Croatia was not significant. That is, language anxiety acted as the mediator in this sample, while both motivation and anxiety did in the other two. Spain required 7 paths, the 6 proposed in the model, plus a correlation between integrativeness and anxiety. Brazil had only 5 paths because the link between anxiety and motivation was excluded as it was not significant. Nonetheless, for the younger samples it can be seen that the socio-educational model reflects a learning process that is a bit more complex than for the older samples but the mediational link between aspects of motivation and English achievement is clear.

Table 2.3 also shows various measures of goodness of fit for each of the models. In general, most of the indices indicate reasonable fits. Five of the χ^2/df statistics are less than 2 which is considered a good fit, GFI is analogous to R^2 , the proportion of variance accounted, and as can be seen, all such values are .92 or above. AGFI is an adjusted GFI to account for the number of paths in the model, and these values range from .76 to .96. The statistics, IFI and CFI, are comparative fit indices and values greater than .95 are considered

Table 2.3 Summary of path analysis coefficients and goodness of fit^a

Country	Younger students				Older students		
	Path	β	p	Goodness of fit	β	p	Goodness of fit
Croatia	Int-mot	.35	.001	$\chi^2/df = 1.54$	.55	.001	$\chi^2/df = 1.17$
	Als-mot	.55	.001	GFI = .92	.38	.001	GFI = .99
	Mot-gr	.07	.321	AGFI = .95	.25	.001	AGFI = .95
	Anx-mot	-.12	.008	IFI = .99	-.20	.001	IFI = .99
	Anx-gr	-.62	.001	CFI = .99	-.31	.001	CFI = 1.00
	Int-als	.58	.001		.39	.001	
	Int-anx	-.41	.001				
	Als-anx	-.43	.001				
Poland	Int-mot	.47	.001	$\chi^2/df = 1.23$	.59	.001	$\chi^2/df = 2.50$
	Als-mot	.49	.001	GFI = .99	.31	.001	GFI = .98
	Mot-Gr	.40	.001	AGFI = .96	.25	.001	AGFI = .91
	Anx-mot	-.11	.006	IFI = .99	-.24	.001	IFI = .98
	Anx-gr	-.15	.036	CFI = 1.00	-.41	.001	CFI = .97
	Int-als	.44	.001		.32	.001	
	Int-anx	-.24	.001				
	Als-anx	-.32	.002				
Romania	Int-mot	.55	.001	$\chi^2/df = 3.05$	.48	.001	$\chi^2/df = 3.18$
	Als-mot	.33	.001	GFI = .98	.45	.001	GFI = .98
	Mot-gr	.36	.001	AGFI = .88	.12	.100	AGFI = .88
	Anx-mot	-.22	.001	IFI = .99	-.14	.003	IFI = .98
	Anx-gr	-.22	.009	CFI = .99	-.41	.001	CFI = .98
	Int-als	.52	.001		.39	.001	
	Als-gr	-.35	.001				
	Int-anx	-.31	.001		-.32	.001	
Spain	Int-mot	.61	.001	$\chi^2/df = 2.80$	.50	.001	$\chi^2/df = 6.01$
	Als-mot	.35	.001	GFI = .98	.40	.001	GFI = .94
	Mot-gr	.28	.001	AGFI = .90	.39	.001	AGFI = .76
	Anx-mot	-.14	.001	IFI = .99	-.18	.001	IFI = .92
	Anx-gr	-.27	.001	CFI = .98	-.24	.002	CFI = .92
	Int-als	.44	.001		.51	.001	
	Int-anx	-.32	.001				
Brazil	Int-mot	.40	.001	$\chi^2/df = 1.95$	.43	.001	$\chi^2/df = 1.83$
	Als-mot	.55	.001	GFI = .98	.52	.001	GFI = .97
	Mot-gr	.31	.001	AGFI = .93	.50	.001	AGFI = .92
	Anx-mot			IFI = .98	-.18	.001	IFI = .98
	Anx-gr	-.34	.001	CFI = .98			CFI = .98
	Int-als	.52	.001		.54	.001	

^aThere are nine instances in the table where a β value is shown as missing because it did not contribute significantly to the path analysis for that sample

indicative of a good fit of the model. There are 18 greater than .95. Overall, the fit of the models is acceptable and demonstrates that there are sample differences associated with age and the length of language study as well as potential cultural differences. The small differences between the samples do

not question the validity of the model but instead reflect differences in contexts and curricular objectives that could be identified with further research using this procedure.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter describes the research conducted over the years dealing with a social psychological perspective on the second language learning process. Initially, the research was concerned with identifying variables that would predict achievement among students who were registered in standard French as a second language courses. Over the years, however, the socio-educational model was developed to understand how various indicators of motivation could reflect differences associated with language proficiency among students. Thus, much of our research was concerned with students in the regular school system, often in environments where there was varied interest in learning the second language, and it was not necessarily their priority to become bilingual or multilingual. In short, we were dealing with individuals who were at various stages of the learning process and were not accomplished bilinguals who passed what Lambert (1955) referred to as the cultural barrier. It is possible, however, that they could well experience affective changes that could be said to be influencing perceptions of their self-identity.

We reasoned that individuals learn their first language simply as described by Mowrer (1950) and in the process they grow older, develop competency in the language, have their needs satisfied, traverse their environment, and interact with significant others. For many, their language as well as their culture helps to identify their very being. Learning a second language in the regular classroom over a number of years is time consuming. The process can result in a number of experiences and can have various effects on individuals. Students raised in a unilingual home may find it interesting, exciting, and rewarding to learn a new language or they may not, and the consequences would be expected to be reflected in the attributes assessed by the AMTB.

The relationships we have obtained in many of our studies consistently support links between second language achievement and the four aggregate variables, integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation, language anxiety, and motivation. And, comparable relationships have also been identified between the same affective variables and other measures associated with language learning. As mentioned in the section above referring to representative research, these included whether students stay in or drop out of the program at some point, participate in bilingual excursions and attempt to use

the language when they do, respond positively in the language classroom, and language loss and reported use of the language during summer recess.

The socio-educational model was based on the assumption that the students were raised in unilingual homes, and thus the introduction of the language was a new experience, and it represented another cultural group. Of course, not all students come from unilingual homes. And it is certainly the case that we did not distinguish between children on the basis of language background in our investigations, though we did investigate contexts that differed in terms of the language environment. One might well ask whether or not our results would differ that much if the students came from bilingual/multilingual homes, or environments where a number of languages are readily available, or are refugees, and if so whether some other variables should be added to the model. To some extent, our studies with English as a foreign language in a number of different countries were intended to deal with different language contexts, and the close association of the results to the socio-educational model suggests that the model is appropriate in its present form. Of course, these data were obtained in the early 2000s and with all that has occurred because of international travel, immigration, refugee movements, and the availability of the internet, further research might well detect other factors that could be added to the model which would contribute to a greater understanding of the language learning process. Or it may well be shown that the model is complete within itself.

Notes

1. Two of the earliest scales were the integrative and instrumental orientation scales, and though both of them are still included in the battery, only one, the integrative orientation scale is considered a component of the model.
2. In a meta-analysis, Masgoret and Gardner (2003) report mean internal consistency reliabilities of .80, .91, and .84 for Motivational Intensity, Attitudes toward Learning the Language, and Desire to Learn the Language.

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3

From Integrative Motivation to Directed Motivational Currents: The Evolution of the Understanding of L2 Motivation over Three Decades

Zoltán Dörnyei

As a fresh PhD student in the mid-1980s, I became fascinated with the theory of language learning motivation (henceforward L2 motivation) proposed by Canadian social psychologist Robert Gardner (e.g. Gardner, 1985, 2010, this volume). It confirmed my intuitive belief that the psychological dimension of second language acquisition (SLA) is a pronounced aspect of language learning success, and it helped me to consciously focus on strategies to improve the quality of my teaching by motivating learners. Gardner's motivation paradigm also impressed me with its rigorous scientific nature. He and his colleagues not only drew on firm theoretical principles in social psychology (most notably concerning the role of attitudes), but they also proposed research instruments (primarily questionnaires) with testable psychometric parameters. My main purpose for embarking on PhD studies was to add a professional research layer to my evolving language teacher identity (see Dörnyei, 2016, for a personal account), and the world of L2 motivation that I discovered in the 1980s helped me to realise this desire fully.

As it happened, I was part of an emerging new generation of scholars who had grown up absorbing Gardner's teaching, but who, significantly, also had a background that was markedly different to that of the Canadian pioneers. Gardner and his colleagues were psychologists interested in SLA, while the authors of the best-known reform publications of the time—such as Crookes and Schmidt (1991), Julkunen (1989), Oxford and Shearin (1994) Skehan

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(1989), Ushioda (1996), and Williams (1994)—were all SLA researchers interested in psychology not unlike myself. The difference in background and professional identity had far-reaching consequences: the new wave of scholars represented novel interests, curiosities and experiences, and their appearance on the scene of L2 motivation research opened up novel research avenues and resulted in new research approaches. In this chapter I summarise the ensuing advances centred around four principal developmental drives, the desire (a) to increase the educational relevance of L2 motivation research; (b) to synchronise L2 motivation research with advances in educational and motivational psychology; (c) to view L2 motivation from a holistic, dynamic perspective; and (d) to understand long-term motivation and sustained motivated behaviour. Of course, I will not be able to provide a systematic literature review of such a vast period, and therefore the following summary will inevitably rely on my own personal views and experiences—hopefully, however, the comprehensive nature of the collection of papers offered in this anthology will be able to offset this subjective bias.

Developmental Drive 1: The Desire to Increase the Educational Relevance of L2 Motivation Research

The desire to be more *educationally relevant* originated directly from the composition of the new wave of L2 motivation researchers at the turn of the 1990s: because most of us were applied linguistics interested in instructed SLA, we were keen to go beyond a broad social psychological focus that involved analysing the attitudinal/motivational disposition of whole language communities along the lines set by Gardner and his colleagues. Instead, we were mostly concerned with what went on in specific language classrooms and with specific learners. Therefore we introduced a more situated, education-centred interest in the research landscape of the day that was not characterised by such a pedagogically minded inquisitiveness; for example, as Gardner himself explained about his theory,

the model and the associated measurement operations (the AMTB) ... is not intended to provide explanations to individual teachers as to why or why not some of their students are more or less successful than others, or to give teachers advice on how to motivate their students... (Gardner, 2010, p. 26)

Setting the Agenda by Crookes and Schmidt (1991) and the Modern Language Journal Debate (1994)

It is fitting to start the exploration of the ‘educational turn’ in L2 motivation research with the flagship paper of the period, Graham Crookes and Dick Schmidt’s (1991) article on “Motivation: Reopening the research agenda”, in which the authors offered a curious explanation of what they thought was the main problem with Gardner’s social psychological approach: it was *too influential*, that is, “so dominant that alternative concepts have not been seriously considered” (p. 501). They captured the zeitgeist when they called for new, education-friendly approaches that were “congruent with the concept of motivation that teachers are convinced is critical for SL [second language] success” (p. 502). In order to provide a framework within which learning-situation-specific motives could be studied, Crookes and Schmidt distinguished between various layers of motivation and motivated learning—micro, classroom, syllabus/curriculum and extracurricular levels—thereby highlighting several pathways along which subsequent research could meaningfully proceed.

This multi-layered approach was taken up by Dörnyei (1994a), who conceived L2 motivation within a framework of three relatively distinct levels related to the language, the learner and the learning situation. The first two levels were largely based on the previous work of Gardner and his Canadian associates (most notably Richard Clément), while the third and most elaborate dimension encompassed motivational sources associated with various aspects of the L2 classroom, such as the L2 course content, the teacher’s role and the composition and character of the learner group. The paper elicited responses both from Robert Gardner and Rebecca Oxford, adding up to what has often been referred to as ‘The Modern Language Journal debate’ (Dörnyei, 1994a, 1994b; Gardner & Tremblay, 1994a, 1994b; Oxford, 1994; Oxford & Shearin, 1994). Because the six articles addressed a wide variety of theoretical and measurement issues associated with the new movement, they came to be seen as a representative summary of L2 motivation research at that important juncture.

Focus on Motivational Strategies and Demotivation

Based on the theoretical considerations presented in the first part of the Dörnyei (1994a) article, the second part of the same paper listed 30 motivational techniques that were intended to help language teachers to motivate

their students in the L2 classroom, thereby joining a number of other publications that addressed the question of how to generate student motivation (e.g. Alison, 1993; Chambers, 1999; Williams & Burden, 1997). On the back of this momentum, I compiled a book-length summary of motivational strategies (Dörnyei, 2001a), comprising four main classes: (a) creating the basic motivational conditions, (b) generating initial motivation, (c) maintaining and protecting motivation, and (d) rounding off the learning experience by encouraging positive self-evaluation. This collection filled an existing gap in the literature and was well received by classroom practitioners. It also initiated a growing body of research investigating how a motivational teaching practice can have a significant positive impact on student motivation (for a comprehensive recent overview, see Lamb, 2017, and this volume).

Thus, the development and validation of motivational strategies was at the heart of the desire to increase the educational relevance of L2 motivation research in the 1990s, and the ongoing relevance of this direction has been evidenced by Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan's (2015) review of L2 motivation articles between 2005 and 2014: we found that papers geared at increasing the learners' motivation in some practically minded manner made up roughly one-third of the total examined corpus. Within this stream, a recent study by Henry, Korp, Sundqvist, and Thorsen (2018) has been particularly noteworthy as it offers a new organisational framework specifically developed for the teaching of Global English; the authors argue that in contexts such as Sweden, where the pervasive presence of English has made this language 'an important social literacy', students benefit most from activities that they experience as *authentic*, an important motivational theme that has also been explored in a book-length analysis by Pinner (2016). Another novel direction of designing motivational techniques has been opened up by the conceptualization of *L2 vision* (to be discussed later), because mental imagery is an important internal resource that can be intentionally harnessed (e.g. Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014).

Finally, the desire to increase the motivational quality of L2 instruction went hand in hand with attempts to reduce the manifold *demotivating* influences that may exist in an L2 classroom. The study of L2 demotivation goes back to an initial exploratory study in Hungary in 1998 (published as part of Dörnyei, 2001b) that mapped, ranked and clustered various demotivational antecedents, and due to the high level of language learning failure experienced worldwide, the pursuit of this subject continues to be an important strand in L2 motivation research (see e.g. Kim & Kim, 2013; Thorner & Kikuchi, this volume). Two interesting recent additions to the established demotivation paradigm have included the exploration of *re-motivation* (e.g. Falout, Murphey, Fukuda, & Trovela, 2013; Song & Kim, 2017) and the study of

how different *mindsets* (i.e. beliefs about whether a person's characteristics are changeable or fixed; see Lou & Noels, this volume) might help some learners to bounce back after a demotivating episode while others completely lose interest, thereby adding a dynamic element to the issue of demotivation.

Motivation and Group Dynamics

It has often been overlooked in L2 motivation studies that classroom motivation is shaped by the broad social context in general and by the learner group in particular. When a teacher faces a motivationally challenging classroom situation—such as, for example, general lethargy or disinterest—it may not be enough to cater for the individual learners' motivational needs as part of the trouble-shooting efforts, because the learner group as a whole can have such a powerful influence over the members that it can override their personal preferences and commitment. Therefore, motivation needs to be tackled also at the *group level*, which explains the relevance of group dynamics to classroom motivation. Consistent with this recognition, there have been a few publications in the past that have demonstrated that an awareness of the principles of group dynamics can make classroom events less threatening to teachers, can help them develop more efficient methods of classroom management, and can thus consciously facilitate the development of conducive group structures that constitute the basic motivational conditions (e.g. Chang, 2010; Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003; see also Fukada et al., this volume).

Dörnyei and Muir (2019) argue that the two areas of group dynamics that concern the learners' (i.e. group members') motivational state most are *group cohesiveness* and *group norms*: the former refers to the strength of the relationships linking group members to one another and to the group itself, the latter to the implicit and explicit rules of conduct in the classroom that regulate the life of the learner group and that make joint learning possible. While there is ample evidence for the positive role of these factors in organisational and sports psychology, their normative influence still needs further empirical verification in the field of SLA. An important recent study by Sasaki, Kozaki, and Ross (2017) has gone some way towards providing relevant evidence in this respect and it has also introduced novel research methodology to study this matter: using a mixed methods approach that included multi-level modelling, these scholars found that the class norms/ethos that was shared by class members had considerable explanatory power regarding the students' individual L2 proficiency growth, with the students' perception of their classmates' career aspirations explaining particularly substantial variation.

Interim Summary: Ushioda's Call for a 'Small Lens' Approach

As a result of the 'educational shift' of the 1990s, L2 motivation research has accumulated a great deal of knowledge of the motivational dimension of language learning environments, but it is fair to conclude that it has fallen somewhat short of the mark in one crucial aspect: there has been disproportionately little research linking motivation to the actual cognitive subprocesses involved in the mastery of an L2 such as attaining specific L2 skills (e.g. listening comprehension) or acquiring concrete aspects of the L2 (e.g. lexis). This problem has been highlighted by Ema Ushioda (2016) in a recent position paper about the state of the art of L2 motivation research:

this tendency to adopt a fairly broad perspective on L2 learning has meant that our research has had relatively little to say about how motivation interacts with the specific cognitive, metacognitive and psycholinguistic processes of language learning, or with the acquisition of particular features of the target language. (p. 574)

As a result, while specialists now have a good understanding of the nature of a motivational teaching practice in general, they are not in a strong position to give detailed educational guidelines on how to make the teaching of concrete subject matter areas more motivating. Thus, we cannot consider the educational objective of L2 motivation research as yet accomplished, and we need to heed Ushioda's call for "researching language learning motivation 'through a small lens' to counteract our tendency in the L2 motivation field to concern ourselves with language learning and teaching at a rather general level only" (pp. 573–574).

Developmental Drive 2: The Desire to Synchronise L2 Motivation Research with Advances in Educational and Motivational Psychology

Applied linguistics and SLA have traditionally relied on importing relevant research findings and theoretical paradigms from a number of 'feeder disciplines' in the social sciences, most notably from linguistics, education and psychology. This has been particularly true of L2 motivation research, which, as we saw, was founded by social psychologists drawing on attitude

measurement theory, and when the reformers of the 1990s set out to expand the scope of the social psychological paradigm of L2 motivation, they, too, adopted several psychological constructs in order to align L2 motivation research with cognitive theories that had come to dominate mainstream psychology.

The Impact of Cognitive Theories

The so-called ‘cognitive revolution’ in psychology brought about a boom in motivation research in the 1970s, as scholars started to decode the main *cognitive facets* of human behaviour and consequently identified a plethora of factors with potential relevance to how and why humans act as they do. The richness of the emerging concepts in cognitive psychology meant that the ultimate challenge for motivational psychologists was the creation of greater conceptual clarity by mapping the vast array of motivational factors onto a smaller number of theoretical constructs:

- *expectancy-value theories* assumed that the 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;
- *attribution theory* places the emphasis on how a learner processes past achievement experiences (successes and particularly failures);
- *self-efficacy theory* refers to people’s judgement of their capabilities to carry out certain specific tasks;
- *self-worth theory* claims that the highest human priority is the need for self-acceptance and to maintain a positive face;
- *goal theories* propose that human action is triggered by a sense of purpose, and for action to take place, goals have to be set and pursued by choice; accordingly, their key concern involved various goal properties;
- *self-determination theory* and the accompanying *intrinsic* versus *extrinsic* dichotomy are based on the belief that the desire to be self-initiating and self-regulating is a prerequisite for any human behaviour to be intrinsically rewarding, and therefore the essence of motivated action is a sense of autonomy.

These theoretical developments did not go unnoticed amongst L2 motivation researchers, and as the chapters of this Handbook demonstrate, several scholars in various parts of the world set out to achieve increased convergence

with these advances (see e.g. Kormos & Wilby's chapter on task motivation and the chapter by Noels et al. on self-determination theory). This, in turn, engendered a flourish of empirical research and theorising on L2 motivation, and the transformational impact of the cognitive turn is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that even Robert Gardner—together with his student, Paul Tremblay—proposed a model of L2 motivation (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995) which integrated important cognitive concepts such as goal salience, valence (i.e. incentive value) and self-efficacy into Gardner's original model as mediating variables between language attitudes and motivational behaviour, and which also subsumed attributions about past learning experiences.

Motivation and Neurobiology

Cognitive psychology was not the only source of influence on what Gardner and Tremblay (1994b) expressively called the 'motivational renaissance' of the 1990s. Following a radically different research agenda at UCLA, John Schumann (1997) developed a model for the affective foundation of L2 acquisition from a *neurobiological perspective*, which posits that motivation consists of various permutations and patterns of stimulus appraisal processes (see also Schumann et al., 2004). After an auspicious start, however, as Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) summarise, this promising direction stalled somewhat (though see Schumann, 2017, and Thorner & Kikuchi, this volume), partly because neurobiological investigations require special training and neuroimaging facilities that are rarely available within applied linguistics institutions, and partly because of the existence of a great deal of uncertainty in the field of cognitive neuroscience about how to examine the neurobiology of individual difference issues (see e.g. Braver et al., 2010; Hariri, 2009).

Motivation and the Sociocultural Context

Yet another perspective on L2 motivation was inspired by a growing awareness in psychology of social issues relevant to motivation constructs in the mid-1990s. Human action is always embedded in a number of physical and psychological settings of varying breadth and abstraction, and in an influential paper Weiner (1994) referred to the complex of motives that are directly linked to the individual's social environment as *social motivation*; in a similar vein, Rueda and Dembo (1995, p. 267) argued that motivation could no longer be conceived as a characteristic of an individual, but rather of the

“individual-in-action within specific contexts” (for a more recent analysis of contextual variation, see e.g. Wosnitza & Beltman, 2012). Within L2 motivation research, this approach was championed by Ema Ushioda, who proposed a ‘person-in-context relational view of motivation’ (Ushioda, 2009), which was centred on the interaction of the learner as a “self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro-contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of” (p. 220).

Because of the situated nature of the educational shift (discussed earlier), the field of L2 motivation was open to a call for incorporating the properties of the learning environment, and Ushioda’s views not only resonated with a growing number of scholars but were also compatible with an emerging dynamic systems approach that blurred the distinction between the agent and its context (Ushioda, 2015; see also Dörnyei, 2009c); we shall return to this matter below when we examine the desire to view L2 motivation from a dynamic perspective. Yi, Clément, and MacIntyre (this volume) offer a detailed and insightful overview of the role of contexts within SLA motivation, organising their discussion along the various connections of ideologies and situational variations.

The L2 Motivational Self System

In the first decade of the new millennium, social psychology shaped the field of L2 motivation research once again through the adaptation of Markus and Nurius’s (1986) possible selves theory and Higgins’s (1987) self-discrepancy theory, leading to the formation of Dörnyei’s (2005, 2009b) *L2 Motivational Self System*. This approach is based on the premise that the way in which people imagine themselves in the future plays an important role in energising them in the present, and understanding L2 motivation in such self-related terms held two attractions for me. First, it involved the learner’s *whole identity*, which coincided with my belief that learning a foreign language is more than a mere educational activity targeting a specific subject matter as it involves adding a new L2 dimension to one’s self. Second, future self-images as conceptualised by Markus and Nurius were not merely abstract notions but involved *mental imagery*: someone with a developed ideal self could visualise him/herself in the future in vivid terms, which made the ideal future self-image similar to the concept of *vision* (which will be further discussed in a separate section).

The L2 Motivational Self System that has emerged from these considerations as well as from empirical studies conducted in Hungary with Kata Csizér is described in a separate chapter (Csizér, this volume), so let me highlight here only two issues related to it. First, the L2 Learning Experience component of the model has admittedly been rather undertheorised and is perhaps not sufficiently compatible with the other two self-based dimensions (see Dörnyei, 2019), an issue that has recently been addressed by Csizér and Kálmán (2019) in a Special Issue of *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching*. Second, although the model has been useful for explaining L2 motivation in many learning contexts, particularly in foreign language learning situations where the L2 is primarily learnt as a school subject (and where Gardner's notion of integrative motivation often did not make much sense; see e.g. Lamb, 2004), in some other types of learning environment, and especially when the target language is not English, the theory may not do full justice to all the relevant motivational forces (see e.g. Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017; Ushioda, 2017). Furthermore, as Lamb (2009) warns us, even in the case of the learning of Global English there are considerable contextual influences on the formation and operation of L2 selves, and the value of L2 self guides will be “much enhanced if we also explore their origins in, and impact on, the social settings and situated activity of language learning” (p. 245).

Consistent with the above claim, in examining the motivational characteristics of *heritage language learning* in Cape Breton, Canada, MacIntyre, Baker, and Sparling (2017) observed a strong community-level motive—which they labelled as the ‘rooted L2 self’—that differs both from integrativeness and the ideal L2 self in that it represents a collective mindset that is rooted in the shared geography, history and cultural practices of the community. A further extension of the L2 Motivation Self System was offered by Henry (2017) when he introduced the concept of the ‘ideal multilingual self’ involving a person's aspirations to become multilingual (see also Ushioda, 2017; as well as Busse's, 2017, notion of the ‘plurilingual future self’); he argued that this is a potent factor that can generate motivational energy *in addition* to that created by the desire to speak the specific languages the learner is simultaneously engaging with. This extension may be particularly important in the light of Henry and Cliffordson's (2017) recent observation that in highly globalised settings there is *insufficient* difference between the learner's actual and ideal English-speaking selves, and given this limited discrepancy, the English-specific future self-guide “lacks the power to align motivated behaviour in a manner consistently demonstrated in other contexts”. Finally, an intriguing new extension of the ought-to self has been Thompson's notion of an ‘anti-ought-to self’ (Thompson, 2017; Thompson & Vásquez, 2015), which concerns a counterreactionary

desire to go against the grain of existing social pressures (e.g. by learning a language that is not encouraged by the social milieu).

The Temporal Dimension of Motivation

The adoption of a more situated approach in L2 motivation research in the 1990s soon drew attention to the significance of the *temporal dimension* of motivation. When motivation was examined in relation to specific learner behaviours and classroom processes, one could not fail to notice the considerable fluctuation in learners' motivational dispositions exhibited on an almost day-to-day business (see e.g. Lamb's, 2007, nuanced analysis of changes in Indonesian adolescents' dispositions over a period of 20 months), which highlighted the need to adopt a *process-oriented approach* that could account for the 'ups and downs' of motivation to learn. The best relevant psychological model of the time was proposed by Heckhausen and Kuhl (e.g. Heckhausen, 1991; Heckhausen & Kuhl, 1985; Kuhl, 1992), who distinguished separate, sequentially ordered phases within a motivated behavioural process, introducing a "temporal perspective that begins with the awakening of a person's wishes prior to goal setting and continues through the evaluative thoughts entertained after goal striving has ended" (Gollwitzer, 1990, p. 55).

Inspired by these German psychologists' approach, István Ottó and I devised a complex process model of L2 motivation (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998; see also Dörnyei, 2000), which described how initial wishes and desires are first transformed into goals and then into operationalised intentions, and how these intentions are enacted, leading (hopefully) to the accomplishment of the goal and concluded by the final evaluation of the process. As we shall see below, the process-oriented understanding turned out to be only a transitional phase, leading to a complex dynamic systems perspective, but its significance was more than merely paving the way for subsequent developments; it highlighted the fact that viewing motivation as a stable trait representing a relatively fixed part of an individual's personality does not do the concept justice.

Interim Summary: The Search for Relevant Theoretical Paradigms Continues

The paradigm-seeking efforts of the 'motivational renaissance' of the 1990s left one enduring lesson: it became clear that there was no single perfect motivation theory underlying student learning in classroom settings. This led to the conclusion at the turn of the century that only comprehensive and

multi-faceted constructs can account for the intricate motivational life of a language classroom: “To enable us to describe student motivation with a precision that can be used as a basis for practical measures, we need a detailed and most likely eclectic model that represents multiple perspectives” (Dörnyei, 2001b, p. 12). Yet, in a seeming contradiction, the emerging new motivation paradigm, the L2 Motivational Self System, was intended to offer a single, parsimonious construct that synthesised several previous lines of research. However, as Boo et al. (2015) demonstrate, while the new construct was generally welcomed by the field, its positive perception was to a large extent due to the fact that it offered a broad platform for innovation that was capable of accommodating novel theoretical perspectives and which served as a springboard for new approaches.

A good example of how the self-based model could be expanded was Kormos, Kiddle, and Csizér’s (2011) study of L2 learners in Chile, which added goals and social contextual factors to Dörnyei’s self-guides, and also highlighted the reciprocal relations between the constituents of the construct, thereby pointing forward to a dynamic conception (to be discussed in the next section). In a further extension of the model, Kormos and Csizér (2014) incorporated self-regulatory strategies in the overall paradigm so that they could focus on L2 learners’ autonomous learning behaviours, and Papi (2010) integrated L2 anxiety in the self-construct. The forward-pointing character of the L2 Motivational Self System was also manifested in my own research, because the concepts of *vision*, DMCs and *student engagement* (to be described later) both grew out of this theory and can be considered in many ways extensions of it. Thus, the search for relevant theoretical perspectives never stopped and the last two decades have brought about almost unceasing theoretical development, characterised by emerging novel motivation paradigms and innovative approaches. These will be reviewed in the second half of this chapter, with a special emphasis on two central themes: (a) the holistic and dynamic nature of motivation; and (b) long-term motivation and sustained motivated behaviour.

Developmental Drive 3: The Desire to View L2 Motivation from a Holistic and Dynamic Perspective

The previous section described how the situated perspective adopted in the 1990s reframed motivation as an ever-changing, cumulative arousal in a person, leading to a conceptualisation of L2 motivation within a process-oriented

paradigm. It soon became clear, however, that process models that were based on cause-effect relationships failed to offer a realistic account of the motivational phenomena observed in real-life situations; the linear progression implied by a flow-chart diagram simply could not do justice to the complex and often circular interrelationships involving seemingly randomly iterative processes that many learners described. Therefore, as Dörnyei (2009c) stated, it was only a matter of time before researchers started to look for a more radical conceptualisation. This perceived need for a fundamental reformulation led many scholars to start experimenting with the adoption of a complex dynamic systems perspective that had started to gain recognition both in the social sciences in general (e.g. Byrne & Callaghan, 2014) and in the field of SLA in particular (e.g. de Bot, Lowie, & Verspoor, 2007; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; Ortega & Han, 2017). The current discussion cannot offer a summary of the principles of this theory but will focus, instead, on some of the theoretical issues underlying the adoption of a dynamic approach in L2 motivation research (for overviews, see e.g. Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015; Hiver & Papi, this volume).

The Impact of Complex Dynamic Systems Theory on the Understanding of Individual Differences

In a book examining SLA from a psychological vantage point (Dörnyei, 2009c), I argued that upon closer scrutiny, individual learner characteristics appear to be rather different from the meaning we tend to assign to them in everyday parlance or in traditional professional discourse: they are not stable—as we often treat them, for example when saying, “I have a low language aptitude” or “Hugo is highly motivated”—but show salient temporal and situational variation, and neither are they monolithic—which is suggested by the use of robust terms such as ‘motivation’ or ‘learning style’—but constitute complex constellations that interact with each other and the environment synchronically and diachronically. This being the case—that is, if the tapestry of human mental characteristics is an interwoven and fluid system—does it still make sense to keep speaking about any subsets of these learner characteristics (such as motivational or cognitive factors) as distinct individual difference entities?

The answer I have given was a qualified yes, because there is at least one point of view from which some subdivision of learner characteristics is justifiable: the *phenomenological* (i.e., experiential) perspective. Motivation and cognition can be differentiated from each other because they ‘feel’ different: if we

want or intend to do something, we have the distinct experience of ‘wanting’, and this experience is gradable in terms of its strength (e.g. I can hardly wait ... or I really-really-really want it!); in contrast, cognition/thoughts have a different feel, revealed in the phrase ‘cold intellect’, which capture a key feature of cognition, namely that it has no valence (i.e. it is not gradable in terms of intensity either in the positive or negative directions). In addition to these two basic types of mental functions (i.e. cognition and motivation), we can also identify a third salient phenomenological category, emotions or affect (e.g. fear, anger, distress or joy), that again is clearly distinguishable from the previous two, thereby adding up to a tripartite framework (see also MacIntyre, Ross, & Clément’s summary of emotions and Ryan’s overview of individual differences, both in this volume).

Each of the three mental dimensions—motivation, cognition and affect—can be viewed as dynamic subsystems themselves that have continuous and complex interaction with each other and which cannot exist in isolation from one another; as Buck (2005, p. 198) has famously put it, “In their fully articulated forms, emotions imply cognitions imply motives imply emotions, and so on”. On the basis of such a dynamic understanding, I suggested in 2009 (Dörnyei, 2009a) that one potentially fruitful approach to conceptualising motivation is through identifying viable *constellations* in which the three subsystems of the human mind cooperate in a constructive manner. Examples of such motivational amalgams would be hybrid notions such as ‘interest’, ‘flow’ and even ‘future self-guides’, each of which have both cognitive and emotional aspects besides the dominant motivational function (see Dörnyei, 2009c; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; as well as Piniel and Albert’s analysis of flow in this volume).

A Dynamic Framework of Motivational Traits, Motivational Adaptations and Motivational Narratives

A salient shortcoming of a dynamic understanding of L2 learner characteristics has been the absence of an adequate theory of individual differences and personality characteristics within the field of SLA that could meaningfully accommodate the dynamic interaction of the various learner attributes. In response to this challenge, Dörnyei and Ryan (2015; see also Dörnyei, 2017) turned to a new theory of personality in psychology, Dan McAdams’s “New Big Five” model (e.g. McAdams & Pals, 2006), which offers a broad theoretical framework that can be used to explain contextual and temporal variation accompanied by dynamic interactions at various levels. McAdams’s full model

includes five layers, of which the middle three are of particular interest for our current purpose. These constitute a three-tier framework of personality: (a) *dispositional traits*, referring to relatively stable and decontextualized broad dimensions of individual differences; (b) *characteristic adaptations*, referring to constructs that are highly contextualised in time, place and/or social role, and which include “motives, goals, plans, strivings, strategies, values, virtues, schemas, self-images, mental representations of significant others, developmental tasks, and many other aspects of human individuality” (p. 208); and (c) *integrative life narratives*, referring to “internalized and evolving life stories that reconstruct the past and imagine the future to provide a person’s life with identity (unity, purpose, meaning)” (p. 212).

The above descriptions shows that the common understanding of L2 motivation is most closely related to the second level of personality—and can therefore be labelled *motivational adaptations*—but the three-tier framework also allows us to conceptualise more stable motivational features—or *motivational traits*—as well as certain *motivational narratives*. Motivational narratives have not been subject to much research in the field yet, although self-motivational narratives and vision-specific scripts (see Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Ryan & Irie, 2014) would be good examples of this level of motivation. On the other hand, motivational traits have long been known in psychology (e.g. achievement-related traits such as need for achievement; see e.g. Donovan, Bateman, & Heggestad, 2013; Heggestad & Kanfer, 2000), and recently two trait-related issues have received increased attention in L2 motivation research: motivational dispositions associated with *language mindsets* (e.g. Lou & Noels, 2017, this volume; Mercer & Ryan, 2010; Ryan & Mercer, 2012; Waller & Papi, 2017) and motivational inclinations related to a *promotion or prevention-specific regulatory focus* (e.g. Han & McDonough, 2018; Papi, 2018; Papi & Teimouri, 2014). Adopting such a dynamic framework is a novel and admittedly uncharted perspective in L2 motivation, but it offers the potential advantage of not only being able to describe links amongst the different layers of motivation but also between motivation and different levels of cognitive and emotional factors.

The Dynamics of the L2 Self-system and Multilingualism

The tripartite framework of the main dimensions of the L2 Motivational Self System might suggest a relatively fixed and static construct that is not compatible with a dynamic systems perspective, and indeed, much discussion in this area “has tended to ‘freeze’ current and ideal selves, presenting them as photo-

graphic stills rather than moving pictures” (Henry, 2015, p. 126). This understanding of future self-guides as static targets that learners aim for has been, however, questioned by Henry (2015) and You and Chan (2015), who highlighted the fact that far from being unchanging, these structures are affected by at least three dynamic processes: (a) the up- and downward revisions of the ideal and ought-to self-dimensions; (b) changes triggered by their interaction with other self-concepts; and (c) other qualitative and quantitative changes in the imagery that underlies possible L2 selves (for more discussion, see Csizér, this volume). A recent study by Thorsen, Henry, and Cliffordson (*in press*) has further investigated the role of the size of self-discrepancy in L2 learners, and came to the conclusion that the inclusion of a variable in research paradigms measuring the *current L2 self* could potentially provide important insights into self-discrepancy trajectories, thereby facilitating the investigation of motivational dynamics. Also focusing on L2 self-discrepancies and self-congruences, Teimouri (2017) found that the *type* of one’s self-guides interacted with the person’s regulatory focus (prevention vs. promotion), resulting in markedly different emotional reactions (anxiety, joy and shame).

The dynamics inherent to the L2 Motivational Self System is further amplified when people study more than one language at a time, because their motivational set-up is often affected by the *multilingual experience* (see e.g. Henry, 2010, who first raised this issue, and Thompson, this volume). Indeed, the initial conceptualisation of future L2 self-guides left it open as to whether learners who study multiple languages have one generic ideal language self-image or separate self-images associated with the different target languages. In an examination of this question amongst Hong Kong students learning both English and Mandarin, Dörnyei and Chan (2013) found evidence of distinct language-specific self-images, and argued accordingly that these images may interfere with each other both in a positive way (e.g. transferable linguistic confidence from one language experience to another) or in a negative, demotivating manner (e.g. making unfavourable comparisons between the two languages). Such dynamic interferences are particularly likely when people learn languages other than English (LOTEs): LOTE learning almost always occurs in conjunction with the learning of Global English—after all, would anyone (other than an immigrant) realistically choose to learn, say, Italian as a foreign language while having never studied English?—and therefore, as Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) conclude, one of the unique characteristics of the motivation to learn LOTEs is that it is overshadowed by one’s dispositions towards Global English.

Reflecting on the dynamics of multilinguals’ language learning motivation, Henry (2017) argues that the motivational systems linked to a multilingual

learner's different languages can be understood as constituting a higher-level *multilingual motivational self system* that is part of an "ecology of interconnected and interpenetrating systems" (p. 548). This important issue obviously warrants further research in an era which is characterised both by increased globalisation and an unprecedented surge in human mobility, including large-scale immigration to both English-speaking and non-English-speaking countries. The significance of intercultural factors has been also underlined in a study of international students by Kormos, Csizér, and Iwaniec (2014), which demonstrated that cross-cultural contact experiences and socio-environmental factors interact dynamically with each other and with learner-internal variables as they collectively shape the learners' L2 experiences.

The Unconscious Dimension of Motivation

A final area of dynamics inherent to the understanding of L2 motivation that has only recently been identified concerns *unconscious attitudes* and *motives*. In a thought-provoking paper, Al-Hoorie (2015) argues that the traditional view of L2 motivation has been consciousness-biased in the sense that the role of *unconscious agency* driving human behaviour has been neglected. To provide empirical evidence of the significance of this dimension, he conducted two empirical investigations (Al-Hoorie, 2016a, 2016b) to compare the impact of explicit and implicit attitudes towards L2 speakers on the learners' overall motivation, and confirmed his initial hypothesis that implicit attitudes have substantial explanatory power (see Al-Hoorie, this volume). Based on these results as well as on the extensive research directed at this subject in mainstream motivational psychology (see e.g. Ryan, 2012), Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) predicted that this line of inquiry is likely to gain momentum over the next decade. Al-Hoorie (this volume) emphasises in this respect that a focus on unconscious motivation does not have to be at odds with the current frameworks in the field. For example, as he points out, in their pioneering paper on possible selves Markus and Nurius (1986) already discussed the possibility of the unconscious activation of both positive and negative self-guides, and Higgins' (1987) self-discrepancy theory also accommodates unconscious processes, as it does not assume that people are aware of either the availability or the accessibility of their self-discrepancies. Finally, we should also note that the issue of unconscious attitudes and motives has considerable research methodological implications, because most available motivation batteries focus only on conscious appraisal and thus measure only one aspect of the overall motivation complex (see Al-Hoorie, this volume).

Interim Summary: How Useful Is a Holistic, Dynamic Perspective?

A team of us (Peter MacIntyre, Alastair Henry and I) spent roughly 3 years pursuing a project whose sole aim was to test how feasible and sustainable it is for L2 motivation researchers to apply dynamic principles to their investigations. The Conclusion of the edited volume that was the outcome of this enterprise (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, & Henry, 2015) provides a summary of our somewhat mixed experiences. On the negative side, we mentioned that the novel perspective introduced a new type of conceptual and methodological language—including several (arguably imperfect) metaphors adopted from the natural sciences—that does not connect easily to more familiar concepts in this research area; consequently, even we found it rather difficult at times to adopt a dynamically oriented mindset. Thus, we accepted that a complex dynamic systems approach “is more difficult to apply than traditional methods of data collection and analysis” (p. 428; see also MacIntyre, MacKay, Ross, & Abel, 2017).

On the other hand, we also pointed out that whether we like it or not, the social world around us *is* dynamic. Once a researcher has realised this there is simply no turning back because he/she will be constantly aware of the shortcuts and the half-truths that tend to accompany more traditional research designs. The way we came to terms with these conflicting standpoints was summed up in the following statement: “We do not see the CDS [complex dynamic systems] perspective as a theory in a strict sense, but rather a way of thinking about the world and a way of addressing questions that differs from traditional approaches”, and we emphasised about the approach that “even in its incompleteness it has important implications for understanding language learning and development” (MacIntyre et al., 2015, p. 428).

Let me elaborate on the last point, namely on the relevance of a dynamic perspective for the understanding of *learning* and *development*, because for me this constituted the most convincing argument when I first came across dynamic systems theory. I have come to believe that traditional quantitative methods—that are associated with group-based data and linear cause-effect relationships—simply cannot provide an accurate analysis of personal development. This was famously demonstrated by Diane Larsen-Freeman (2006), who investigated the L2 development of a group of Chinese learners and showed that none of the individual developmental trajectories coincided with the group trajectory that was computed on the basis of the group means. A recent paper by Lowie, van Dijk, Chan, and Verspoor (2017) provides further

evidence in this respect: in a highly enlightening study, these scholars explored the English development of two *identical twins* in Taiwan “who can be expected to be highly similar in all respects, from their environment to their level of English proficiency, to their exposure to English, and to their individual differences” (p. 128). Yet, what the researchers found was contrary to these expectations: not only was the twins’ progress rather different, but their developmental patterns for spoken and written language “even showed opposite tendencies” (*ibid*).

In reflecting on their findings, Lowie et al. (2017) argue that the challenge of understanding the key to successful L2 learning is to account for the dynamic and often nonlinear cooperation between learner-internal influences on the developmental trajectory over time and the impacts of external states, events or factors, because “All these dynamically interrelated factors may cause any part of the learner’s language system to fluctuate from one moment to the next” (p. 133). Perceiving reality in such a complex manner means, however, that in many studies we will not be able to rely on established research templates and traditions; instead, we shall have to experiment with creative, innovative solutions to the puzzle of how to describe the bigger picture of the world around us without ignoring the unique patterns of variability that characterise this world’s texture.

Developmental Drive 4: The Desire to Understand Long-Term Motivation and Sustained Motivated Behaviour

A dynamic perception of L2 development discussed in the previous section foregrounds a long-term perspective on SLA that considers development over time, and I believe that one of the most fruitful directions for L2 motivation research in the future lies in this under-researched and under-theorised area. The ultimate question for motivation scholars is not only to understand what generates language learning motivation but also to explain what can *sustain* this motivation long enough for the relatively slow process of SLA to produce usable L2 proficiency. In the following, I will briefly introduce three notions—*vision*, *directed motivational currents* and *student engagement*—which are associated with long-term motivational trajectories that can cut through the constant dynamic pulls and pushes of the myriad intervening factors presented by everyday life.

Concordant Goals and Vision

Motivated human behaviour is purpose driven, and therefore the notion of *goal* has always been at the forefront of motivation research: most scholars would agree that goals give meaning and direction to a particular action, or to put in another way, for action to take place, goals have to be set and pursued by choice. It requires little justification that sustained behaviour requires particularly potent goals, and two effective ways of achieving this increased strength is by adding to the goal content a strong personal element, resulting in a *self-concordant goal*, or a sensory/imagery component, resulting in a *vision*:

- *Self-concordant goals*. According to Sheldon and his colleagues (e.g. Sheldon & Elliot, 1999), for goals to have a strong and lasting motivational capacity, they need to represent a person's enduring interests and passions, and his/her core values and beliefs. They call such deep-seated, identity-relevant goals self-concordant goals, a term which captures the way in which these goals "belong to the self in a deeper sense" (p. 494; for a more detailed discussion, see Dörnyei, Henry, & Muir, 2016, Chap. 3).
- *Vision*. Similar to self-concordant goals, a vision is also a highly personalized goal (see e.g. Markus & Ruvolo, 1989), but in this case the added component also includes a vivid mental image of the experience of successfully accomplishing the goal. Dörnyei and Kubanyiova (2014) have argued that people's vision of who they would like to become as L2 users seems to be one of the most reliable predictors of their long-term intended effort, because by keeping one's eyes focused on the bigger picture, a vision helps to underpin one's overall persistence (see also Csizér, this volume, for further discussion).

The conceptualization of L2 motivation in terms of vision has had considerable practical implications, and Dörnyei and Kubanyiova (2014) have designed a *visionary training programme* to intentionally harness the power of imagery and visualisation. The components of this programme correspond to the main conditions for the effectiveness of future self-guides: (a) *creating the vision* (helping learners to construct images of who they could become as L2 users and what knowing an L2 could add to their lives); (b) *strengthening the vision* (helping learners to see their desired language selves with more clarity and intensity); (c) *substantiating the vision* (helping learners to anchor their desired language selves in a sense of realistic expectations); (d) *transforming the vision into action* (helping learners to attach to their desired language selves a

set of concrete action plans); (e) *keeping the vision alive* (helping learners to activate their desired self-images regularly so that those do not get squeezed out by other life concerns); (f) *counterbalancing the vision* (reminding learners of the undesired consequences of not achieving their vision). Over the past decade, several intervention studies have been conducted worldwide to examine how visionary thinking can be fostered in L2 learners (e.g. Fukada, Fukuda, Falout, & Murphey, 2011; Mackay, 2014, 2019; Magid & Chan, 2012; Sampson, 2012), typically converging on the conclusion that such training can indeed increase various aspects of the participants' motivation.

Directed Motivational Currents (DMCs)

Anyone who has been absorbed by a project to the extent that they could not get it out of their mind and kept thinking of it day and night has most likely experienced a *directed motivational current* (DMC). The term refers to a powerful motivational drive which unfolds over time and impacts its participants in a significant way. Henry (this volume) offers a detailed description of the main features of this heightened level of motivational state, so here I would like to highlight only three points that concern how DMCs fit in the evolution of L2 motivation research: their link to (a) concordant goals and vision, (b) complex dynamic systems and (c) long-term motivation.

- *Link to concordant goals and vision.* A DMC is always goal-related, and for such a strong motivational surge to occur, the goal needs to be particularly potent in the way described in the previous section (i.e. having either a strong personal or a sensory component). A DMC then captures the power of a self-concordant goal or vision, and transfers it through its unique structure into sustained motivated behaviour.
- *Link to complex dynamic systems.* The initial idea of the notion of DMCs coincided with the dynamic turn in SLA and L2 motivation research, and one reason for its positive reception has been the fact that it offers an interesting phenomenon from a dynamic systems perspective: a DMC has the capacity to *align* diverse factors and to *channel* behaviour into a single, goal-specific course of action, thereby *overriding* the complexity and chaos of the surrounding world. Indeed, as Dörnyei, Muir, and Ibrahim (2014) argued in their pioneering paper on the subject, a DMC involves a powerful regulatory process whose course and end-state are, to a large extent, predictable and thus researchable.

- *Link to long-term motivation.* DMCs can be viewed as a key to understanding sustained action in the sense that the motivational basis of a DMC is made up of the same building blocks as the motivational basis of long-term behaviours in general. The primary difference between the two motivational setups is that within a fully-fledged DMC the various motivational factors and conditions reach an *optimal* level of cooperation, thereby causing a motivational surge. Accordingly, DMCs can be viewed as representing the *optimal form of engagement* with an extended project, and it may be no exaggeration to claim that almost any form of long-term, sustained motivation is in fact a partial realisation of a DMC.

Student Engagement

‘Engagement’ in the educational psychological sense refers to active participation and involvement in certain behaviours (cf. Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004), and ‘student engagement’ therefore concerns involvement in school-related activities and academic tasks. Engagement has recently been hailed as “the holy grail of learning” (Sinatra, Heddy, & Lombardi, 2015, p. 1), because the notion offers both theoretical and practical insights into how we can generate active student involvement in the learning process at a time when the pace of social life has been intensified by social media in an unprecedented manner and young people are continuously bombarded with information and communications through multiple channels, all intended to captivate their attention.

As Mercer and Dörnyei (2020) explain, the concept of student engagement offers a crucial advantage over the notion of motivation, namely its *direct link* to concrete classroom behaviours. Motivation does not manifest in task pursuit automatically, because although a motivated student is likely to do well at school, this cannot be taken for granted, because various distractions and obstacles can cancel out or put on hold even relatively strong motivational commitments. There are simply too many competing influences on a student’s mind in our current age, and for motivated learning behaviour to occur, we must ensure that the students’ positive disposition is *not* hijacked by the plethora of other pressing and ever salient distractions. As Mercer and Dörnyei conclude, “motivation is undoubtedly necessary for ‘preparing the deal’, but engagement is indispensable for *sealing the deal*” (p. 6). In this sense, engagement can be seen as closely related to DMCs, because both concepts involve an integrated form of motive and its behavioural outworking; in other words, DMCs and engagement do not merely concern learner potentials but rather *realised* learner potentials.

Interim Summary: Towards Understanding L2 Learning Perseverance

Motivation, by definition, concerns the choice and direction of a particular action, the effort expended on it and the persistence with it. While most scholars would agree with this conceptualisation, the curious fact is that one of the motivational dimensions—persistence—has received far less attention in past research than the other components; indeed, as Grant and Shin (2012) explain in *The Oxford Handbook of Human Motivation*, “Compared to research on the direction and intensity of effort, few theoretical models and empirical studies have focused on the maintenance or persistence of effort” (p. 514). This imbalance is in contrast with the perception of classroom practitioners, who know all too well that student motivation is not constant but displays continuous ebbs and flows as well as a steady ‘leak’, that is, a tendency to peter out with time. For these reasons, a better understanding of the nature of student perseverance would be crucial for promoting sustained learning behaviours that are required for the mastery of an L2. In some sense, therefore, the exploration of L2 learning perseverance is a debt that motivation researchers—both in mainstream psychology and in the field of applied linguistics—still owe to the teaching profession. This being the case, the notions of concordant goals, vision, DMCs and student engagement offer a potential launching pad for this exploration.

Conclusion

Having addressed a wide range of issues and having offered interim summaries throughout, a final conclusion has little to add beyond reiterating that the reason why motivation is such a complex and elusive notion and why the history of L2 motivation research has displayed so many twists and turns is the fact that motivation is an immensely important concept, comprising one of the grand themes of psychology. Motivation affects all of us, all the time, both as individuals and as group members, and therefore it is complicated. But it is, at the same time, enormously intriguing, and the topic of L2 motivation is one whose study can yield both theoretical and practical findings in equal measure. This Handbook represents the full richness of the material associated with the motivational dimension of SLA, and the description of three decades of L2 motivation research in this chapter was intended to offer a supportive framework so that the scope of the subject does not become too daunting.

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4

The L2 Motivational Self System

Kata Csizér

It has long been acknowledged that learning an L2 has the potential to shape learners' identities in powerful ways (Gardner, 1985, this volume). However, it was only after the turn of the millennium that L2 motivation was reconceptualized in a manner that took account of the impact of identity on effort put into language learning. In Dörnyei's (2005, this volume) L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS), Markus and Nurius' (1986) theory of possible selves and Higgins (1996) theory of self-discrepancy were combined in a model that offered an integrated account of language learning motivation. The aim of this chapter is to offer describe the evolution of research on the L2MSS, to provide an overview of areas of empirical enquiry related to the model and its central constructs, and to identify directions for further research.

The Emergence of the L2 Motivational Self System Model

The beginnings of the L2MSS can be traced to the turn of the millennium and the work carried out by Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) in a large-scale nationwide survey of L2 motivation in Hungary. This study explored Hungarian students' L2 motivation drawing on some of the central concepts

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developed by Robert Gardner and his colleagues in Canada, in particular the concept of integrativeness, the learner's desire to integrate into the second language community (Dörnyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006). The Hungarian context is of course dissimilar to the Canadian context in which most of Gardner's work was carried out. Canada is a multicultural country with two world-languages, English and French. Hungary, on the other hand, is an essentially monolingual country where an overwhelming majority of the population have Hungarian as a mother-tongue. Interestingly, the research results regarding the notion of integrativeness, were very similar in both contexts. In Canada integrativeness proved to be an important antecedent construct to motivation (Gardner, 1985, this volume). In Hungary too it emerged as one of the most important concepts explaining the degree of effort students intended to put in L2 learning (Dörnyei et al., 2006).

However, it was difficult to interpret the importance of this central construct in a context where there were no visible L2 speaking communities into which students could integrate. Hence, Dörnyei and Csizér (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002) set about explaining integrativeness in a broader sense, which included the learner's identification processes within the self-concept. On a parallel basis, research taking place at a similar time helped to push the agenda towards self- and identity-related conceptualizations of L2 motivation. For example, in a Japanese context, Yashima (2000) highlighted the relevance of an identification process with a global community of English speakers, while in an Indonesian context Lamb (2004) identified a bicultural identity among Indonesian teenagers, one part of which was linked to their home country context and another part that was linked to a globalizing world.

As a consequence, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) hypothesized that integrativeness might not only cover an actual intention to integrate into the L2 community, but also an identification with the values that knowledge of the L2 could bring. This argument was further supported by the results of structural equation modelling carried out by Csizér and Dörnyei (2005), in which the central position of integrativeness was strengthened by a positive impact from both instrumentality, that is, the pragmatic gains from knowing a foreign language, and from positive attitudes towards L2 speakers. These results led to the formulation of the L2MSS model, the aim of which was to provide a parsimonious explanation of the effort that people invest in L2 learning.

The Model

The L2MSS has its roots in theories of self and identity in mainstream psychology, and the ways in which aspects of the self-concept contribute in the directing of behavior. In developing the L2MSS model, Dörnyei (2005) drew on Markus and Nurius' (1986) theory of possible selves, and Higgins' (1987) theory of self-discrepancy. Exploring links between cognition, fantasy and motivation, Markus and Nurius identified the role played by possible selves in shaping behavior. In their theory, "possible selves represent an individual's ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming" (1986, p. 954). In his work on self-discrepancy, Higgins (1987; see also 1996) not only conceptualized a number of different selves, but also the consequences of discrepancies existing among these selves. These various selves include the ideal self (which represents a person's hopes, dreams and aspirations), the ought self (which captures perceived duties and obligations, and the type of person the individual feels that he/she ought to be), and the actual self (the way a person currently sees him/herself). In Higgins' theory, discrepancies existing among the constructs lead to various negative feelings, and it is the desire to reduce the discrepancy between one's actual and ideal or ought to self that brings about motivation.

In Dörnyei's (2005) conceptualization, the student's learning behavior (i.e., how much effort they are willing to invest into language learning, and how persistent they are), is largely affected by three distinct constructs: the *ideal L2 self*, the *ought-to L2 self*, and the *L2 learning experience*. While the ideal L2 self captures the extent to which the learner can imagine him- or herself as highly a proficient user of the L2, the ought-to L2 self encapsulates the external pressures that the individual is aware of throughout the learning process. Finally, the L2 learning experience involves situated motives that relate to the immediate learning environment, and includes attitudes towards classroom processes (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009a). Consequently, the model not only includes self-related constructs, but also a component related to the learning context, thus acknowledging the fact that the two self-guides do not impact the learning process in an isolated way.

Early Validation, and Empirical Investigation

Following the elaboration of the model, studies quickly began to appear. These involved empirical validation of the central constructs (the ideal L2 self, and the ought-to L2 self), and studies focusing on possible practical

implications. In terms of the validation of the model, scales designed to measure the ideal and ought-to L2 selves were first developed by Ryan (2008). In this initial pilot study, Cronbach alphas for the ideal L2 self (.80) and the ought-to L2 self (.68) were calculated. Following Ryan's initial study, various versions of these items have been published [a number of which are included in studies in the anthology put together by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009)]. Indeed, for each new context in which research has been carried out, new versions of the items have been developed, and thus the constructs have been continually revalidated (for details, see below). Dörnyei's (2010) questionnaire measuring the components of the L2MSS can be found on his homepage, and for a useful summary of different versions of the instrument see Papi, Bondarenko, Mansouri, Feng, and Jiang (2018).

In a recent analysis of the constructs used in L2 motivation research, and the directions that research has taken, Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan (2015) point to a surge in publications, and describe how research using the L2MSS model and drawing on Dörnyei's self-based conceptualization has dominated the field. The proliferation of studies drawing on the L2MSS has resulted in a critical mass sufficient for a meta-analysis to be carried out (Al-Hoorie, 2018). This analysis shows how the three components in the model are significantly related to the criterion variable of intended effort ($r_s = .61$ for the ideal L2 self, $.38$ for the ought-to L2 self, and $.41$ for the L2 learning experience). The finding of a varying contribution in explaining variance in intended effort attributable to the three individual components, can be understood by the possible impact of five mediating variables: age, gender, major, language context and geographical factors. In addition, research methodological differences might have contributed to differences in results: correlation studies, regression analysis and structural modelling are based on different statistical procedures, which in turn provide different insights. Further, while the meta-analysis also draws attention to contextual and language-related differences, thus paying testimony to the variety of settings in which research has been carried out, it is notable that there are markedly fewer studies on the interrelationships between the model's components (Al-Hoorie, 2018).

While quantitative studies proliferate in the field, a number of qualitative case studies have offered insights into the development of L2 selves. For example, Kim (2009) investigated how two Korean students internalized aspects of the ought-to L2 self, and the study draws attention to the level of internalization, and its differentiating potential in relation to ideal and ought-to L2 selves. Similarly, Lamb (2009) investigated how contextual influences contributed to the development of Indonesian adolescents' L2 selves, and argued for both the usefulness of these constructs in understanding

L2 motivation, as well as the need to combine these constructs with other socially-oriented theories. In a study from Japan, Irie and Brewster (2014) showed how sudden and unexpected events can impact and derail even the most vivid ideal L2 selves. Interview studies have also been used to map students' selves. For instance, Lyons (2014) described how an ideal L2 self and an 'idyllic' self might be differentiated, the latter indicating the clearly unrealistic components of ideal L2 selves. Finally, the employment of narrative approaches have contributed to our understanding of the L2MSS. For example, Miyahara (2014) used sequential interviews to explore the emotions which contributed to the experience of L2 learning and shaped students' selves over the period of a year.

Studies on the Various Components of the L2 Motivational Self System

The Ideal L2 Self

Dörnyei lists several necessary conditions that have to be met for ideal selves to have an impact on the learner's motivation: (i) that a future self-image is an elaborate, vivid and available, (ii) that there is perceived plausibility, (iii) that there is harmony between the ideal and ought-to selves, (iv) that there is necessary activation/priming, (v) that an ideal self is accompanied by necessary procedural strategies, and (vi) that an ideal self is offset by a feared self. Dörnyei (2009b) suggests that the impact of each construct in the model could in itself be decisive in motivating students, but if the three systems are in harmony there will be "an increased, cumulative effect" (pp. 218).

In a large number of the quantitative studies carried out using the L2MSS, the primary focus has been the influence of the ideal L2 self on a criterion measure, most frequently self-reported motivated learning behavior or intended effort (for a review see Al-Hoorie, 2018). It is important to note here however that although the central aspect of a learner's ideal L2 self is their own view of themselves as future language users (Al-Shehri, 2009), some studies have conducted specifically to demonstrate how students' ideal L2 selves can be enhanced through intervention programs aimed at developing students' visions about themselves as future language users (Csizér & Magid, 2014). For example, Magid (2014) designed scripted imagery, Chan (2014) used imagery training strategies, and Mackay (2014) created a motivational training program based on proposals by Hadfield and Dörnyei (2013). The results of

these three studies were very similar in showing how intervention programs can enhance students' ideal L2 selves and how such programs were generally perceived in a positive light. However, the complexity of the role of ideal L2 self was underlined in Sato and Lara's (2019) intervention study, in which the program's impact on the ought-to L2 self was also measured. They found that increase of L2 ideal self resulted in decrease of students' ought-to L2 self, while it was also possible that only ought-to self increased and ideal L2 self remained unchanged. These results seem to indicate that ideal L2 self does not develop in isolation and various contextual factors can modify the process. A final note on intervention studies should be that pedagogical intervention projects are difficult to design in ways that can deliver robust findings on potential benefits, and that the scientific rigor often demanded of experimental studies may not always be feasible in actual teaching contexts (Sato & Lara, 2019).

Not only intervention studies can contribute to research on students' ideal L2 self. Hessel (2015) examined secondary students' language-related visions and her results indicated that three types of characteristic behavior were especially conducive to developing visions of L2-speaking selves: how often the ideal L2 self was imagined, the discrepancy concerning the present and future self, and the desire of attaining the ideal L2 self. It is important to note that, as Oettingen and Reininger (2016) have argued in mainstream psychology, just fantasizing about a future outcome might not always contribute to generating motivation [cf. Lyons' (2014) idyllic self]; an ideal self needs to be rooted in the realities of daily life. To help people achieve their personal visions, they have proposed the therapeutic technique of 'mental contrasting', where one visualizes possible obstacles and plans means of overcoming them.

The Ought-to L2 Self

From the beginning, the relationship between the ought-to L2 self and criterion measures such as intended effort has proved to be less straightforward. Specifically, results that have emerged (e.g., Kormos & Csizér, 2008) indicate possible construct validity problems. While some studies have shown significant results between this type of self and criterion measures (e.g., Papi, 2010; Taguchi, Magid, & Papi, 2009), others have struggled to obtain a reliable measure for the construct (e.g., Kormos & Csizér, 2008; Lamb, 2012). Apart from item-level problems (e.g., Lamb, 2012), there are several other issues that might explain the difficulty of operationalizing the ought-to L2-self component of the L2MSS model. First, at the heart of the problem is the fact

that ought-to selves can differ depending on the source of expectations (e.g., Higgins, 1987; Higgins, Roney, Crowe, & Hymes, 1994). Therefore, even though this duality is to some degree reflected in the current setup of items belonging to the ought-to L2 Self, there may be value (or indeed necessity) in separating the ought-to L2 self into two latent dimensions: ought-to L2 self-*own* and ought-to L2 self-*others* (Papi et al., 2018). This might better reflect the differences regarding the locus of pressures and perceived obligations.

Another problem relates to the relationship between the ought-to and ideal L2 selves, and the level of internalization of the learner's instrumental motives. Originally, it was hypothesized that instrumental motives were linked to the ought-to self-component of the model. However, it became apparent very early on that the construct of instrumentality had both intrinsic and extrinsic aspects. Dörnyei (2005) differentiated between promotional instrumentality (belonging to the ideal L2 self), and preventative instrumentality (which was connected to the ought-to L2 self). This was not reflected in the conceived manner by which, in the L2MSS model, motivation is generated.

In recent work by Teimouri (2017) and Papi et al. (2018), the self-guides in the L2MSS were reconceptualized in a more rigorous application of Higgins' theory of self-discrepancy (1987), where a difference between 'own' and 'other' standpoints is made. In the study by Papi and colleagues, the own/other dimension was extended by additionally including Higgins' (1997) theory of regulatory focus. Papi and his associates developed a 2×2 model where the ideal L2 self and the ought-to L2 self were not only bifurcated into 'own' and 'other' standpoints, but were also formulated in relation to both promotion and prevention foci. As well as providing support for own/other standpoints, the study showed how learners with a promotion focus were motivated by a different type of end-state compared to those with a prevention focus. The results of confirmatory factor analyses supported the 2×2 reconceptualization, and indicate that this approach may be of importance in the further development and refinement of the L2MSS model.

The L2 Learning Experience

Although the conceptualization of L2 learning experience differs from the psychological theories outlined above, in acknowledging the impact of contextual factors on the learning process it forms an integral part of the L2MSS. Still, compared to ideal and ought-to L2 selves, the effect of language learning experience on L2 motivation has remained a somewhat neglected component. Furthermore, as detailed in You, Dörnyei, and Csizér (2016),

there was initial confusion about the operationalization and labelling of this component. Despite the fact the L2MSS component is called L2 learning experience, the corresponding scale was often labelled as 'Attitudes towards learning the L2'. While the two concepts overlap, they are not the same, and it therefore needs to be resolved as to whether the L2 learning experience simply means general positive attitudes to learning the L2, or whether it is a more complex construct related to the process of learning. In this regard, future research is certainly required.

Many researchers have argued for the prominent role of learning experiences in shaping L2 motivation. As Ushioda (1998) contends, one of the major sources of students' motivation derives from past experiences, including positive L2-related and L2-learning experiences. Ushioda (2009) places the L2 learning experience at the center of attention. In her 'person-in-context relational view', L2 motivation is an emergent property of language learning. Ushioda describes how, because motivation emerges through people's experiences, current experiences might help or hinder the development of future possible selves (ideal or ought-to). Similarly, de Bot, Lowie, and Verspoor (2007) argue that prior experiences need to be taken into account if motivation is to be researched in a situated manner. Indeed, MacIntyre and Serroul (2015) investigating motivation on a per-second scale found the role of experience decisive in the sense that immediate task-related experiences resulted in fluctuation of motivation to engage.

Taking a similar perspective on the situatedness of L2 learning, Lamb (2012) argued that there might be a reciprocal relationship between students' ideal L2 selves and their language learning experiences, and that students with strong ideal L2 selves may enjoy lessons more than other students. Olsen (2017) also argues for the important role played by experience. In New Zealand, he found that among university students the L2 learning experience was a more important antecedent construct for preventing learner attrition than either of the two other components of the L2MSS and, further, that students' L2 learning motivation was linked to enjoyment. In Al-Hoorie's (2018) meta-analysis, it emerged that L2 learning experience was strongly correlated with L2 motivation, even indicating that L2 learning experience items actually tapped directly into intended effort. This not only raises issues of discriminant validity as pointed out by Al-Hoorie but also calls into question the uniquely prominent role often ascribed to the L2 ideal self (cf. Kormos & Csizér, 2008) as well as the important contribution of L2 learning experience to motivation (cf., Csizér & Kálmán, 2019).

Motivation as Vision

One of the potentially most important implications of Dörnyei's reconceptualization of L2 motivation as generated by self-guides is the role played by imagination and vision (see also Henry, this volume). A central element in Markus and Nurius' (1986) theory of possible selves, Dörnyei (2009a) argues that it is the mental imagery contained in the ideal and ought-to L2 selves that makes them suited to be "the lynchpins of a broad theory of L2 motivation" (p. 17). The visionary element in L2 self-guides is seen by Dörnyei as central to understanding long-term motivation, and the sustained intensity of directed motivational currents (Dörnyei, Henry, & Muir, 2016). As Dörnyei explains, an abstract goal is often not enough to sustain motivation, and the power of a personal target will increase if it also has a strong sensory image attached to it (Dörnyei, 2014, 2018; Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014). Imagery representing ultimate success can trigger strong positive emotions, which in turn can contribute to sustaining energy by helping to iron out temporal ebbs in a person's motivation (Dörnyei, 2018).

In an early study, Al-Shehri (2009) investigated the relationship between the ideal L2 self, imagination and visual style, finding that learners with stronger visual learning style had a stronger ideal L2 self. Similarly strong correlations were found between imagination and ideal L2 self, as well as imagination and visual style. However, apart from some initial studies on training students to access their visions, very few empirical studies have investigated the motivational role of vision in students' long-term motivation.

In educational settings, learners can profit from developing rich, elaborate visions of themselves as L2 users. At the outset of his work on vision, Dörnyei (2009a, 2009b) outlined six steps that can help teachers to work with guided imagery in the language classroom. These are, respectively, (i) creating the vision, (ii) strengthening the vision, (iii) substantiating the vision, (iv) operationalizing the vision, (v) keeping the vision alive, and (vi) counterbalancing the positive vision with a feared vision (Dörnyei, 2009a, pp. 33–38). As described above, a number of studies have indicated that interventions designed to generate possible L2 selves have significant potential for developing motivation (e.g. Chan, 2014; Mackay, 2014; Magid, 2014).

Contextual Issues Shaping the Components of L2MSS

A number of studies have investigated the nature of constructs antecedent to the L2MSS, both from theoretical as well as empirical perspectives. Segalowitz, Gatbonton, and Trofimovich (2009) explored the social basis of the model, and argued that an important antecedent to the components of this theory is the learner's ethnolinguistic affiliation (i.e., their language identity), and that the L2MSS plays a mediating role between identity and actual language use. Somewhat similarly, in his case study research Lamb (2009) linked the development of ideal and ought-to English-speaking selves to students' social background. At the same time Noels (2009) has argued for the important role that self-determination and internalization play in shaping the components of the L2MSS.

Contextual variables were considered in Csizér and Galántai's study (2012), who looked at the impact of parents and teachers on the three components of the L2MSS. The results of a structural equation model showed that parental influence far outweighed the impact of teachers. For the L2 learning experience, parents and teachers had a similar impact, indicating that the L2 learning experience was not only linked to what happened in classrooms, but also to parental influences. For the L2 self-guides, while teachers had no significant impact on either of these, parents had a very strong effect on students' ought-to L2 selves, and a less strong effect on their ideal L2 selves. Lamb (2012) took geographical constructs into account and mapped how students from metropolitan, urban and rural settings showed different profiles in connection with how the components of L2MSS affected learning behavior; the ideal L2 self was found to have a prominent effect only in metropolitan and urban settings. Islam, Lamb, and Chambers (2013) took a wider perspective, and investigated how identification with the national context can impact on the formation of L2 selves. Their results indicate that it was easier for those students who saw English as beneficial for their country to construct an ideal English-speaking self. Socio-economic factors were considered in Kormos and Kiddle's (2013) Chilean investigation and they found that students' social class influenced their L2 ideal self with students of low socio-economic status scoring significantly lower than those with high status. These studies contribute to our understanding of how L2 selves are socially constructed, and how construction can be associated with a range of different factors.

Global English, Multilingualism and Languages Other Than English (LOTES)

Discussing contextual issues related to L2 motivation in general and the L2MSS in particular, it is impossible not to consider the role of English in a globalized world (Crystal, 2003), and how this affects the motivation to learn English, and motivation to learn languages other than English (LOTES). As we have seen, Lamb (2004) explained commitment to English among Indonesian high-school students in terms of the development of a bicultural identity, a part of which reflects a global, English-speaking identity. Similarly, in her investigation of English learning in Japan, Yashima (2009) framed commitment to learning English in terms of the development of an international posture, and, in lieu of apparent L2 speaking communities in the students' own context, to membership of an imagined international community. At the same time, in countries where English is firmly established in the day-to-day environment, and where it is difficult to detect a global English-speaking identity or sense of international posture, motivation may be more likely to stem from situated interactions with the language, as opposed to an ideal L2 identity (Thorsen, Henry, & Cliffordson, 2017).

Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) have suggested that in a globalized world, the learning of other languages often takes place “in the shadow of Global English” (p. 457) (see also Lanvers & Chambers, this volume). A number of early studies drawing on the L2MSS have investigated the impact of English on motivation to learn another language when learning takes place on a parallel basis. Both Csizér and Lukács (2010) and Henry (2010, 2011, 2014) investigated multiple L2 learning in contexts (Hungary and Sweden) where a majority of school students learn more than one foreign language (Eurobarometer, 2012; see also Thompson & Liu, 2018 for other contexts). Both negative and positive effects were found, as well as gender differences for ideal L3 selves (Henry & Cliffordson, 2013). The main finding of Csizér and Lukács (2010) was that the preferred order of choices of foreign languages affected the impact of the ideal L2 selves on students' motivated behavior. While ideal German-speaking selves had a systematically positive effect on English-speaking selves (irrespective of the order of learning), students' ideal English-speaking selves exerted a negative influence on the ideal German-speaking selves in cases where students were compelled to learn German first, and English second. Henry's (2010) research identified a negative effect of the ideal L2 self (English) on the ideal L3 self (in this case French, German or

Spanish), but found that this could be counterbalanced by recruiting positive self-knowledge into the working self-concept (Henry, 2011). Similarly, Henry (2015b) has shown how English can have a negative impact on the L3 self system, arguing that reflections on the relative future utility, the need to learn, and the learning enjoyment of the two respective languages are likely to have the effect of a gradual weakening motivation for the L3. For this reason, Henry (2014) has pointed to the need to develop L3 pedagogies that take specific account of the possible negative effects of the L2.

The importance of investigating LOTEs is underlined by a recent special issue of the *Modern Language Journal* (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017) focusing on language learning motivation in a multilingual world. As Ushioda (2017) and Henry (2017) argue, in a globalized world, where multilingualism is the norm for large sections of the population in many societies, the L2MSS needs to be expanded in a manner that recognizes that motivation can stem from the desire to become multilingual, and that it is this motivational source that functions in addition to and beyond motivation to learn a specific language. While Ushioda (2017) argues that a shift in language teaching is required, where focus is directed to developing learners' ideal multilingual selves, Henry (2017) explains that an ideal multilingual self can emerge as a product of positive interactions between the self-guides of the different languages that the individual knows or is learning. Testing these ideas in a subsequent study, Henry and Thorsen (2017) demonstrated how, in a context of multilingual language learning, the ideal multilingual self can have a positive influence on the ideal L2 self, and can thus have a distinct function in generating effort in learning a LOTE.

L2 Motivational Self System and Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST)

From an early point in the development of the L2MSS, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) identified the value of complex dynamic systems theory (CDST) as a potentially fruitful direction for continued work (see also Hiver & Papi, this volume). Specifically, Dörnyei (2009b) has proposed that self-guides, such as ideal and ought-to L2 selves, can be conceptualized as attractor states in a dynamic system of L2 motivation. This direction was first seriously developed in a pioneering volume on CDST and L2 motivation edited by Dörnyei, MacIntyre, and Henry (2015). Among many chapters, two deal specifically with L2 selves from a dynamic angle (Henry, 2015a; Mercer, 2015).

In his chapter, Henry (2015a) argues that the ideal L2 Self should not be considered as a static construct, but instead as one that is always susceptible to change based on the learner's assessment of the likelihood of achieving it. The static view of the ideal L2 self is thus challenged not only on the evidence of longitudinal changes over periods of learning, but also the possibility of situational changes, since "an ideal L2 self is likely to be subtly reformulated and revised every time it is activated" (p. 86). In a tentative model of the dynamics of possible selves, Henry (2015a) identified three issues that seemed to be relevant; the manner in which the ideal L2 self can be revised (upwardly, or in a downwards direction), the ways in which it can change as a consequence of interactions with other self-guides and self-knowledge and, finally, changes in the vividness and elaboration of the image. Another conceptual issue presented in this volume is the investigation of language learning selves through network theory (Mercer, 2015). Mercer (2014) shows how interrelations of social structures can provide a means for understanding learners' selves from a holistic perspective. When this viewpoint is used in research, she argues, contextual issues can play a prominent role in understanding the changes that take place in language learners' motivation, and a more dynamic framing within which these changes can be understood.

In terms of the empirical results concerning the CDST and the L2MSS, a number of interesting findings are presented in this anthology. Piniel and Csizér (2015) investigated how the components of the L2MSS changed in the course of an academic writing course. Despite the fact that none of the components showed linear changes, two of them, language learning experience as well as ought-to L2 self, indicated negative non-linear changes over the investigated three-month period. These results showed that even if students had strong and stable visions of themselves and their future self concerning English use (as might be expected from university students majoring in English), this would not shield parts of their selves from external expectations and possible negative experiences. Also, with a focus on L2 self-concepts, Gregersen and MacIntyre (2015) explored the inner voices of teachers participating in a master's program. Their study concentrated on the qualitative analysis of the thinking processes of these teachers-as-learners related to their ideal L2 selves. Based on journal entries and narrative data, it became clear that the elements of the L2 Motivational System showed changes both across shorter and longer time periods.

In an investigation involving two Japanese learners of English, and exploring how self-regulatory writing experiences could shape English-speaking self-concepts, Nitta and Baba (2015) explored the developmental interrelations between students' ideal L2 selves and their classroom experiences. It was

shown that both of these learners experienced changes in their ideal L2 selves over the 1 year period that the study took place, but that these changes were due to different reasons. While one of the participants used goal setting and constant self-evaluation to help the development of the ideal L2 self, for the other a study abroad experience meant that the L2 self became more detailed and elaborate. This study is important for two reasons. First, it shows how self-regulatory processes involved in language learning can help students to develop their ideal L2 selves. Secondly, task repetition and the evolution of the ideal L2 selves seemed to represent processes which are complex and co-adaptive, which can be influenced by goal setting. In a similar vein, You and Chan (2015) studied the interplay of L2 imagery and ideal L2 self, that is, in what ways visualization was related to the ideal L2 self. They were able to show that the vividness and elaborateness of visions had a strong positive correlation with both ideal and ought-to L2 selves [see also You et al. (2016) about further interrelations among the components]. Furthermore, analyses of qualitative data uncovered changes in these selves and shifts between the ideal L2 and ought-to L2 selves in both directions. They also offer evidence of the interplay of mental imagery between the components of selves, and the learning process.

To summarize all of these findings, the complexity of the self guides in the L2MSS lies not only in the fact that they change over time in different ways, but also that there are time-related changes in the interaction between present and future selves, which makes the picture more complex in that it is both the actual self-concept (i.e. the current L2 self) and the target (the ideal L2 self) that dynamically interact (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015).

Criticism of the L2MSS Model

Critiques of the L2MSS can be divided into conceptual and measurement issues. Researchers voicing conceptual concerns argue that some self-related components might be missing from the model. For example, MacIntyre, Mackinnon, and Clément (2009) have suggested that the investigation of possible selves should not be narrowed down to ideal and ought-to L2 selves, but should recognize that a number of different selves can play varying roles in foreign language learning. Taylor, Busse, Gagova, Marsden, and Roosken (2013) identify how the lack of attention to the actual self makes it difficult to investigate self-related discrepancies within the present framework. Taylor's (2014) own 'quadripolar' model of identity proposes that the future selves have important public and private dimensions, in addition to ideal and

ought-to, and that these will play an important role in mediating their contribution to learning motivation in different relational contexts (e.g. when publicly interacting with a teacher in class vs. privately studying at home). Another possible shortcoming concerns the ‘I’ and ‘other’ issues in Higgins’ (1987) ought-to self construct. Although these were not taken into account when the L2MSS model was originally proposed, their importance for understanding variation in regulatory patterns has been recently highlighted by Papi et al. (2018).

In terms of measurement issues, Al-Hoorie (2018) provides a comprehensive review of possible problems that can affect studies employing the L2MSS as an analytical framework. As he makes clear, most of the studies with the L2MSS use intended effort as the criterion variable, and fail to include other achievement related variables. Because most of the studies conducted include intended effort that is measured by self-report, Al-Hoorie argues that different results might be obtained if actual effort or linguistic output were to be measured (cf. Al-Hoorie, 2018; Nagle, 2018; Papi et al., 2018). He further points out that there might be discriminant validity problems concerning the operationalization of L2 learning experience and intended effort as a criterion scale, and that the absence of factor analytical methods in many studies means that it is difficult to establish discriminant validity between the scales. Further, the lack of contextual variables that are taken into account, as well as the predominance of studies with a focus on English, mean that so far we have a body of work that does not do justice to the diversity of educational contexts around the globe. Additional measurement issues include the peculiar position of the L2 learning experience in a self-related model, and the possible need to re-operationalize this component taking into account a more varied approach to what happens in and outside the classrooms (Csizér & Kálmán, 2019).

Future Research Directions

Despite the fact that the L2MSS has received unprecedented interest among L2 motivation researchers, and has generated an impressive body of research, there are nevertheless a number of important new directions for researchers to consider. The L2 learning experience has not received sufficient attention, and it is of particular importance to investigate how past and present language learning experiences help or hinder the current learning process. In addition, it would be interesting to see how past language learning experiences of teachers contribute to teacher motivation and to their motivational practices (see Kubanyiova, this volume). Further, a more comprehensive and

conceptually-informed operationalization of the L2 learning experience might also yield new insights about the relations between selves and experiences, as learning experiences beyond the classroom might also impact on motivation. Equally, the use of longitudinal research designs would be beneficial for investigating the evolution of students' L2 selves, especially when carried out using CDST framings. Here, for example, useful research topics could include the ways in which the components of ought-to L2 selves are internalized, and the nature of the developmental relationship between the ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self. A further important area for future research involves the internal relationship between the self- and experience-related components of the L2MSS model. In longitudinal studies, students' age could also be taken into account; currently little is known about when learners might start to form ideal/ought-to L2 selves, how these selves become internalized, and how they operate later in life.

Another topic for future research concerns the impact that components of the L2MSS model have on other learning variables. In addition to the criterion variables (motivated learning behavior or intended effort), individual difference variables that have been taken into account include, for example, willingness to communicate (Munezane, 2013) and self-regulation (Iwaniec, 2014). Designs that include other variables would be of value, not least different elements of L2 achievement. Polat (2014) offers evidence of a correlation between students' ideal L2 self and their accentedness (accurate pronunciation of Turkish words by Kurdish students), thus providing partial evidence of the link between the ideal L2 self and language attainment. A study by Moskovsky, Assulaimani, Racheva, and Harkins (2016) highlights the fact that discrepancies between reported effort and actual effort are a constant issue in research involving self-reported data, an issue also raised by Al-Hoorie (2018). Greater effort should therefore be expended in resolving this problem. For example, observational data could be used to measure students' classroom engagement and willingness to communicate. Equally, actual linguistic output could also be measured. Observational data could also help to add to our knowledge of the possible impact that teachers might have in shaping the components of the L2MSS for students within the classroom context.

In his theory of self-discrepancy, Higgins (1987) differentiated between the personal and the other dimensions for both the ideal and ought-to self. However, in the L2MSS, the ideal L2 self has been conceptualized as having only a personal dimension, and the ought-to L2 self as having an other dimension. Therefore, as suggested by Teimouri (2017) and Papi et al. (2018),

the complementary aspects of self-guides (others for ideal L2 self and ought-to self own) should also be investigated. Equally, attention should be directed to the issue of regulatory focus, and the ways in which learners who have a prevention focus may be motivated by different desired end-states than those whose learning behavior is shaped by a promotion focus. As Papi et al. (2018) have noted, promotion-focused constructs have dominated L2 motivation research, and little attention has been paid to regulation patterns and motives that are prevention-focused. Consequently, an important direction for future research on the L2MSS model would be to more closely examine the effects of regulatory focus, particularly the ways in which a promotion or prevention focus can affect L2 self-guides over time.

Markus and Nurius's (1986) seminal work on possible selves stressed the importance of "the value of examining motivation not as a generalized disposition or a set of task-specific goals but as an individualized set of possible selves" (p. 966). Looking back at L2 motivation in the last decades, it would be hard to say that research has done justice to the individual variation of possible selves. In particular, more qualitative studies on self-related concepts are needed in order to see how individual students' motivation shapes their particular learning processes. Based on the work by Higgins and his associates (Higgins et al., 1994) on the influences of ideal and ought selves on self-regulation, I would like to call for more studies that investigate the processes by which learners self-regulate to reduce discrepancies between the actual and future selves; Hessel (2015) and Thorsen et al. (2017) have already made a start on this enterprise.

Concluding Remarks

It has not been easy to write this chapter, because studies exploring L2MSS and its components appear almost weekly in various international journals. What explains the extraordinary interest in this model? In my view, the fact that the L2MSS has become a prominent theory in the field of L2 motivation is largely due to two facts: its simplicity and adaptability to different contexts. While research always intends to offer a simplified view of the real world, we should not forget that even within this seemingly simple theory, the true complexity of the issues under investigation should be recognized. Only a few of the studies cited above mapped these complex relationships and, therefore, I think the adventure is far from over.

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5

Self-determination and Motivated Engagement in Language Learning

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For some people, learning a new language is an exciting adventure into a fascinating linguistic realm and the ideal medium for exploring new cultures. For others, it feels pointless and boring, like a tedium to be endured. Most people likely lie between these extremes, perhaps occasionally experiencing one or the other pole, but mostly persisting with the learning process because it will help them achieve a goal that they desire. These different reasons, or motivational orientations, for language learning (LL) have important implications for people's understanding and emotional experience of LL, their effortful engagement in the process, and ultimately the kinds of outcomes that result. As long as multilingual competence is valued within a society, an important question to ask is how can we support the learner who finds LL to be intrinsically enjoyable; encourage the disheartened learner to find meaning and satisfaction in the process; and perhaps scaffold the majority of learners to

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a point where they feel that LL is a personally relevant activity in itself, and not just a means to a valued end?

This chapter outlines how these questions could be answered using Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2017) to frame an understanding of various orientations that people can take to learning and using new languages. We discuss the psychological foundation of these orientations and their implications for motivated engagement and for learning outcomes. We also discuss how interpersonal relationships with significant others, including teachers, family members, and members of the target language (TL) community, can support or undermine these orientations. To this end, we first review SDT as a general theory of motivation and its framing in LL research. We then review research trends over the past 20 years, which generally support the premises of SDT in studies from around the world and across different age groups. Finally, we discuss possibilities for future research to better understand the language motivation process and effective teaching strategies in language classrooms.

A Brief Review of Self-determination Theory

Grounded in existential, humanistic, and organismic psychologies, SDT maintains that humans have inherent psychological needs that must be satisfied in order to develop and flourish (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2017). From existentialism, SDT maintains that people strive for meaningful lives. Meaningfulness is self-determined; each person must decide what is personally relevant and act as agents of their own destiny. From humanism, SDT maintains that the self plays an important central organizing function for people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviours, and that the optimal life comes about when people are true to their authentic self. From an organismic perspective, SDT argues that human beings have an innate proclivity to curiously explore and master new situations in their environment, and integrate the information thereby acquired into their knowledge systems. Human development, then, occurs in a dialectical relationship with the social and physical worlds, and involves an ongoing process of assimilation of new information and accommodation of existing knowledge, such that over time and in optimal environments, the self becomes increasingly elaborated in a coordinated and cohesive manner. Under the right conditions, this dynamic, self-reflective process is associated with the emotional experience of eudaimonia, involving a sense of fulfilment, flourishing, and living "the good life"

(for a more complete discussion of the philosophical underpinnings of SDT in the context of LL, see Noels, 2009).

Fundamental Psychological Needs

Optimal human functioning, well-being, and self-actualization depend on the satisfaction of three psychological needs: competence, relatedness, and autonomy (Ryan & Deci, 2017). Competence refers to the need to feel efficacious in one's actions and effectively meet challenges. Within LL research, the perception of oneself as competent has been extensively studied as "self-confidence"; feelings of low perceived competence are consistently associated with feelings of anxiety (Clément, 1980; Sampasivam & Clément, 2014). Perceived competence develops when people strive to meet challenges that would extend their mastery but do not overwhelm them (i.e., "optimal challenges"). Relatedness refers to the need to feel connected to and cared for by other people who play significant roles in one's life. Drawing from attachment theory (Cassidy & Shaver, 2016; Simpson & Rholes, 2015), secure connections with others offer not only an important source of self-validation, but also the necessary social support and "scaffolding" (Lantolf, Thorne, & Poehner, 2015) to take risks and explore novel situations.

The third need, autonomy, lies at the heart of SDT. Ryan and Deci (2017) argue that perceived competence and perceived relatedness are insufficient for self-determined motivation and well-being; in addition, the agentic source of one's endeavours must be perceived to originate from the self. In other words, learners must feel that they are agents of their actions, and that the reason for their engagement in LL is because it is meaningful to them personally. When these three psychological needs are satisfied, people are self-motivated to engage in activities that help them to develop an integrated, well-functioning self, and healthy relationships with others.

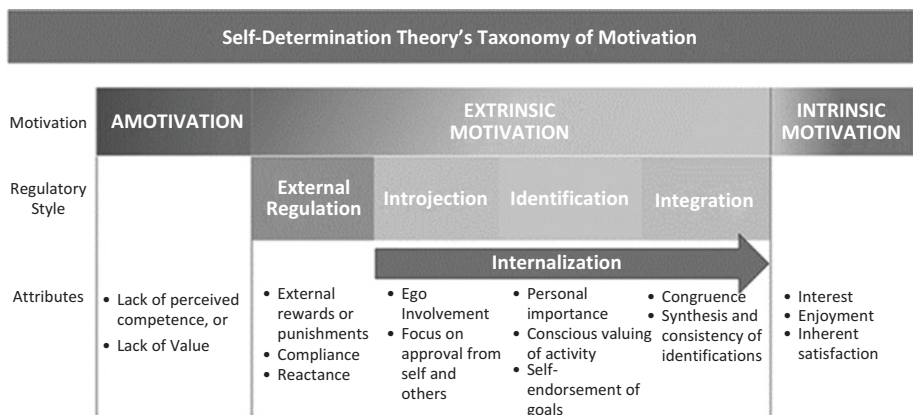
Motivational Orientations

The extent to which these three psychological needs are satisfied has implications for motivational orientations. Following the work of Gardner (1985, 2010, this volume), we define an orientation as a set of reasons for performing an activity that provides a frame of reference within which the learner interprets her LL experience and directs the learner's attention and effort. Deci and Ryan refer to these as forms of regulation, although they have occasionally

used the term “orientation” (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 2008). Although orientations can be categorized thematically in terms of activities that can be accomplished with the language (e.g., integrative and instrumental, Gardner, 1985; travel, friendship, knowledge, and instrumental, Clément & Kruidenier, 1983), SDT provides a taxonomy that is grounded on psychologically meaningful variations in the extent to which the regulation of a behaviour is self-determined or controlled by forces external to the self.

Accordingly, motivational orientations can be broadly differentiated into three forms: intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and amotivation (see Fig. 5.1). Some people approach LL with an inherent interest in it. For example, for some people, “playing” with language in different ways (e.g., reading fiction, creative writing, linguistic analysis, LL, etc.) is a source of deep satisfaction. Especially when engaged in optimally challenging situations, learners can become absorbed in the process, their self-consciousness disappears, and time seems to stand still, a state termed “flow” (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014; see also Piniel & Albert, this volume). This form of motivation is labelled “intrinsic motivation” because engaging in the activity seems to have inherent appeal to the person. It may even be the case that most humans are born with the intrinsic, curiosity-driven motivation to learn their native language(s) (Oudeyer, 2015).

Not all people, however, feel intrinsically motivated to engage with LL. Some feel nonetheless that the second language is integral to their sense of self and congruent with other aspects of identification. Using that language seems a natural form of self-expression. The feelings associated with this “integrated” orientation can be quite similar to feelings associated with intrinsic



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Fig. 5.1 Motivational orientations and the self-determination continuum

motivation, involving a sense of fulfilment and thriving. A somewhat less internalized, but still self-determined form of regulation, termed identified regulation, is observed when one does not value an activity per se, but sees that the activity can lead to an end that is personally meaningful. A common example is a person who aspires to a career in teaching, and because her/his pupils speak another language, she/he wishes to learn that language in order to communicate more effectively with the students, and thereby become a better teacher. This person has consciously identified a personally meaningful and valued reason for LL.

These relatively self-determined orientations can be contrasted with more controlled forms, including introjected and external regulation. People who engage in LL with an introjected orientation have internalized regulation to the extent that they feel a personal obligation to learn the language due to self-imposed and/or normatively imposed expectations. Regulation is “controlled” in the sense that one’s act is regulated by ego-relevant reasons, such as self-aggrandizement for performing well or shame for not doing so. The focus is on avoiding negative emotion or enhancing one’s ego, rather than freely choosing the activity because it is personally meaningful.

The most controlled form of regulation is fully external regulation: other people and/or the social circumstances require the learner to engage in language study, whether or not the learner finds it meaningful or enjoyable. The agent that causes the behaviour, then, is perceived to be external to the learner, and learners may feel angry, frustrated, and/or resentful that they have to comply with what is demanded of them.

These four forms of regulation, or orientations, are distinct from intrinsic motivation, and fall under the umbrella term of extrinsic motivation. That is, the reason that a person engages in the activity is due to some contingency that falls outside of interest in the activity itself. These contingencies can be more or less personally meaningful, and hence one’s engagement can be more or less self-determined. Although they are argued to fall on a self-determination continuum, they also can be broadly categorized: Integrated and identified regulation are self-determined or autonomous orientations, whereas introjected and external regulation are examples of controlled orientations.

Sometimes, people see no purpose of any kind for studying another language. If they had any choice in the matter, they would not enroll in a language course. Nonetheless, sometimes these people find themselves registered in a language course due to circumstances beyond their control (e.g., program requirements). Such an amotivated person is likely to experience a sense of helplessness and unhappiness about the necessity of doing the activity without any personally endorsed rationale, and may feel incompetent in the

activity, and/or that their efforts are futile (Legault, Green-Demers, & Pelletier, 2006). They are likely to disengage within the classroom, avoid language activity outside the classroom, and withdraw from formal education as soon as it is feasible.

Modeling the Motivation Process

Since SDT was introduced into the LL field, it has been argued that the self-dynamics concerning motivational orientations and the satisfaction of the fundamental needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness are closely connected to the intensity of engagement in learning and with important educational outcomes, including learning and academic achievement and non-linguistic outcomes such as contact with the TL community and new identities (Noels, 2001a; Noels, Clément, & Pelletier, 1999, 2001; Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000).

These self-dynamics (i.e., need satisfaction and motivational orientations), their antecedents (e.g., support from the interpersonal relationships) and outcomes (e.g., engagement, achievement) are modeled in Fig. 5.2 (Noels, 2001b, 2009, 2015; Noels, Chaffee, Lou, & Dincer, 2016; Noels, Vargas Lascano, &

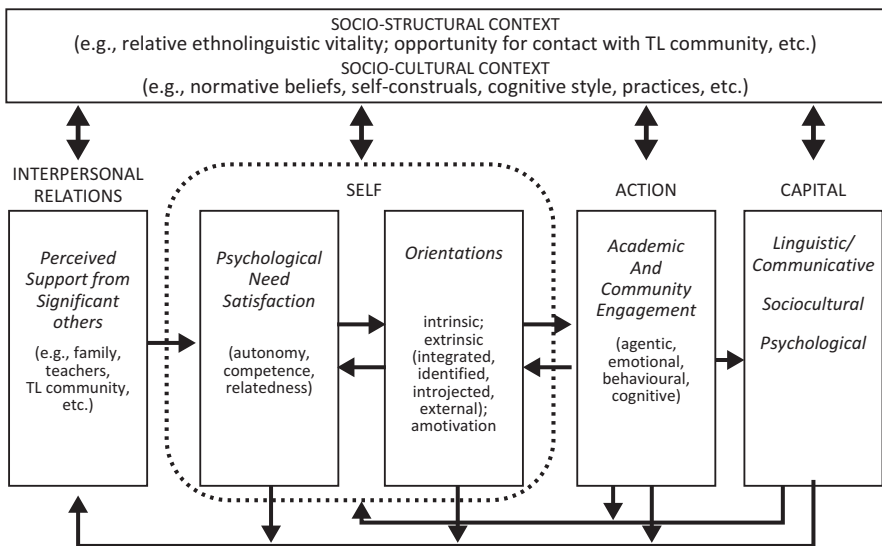


Fig. 5.2 Schematic illustration of social contexts, interpersonal relations, self-dynamics, actions and capitals in the language learning motivational process (adapted from Noels, 2001b; Noels et al., 2016)

Saumure, 2019). This model corresponds closely to the Self-System Motivational Model of Development (SSMMD), which elaborates how the self-system, as described by SDT, is related to the social context, engagement, and various outcomes in the general educational context (Connell & Wellborn, 1991; Skinner, Furrer, Marchand, & Kindermann, 2008). The model is also consistent with the process described in several LL motivational models, particularly Gardner's (1985, 2010) socio-educational model (SEM). In the SEM, the social context, defined in terms of interpersonal relations (e.g., teachers, parents), predicts psychological dynamics (e.g., attitudes towards the teacher and the TL community, orientations), which in turn have implications for motivation (e.g., intensity, desire, positive attitudes). In turn, motivation predicts linguistic (often assessed through academic grades or standardized tests) and nonlinguistic outcomes (e.g., contact with the TL community).

Accordingly, the model in Fig. 5.2 indicates that the manner in which significant others, including family members, the language teacher, the TL community, and others, communicate with the learner is more or less likely to support the satisfaction of learners' psychological needs and, correspondingly, their motivational orientation to LL. These self-dynamics have implications for the manner and intensity with which learners engage in the learning process. This intensity of effort in turn, predicts a variety of outcomes, including linguistic proficiency and communicative competence, and non-linguistic outcomes, such as sociocultural knowledge, contact with the TL group, and psychological well-being.

Engagement, capital, and the social ecology aspects of the model require elaboration. Conceptualizations of engagement have been as varied in LL research as in the general educational psychology literature. In Fig. 5.2, engagement is presented as the action component of motivation. According to Skinner, Kindermann, Connell, and Wellborn (2009), this conceptualization of engagement as action that reflects the learner's motivation toward mastering a task or material unifies motivational theories relevant in the field of educational psychology. This conceptualization, perhaps the most widely used in educational research (Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004; Reschly & Christenson, 2012) recognizes engagement as a multidimensional construct. Cognitive engagement refers to students' self-regulated learning strategies such as task planning and rehearsing (Zimmerman & Pons, 1986). Affective engagement refers to the experience of positive emotions (e.g., enjoyment, curiosity) and few negative emotions (e.g., anxiety, boredom) during learning activities. Behavioural engagement, which refers to increased attention, effort, and persistence, and other actions that can be observed, is closely related to

what is described as motivational intensity in the Socio-Educational Model (Gardner, 2010). Expanding Skinner's framework, Reeve (2012) added the fourth dimension of agentic engagement to capture the students' constructive contribution into the instruction. Agentially engaged students actively contribute to the learning process reacting to teachers' instruction (Reeve, 2012). Taken together, these four components of engagement portray what actively involved students would think, do, feel, and how they take an active role during the learning process.

The model proposes that engagement is the most proximal predictor of three types of capital that are often the desired outcomes of language learning. Following Gardner (1985), a distinction can be made between linguistic/communicative (e.g., as indexed by grades in academic courses, standardized examinations, etc.) and nonlinguistic outcomes (e.g., the willingness to communicate with speakers of the TL outside the classroom, positive interethnic relations, and identity development). In addition, a third set of psychological well-being outcomes can be drawn from SDT, including personal growth, thriving and well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2017). We frame these outcomes as "capital", because they are not the "end-points" for LL, but rather are enduring capacities and resources that learners can draw upon to fulfill needs, achieve goals, self-regulate, and develop new learning opportunities (Luthans, Avolio, Avey, & Norman, 2007; Noels et al., 2016).

The motivational dynamics outlined in this model are situated in particular socio-structural and socio-cultural contexts, which interact with all aspects of the process (Noels, 2001b; Noels et al., 2016). The socio-structural system refers to the stratification of social groups (e.g., class, ethnicity, gender) within a society, and the patterned relations among those groups, which are often reflected in important societal institutions (e.g., education, government). The importance of this aspect is highlighted in Gardner's (1985) notion of an integrative orientation, and more fully articulated in other LL models that incorporate language groups' relative "ethnolinguistic vitality" as an explanatory variable for language learning and bilingualism (e.g., Clément, 1980; Giles & Byrne, 1982; Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2013). Regarding bilingualism, Lambert (1974) observed that the language learning experiences can be dramatically different for members of higher and lower vitality ethnolinguistic groups. Specifically, the addition of another language and culture would have little impact on the heritage language and culture for people from relatively high vitality (i.e., majority) groups, but would undermine that of people from relatively low vitality (i.e., minority) groups. In their research program involving Francophones and Anglophones in Canada, Landry et al. (2013) highlight how the socio-structural dynamics between ethnolinguistic

groups that impact LL are counterbalanced by the individual's level of self-determination.

Another contextual facet that can infuse motivational dynamics is a group's cultural dynamics (Guay, 2016). Culture refers to the "shared" or intersubjective systems of meaning that are co-constructed by interlocutors (and hence mutually comprehensible) and become the conventions and mores that are more or less distributed through social networks among members of a social group (see Noels, Chaffee, Michalyk, and McEown (2014) for an extended discussion of culture and language learning). For instance, important cultural differences have been identified with regards to how the self is construed (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and the relative importance of different values (Hofstede, 2001). Given the importance of the self and values for motivation from a SDT perspective, these differences could be important for motivation. For instance, a more interdependent than independent self-construal might moderate the nature and impact of autonomy on motivated engagement (Noels et al., 2014). Cultural values could also influence the extent to which obligations are perceived as controlling; German heritage learners endorsed introjected regulation less than did Chinese heritage learners (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Noels, 2005), possibly because the cultural value of complying with the normative expectations of others is weaker among Germans than Chinese. Cultural meaning systems are not static, but to the extent that they achieve a relatively stable "dynamic equilibrium" and do not extensively overlap with comparable systems, cross-cultural comparisons can provide a strong test of the validity of SDT's humanist tenets that autonomy, competence and relatedness are universal psychological needs.

Review of SDT-Informed Research on LL

Programmatic research on self-determination theory and LL motivation began around the early 1990s, but scholars had earlier discussed the relevance of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation for understanding LL motivation. For instance, Gardner (1985; see also Gardner & Lambert, 1972) commented on the relation between these motivational orientations and the integrative-instrumental orientations that informed research on the socio-educational model. Both the integrative and instrumental orientations are appropriately classified as forms of extrinsic motivation, since neither refers to an inherent interest in language. Subsequent research confirms that the instrumental orientation is strongly correlated with external regulation, and the integrative orientation is positively correlated with more self-determined forms of extrinsic motivation, as well as intrinsic motivation (Noels, 2001b, 2005).

Since the 1990s, over 300 SDT-relevant studies on LL have been published, with more than half published within the last five years (see McEown, Noels, & Chaffee, 2014, for a detailed review of SDT research and its relation to other LL theoretical paradigms). A review of this research (see the table posted on Open Science Framework: <https://osf.io> or contact the authors) shows that many of these studies involve quantitative, cross-sectional data collected through questionnaire surveys, although a fair number incorporate qualitative data, usually collected through interviews or open-ended questionnaire prompts. From early on, scholars utilized basic descriptive statistics, correlations, and means analyses to examine orientations and their relations with other motivational and language variables (e.g., Noels et al., 1999, 2001), as well as exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses (e.g., Noels et al., 2000). With increasing regularity, researchers employed advanced multivariate techniques, including complex multiple regression analyses, path analyses, and structural equation modeling (Lou & Noels, 2018; Pae, 2008; Zhang, Lin, Zhang, & Choi, 2017). Most recently, longitudinal designs have allowed more rigorous tests of relations over time, including complex reciprocal relations between variables and transactional relations between people (e.g., Noels, Vargas Lascano et al., 2019; Oga-Baldwin, Nakata, Parker, & Ryan, 2017). As well, person-centred approaches, such as cluster or latent profile analyses, provide an alternative approach to identify “motivational profiles” (e.g., Oga-Baldwin & Fryer, 2018). As yet, few experimental or intervention studies exist that more definitively test causal relations, and thereby point to useful applications for effecting motivational change in the learning context.

The learning contexts within which most SDT research have been conducted is reflective of current trends in SLA motivational research more generally (Boo, Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015; McEown, Noels, & Chaffee, 2014; on contexts see also Yim, Clément, & MacIntyre, this volume). Most research centers on adult, post-secondary students in English as a foreign language (EFL) contexts, primarily in Japan (~34%) and other East and Southeast Asian countries. Findings from these studies can be categorized into four types: (1) studies focused on the psychometric properties of measurement instruments, (2) studies focused on the relation between orientations and engagement, (3) studies focused on the outcomes of motivational processes, and (4) studies focused on the aspects of the context that impact motivational processes.

Regarding the measurement of SDT constructs, some scholars have utilized instruments developed by SDT researchers for other domains (see <http://selfdeterminationtheory.org/questionnaires/>), but several have developed instruments specific to the LL domain. For instance, the Language Learning

Orientation Scale (LLOS; Noels et al., 2000) assesses motivational orientations following SDT, and other researchers have adapted this scale or its subscales to their population of interest (e.g., Ardasheva, Tong, & Tretter, 2012; Lou & Noels, 2018). It is important that the psychometric properties of adapted instruments be thoroughly examined to ensure that the constructs are validly assessed and comparable across the groups under investigation. To date, there is little assessment of the psychometric equivalence of instruments involving cross-cultural comparisons; comparisons between EFL, ESL, and other modern languages; younger vs. older learners; and so on.

Despite this psychometric limitation, empirical findings generally support the hypothesized associations among need satisfaction and orientations as posited by SDT. Specifically, research consistently shows that greater perceived autonomy, competence, and relatedness is positively associated with more self-determined and intrinsic motivation, and negatively associated with amotivation (Agawa & Takeuchi, 2016; Noels, 2001a; Oga-Baldwin et al., 2017). Because they are relatively controlled orientations, it is reasonable to hypothesize that external and introjected regulation would be negatively related to the satisfaction of psychological needs, especially autonomy. Sometimes research supports this expectation (e.g., Noels et al., 2001), but sometimes it shows a nonsignificant or weak relation between these sets of variables (e.g., Carreira, 2012; Noels, 2001b; Noels et al., 2000). It may be that statistical power is often too weak (possibly due to small sample sizes) to detect statistically significant correlations.

As well, self-determined and intrinsic motivation correlate with diverse indices of engagement. Perhaps the most widely used index is Gardner's (1985, 2010) motivational intensity, which assesses the intensity of effort invested in learning the language, including the amount of work done, persistence, and consistency in focus (e.g., Comanaru & Noels, 2009; McEown, Noels, & Saumure, 2014; Noels, 2001a); this instrument captures both behavioural and cognitive aspects of engagement. Another commonly used index is persistence and/or the intention to study the language in the future (e.g., Noels, 2001a; Pratt, Agnello, & Santos, 2009). Some investigators have assessed the relative active or passive nature of engagement (Stipek & Gralinski, 1996; see Noels, 2005), or the extent of energy, absorption, and dedication (Chaffee, Noels, & McEown, 2014; Salmela-Aro & Upadaya, 2012). Others have designed instruments specific to their research purposes (e.g., Oga-Baldwin & Nakata, 2017). Some published research incorporates affective, behavioural and cognitive aspects as outlined by Skinner and her colleagues (Oga-Baldwin & Nakata, 2017; Skinner et al., 2008), but to date little

research has assessed agentic engagement as described by Reeve (2012; but see Dincer, Yesilyurt, Noels, & Vargas Lascano, 2019).

Considerable research shows that the dynamics of the self and engagement predict different kinds of outcome/capital as hypothesized by SDT. For instance, motivational orientations and engagement are linked to linguistic and communicative capital, as indexed by course grades and standardized test scores (e.g., Butler & Le, 2018; Pae, 2008). They are also associated with indices of positive psychological capital, including low anxiety and greater linguistic confidence (e.g., Lou & Noels, 2018). More internalized orientations are associated with sociocultural capital, such as intercultural contact, new ethnolinguistic identities; (e.g., Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Goldberg & Noels, 2006). Some studies show that the relation between motivational orientations and outcome/capital is mediated by engagement (e.g., Zhang et al., 2017), consistent with the premise that effortful action is necessary to achieve particular outcomes (i.e., it's not enough to imagine or desire an outcome, one has to actively work toward it; cf. Gardner, 1985). In sum, students who feel satisfied with their psychological needs are more self-determined and engaged in LL, and as a result, are likely to achieve academically, linguistically, psychologically, and socio-culturally.

Given the positive consequences of motivated engagement, an important question is how learners' motivation can be supported by others, within and outside the classroom. Several studies show that when students perceive their teachers as supporting their autonomy, competence, and/or relatedness, they are more self-determined in their orientation and more engaged (Dincer & Yesilyurt, 2017; Noels, 2001a; Noels et al., 1999; Oga-Baldwin & Nakata, 2017; Wu, 2003; see also Fukada, Falout, Fukada, & Murphey, this volume). One study found that in the face of low autonomy support from the teacher, students who positively reappraised this challenging situation were better able to maintain intrinsic motivation, engagement, and positive psychological capital (Chaffee et al., 2014). Some studies have also examined peer, parental, and sibling support (Noels, Stephan, & Saumure, 2007; Tanaka, 2017; Vatankhah & Tanbakooei, 2014). Curiously, although languages are presumably learned to facilitate intercultural communication, scant research addresses whether and how interpersonal interactions with members of the TL community support motivation (but see Noels et al., 2007; Noels, Adrian-Taylor, Saumure, & Katz, 2019).

There is a growing body of SDT-informed research concerning the impact of socio-structural and socio-cultural dynamics on LL motivational processes. Some studies have compared groups to understand how socio-structural positioning vis-à-vis the TL impacts motivation. They generally show that, beyond mean level differences in certain variables within the model, the proposed

relations among psychological needs, orientations, engagement, and outcomes are consistent across groups (e.g., heritage and non-heritage learners: Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Noels, 2005; Rueda & Chen, 2005; English major vs non-English major students: Ngo, Spooner-Lane, & Mergler, 2017; students in language intensive vs. core language programs, Goldberg & Noels, 2006). Perhaps the most extensive examination of how ethnolinguistic vitality affects LL and bilingualism is Landry and his colleagues' studies of Francophone learners of English across regions of differing ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2007; Landry et al., 2013). Few studies have examined how socio-cultural systems influence motivational processes using cross-cultural comparisons or other designs (but see Noels et al., 2014). Now that the pendulum appears to be swinging back to reconsider LL motivation as a process situated in broader socio-structural and socio-cultural contexts (cf., Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017), hopefully researchers might again include socio-structural and socio-cultural analyses in their examinations of LL motivation.

Future Directions for Research and Pedagogy

As highlighted in the research review, several gaps in our understanding of LL motivation could be informed by SDT. It would be useful to take stock of the existing research via meta-analytical studies to synthesize findings and evaluate the strength of associations among motivational aspects. Because much of the existing research utilizes basic statistical analyses to examine variations and relations in a piecemeal manner, more complex multivariate procedures, including structural equation modeling, would usefully model the associations between SDT-relevant variables as a whole system. Longitudinal and experimental studies could better illuminate the hypothesized direct, indirect, reciprocal, and other more complex associations among components of the model (e.g., need satisfaction predicts orientations, which predict engagement, which predicts outcomes/capital; Noels, Vargas Lascano et al., 2019). Adding to these quantitative techniques, qualitative methods could provide more deeply articulated understandings of the experience of self-determination (or not) in language learning (cf. Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Dincer et al., 2019).

Another fruitful direction concerns how interactions with other people can support or undermine learners' motivation. Several studies have investigated how teachers' communication style is related to learners' self-determination, but this research could be expanded to look at support from classmates, family members, and particularly members of the TL community (Noels, Adrian-Taylor et al., 2019). In addition to understanding who matters for motivational

support, conversation analysis and other analyses of student-teacher interactions could elucidate how significant others communicate in ways that support or undermine learner autonomy. The dynamics between the learner and the TL community members would require consideration of how intergroup processes, based on the power dynamics and relative ethnolinguistic vitality of the language groups in contact, influence on both motivational processes within the learner and interpersonal dynamics in the learning context. Several social psychological (e.g., Clément, 1980; Gardner, 1985; Giles & Byrne, 1982) and socio-cultural models (e.g., Norton, 2013) already offer insights that could guide future research on socio-structural factors and LL motivation.

A very important advancement in LL motivation research is the shift to using a developmental lens to understand temporal aspects of motivation, as exemplified by research that adopts a complex dynamic systems perspective (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015). Given that motivational processes are dynamic, changing in more or less complex ways, more or less quickly across different time scales, theory and research needs to more explicitly adopt this perspective in examining SDT-relevant constructs. It would be important to study, for instance, how changes in need satisfaction, orientations, and engagement parallel each other and potentially affect each other's trajectories (e.g., Noels, Vargas Lascano et al., 2019); how changes in teacher support is linked to students' need satisfaction; and how a language becomes internalized into a learner's sense of self (or becomes differentiated from the self). Empirically understanding the systematic trends of LL motivational processes requires multiple observations across time and sophisticated analytic techniques to test how changes are interrelated at different levels of analysis. Such methods might also elucidate the timeline necessary for interventions to have the desired impact, and feedback loops among variables in the motivational process.

SDT offers important insights into LL motivation, but existing LL motivation scholarship could also inform and extend SDT. For instance, research shows that the integrative orientation is relatively distinct from intrinsic and extrinsic orientations and predicts different outcomes. SDT does not consider how idealized- or imagined-self images are related to motivation as articulated by notions of the ideal L2 self (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2010) and imagined communities and identities (Norton, 2013). Language mindsets may be important precursors to self-determination (particularly the development of sense of competence) and different forms of achievement goal orientations (e.g., performance vs. mastery goals, and promotion vs. prevention-focused goals; Lou & Noels, 2016). Clarifying the relation between SDT's concept of autonomy and the concept of LL self-regulation would likely set a solid foundation for teaching interventions to encourage greater learner autonomy (Lee, 2017; Lou, Chaffee, Vargas Lascano, Dincer, & Noels, 2018). Understanding

how different forms of capital (communicative, positive psychological, and social capital) help learners internalize LL can also provide insights for the burgeoning research concerning the positive psychology of LL (MacIntyre, Gregersen, & Mercer, 2016).

Considerable research shows the usefulness of SDT in education generally, but more research is needed on language education specifically. The existing research findings are promising. For example, based on the autonomy-supportive instructional behaviors described by Reeve and Jang (2006), Kaur, Hashim, and Noman (2015) designed a detailed unit plan for sixth-grade English language teachers in Thailand to use in their classes. These teachers were trained to incorporate autonomy-supportive teaching behaviors into their own teaching. The results of the seven-week intervention program showed that teachers could be trained to teach in an autonomy-supportive manner and thereby promote students' interest, effort, relatedness and integrated regulation (see also Hiromori, 2006). Others point to computer-assisted language learning and social media as useful teaching tools for promoting self-determination (e.g., Akbari, Pilot, & Simons, 2015; Alm, 2006), as well as non-traditional forms of assessment (Zoghi & Malmeer, 2013). Given the extensive literature that shows the effectiveness of autonomy-support in other educational domains, we anticipate that many effective SDT-informed interventions could be designed for language education.

Conclusion

Maintaining language learners' intrinsic motivation and encouraging them to find meaning and satisfaction in the LL process is at the heart of educators' efforts to motivationally support their students. In this chapter we outlined how Self-Determination Theory can be a comprehensive, coherent theoretical framework for understanding how psychological needs, motivational orientations, and engagement are involved in the development of learners' linguistic, socio-cultural, and psychological capital (see also Noels, Lou et al., 2019). A review of LL research grounded on SDT in the past 20 years indicates that, although the basic premises of SDT are empirically substantiated, there is much more work to be done. In particular, the situated nature of LL motivation in socio-structural and socio-cultural contexts has been less well investigated. More research is necessary on self-determined motivation as a complex, dynamic process that is temporally and contextually situated. We concluded this chapter by identifying avenues for future research that will advance not only theory about language motivation processes, but also effective teaching in language classrooms.

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6

Complexity Theory and L2 Motivation

Phil Hiver and Mostafa Papi

The core of social science is the study of humans, their behavior, and their interactions. Within this tradition and its scholarly discourse, a complexity-rich reality has been acknowledged as far back as the turn of the twentieth century (Eve, Horsfall, & Lee, 1997). Since the start of the twenty-first century, complexity theory has become a broad foundation for scientific inquiry in the human and social sciences (Capra & Luisi, 2014; Morin, 2001), moving into various domains of applied linguistics (Larsen-Freeman, 2017; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008). A decade ago, Dörnyei (2008, 2009) proposed the need to rethink individual difference variables in a situated, dynamic manner, and this has led to more comprehensive work on individual differences that reflects the way they interact with the environment through a complex interplay of synchronic and diachronic variation (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Ryan, this volume). In the same year Dörnyei, MacIntyre, and Henry's (2015) landmark *Motivational Dynamics* anthology definitively put complexity on the L2 motivation research map. This signaled a growing momentum, not so much for a dynamic turn but rather for a complete reorientation to the way in which L2 motivation scholars see, investigate, and intervene in the world—what Schumann in the same volume heralded as a new “epistemological basis for conceptualizing motivation” (p. xv). This has resulted in a new L2 motivation research landscape in which complexity has begun to establish its relevance and explanatory potential (Dörnyei, 2017, this volume).

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Although many instances exist when the human and social sciences have taken their inspiration from developments in other sciences or developed parallel insights independently from those domains (Cilliers, 2005; Horn, 2008; Morin, 2001), applied linguists have questioned the compatibility of complexity theory with the task of conceptualizing and researching the social phenomena most language motivation scholars are concerned with (e.g., Lantolf, 2016). What is remarkable, however, is that in the last three decades, the human and social disciplines have become net contributors to complexity theory's philosophy of science (e.g., in the work of individual scholars such as Morin, Bhaskar, Cilliers, and Overton) and methodology (e.g., through the diverse work of scholars such as Weiner, Byrne, Barabási, and Ragin) (Byrne & Callaghan, 2014). Complexity theory clearly is no longer—if it ever truly was—the domain of the physical and mathematical sciences (Larsen-Freeman, 2017), and over the past few years has become a key player in our own field (Hiver & Larsen-Freeman, 2020). In this chapter, we explore the contribution of complexity theory to conceptual and empirical work on L2 motivation, provide examples of how it has informed theory and practice in our field, and extend our discussion to methodological considerations and the future of L2 motivation research from this dynamic and situated perspective. We turn now to examining the contributions that a foundation in complexity theory has offered for the field of L2 motivation research.

Conceptual Tools and Principles of Complexity

In this section of the chapter, we draw on the treatment of CDST by Larsen-Freeman (2015, 2017) to highlight some of the basic, relevant conceptual tools and principles of complexity for theory and practice in L2 motivation. Although we introduce these in sequence, it is their combined insights that captures the essence of complexity-inspired L2 motivation research (see also Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016).

A Way of Thinking

A major contribution of complexity theory (CDST) to theorizing and researching L2 motivation has been its new way of thinking—one that entails reconceptualizing the objects and phenomena of interest in our field to more closely reflect the way they actually work (Larsen-Freeman, 2013, 2015). This new way of thinking provides a set of powerful intellectual concepts and

principles (e.g., time; self-organization) that allow us to theorize and interpret particular phenomena or aspects of L2 motivation in new ways that are grounded in a context-dependent and dynamic view of development (Davis & Sumara, 2006). This has begun to manifest itself explicitly in new strands of motivation research related to multilingualism (Henry, 2017; Ushioda, 2017), long-term motivation (Henry, Davydenko, & Dörnyei, 2015), small group dynamics (Poupore, 2018; Sampson, 2015; see also Fukada, Falout, Fukuda, & Murphey, this volume), learners in contexts (Murphey, Falout, Fukuda, & Fukada, 2014; Sasaki, Kozaki, & Ross, 2017; Yim, Clément, & MacIntyre, this volume), demotivation (Kikuchi, 2017; Thorner & Kikuchi, this volume), and the teacher-learner relationship (Hiver, 2017; Lamb, 2017; see also Kubanyiova, this volume)—to name just a few. However, this contribution also suggests a need for L2 motivation researchers to appropriately revise existing understanding of the field in ways that are compatible with this new way of thinking. One example of this is the realization that L2 motivation can no longer be conceived of exclusively as a conventional, modular independent variable. Scholars championing this new way of thinking have called for an integrative framework “to explain the dynamic development of real people in actual contexts” (Dörnyei, 2017, p. 87). It is possible, even highly likely, that using these conceptual tools will challenge many of our existing assumptions and encourage us to reconsider research and practice in the field of L2 motivation (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, & Henry, 2015). New ways of conceptualizing the domain are likely to suggest new approaches to inquiry and tools for that purpose, and a deliberate rejection of certain other principles and ideas regarding L2 motivation (Ushioda, 2009). We elaborate further on these below.

A Relational Unit

Importantly, complexity invites scholars to think how parts of the whole relate to each other in L2 motivation research (Nolen, Horn, & Ward, 2015). Thus, one tool on offer from a complexity perspective is a distinctive relational unit of analysis—a complex system. This allows us to conceptualize language learning motivation more organically as a relational and soft-assembled system (i.e., constrained more by contextual affordances and task demands) rather than as an often-essentialized artifact (see e.g., MacIntyre & Serroul, 2015). As the world is dynamic, the unit(s) of analysis should be equally dynamic—phenomenologically real complex systems situated in context. Complex

systems (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016) that may form the basis for L2 motivation research:

- consist of a number of elements or components situated in context;
- these components, at least one of which is an agent, interact with each other based on certain principles of interdependence;
- over time, the components change as a result of their interactions with other components;
- the effects of these interactions result in the system exhibiting system-wide and macro level patterns of behavior.

Complex systems in context can be considered the paradigmatic object of interest, and thus, the fundamental unit of analysis in L2 motivation research which adopts this perspective (MacIntyre et al., 2015). It is from the components and their relationships that system behavior emerges, which illustrates the importance of relational units in L2 motivation research (Ushioda, 2009). Motivational outcomes and processes arise from a web of relationships that continually grow, change, and adapt to new situations (see by illustration Example 6.1), underscoring a fundamental quality of L2 motivation, that it is relational in nature (Csizér, Kormos, & Sarkadi, 2010). At the same time, the study of human and social systems always implicates agency, whether this is individual or collective (Al-Hoorie, 2015; Kelso, 2016). This makes it necessary to include within any system's boundaries an agent, or agents, capable of exercising intentional action that contributes causally, though not deterministically, to the system's motivational outcomes and processes of change (see also Mercer, 2012).

Example 6.1 Relational Units of Analysis

A study that illustrates the importance of relational units of analysis in L2 motivation comes from a research project examining regulatory fit effects on task engagement and incidental vocabulary learning by Papi (2016, 2018). Motivational factors interconnected at three levels influenced how 189 ESL learners completed an integrated reading/writing task. The levels in this unit of analysis included (a) the dominant motivational dispositions of the learners (i.e., *promotion-focused*—concerned with growth, accomplishments and gains, or *prevention-focused*—concerned with safety, obligations and losses), (b) the incentive structure of the task (i.e., framed in terms of *gaining points* versus *losing points*), and (c) the regulatory focus of the task (i.e., encouraging creativity and risk-taking versus emphasizing accuracy and attention to detail). A match or mismatch at any of these three levels resulted in qualitative differences in task engagement and vocabulary learning, illustrating that these outcomes were tied to the interdependencies between levels in the unit of analysis.

Dynamic Change and Development

Language learning motivation is now recognized as a dynamic, situated factor characterized by temporal and contextual variation (Dörnyei et al., 2015). Thus, one of the most important changes of adopting a complexity perspective for L2 motivation research has been that time matters (Lemke, 2000). An undeniable advantage of refocusing attention more explicitly on motivational processes than on outcomes and variables, is that it has allowed scholars to take a much more developmental perspective in L2 motivation research (e.g., Henry et al., 2015; Waninge, Dörnyei, & de Bot, 2014). In a complex system where many components and factors interact over time, tiny differences in initial inputs can quickly become overwhelming differences in motivational trajectories (de Bot, 2015). There may in fact be multiple “levels of reality” (Cilliers & Nicolescu, 2012, p. 716) at different timescales that represent individual experiences and processes. Systems’ initial conditions and histories have a critical role to play in every system’s process of becoming (Verspoor, 2015). This contrasts with the previously implied view of L2 motivation as more of a static and essentialized individual attribute. Thus, a particular added value of a complexity perspective for L2 motivation research and its gift of time is an emphasis on processes of change and development at various timescales (Elman, 2003).

The complex systems that are part of the phenomena scholars would like to investigate in L2 motivation evolve through time, and the reliability of any probabilistic predictions of complex system behavior depends on multiple factors that overlap and interact interdependently, with some factors in the system playing a larger role at certain times but not at others (Overton & Lerner, 2014). However, dynamic change is non-telic in the sense that motivational processes progress through time without a predetermined, fixed goal (Howe & Lewis, 2005). In any case, what might seem to be an end point in L2 motivation or development is likely just one of many stable points in an ongoing and dialogic work in process (de Bot, 2015). This aspect of *nonfinality* means that systems are not defined by progressing towards an endpoint because final states do not exist for system development (Rose, Rouhani, & Fischer, 2013). Complex systems constantly reorganize their internal working parts and adapt themselves to the problems posed by their surroundings (see by illustration Example 6.2), and this sustained adaptation of systems is capable of producing a rich repertoire of L2 motivation behaviors (see e.g., Henry, 2015). It can, of course, be challenging to understand these dynamics or intervene in a system’s trajectory of change (e.g., Han & Hiver, 2018). However, adaptive change is the pivotal characteristic of seeing L2 motivation

from a complexity perspective because it allows us to value variation as strongly as states and to think in a connected way about both outcomes and their processes (Larsen-Freeman, 2012, 2013). For this reason, it entails an expansionist perspective for our field which takes into account the realization that variability and change are at the heart of all L2 motivation.

Example 6.2 Dynamic Change & Development

Extending the study described above sheds light on the pervasiveness of dynamic change in L2 motivational phenomena. Papi's (2016) study had multiple steps including, among others, vocabulary tests, reading comprehension, and a writing task. In the first steps of these tasks, promotion-focused individuals were more engaged when the reading task was framed in gain terms (i.e., gaining points by answering reading comprehension questions) and prevention-focused individuals were more engaged when the reading task was framed in loss terms (e.g., losing points for giving wrong answers). However, as the learners transitioned from reading to writing, these motivational dynamics began to change, and the initial patterns of engagement developed in different ways. Prevention learners in the loss condition performed significantly better on the vocabulary test and developed greater engagement in the writing task than prevention learners in the gain condition. By contrast, for the promotion learners the motivational force of the new task dwarfed the motivational effects of task framing; they performed equally well, and better than prevention learners, in both gain and loss conditions. In other words, over time the promotion focus of the writing task upset the match between the two other motivational levels (dispositions and incentive structure) and resulted in asymmetric levels of engagement and learning.

Openness of Systems to Context

Because the thing under investigation is a new relational unit, a major conceptual tool for L2 motivation is the idea that context shapes complex system behavior and its outcomes (Ushioda, 2009). This notion of interdependence between a context, the individuals studied within that context, and the phenomena of interest is not new in applied linguistics (Kramsch, 2008) but has not been part of the mainstream discourse, and as such has only recently come to be discussed more explicitly in relation to L2 motivation (Ushioda, 2015). Extending this and asserting that context is an intrinsic, core part of all motivated thought and action is a significant conceptual shift (Larsen-Freeman, 2013). The main implication of this is that L2 motivation is always situated and thus contextually constrained (e.g., Joe, Hiver, & Al-Hoorie, 2017). This assumption is grounded in the idea that adaptation and development are not based on hard-assembled motivational mechanisms that exist independently of the immediate context which a system is part of, and are not simply activated or brought on-line in each situation the system encounters

(Larsen-Freeman, 2015). Instead, in L2 motivation soft-assembled mechanisms involve a particular adaptation of the system in its environment and are only realized within the immediate context of a situation or task (Mercer, 2016), involving only the tools and structures that are currently available and necessary.

Complex systems' openness to the environment gives rise to context-dependent behaviors (see by illustration Example 6.3) and this means that L2 motivational outcomes and paths of development cannot be understood by decomposing them into analytically discrete elements or variables (Nolen et al., 2015). Any complex system is an open synthesis of many parts interacting with one another and with the larger context in which it is situated. Complex systems in L2 motivation are not only embedded within an environment and interact with these surroundings continuously, but they are also an integral constitutive part of that context (e.g., Csizér et al., 2010). Thus, the environment cannot be seen as merely an additional factor among many for consideration when interpreting motivated L2 behavior. Instead, contextual factors should be seen as actual dimensions of the system itself (Rauthmann, Sherman, & Funder, 2015).

Example 6.3 Openness to Context

Illustrating the importance of context in a study of 287 L2 learners' motivation and feedback-seeking behavior, Papi, Rios, Pelt, and Ozdemir (2019) found that learners' feedback-seeking strategies varied as a function of the setting (i.e., classroom vs. private) and source (i.e., teacher vs. others) of feedback, the context-specific achievement goals learners pursued (mastery-oriented vs. performance-oriented), and their beliefs about the malleability of their language learning intelligence. Whereas learners who endorsed an incremental theory of L2 intelligence (i.e., the belief that language intelligence is malleable) chose mastery-oriented goals which led them to use various feedback-seeking strategies without concern for the ego and self-presentation costs involved, individuals who had an entity theory of L2 intelligence (i.e., the belief that language intelligence is fixed) endorsed performance-oriented goals, which led them to avoid seeking feedback in the classroom (a public context where the ego and self-presentation costs of feedback seeking are perceived to be high) and instead ask their teachers for feedback in private contexts where they perceived the ego and self-presentation costs of feedback seeking to be low.

Self-organized Emergence

Given the right conditions or inputs over time, many things in the human and social world tend to sort themselves out even better than if those involved

had sat down and tried to force a solution (Urry, 2005). This is because systems spontaneously take advantage of upheaval by adaptively restructuring their working parts and connections and settle in a coherent outcome (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008). Within a complexity frame of reference, the L2 motivation outcomes of interest are often self-organized outcomes, tied to the notion of *attractor states* (Hiver, 2015). Motivational attractors represent pockets of dynamic equilibrium that a system stabilizes into despite the many layers of complexity it may encounter. For example, language learners might come to make sense of their learning experiences through certain routines of action or inaction (see e.g., Chan, Dörnyei, & Henry, 2015), or settle into unproductive learning patterns or other more virtuous psychological outcomes (e.g., Yashima & Arano, 2015). The mechanisms for this are part of self-organization: a process by which higher-level order emerges, without overt engineering, from the local interaction of components and agent(s) in the system (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008). As with the language learners and their developmental patterns illustrated in the studies cited directly above, complex systems equilibrate through time to display qualitatively distinct motivational patterns that may not have been anticipated by looking at the component parts individually (by illustration see also Example 6.4). The emergent patterns that self-organization leads to in the human and social world are at the very heart of a complexity perspective (Larsen-Freeman, 2013, 2015).

Determining how this spontaneous self-organization takes place is the primary goal of complexity research, and one key mechanism is feedback (i.e., when the system's output loops back as input). From a complexity perspective, feedback from this changing environment influences motivational change in an iterative fashion as systems adapt nonlinearly in response to it (Dörnyei, 2014). Negative feedback, which should not be thought of as undesirable, is the most common type: it feeds into self-organization by restoring equilibrium to the system and bringing its behavior back in line (Byrne & Callaghan, 2014). This cybernetic sense of negative feedback can also be illustrated by the example of a thermostat that is designed to maintain a set temperature by turning off, until the temperature drops sufficiently to trigger the heating on again. Positive feedback, on the other hand, reinforces a system's movement along a developmental pathway that can lock-in a system into path dependence or spread to a system-wide pattern. One illustration of this positive feedback is the example found in patterns of climate change in which elevated temperatures can result in a cascade of runaway effects if left unchecked. Self-organized emergence means that L2 motivation must be conceptualized as relational, developmental, and dynamic rather than essentialized

as a latent attribute individuals possess (MacIntyre et al., 2015). L2 motivation is constructed as a dynamic process within a given context and encompasses the learner's sense of purpose for language learning, entails meaningful action and effortful engagement towards that deliberate goal, and is shaped in the interaction of personal and social dimensions. Thus, the ways in which complex systems in context self-organize through feedback loops in order to maintain their functioning over time has important applications in the way we conceptualize L2 motivation (Waninge et al., 2014).

Example 6.4 Self-organized Emergence

Extending our previous example, the study by Papi et al. (2019), demonstrates how learners' motivational and behavioral patterns emerged from interactions between the local system components in the specific contexts and relationships in which they were situated. Learners with different implicit theories of intelligence and achievement goals adopted different feedback-seeking strategies depending on the perceived costs and values of these behaviors, and their learning behaviors self-organized into particular outcomes. Learners with an entity theory and performance goals pursued a superordinate goal of protecting their own self-esteem by avoiding or ignoring corrective feedback in the public setting of class. Instead, they sought feedback in contexts where the perceived costs were low or chose sources of feedback they could trust would not harm their self-esteem. This study illustrates how shifting beliefs about intelligence can result in learners' self-organizing around qualitatively different goals, and that a change in the belief system can permeate the whole system and result in the emergence of new cognitive, emotional, and behavioral patterns.

What Does Complexity Theory Mean for L2 Motivation Research?

Further contributions from complexity to the study of L2 motivation have been methodological, as an aid to designing programs of research that prioritize adaptive and developmental processes. Using ideas from complexity allows researchers to provide more complex descriptions, analyses, and interpretations of programs, practices, and initiatives (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016). Complexity entails a transdisciplinary approach to inquiry that creates unity beyond disciplinary boundaries, turns more toward a problem-oriented approach, and allows researchers to achieve common scientific goals (Halliday & Burns, 2006). The idea of transdisciplinary research is not without its own set of challenges, and some questions for consideration include these: What does doing impactful L2 motivation research from a complexity perspective

actually entail? Does complexity require L2 motivation researchers to adopt new methodological toolkits, like some from social complexity argue (e.g., Byrne & Callaghan, 2014)? And, how should a transdisciplinary program of empirical research be designed and conducted?

Transdisciplinary Research Designs

Social complexivists have addressed the methodological contribution of complexity in relation to its nature as a meta-theory—a set of coherent principles of reality (i.e., ontological ideas) and principles of knowing (i.e., epistemological ideas) that underpin and contextualize the research designs and methodological choices researchers make (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016; Larsen-Freeman, 2017).

Overton (2015, p. 166) remarks that metatheories such as complexity theory “capture concepts whose scope is broader than any particular theory, and which form the essential conceptual core within which scientific theory and observation function”. The very existence of the transdisciplinary intellectual tools and concepts that complexity brings to bear on the problem space of L2 motivation points to complexity’s function as a meta-theory capable of informing a broad range of issues and research designs (Overton, 2007). Furthermore, while theories are provisional, and their predictions must constantly be evaluated against observation of new evidence, the complexity *metatheory* pertains to notions of what phenomena, questions, and aspects of social and human inquiry are “meaningful and meaningless, acceptable and unacceptable, central and peripheral” for a field (Overton, 2007, p. 154). As such, complexity has enormous potential to move beyond discipline-specific approaches to address common problems—the very definition of transdisciplinarity.

L2 motivation research, by nature, is *interdisciplinary* because it borrows and combines insights from various subdisciplines in education, language and psychology, and builds bridges between different but complementary theoretical frameworks, allowing each perspective to inform the others (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). However, *transdisciplinarity* actually transcends knowledge boundaries and renders dominant disciplinary frames of reference—for just one example whether to self-identify as a quantitative or a qualitative researcher—and methodological silos redundant (Mason, 2008). What transdisciplinary research leaves in place of disciplinary boundaries is a problem-oriented approach to scientific inquiry that creates unity beyond disciplinary perspectives, and the implications of these efforts for L2 motivation research

are far reaching as they orient scholars to achieving common scientific goals. A relevant example of a transdisciplinary research study might be investigating nationwide declining enrollments in foreign languages (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2016) and the L2 motivational antecedents and processes associated with this ongoing pattern: this is simultaneously an educational policy and political issue, an economic and financial issue, a teacher education and classroom practice issue, and even a psycho-developmental issue which requires more than just a coming together of fields to build an understanding of the nature of the problem and potential solutions. The idea in transdisciplinary research is to identify pressing issues that need addressing or questions that demand answers, and then determine the most appropriate methods—typically multimethod—to shed light on possible solutions (Larsen-Freeman, 2017). This is why complexity has such potential to add value to the empirical study of L2 motivation.

Methodological Innovation

While many degrees of freedom exist with regards to the methods of data elicitation and analysis (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2020), the appropriacy of methods already prevalent in our field warrant closer scrutiny. Several methods in widespread use (e.g., linear pre-/post- experimental designs) seem poorly suited to studying L2 motivation in ways that acknowledge its complex and dynamic realities and situate these phenomena firmly in context. Critically examining these is important to advance what Byrne (2009) has called the primary objective of all research: going beyond the particular and uniquely subjective without presuming radical objectivity and generalizability, and still elucidating causation. Recent work has proposed ways in which complexity constrains methodological choices while at the same time encouraging innovation and diversification (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016). Other researchers (de Bot & Larsen-Freeman, 2011; Dörnyei et al., 2015) have laid the groundwork by expanding the methods of data elicitation and analysis available to conduct research in a dynamic vein (e.g., the idiodynamic method, qualitative comparative analysis, retrodictive qualitative modeling). Collectively, this work features individual and group-based methods with emergent, recursive, and iterative designs that are suited to studying dynamic change in context and interconnectedness (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2020). Our field is therefore following other social and human disciplines that also seek to understand complexity by routinely drawing on and innovating with existing methods (Jörg, 2011).

While it is true that taking a dynamic and situated perspective of L2 motivation is not a given when using group-level research designs, qualitative individual-level research designs also do not by themselves guarantee a more complex and dynamic perspective for research, particularly if the research design is not inherently connected to or informed by the conceptual framework of complexity (Dörnyei et al., 2015). The value of qualitative case-based methods cannot, of course, be understated (Byrne, 2009; Dörnyei, 2014) as they allow finely-grained observations of L2 motivation over time. However, as others have noted, the selection of methods for complexity-based inquiry in applied linguistics does not suggest an either/or choice, and from complexity's philosophy of science this would not be pragmatic given the range of phenomena that necessitate investigation (Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016). Quantitative data elicitation and analyses are equally compatible with dynamic change and interconnectedness as are more qualitative designs (e.g., Molenaar, Lerner, & Newell, 2014; Valsiner, Molenaar, Lyra, & Chaudhary, 2009).

Complexity is a problem-driven, inclusive approach to research that encourages expansion of existing methodological repertoires, and advanced quantitative techniques and methods that value variation, interconnectedness, and change do exist (see e.g., de Bot & Larsen-Freeman, 2011; Valsiner et al., 2009). The potential of quantitative designs for complexity research, of course, extends past the mundane cross-sectional comparisons and measurements of linear relationships into the more compelling areas of identifying underlying structure, accounting for variation at different levels, discerning temporal processes and events, quantifying trends, predicting group membership, applying spatial analysis, and studying networked phenomena nested in contexts. Clearly, we need to expand the field's research methodological repertoire with methods of data elicitation and analysis that are better suited to dynamic and situated phenomena, and sensitive at both the group and individual levels. Some of the methods suggested include various case based methods (e.g., single-case design, qualitative comparative analysis, social network analysis), methods for modeling (e.g., design-based research, agent-based and case-based modeling, retrodictive qualitative modeling, growth-curve modeling), and time-series methods suited to capturing the dynamics of change (e.g., experience sampling, process tracing, Markov Chain Monte Carlo analysis, change-point analysis, event history analysis). Effects and outcomes in L2 motivation cannot be attributed to single, proximate interventions because each individual factor may trigger, influence or even counteract others (see e.g., Papi, 2018). We need a new way of doing things.

Future Contributions to L2 Motivation Research

A conventional, componential way of researching and intervening in the problem space of L2 motivation may be compelling in its simplicity and apparent coherence, but it does not lend itself to dealing with complex effects or situations where results and outcomes are multi-determined—a hallmark of how the human, social world functions. The majority of phenomena of interest in the field of L2 motivation are multi-determined, with diffuse and system-level antecedents of change and causality (MacIntyre et al., 2015). This underscores the importance of using a more situated and dynamic lens in research designs, focusing on wholes and relationships in L2 motivation.

Failing to account for the dependence of a system's behavior on both its current and past environment, the time-scale of change, the context, and the crucial question of agency in explaining development or outcomes can be seen as “fundamental errors” (Byrne & Callaghan, 2014, p. 258) in L2 motivation research. Complexity turns our attention in L2 motivation research toward developing a different logic of explanation—one that is *complex* (i.e., multivariate, multi-level, and path-dependent) and *dynamic* (i.e., involving contingent, co-adaptive processes that are non-proportional) (Byrne & Uprichard, 2012). On the upside, however, actual L2 motivational phenomena involve many different elements and influences, all of which may be acting together at the same time (Dörnyei et al., 2015), which is why this lens allows for a much more ecologically valid way of enacting change. To round off our chapter we propose several guiding principles for doing L2 motivation research in ways that correspond with the conceptual tools and principles outlined earlier.

Focus on relations between open systems in context: If systems are the fundamental unit of analysis in L2 motivation research and represent relational building blocks for dynamic and situated outcomes, identifying the key interactions that shape particular outcomes of L2 motivation is a crucial first step for research that adopts this perspective (Larsen-Freeman, 2016; Mercer, 2016). Establishing these relations and the contribution of contexts to L2 motivation is a necessary step to doing research that is both meaningful and powerful from a complexity perspective. To focus on relations between open systems in context, L2 motivation research could take a problem-based approach to the research, as we have outlined earlier, and identify central knowledge gaps or issues in the field. This is also important in order to adopt designs that go beyond measuring discrete elements or variables in L2 motivation research (MacIntyre et al., 2015), something done in other disciplines

through various design-based methods (e.g., DBIR), as well as set-theoretic (e.g., QCA) and network approaches (e.g., social network analysis). There are likely to be a handful of central relational links in operation that can offer insight into the workings of the system and inform actual adjustments that need to be made. Relational links can loop in bi-directional cycles where reciprocal and recursive flows of causes and effects add another dimension to how systems come to be what they are, or come to behave as they do. There may also be various peripheral—and in some instances even hidden—relations between the system and its context that may have an impact on, and in turn are impacted by, the outcome. Deciphering these cycles is likely to result in revolutionary ways of thinking about engineering outcomes in L2 motivation research (e.g., Henry et al., 2015). Another productive avenue for doing L2 motivation research in this way would be to begin with what Larsen-Freeman (2017), citing the work of Richard Lewontin, has called “functional wholes” that, instead of drawing arbitrary boundaries for systems or units of analysis, are concerned first and foremost with explaining phenomena and that any parts, processes, or boundaries that are examined in the research design depend on what is being explained.

Take time and change into account: Many scholars have recognized the need for more intervention-based research in L2 motivation (e.g., Lamb, 2017). However, particularly in the complex and multilayered settings where L2 motivational phenomena are situated, the point of departure for effecting change may not always be what it appears to be (Larsen-Freeman, 2012, 2016). A system’s previous history provides the initial timeframe which is necessary to begin thinking about processes and mechanisms for system intervention. Time and change, thus, contribute to an expanding picture of how effects can be configured to impact L2 learners’ motivation (e.g., Papi, 2016, 2018; Park & Hiver, 2017). Outcomes, too, such as particular learning behaviors may not immediately reveal their underlying cause if the source of that outcome or behavior is a process whose sustained effect had a much earlier inception. This is reflected in behavior or programs which appear to have no immediate effect because the antecedents require a period of incubation before the effect unfolds (Morrison, 2008). Motivational interventions may not always produce the same outcome simply because much of motivational practice is about doing the right thing in the right way and at the right time in response to problems posed by particular people in particular places on particular occasions (Davis & Sumara, 2006). Designing effective, scalable, and sustainable policies and programs must hinge on contingent, threshold effects to improve L2 learners’ motivation which build up over time until they cascade into one or another outcome. The takeaway from accounting for time

and change in research and practice that intends to develop and support learner motivation is that it should be iterative and premised on adaptive improvement.

Examine networks of L2 motivation and higher-order, emergent outcomes: In addition to prioritizing a situated and dynamic view of individual L2 motivation, complexity allows researchers to engage in level-jumping and examine how the situational aspects of language learning encourage prosocial and collaborative accomplishments in classroom settings. Group processes are a vibrant domain of social psychology, but since earlier work relating this to motivation in L2 learning (e.g., Dörnyei & Malderez, 1997; Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003; Ehrman & Dörnyei, 1998) very little scholarship has materialized on this important dimension of L2 motivation. Particularly at superordinate levels in group processes and interpersonal dynamics, individual language learners are motivated within a higher-order collective if they identify with others and share similar values or L2 learning goals. Taking the network of interactions between individuals in context (i.e., the relational qualities of the system) as the conceptual unit of analysis (Mercer, 2015) will allow L2 motivation scholars to juxtapose individual and collective motivation—the kind that often characterizes commitment to L2 learning in teams or the dynamic group processes in L2 learning institutions.

Ultimately, complexity's value in informing research and theorizing in L2 motivation is that it transcends a deterministic philosophy of science and counteracts the philosophy that causal mechanisms exist and operate independent of other properties or relationships. Thus, from a complexity perspective, L2 motivation research is concerned explicitly with (a) examining agentic systems in contexts and investigating the relational links that bring these systems to life; (b) taking into account time and dynamic change in system development and behavior; and (c) understanding and capturing the adaptive self-organization that results in salient system outcomes in the realm of L2 motivation.

Conclusion

We began this chapter by considering how this framework encourages scholars to view the world and its phenomena and detailing how complexity theory has been used by other disciplines. Then, by extending the recent work of Larsen-Freeman (2015, 2017), we explored some of the key intellectual ideas and theoretical tools that a complexity perspective offers specifically for the field of L2 motivation. Finally, we looked at the future of L2 motivation

research from within this conceptual framework to establish the ways in which complexity theory might inform transdisciplinary research in the discipline. Our position in this chapter has been that complexity not only enriches current understanding of the L2 motivation field, but it also has the potential to provide new empirical answers to long-standing questions.

It is clear that there is no singular perspective or framework that works as a solution to understanding all the complexities of our field (Ortega, 2012, 2013). However, there is an increasing intellectual reorientation in L2 motivation research to embrace complexity, rather than reduce or ignore it, because complexity thinking reflects some of the features that many applied linguists who study L2 motivation already recognize intuitively from our practice. It is also consistent with many assumptions and empirical findings in applied linguistics research more broadly (Larsen-Freeman, 2017). The most exciting contribution of complexity is that it provides a truer perspective for looking at the problem space of L2 motivation, and this can empower us to engage with and acknowledge complexity without the fear of failing to meet an idealized, neat conception of what the discipline should be or should look like. It is, therefore, a conceptual framework well suited to advancing an ambitious agenda for future L2 motivation research (MacIntyre et al., 2015).

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7

Directed Motivational Currents: Extending the Theory of L2 Vision

Alastair Henry

Successfully mastering a foreign language is a long-haul project. It demands significant investments of time and emotional resources. Often an effortful endeavour, in serendipitous circumstances the learning process can sometimes be surprisingly effortless, the experience of moving ever-closer to the goal of proficiency being one of joy and inner-fulfilment. Dörnyei, Henry, and Muir (2016) describe the phenomenon of intense and enduring motivation in pursuit of a highly-desired goal as a “directed motivational current” (DMC). An extension of Dörnyei’s theory of L2 vision (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; see also Dörnyei, this volume), the DMC concept captures a powerful form of motivation that although instantly recognizable to many people, has not previously featured in mainstream psychology or any of its applied disciplines. A unique motivational state, a DMC arises whenever a personal goal of great importance is matched with a structured pathway of action within which the energy generated in pursuit of the goal is amplified to a degree that goal-oriented actions become automatized, and intense work is experienced as effortless and absorbing. While the components of a DMC all have recognizable antecedents in motivational psychology, and involve familiar psychological processes, a DMC differs from other types of motivated behaviour; not only do the various motivational factors and conditions achieve optimal levels of coordination, but they also become self-sustaining (Dörnyei et al., 2016).

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While a person experiencing a DMC is likely to exhibit many of the behaviours generally characteristic of motivated learners—for example, perseverance, curiosity and single-mindedness—being in a DMC is not the same as being highly motivated. In a DMC the energy generated is qualitatively different to the motivation of ambitious and goal-oriented students. While high levels of self-regulation—observable as dedication, commitment and resilience—might be the defining characteristics of a “good” student, in a DMC conscious self-regulation is unnecessary. This is because when a goal becomes a highly salient dimension of the individual’s identity, pursuance becomes an automatic part of life. In such circumstances, tasks and activities that might otherwise have been effortful, mundane and even tedious are approached with an effortless outflow of energy, and can generate deep-seated feelings of personal fulfilment. In this respect, task engagement in a DMC is very similar to the peak experiences of optimal functioning conceptualized in Csikszentmihalyi’s ([1975] 2000, 1988) theory of flow; DMCs and flow experiences both involve heightened awareness and complete absorption. However, the two concepts differ in a number of important ways. One crucial difference is that in a DMC the experience of total absorption is repeated whenever a goal-salient activity is entered into, whereas flow experiences are limited to unique activities. This chapter describes the DMC construct, and its origins in Dörnyei’s theory of L2 vision. It explains how DMCs differ from flow, and in the light of research so far conducted, considers the validity and applications of the construct.

L2 Vision

The DMC construct has its roots in Dörnyei’s theory of vision in L2 learning (Dörnyei, 2018; Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014). In this work, vision is conceptualized as the superimposition of a powerful *sensory* element onto an abstract *cognitive* goal. As a higher-order factor, vision has multiple influences on the endeavour of acquiring a foreign language; it generates initial motivation, enables the learner to direct effort to goal-relevant tasks, and supports the development of sustained behaviours of goal-directed learning.

For a language learner, the *goal* of learning relates to the achieving of a desired level of competence, and involves an abstract cognitive conception of that achievement. *Vision* is an additional sensory dimension that closely accompanies this goal. It encompasses mental imagery where achievement is manifested in visual representations of the self in L2 contexts, and engaged in

interaction with L2 speakers. Visions of L2 use that overlay goals of proficiency also have an emotional dimension. Conjured experiences of goal accomplishment are accompanied by positive emotions deriving from the pleasure and satisfaction associated with achievement. These sensory experiences function to increase the perceived reality of the goal and, as a consequence, to enhance its motivational power.

The development of the theory of L2 vision has its antecedents in Dörnyei's own ground-breaking work on the function of possible selves in generating motivation to learn foreign languages, and the construction of the L2 Motivational Self System model (see Csizér, this volume). While Dörnyei (2005) drew on Higgins' (1987) theory of self-discrepancy to explain the mechanism through which motivation is generated, it was Markus and Nurius' (1986) identification of the motivational function of imagination that constitutes the key innovation in Dörnyei's theorizing. In Markus and Nurius' (1986) seminal work, possible selves constitute a melding together of cognition and fantasy. Constituting elements of an imagined future, possible selves are manifested as images and sensations that people experience as phenomenologically "real" (Markus & Ruvolo, 1989; Segal, 2006). The value of possible selves in accounting for human motivation, and the attraction of the construct across varying fields of applied research, is in capturing the power and influence of the imagination on cognitive processes of setting and pursuing personally relevant goals.

Imagination is the unique ability possessed by humans "to conjure up images, stories, and projections of things not currently present and the use of these projections for entertaining the self, planning for the future, and performing other basic tasks of self-regulation" (Taylor, Pham, Rivkin, & Armor, 1998, p. 429). Because imagination can have powerful consequences for people's emotions, it is a potent motivator of action. As Taylor et al. (1998) explain, when a future event or scenario—such as a possible self—is conjured in a person's mind, it materialises not as "a dry cognitive representation" (p. 431), but rather as an image that triggers a change in the person's emotional state. Thus, while possible selves can be understood as "personalized cognitive carriers of some of the dynamic aspects of personality" (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 966), it is through the process of *imagining* the self in future events (e.g. seeing a slimmer or more muscular version of the self reflected in a mirror), and experiencing the *emotions* connected to these images (pleasure, gratification and satisfaction), that fantasy is channelled into action (for example, by choosing to remain at the gym for an extra 30 minutes).

In work continuing the development of the theory of L2 vision, Dörnyei (2018, this volume) has emphasized the ways in which the possession of an

enduring image of goal achievement can guide and support goal-focused behaviours. In learning a language perseverance is important. On a day-to-day basis, the efficiency of L2 learning is likely to fluctuate, and commitment will be influenced by any number of situation-specific factors. In the context of constantly competing demands on a person's time, learners who possess a vision of the L2 user they wish to become are advantaged. Relative to the everyday fluctuations of the learning experience, a vision of the self in the future as an L2 user tends to be more stable. Images of this sort can enable the learner to remain more clearly focused on the "bigger picture" of the effort that is expended in acquiring a language. In this sense, L2 vision can be understood as underpinning persistence and perseverance, and enabling the development of more focused and longer-term commitment to the language learning process (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014).

When activated in goal-salient situations, mental images of the "self-in-L2-interaction" can be highly effective in stimulating goal-directed behaviours. Explaining how "possible selves work by personalizing the goal", Markus and Ruvolo (1989) argue that individuals "with a clear image, conception, or sense of themselves in a future state ... will have accessible more cues relevant to this future state, and this will enhance goal-related performance" (pp. 227–228). While mental representations of ultimate success (i.e. proficient L2 use) are by nature *distal*, holding a vision that references L2 proficiency can also have an impact on *proximal* goals. This is because a cued image of future attainment can provide a personalized and emotionally-infused context for current behaviour. Referencing Aristotle's theory of motivation, Dörnyei (2018) maintains that in any moment of salience the image of a desired outcome will serve as a source of *activation*, guiding and directing behaviour by representing the goal object. In the long-term endeavour of acquiring an L2, and in the face of the inevitable interruptions, plateaus and setbacks of the learning process, the systematic and efficient activation of images of goal achievement can have a decisive impact on perseverance. Specifically, if a vision exceeds a critical threshold of strength, it can become chronically accessible in the individual's working self-concept (Higgins, King, & Mavin, 1982; Markus & Kunda, 1986). A vision of sufficient strength will always be potentially relevant, and always potentially "activatable". It means that even in situations of relatively low salience, or when focus on learning is overridden by more immediate distractions, an image of goal-attainment can be rapidly triggered, and can quickly reactivate goal-directed behaviour.

While the theory of L2 vision continues to be developed and refined in Dörnyei's ongoing work on perseverance in L2 learning, the conceptualiza-

tion of L2 motivation as a vision held by the learner has already resulted in practical implications. In their book *Motivating learners, motivating teachers: Building vision in the language classroom* (2014, Cambridge University Press), Dörnyei and Kubanyiova outline a programme of visionary training that can harness the power of imagery through various visualisation techniques. In this multi-stage programme, each component corresponds to a principle conditioning the effectiveness of possible selves. These are, respectively, (a) *creating the vision* (supporting learners in constructing images of themselves as L2 users); (b) *strengthening the vision* (helping learners to develop elaborated future selves); (c) *substantiating the vision* (helping learners to calibrate desired L2 selves with realistic expectations of success); (d) *transforming the vision into action* (supporting learners in creating concrete action plans directed to self-realisation); (e) *keeping the vision alive* (providing learners with opportunities to regularly activate L2 self-images), and (f) *counterbalancing the vision* (prompting reflection on consequences associated with not achieving a desired vision). In addition to a number of generally successful interventions based on various combinations of these principles (see Csizér, this volume), Adolphs et al. (2018) have recently developed a series of technologies enabling language learners to create and access digital representations of their ideal L2 selves (see also Henry and Lamb, this volume). Taking the theory of vision into the realm of digitally augmented image generation, this study not only explores the relationship between mental visualizations and digital representations, but also provides an early indication of the yet untapped motivational potential inherent in user-generated imagery.

Motivation and Temporal Dimensions

Preoccupation with a personally-important project that is manifested in a directed outflow of energy is a motivational phenomenon that is widely experienced, even if only once in a lifetime (Muir, 2016). However few motivational models (or empirical studies) have focused on the maintenance of effort and persistence in goal-directed activities (Grant & Shin, 2012). Why, then, have enduring forms of goal-directed energy, and constructs capturing long-term motivation not previously featured in the motivation literature? Dörnyei et al. (2016) point to a number of reasons, methodological as well as conceptual. First, mainstream psychology has a methodological tradition dominated by experimental and cross-sectional research, both of which draw on between-persons methods. Driven by exacting standards of replicability and generalizability, the bias towards group-level results and one-off measurements has

meant that within-person designs have played only a marginal role, and investigations of motivational trajectories are rare. Because temporal aspects of motivation have been largely overlooked, there is currently no “mainstream account of human motivation which would consider motivation to be a process” (Dörnyei et al., 2016, p. 28).

By tradition, psychological theories separate motivation from the behaviour it generates, motivation being conceptualized as internal forces that “underlie the direction, intensity, and persistence of behavior or thought” (Schmidt, Beck, & Gillespie, 2013, p. 311). While in most situations this separation makes a lot of sense—the persistence of goal-directed behaviour being a consequence of the strength of a person’s motivation—it has meant that conceptualizations where “causes” and “effects” are integrated have not been given proper consideration. A DMC is one such construct. Not merely a conduit, or motivational pathway along which behaviour is channelled, a DMC also energizes action in a manner where “the outworking of the initial motive becomes *part of the energy source* itself” (Dörnyei et al., 2016, p. xii, original emphasis). It is this self-sustaining quality that most fundamentally distinguishes DMCs from other constructs in the motivation literature.

This being said, in recent years there has been a growing recognition in research communities that motivation needs to be understood as a dynamic phenomenon that evolves and develops across varying timescales. In mainstream psychology, Schmidt et al. (2013) suggest that motivation is properly viewed as “a constellation of dynamic, reciprocal processes that unfold over time” (p. 331), while in SLA it is argued that the study of motivation demands “dynamically informed research designs” (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015, p. 5). The DMC construct is a product of this shift in the theorizing of motivation. Conceptualized as capturing the essence of optimal and sustained long-term motivated behaviour, and as having the capacity “to override the complexity and chaos of the surrounding world and to channel behaviour down a goal-specific course of action” (Dörnyei, Ibrahim, & Muir, 2015, p. 104), DMCs neatly accord with this new zeitgeist (Dörnyei et al., 2016; see also Dörnyei, Muir, & Ibrahim, 2014; Muir & Dörnyei, 2013).

DMCs and Flow

A crucial question for DMC research is how the construct differs from Csikszentmihalyi’s (1988) renowned theory of flow. The two constructs share many commonalities. Both involve the same signature characteristics of total

absorption and the experience of optimal functioning. However they differ in four key respects (see also Pinel & Albert, this volume).

First, flow experiences and DMCs occur across different *timescales*. In Csikszentmihalyi's work ([1975] 2000, 1990, 1997), the time-windows within which flow experiences occur are much shorter than those associated with DMCs. While in a DMC the current of energy encompasses a series of activities, and can last for weeks, months and possibly even years, the flow phenomenon is almost always restricted to single, self-contained activities. Second, flow experiences are generally experienced in activities involving a degree of personal expression, such as e.g., painting, sports or digital gaming. While flow experiences can be repeatedly experienced, this happens only when the level of challenge or complexity increases (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988). However, even though the demands generated by increasingly complex activities may spiral in an upward-moving direction, the type of activity—painting the picture or playing the game—remains the same. This is not the case in a DMC; not only will the activities generating experiences of optimal functioning often be highly diverse, they can also be mundane and repetitive, quite unlike the types of structured and ritualized activities described by Csikszentmihalyi.

This leads to the third difference. Unlike flow, in a DMC it is not the attraction of the activity that generates positive emotional energy and motivated behaviour. Rather, the driving force lies in the overall long-term goal. A single activity is thus no more than a way-stage on a longer journey of accomplishment. Indeed, in Csikszentmihalyi's ([1975] 2000) classic conceptualisation, behaviour is fully *autotelic*; it has an end or purpose in itself and which is entirely unrelated to any external or higher-order goal. So, while in flow completion of the activity *is* the goal, in a DMC completion is no more than a step towards a goal that is much larger, and has significant personal importance. It is for this reason that in a DMC activities that might not normally generate motivational intensity—for example learning irregular verbs—can generate experiences of total absorption and self-fulfilment. This is because positive emotions are projected onto the activity by the emotional loading of the ultimate goal.

The fourth difference between flow and DMCs concerns the process triggering entry “into the zone”. In Csikszentmihalyi's ([1975] 2000) theory, each flow experience is uniquely created and re-created by the autotelic experience, and the intrinsic joy of performance. In a DMC it is neither the allure of the activity, nor the pleasure in carrying it out that cues experiences of optimal functioning. Rather, it is the *anticipation* of an opportunity to become closer to the ultimate goal, and the *vision* of success that accompanies it, which trig-

ger total absorption. In a DMC, both the goal and the accompanying vision are chronically accessible in cognition. This functions to heighten the individual's awareness of affordances for goal-fulfilment in the surrounding environment. It also means that in salient situations goal-directed behaviours are triggered automatically, the person being immediately transported into a channel of optimal functioning.

A Complex Motivational Superstructure

As previously explained, DMCs stand apart from other motivational experiences in that the DMC structure functions to maintain a flow of energy. A DMC has three unique structural elements: (i) a vision of accomplishment that attaches to a superordinate goal, (ii) sets of recurring behavioural routines performed without the exercise of volitional control, and (iii) processes of regular progress checks where subgoals provide affirmative feedback.

A Vision of Accomplishment That Attaches to a Superordinate Goal

In a DMC, the “directedness” of motivated behaviour is maintained by a superordinate goal with vivid visionary characteristics (Dörnyei et al., 2016). In a DMC the strong sensory element means that in goal-salient situations, the guiding vision of ultimate accomplishment can be highly motivational. As made clear previously in this chapter, a vision of a future event or state can become entwined with an important goal in ways that make the goal highly-personalized, its power magnified by the imagined reality of its accomplishment (Markus & Ruvolo, 1989).

In addition to the work of Markus and her associates on the visionary dimensions of possible selves previously discussed (see also Csizér, this volume), Dörnyei and his colleagues (Dörnyei et al., 2016) draw on research by Sheldon and Elliot (1998, 1999) into what these researchers term the “self-concordance” of enduring goals. Extending Deci and Ryan’s (1985) theory of self-determination by focusing on people’s broader goals, rather than on situational factors and domain-specific motivation, Sheldon and Elliot (1998) make the point that “not all personal goals are personal” (p. 555). Specifically, they suggest that even when goals are self-generated, they may not be experienced as autonomous and self-integrated. Rather, for a goal to be genuinely “owned” by an individual, over and above being self-determined it needs to

additionally represent the person's authentic interests, passions, values and beliefs. Goals that have particular personal meaning, and which "belong to the self in a deeper sense" (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999, p. 494), can be understood as *self-concordant*. A goal that is central to a person's sense of identity, and which is pursued not out of obligation, but from a strongly-held personal conviction, can be extremely powerful. As Sheldon and Elliot (1999) explain, self-concordant goals function as a "type of self-concept, and a very important type, given that they energize and direct so much of people's behavior" (p. 485).

Self-concordant goals are pursued with unusual vigour and determination. Because in a DMC the superordinate goal will always be highly self-concordant, this means that goal-pursuit becomes chronic. Indeed, it is the sense that the ultimate goal is autonomously-generated and fully self-integrated, that sets apart learners who are experiencing a DMC from those who are simply highly motivated. Similarly to how sensory images provide greater clarity to valued goals and enhance their motivational power, when a goal is closely aligned with the person's core identity, goal-related activities that have little or no intrinsic value can generate significant pleasure, and are "likely to receive sustained effort over time" (Sheldon & Elliot, 1999, p. 483).

Sets of Recurring Behavioural Routines Performed Without the Exercise of Volitional Control

As previously noted, in a DMC the experience of optimal functioning is re-triggered in any situation where the goal becomes salient. Unlike most conceptions of the self which are accessible only when prevailing conditions or the individual's affective or motivational state make them salient, self-conceptions central in defining the self have an enduring salience; they are *chronically accessible* and "constantly available for characterizing the self" (Markus & Kunda, 1986, p. 859). As Dörnyei et al. (2016) are at pains to emphasise, it is the almost permanent availability of the ultimate goal/vision that is one of the signature characteristics of a DMC:

We cannot overstate the significance of this chronic accessibility: As Bargh, Lombardi, and Higgins (1988, p. 604) explain, chronically accessible constructs are "automatic perceptual biases that reflect the long-term nature of one's social experience" and, as such, become "default interpretive mechanisms". As these authors argue, while the power of this chronic accessibility may be temporarily overridden by the distractions of various life situations, "it is just a matter of

time before one's dispositional perceptual set will be restored to ascendancy" (p. 604). What this amounts to, in plain words, is that if a goal/vision exceeds a critical threshold of personal importance (i.e., identity-congruence), it becomes an *automatic regulator* of behavior. Hence, during a DMC the vision and the actions it prompts become an integral part of a person's life. (p. 73)

As part of the developing understanding of the role played by unconscious motives in determining the motivation of L2 learners (see Al-Hoorie, this volume), Dörnyei et al. (2016) emphasise how in a DMC the activation of self-concordant goals and the cuing of visions of goal-accomplishment occur without conscious awareness. Explaining how behavioural routines are performed without the exercise of volitional control, Dörnyei et al. (2016) refer to Custers and Aarts (2007) who argue that having an accessible goal in mind "enables people to maintain their social goals without much conscious thought" (p. 632). The same authors also explain how effort activation is the default outcome of chronically accessible goals/visions.

So, in a DMC, not only are people (consciously) highly alert to affordances for goal-pursuit, but whenever the goal/vision is cued, patterns of motivated behaviour are automatically (non-consciously) triggered. Indeed, because goals/visions are chronically accessible, learning behaviours quickly become part of an established routine, thus creating a type of motivational autopilot where the initiation and actioning of learning opportunities becomes a semi-automatic process. In practical terms, this means that there is no need for motivational processing each and every time a learning activity is carried out. Rather, learning routines become an unreflected-upon part of an automatic process of goal pursuit. As Aarts and Custers (2012) explain:

Actions instrumental in attaining goals that are repeatedly and consistently selected and performed in the same context become habitual and associated with the goal in the given context. Accordingly, goal-directed behavior no longer needs to be guided by conscious intentions to attain the goal, but, instead, is activated and maintained by the representation of the goal without conscious intervention. (p. 237)

Drawing on the findings of studies focused on unconscious goal achievement behaviours (e.g. Fitzsimons & Bargh, 2003; Shah, Friedman, & Kruglanski, 2002), Dörnyei et al. (2016) argue that people experiencing a DMC exhibit a form of "visionary single-mindedness", where levels of goal-commitment become pervasive to the extent that motivation itself becomes chronic, clothing goal pursuit in what they describe as a "protective shield" (p. 86).

Processes of Regular Progress Checks Where Subgoals Provide Affirmative Feedback

In goal-setting theory, a distinction is made between distal and proximal goals. No matter how powerful a superordinate self-concordant goal might be, because accomplishment is by nature distant in time, subgoals have a motivationally important role to play. Not only do they constitute shorter-term targets to aim for, they also provide standards for evaluating performance and goal-directed progress. Specifically, because accomplishment generates affirmative feedback, subgoals function not only as markers of progress, but also as incentives for continued learning.

In a DMC people are highly aware of accomplishments. As a consequence of their role in the close monitoring of progress, subgoals become part of the self-sustaining motivational superstructure. As Miller and Brickman (2004) explain, when a person commits to a self-relevant, autonomous goal, and when this goal regulates behaviour through processes of self-identification, a system of proximal subgoals is created, the function being to guide behaviour towards the end-goal. In a DMC, sets of self-identified subgoals create a cohesive framework of more proximate targets that keep the person's energies *directed* to the ultimate goal. Importantly, as recognised by Miller and Brickman (2004), when a "system of subgoals becomes clearer and particular subgoals are accomplished, the level of commitment to the future goals grows stronger" (p. 14). Thus in a DMC the superordinate self-concordant goal and the accompanying vision of goal-accomplishment together function "as a steering mechanism in the setting of subgoals" (Dörnyei et al., 2016, p. 52). Moreover, in a bidirectional process, attainment of proximal targets functions to bolster and reinforce the overall goal/vision. Because in a DMC feedback gained from goal-accomplishment is almost exclusively of an affirmative type, the ultimate goal continues to be experienced as possible and achievable. It is in this way that self-evaluations anticipating affirmative feedback generate motivation, and become part of the structure of self-renewing energy.

Emergence and Demise

A DMC has a discernible start point where motivational energy is initially created. There is also a point where the current ends, energy either ceasing abruptly, or slowly dissipating. At its inception, a DMC will not normally drift slowly into being. Rather, it is usually triggered by a particular event or the serendipitous coming together of a series of motivationally-conducive fac-

tors. In terms of development, while in some cases the current of motivational energy might accumulate slowly and steadily, in others it can emerge in a sudden rush, the uncorking of a well of untapped energy. As Dörnyei et al. (2016) explain, although the actual start of a DMC can take different forms, two key factors will nearly always be present at the launch: a triggering stimulus, and a favourable alignment of necessary conditions. In empirical work, the genesis of a DMC is often found to be located in fortuitous circumstances, not unusually the emergence of an attractive opportunity combined with personal circumstances providing space for dedicated action. Interestingly, DMC experiences have also been found to stem from unpleasantly negative experiences that may have caused embarrassment, disappointment, or humiliation (Dörnyei et al., 2016).

An Effective Re-triggering Mechanism

As previously explained, a DMC is always directed, the current guided by a very specific goal and an image of its accomplishment. Indeed, it is this directness, and the cohesion that the ultimate goal/vision brings to goal-directed behaviours, that distinguishes DMCs from flow experiences. While the importance of the launch should not be underestimated, it is in itself insufficient to sustain the energy of a current of motivation which can endure over days, weeks or even for months on end. Rather, the energy flow is maintained by processes of re-triggering each time the goal becomes salient. This mechanism is important. Unlike a flow experience, which endures uninterrupted but only for the duration of an activity, in a DMC the current will always be interrupted. A DMC is thus an *intermittent* process; each time the ultimate goal/vision becomes salient, the current is re-triggered anew. Thus, another characteristic of a DMC is an effective *re-triggering mechanism*, a feature evidenced in the way in which, as soon as a goal-directed activity is commenced, focus is total and energy and enthusiasm appear unlimited.

A Positive Emotional Climate: Eudaimonia and Self-authenticity

In a DMC, deep-seated feelings of well-being and fulfilment are generated even when carrying out the most mundane of activities. This near-permanent sensation of positive emotion is another of the construct's signature characteristics. In a fractal manner, the positive feelings attaching to the pervading

sense of progressing towards the ultimate goal are also projected onto sub-goals. Thus, in a process of self-generating positivity, each sub-goal becomes endowed with the same self-concordance as the ultimate goal, striving and achievement both infused with the same visionary single-mindedness. As Sheldon and Houser-Marko (2001) have observed, the achieving of self-concordant goals can give rise to positive cycles of satisfaction and well-being. As they explain, “it is possible to become happier through one’s striving pursuits, if one picks the right goals and does well at them; furthermore, such changes should last and perhaps conduce to even more positive change” (p. 163).

As in other areas of language learning psychology, the theory of directed motivational currents builds on understandings about the facilitative function of positive emotions (Gregersen, this volume, MacIntyre et al., this volume). Central in the theorizing of the DMC’s positive emotional loading is Waterman’s (1993) eudaimonic identity theory (Dörnyei et al., 2016; see also Ibrahim, 2016a). The central tenet of this theory is that acting in a manner consistent with personal potential is accompanied by feelings of “personal expressiveness” (p. 679). Personal expressiveness, or state eudaimonia, involves feelings of intense involvement in an activity, the perception of a special fit between the individual and the activity, and the sense of being completely fulfilled and intensely alive. Additionally, engagement can lead to perceptions of acting authentically, doing something that was meant to happen, and that doing the activity is a part of who one really is. Importantly, because personal expressiveness signals a sense of acting in a manner consistent with goals that have intrinsic value and meaning, goal-oriented behaviours and goal perseverance are enhanced (Huta & Waterman, 2013).

In addition to eudaimonic identity theory (Waterman, 1993), the DMC construct draws on work that conceptualises authenticity as “a situational emotional experience” (Vannini, 2006 p. 239). An affective quality that people are motivated to obtain, experiences of authenticity are generated whenever a person perceives a coherence between currently pertaining cognitions and actions, and core aspects of the self that encompass enduring attitudes, values, and beliefs. When self-authenticity is achieved, feelings of satisfaction and well-being are generated (Lenton, Bruder, Slabu, & Sedikides, 2013; Lenton, Slabu, Sedikides, & Power, 2013; Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne, & Ilardi, 1997; Vannini & Burgess, 2009). Like Sheldon and Elliot (1998, 1999), Vannini and Burgess (2009) describe the sense of a meshing between an activity and central personal values and self-knowledge as the achieving of a “congruence between one’s actions and one’s core self-conceptions”, adding further that “when actions are congruent with core self-conceptions, one’s self is affirmed and one experiences authenticity” (p. 104).

Effortlessness and Effort

A final hallmark of directed motivational currents, and one that often features in the stories told by people who have experienced a fully-fledged DMC, is how activities that might normally be perceived as demanding and *effortful* are experienced as remarkably *effortless*. In a DMC, self-regulation is not the result of disciplined scaffolding deriving from an uncommon will to succeed. Nor does it derive from a fathomless well of personal resilience. The DMC experience has nothing to do with perceptions of hardship, or of overcoming obstacles. Rather, because the ultimate goal provides a challenge that is highly rewarding and personally fulfilling, each activity provides satisfaction in the anticipation of arriving at this final destination. Indeed, it is when a DMC dissipates, and when previously effortless activities are suddenly experienced as effortful, that the clearest insights into the positive emotional loading of the current are provided. As is well demonstrated in empirical work (Henry, Davydenko, & Dörnyei, 2015; Ibrahim, 2016b; Muir, 2016), the ending of a DMC can be an unsettling experience. Even though a sense of loss is not felt by all the informants in these studies, the experience of shifting out of the current highlights the ending of a unique, and potentially unrepeatable experience. In terms of understanding the unparalleled energy experienced in a DMC, it is instructive to examine what happens when the current wanes, or when it suddenly ceases to flow.

During its lifetime, the DMC's facilitative structure functions to blanket out competing concerns, and to block off alternative pathways along which energy could potentially be channelled. This means that compared to normal situations of engagement, during a DMC cognitive effort is experienced very differently. Not only does effort *feel* different, it generates fundamentally different affective *responses*. While the current flows, the sense of concentrating, and directing focus to a task can itself become a source of motivational energy, increasing perceptions of well-being and fulfilment. Generally people will avoid activities that involve high levels of subjective effort. However in DMCs this is different. Task difficulty is inversely related to subjective effort. Actions normally demanding high levels of exertion are experienced as effortless (Robinson & Morsella, 2014). However, when the current subsides, the phenomenology changes. In a pattern conversely mirroring the upwardly spiralling processes of energy generation at the current's inception, energy dissipates in a downward spiral. In these changed circumstances, cognitive effort becomes demanding and, with an increasing need for goal maintenance, can lead to energy depletion and fatigue (Hockey, 2013).

Concurrent with energy dissipation, changes in the operation of the central processes sustaining the DMC begin take place. The self-concordance of the ultimate goal starts to diminish. During a DMC, attentional antagonisms are overcome by simply refocusing on the ultimate goal, and thereby increasing the level of investment. However, the weakening of the self-concordance of goals makes conflict-resolution more difficult. When this happens, there is a reversion to normal circumstances where goal-directed behaviour is once more guided by modes of situated information processing that necessarily involve evaluations of the costs and benefits attaching to alternative courses of action. Distractions previously brushed aside become competing outlets for motivational energy, and can draw increasingly on cognitive resources. Alongside reductions in the self-concordance of goals, the phenomenological resonance of the DMC's guiding vision also diminishes. No longer dominating the working self-concept, the weakening of the vision has the effect that other self-concepts and alternative conceptions of future selves vie for space in active cognition, this too increasing the attraction of alternative paths of action.

Validity for the DMC Construct

Although a novel conception, and lacking obvious parallels in the mainstream motivation literature, the DMC construct draws on established principles and conceptualizations. Those of central importance are Csikszentmihalyi's ([1975] 2000, 1990) theory of *flow* (see also Piniel and Albert, this volume), Markus and Nurius' (1986) welding together of fantasy and cognition in their theory of *possible selves* (see also Markus & Ruvolo, 1989), and Sheldon and Elliot's (1998, 1999) theory of *self-concordant goals*. As well as Dörnyei's own theory of *L2 vision* (Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014), and understandings of the role played by *positive emotions* in language learning (MacIntyre & Gregersen, 2012; see also Gregersen, this volume; MacIntyre et al., this volume), DMC theorizing is additionally informed by theories of *unconscious motivation* (Aarts & Custers, 2012; Bargh et al., 1988; Fitzsimons & Bargh, 2003; see also Al-Hoorie, this volume), and the meta-theory of *complex dynamic systems* (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; see also Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016; Hiver & Papi, this volume).

In addition to theoretical validity deriving from its anchoring in established bodies of knowledge, an increasing number of empirical studies, qualitative as well as quantitative, contribute to validity arguments (see e.g. Ghanizadeh &

Jahedizadeh, 2017, and Safdari & Maftoon, 2017 in an Iranian setting; Selcuk & Erten, 2017 in a Turkish setting; Watkins, 2016 in a Japanese setting). In a large-scale study comprising 1563 participants of 71 different nationalities, and using a specially-developed online questionnaire designed to capture key dimensions of the construct (goal/vision orientedness; behavioural routines; affective experiences), Muir (2016) found that only around 9% of respondents had never experienced a longer period of intense motivation. With over half of the respondents (51%) reporting having experienced enduring motivation of milder intensity, and some 39% reporting motivation with clear DMC characteristics, Muir's findings indicate that DMCs are a recognisable motivational phenomenon and, regardless of demographic factors, a motivational state that can arise in optimal circumstances.

Qualitative studies have provided important insights into people's DMC experiences. In his PhD thesis, Ibrahim (2016b) used a phenomenological approach to analyse in-depth interviews with a number of language students in Iraqi Kurdistan who had experienced, or were experiencing a DMC. In retrospective interview-based studies, Henry et al. (2015) investigated four periods of intense and enduring motivation experienced by three migrant learners of Swedish as a second language, while Zarrinabadi and Tavakoli (2017) examined the experiences of two of Iranian English teacher trainees who had found themselves in a DMC. In all three of these studies support was found for the three main dimensions of the DMC construct, as illustrated in Table 7.1.

Group-Level DMCs: A Blueprint for Focused Interventions?

Like flow (Csikszentmihalyi, [1975] 2000, 1988), the DMC construct captures an out-of-the-ordinary motivational experience. Not only has flow become widely-known outside psychology, but surveys suggest that some 85–90% of western populations report flow experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 2009). While DMC experiences are not expected to be as common, Muir's (2016) research suggests that DMCs do occur, over a third of her respondents having at some time experienced an enduring period of intense motivation. Interestingly, while both constructs have been developed to explain a uniquely individual phenomenon, both have also been extended to capture *group-level* processes. As Sawyer (2006) has suggested, while flow is an individual state of consciousness, in the confines of highly cohesive groups it can additionally

Table 7.1 Examples of DMC experiences

Component	Examples
1. An overarching vision and superordinate self-concordant goal	<p><i>I want to get better into the system. That's my dream, you could say, and you can do that with a job. So I dream about a job and not studying more^a</i></p> <p><i>I actually saw myself standing there and putting the two copies [of the PhD thesis] in there and I could hear the sound of it falling 'boom'. And that was what I was looking for to see^b</i></p> <p><i>I put myself in an imaginary class teaching English. I imagined going to the institute, greeting students, checking assignments, and teaching different language skills^c</i></p>
2. A salient facilitative structure	
(i) Sets of recurring behavioural routines performed without the exercise of volitional control	<p><i>I want to keep up the pace. And study during the break. Or when I go home on the bus, I immediately start studying^a</i></p> <p><i>I was so much into it that I had changed everything into English, so not just as homework to get to at home, no. I mean, on the radio it was English, even if it was songs, I would put on English songs. I would watch TV in English, when I had time, for example, I would watch documentaries and ABC, CNN, or even children's cartoons, so I would exploit everything to learn English. At work, as I said, if I needed to do a search on a topic, I would not do in Arabic. I could understand Arabic much easier, and read it, but intentionally, I would go to an English one, even though I knew it was taking me more time, and more effort, but I would do it anyway^b</i></p> <p><i>I get up at 8 a.m. I study books on teaching English from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. I...I watched videos on teaching language skills from 9 p.m. to 12 p.m.^c</i></p>
(ii) Processes of regular progress checks, where subgoals provide affirmative feedback	<p><i>When I came here at the end of December, I got some paper and wrote down everything that I wanted to do. I wrote down what I would do during the next six months. I wrote down everything^a</i></p> <p><i>I would see the effect of this when I was talking to others in English and I could see in their eyes that they saw a change in me—a change in my skills for the better. They could see this growth and change happening to me on a daily or weekly basis^b</i></p> <p><i>My friend was an experienced teacher. He told me that I had progressed. He told me that if I continue that way I would become a good teacher. This gave me energy to try more^c</i></p>

(continued)

Table 7.1 (continued)

Component	Examples
(iii) Discernible start/end points	<p><i>When I came here I had a list of what I would do, so I was very active and did many things during a period, a few months. So now I have a little time over. I am also a little tired, because I was so active^a</i></p> <p><i>The interview ended right there; it ended without getting started. The person leading me to the exit door, I remember it very well, put his hand over my shoulder, and said to me, "You have good experience and skills. Improve your English to have more opportunities". This particular event had a profound impact on me^b</i></p>
3. Positive emotionality	<p><i>When I come here, the way I walk is different. I feel good, yes. Different feelings. I feel that coming here is big. It's better. I am closer to my goal. Everything is in Swedish. And you get that feeling in your stomach. In my stomach. /.../ I feel fantastic. I feel happy, I like everything I see around me and I feel that I, I already belong to the university and, it feels just wonderful^a</i></p> <p><i>I was feeling happy, but also that I have an outstanding capability, to be honest. This is the same feeling as when a child sees himself as very capable in comparison to others. So, to be honest, this feeling of being capable made me push myself even further, to continue learning on a daily basis, and at the same time feel great about it^b</i></p> <p><i>I really enjoyed everything which helped me to become a language teacher. I was happy because I was trying to achieve my goal^c</i></p>

^aHenry et al. (2015)

^bIbrahim (2016a, 2016b)

^cZarrinabadi and Tavakoli (2017)

emerge as a collective property of interfunctioning. In a direct extension of Csikszentmihalyi's original construct, Shernoff (2013) argues that group flow can arise when conditions in the environment include an optimal combination of challenge and support. Similarly, Gaggioli, Milani, Mazzoni, and Riva (2011) have suggested that in educational settings, group flow—or a peak state of *collective* creativity—can emerge when a shared collective intention exists.

In a spirit parallel to these extensions of the construct domain of flow, Dörnyei and colleagues (Dörnyei et al., 2016; Henry et al., 2015) have suggested that in optimal circumstances, group-level DMCs can also emerge. Specifically, they suggest that in well-functioning groups, goal-pursuit can be inferred from the behaviour of others, and that it can be automatically (i.e. unconsciously) triggered. Similar to processes of goal contagion (Aarts &

Custers, 2012), emotional energy that arises in a motivational group endeavour can spread ripple-like among group members, infecting all participants with the enthusiasm and the positive emotional loading associated with the engaged-in activity (Barsade, 2002). Drawing on extensive anecdotal evidence to be found in the literature on project based learning, and coining the term “intensive group projects” (IGPs), Dörnyei et al. (2016) argue that collective DMCs can emerge where a group of students become totally engrossed in a collective enterprise, to the extent that, for a period of time, they function on a form of motivational autopilot, the totality of their energies directed to a common goal. In a novel case study of a project developed using the IGP blueprint, Muir (2016) found evidence of a group-DMC experience, leading her to conclude that “the purposeful facilitation of DMC experiences with varied groups of language learners in diverse contexts—to achieve dual motivational *and* educational aims – might be a very real possibility” (p. iii) (see also Muir, this volume).

Conclusion

Rooted in the theories underpinning the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005; Csizér, this volume) and Dörnyei’s theory of vision (Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014), the DMC construct represents a further stage in the development of identity-based conceptualizations of L2 motivation, and provides a template for understanding motivation that endures over time. While persuasive arguments in favour of the theoretical validity of the DMC construct are to be found in Dörnyei et al.’s (2016) book-length treatment of its theoretical antecedents and constituents, and early empirical work supports these propositions (Henry et al., 2015; Ibrahim, 2016b; Muir, 2016; Zarrinabadi & Tavakoli, 2017), more extensive programs of research are needed to establish the validity of the construct, both as an individual and a collective phenomenon. Given that the greatest value of the DMC construct may lie in providing a framework for focused interventions, similarly to work on group flow (Shernoff, 2013) research programs need to address the ways in which DMCs can have “direct and meaningful application to student engagement in schools” (Shernoff, Abdi, Anderson, & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014, p. 212). In particular, research needs to examine the perceptual and environmental factors that can facilitate the generation and sustaining of high-intensity collective motivation in language classrooms.

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8

Motivation and Individual Differences

Stephen Ryan

This handbook is testament to the growth both in scale and in scope of the field of L2 motivation research. It does not seem so long ago that the field—for want of a better term—consisted of little more than a handful of scholars and an infrequent supply of research articles. This is clearly no longer the case. The publication surge of the last ten years or so (Boo, Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015) would appear to be indicative of an active, flourishing research environment. Most people who have been involved in this ‘surge’ would agree that it has been a very exciting time, one characterized by fast-paced theoretical and methodological innovation. However, amid all the excitement that comes with rapid growth, it is possible to find oneself yearning for the security, and perhaps the simplicity, of old certainties.

Early L2 motivation research grew from within the individual differences (ID) tradition in psychology and being a part of that established, respected academic tradition offered a sense of structure and, perhaps more importantly, connection to other areas of research for the emerging field. Paradigm shift is an overused term, nevertheless the pace and scale of the changes seen within L2 motivation research in recent years have significantly repositioned—perhaps even undermined (MacIntyre, Mackinnon, & Clément, 2009)—its theoretical and methodological foundations. The recent surge in interest and activity in L2 motivation research has, to a large degree, been inspired by a challenge to the assumptions of the IDs approach. Motivation is such a broad

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and often elusive concept that frustration with the limited accounts provided by research from within the established ID's tradition has encouraged scholars to seek new ways to investigate and explain language learner motivation.

The first half of this chapter will interweave three issues: firstly, the concept of individual differences will be described and discussed; secondly, the chapter will consider L2 motivation as an individual difference; finally, it will look at how motivation has been connected to other language learner individual differences. The second half of the chapter will then move to a discussion of some of the recent challenges to an individual differences conceptualization of language learner characteristics before considering how the concept fits into the current L2 motivation research agenda.

Individual Differences in Psychology

Before engaging with the specifics of L2 motivation, it is perhaps advisable to step back and consider the actual concept of individual differences. This contextual background helps us to understand both conceptualizations of L2 motivation and how the field has been researched. Of course, these two are closely intertwined and this connection between theory and methodology is an issue that will recur throughout the chapter. By focusing on three key individual differences within psychology—personality, intelligence, and, unsurprisingly, motivation—I hope to show how research in these areas has influenced the development of our own field and continues to shape current controversies.

Nobody doubts that people differ from each other, but how do we understand and explain those differences in a systematic way? This topic is a constant source of fascination and discussion at various levels of discourse, from philosophical study to everyday conversation. It has also been a core concern of psychology: “The goal of psychology is to discover the scientifically viable constructs or categories that will characterize what is variant and invariant in the working of the human mind” (Barrett, 2006, p. 35) and the study of individual differences concerns itself with a systematic understanding of variation among people. The twin, somewhat contrary, challenges of understanding the uniqueness of the individual mind and those aspects we have in common get further obscured when we consider that people differ from each other at various levels. Psychologists have long been aware (e.g., Kluckhohn & Murray, 1948) that on one level we are all very similar, at another level we differ from certain people but remain similar to others, and at yet a further level we are all

entirely unique. The branch of psychology known as *differential psychology*—or individual differences—is concerned with difference at the second level, general patterns of variation and broad tendencies that make certain types of people different from others.

As a working definition, we can consider individual differences as “enduring personal characteristics that are assumed to apply to everybody and on which people differ by degree” (Dörnyei & Ryan 2015, p. 3). Individual differences are founded on the assumption of a blueprint of human psychology to which we all conform or diverge from in some way, and in a discussion written for an applied linguistics audience, Dörnyei (2009a; see also Dörnyei, this volume) identified four defining characteristics of IDs:

1. they are distinct and definable psychological constructs;
2. they are relatively stable;
3. they are relatively monolithic components, only moderately related to each other;
4. they are internal, therefore independent of environmental factors.

This classic formulation of individual differences is crucial to the discussion of the development of L2 motivation theory and research later in the chapter.

Personality

Unsurprisingly, the individual difference that has been most extensively theorized and researched within psychology is personality (Corr, 2007). The origins of modern personality psychology can be found in the early part of the twentieth century, as psychology was establishing itself as an academic discipline. As with any new discipline looking to establish itself, there were issues of academic credibility and respect. In common with most of the social sciences, psychology looked toward the natural sciences as a model, an approach perfectly captured in the title of a later, highly influential work: *Personality and individual differences: a natural science approach* (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1985).

Research in the natural sciences is based around identifying, isolating, testing, and measuring. It assumes the capacity to clearly identify and measure discretely. It is a world of cause and effect, dependent and independent variables, linear relationships, and generalizable models. In the study of personality, this has led psychologists to search for the essential dimensions of personality that are shared by everyone. An early approach to the study of

personality was known as the psycho-lexical approach, and this involved collecting all the adjectives in a language that could refer to personality—in an early study, Allport (1937) came up with around 18,000—and analysing those words so as to extract underlying core personality traits. Over the years, research has whittled down this extensive list to the currently dominant Five-Factor Model (FFM), more often known as the Big Five (Costa & McCrae, 1998; John & Srivastava, 1999; McCrae & John, 1992). From its outset, the individual differences perspective has been an overtly reductionist one.

For L2 motivation studies the relevance of personality psychology is not so much in how these notions of personality connect to language learner motivation—an area that has attracted little serious research—but in how personality studies have influenced approaches to the conceptualization of motivation. As a dominant area of study within psychology, personality studies have set the tone and agenda; L2 motivation research, especially early research, adopted many of the scientific assumptions and reductionist aims of the individual differences approach to personality psychology.

Intelligence

Perhaps the most widely researched individual difference from an educational perspective is intelligence. Ever since the development of the Binet-Simon scale (Binet, Simon, & Kite, 1916) psychologists have sought to understand and measure intelligence in the service of education. Over the years, a number of theories have risen to a position of prominence, starting with Spearman's general factor (*g*) (1904) to Cattell's (1966) ideas regarding fluid intelligence (*G_f*) and crystallized intelligence (*G_c*) to the currently influential multiple intelligence model of Gardner (1983) or Sternberg's (2005) theory of 'successful intelligence'. Though fascinating, the details of these various theories are beyond the scope of this chapter, instead our interest lies more in the processes that have informed conceptualizations of intelligence.

The study of intelligence as an individual difference is pertinent to L2 motivation not so much in terms of its theoretical insights but more through its methodological influence. Some of the early pioneers in this area were committed believers in the power of numerical data and its capacity to reveal 'scientific truth'. Taking a cue from Galton's (1884, p. 185) claim that "[i]t is the statistics of each man's conduct in small everyday affairs, that will probably be found to give the simplest and most precise measure of his character," Spearman (1904) proposed his general intelligence factor, and in doing so developed a number of statistical techniques that have greatly influenced sub-

sequent approaches to the study of individual differences, such as factor analysis, correlation coefficients and the notion of reliability. Quantitative data and statistical analysis have been more than methodological options for the study of individual differences, they have been integral and essential to its development.

Within foreign language learning studies notions of intelligence have been closely tied to the concept of language aptitude. I will explore the connections between L2 aptitude and motivation a little later in the chapter, but for now the key point is that quantitative analysis has been integral to theorizations of intelligence, and by extension language aptitude, and subsequently language learner motivation. Most of the insights we have into L2 motivation have come through this quantitative approach; similarly, many of the most powerful criticisms of theories of L2 motivation relate to the dominance, and limitations, of quantitative analysis.

Motivation

As for motivation, this first appeared on the radar as an individual difference in the 1950s—the “high point of differential psychology” (Revelle, Wilt, & Condon, 2011, p. 8). Discussions of motivation often tend towards dichotomies, such as carrot/stick, integrative/instrumental, intrinsic/extrinsic. In an attempt to integrate one such dichotomy—approach and avoidance motivational tendencies—Atkinson (1957) began to develop the highly influential concept of achievement motivation. Approach tendencies are generally understood in terms of the impulses people have to move towards positive stimuli while avoidance refers to moving away from negative stimuli. These are core concepts in human motivation and achievement motivation is an area that still attracts significant scholarly interest (Conroy, Elliot, & Thrash, 2009; Murayama, Elliot, & Friedman, 2012). In fact, it is possible to regard this as the cornerstone of the cognitive motivation theories that dominated the latter part of the twentieth century, and many of the later influential motivational concepts, such as goal orientations (Ames & Archer, 1988; Dweck, & Leggett, 1988; Elliot, 1999) and the expectancy-value framework pursued by Eccles & Wigfield (2002), have clear roots in the concept of achievement motivation. There is neither the space nor the need—they are discussed elsewhere in this handbook (see Kormos & Wilby, this volume)—to go into too much detail regarding these cognitive theories of motivation. The point here is the profound influence they have had on how motivation has been theorized and researched within mainstream educational psychology, and by implication the field of language

education. Despite an awareness that the static, trait-based individual differences approach was ‘conceptually different’ from the study of the ‘dynamics of action’, (Bernard, 2012), motivation theory and research has been rooted within the individual, measured as a relatively stable construct, and described in terms of a generalizable structure.

Individual Differences in L2 Learning

Second and foreign language learning are areas that readily lend themselves to the notion of individual differences. Most people manage to learn a first language at roughly the same rate and in a similar manner, but there is considerable variation in both the rate of acquisition and the level of ultimate attainment when it comes to learning other languages. How do we explain this? (It should be pointed out here that the term ‘L2’ is being used in a generic sense to represent any language being learned after early childhood. The term is being used partly out of convenience, for lack of a better term, but partly to allude to the monolingual bias that dominated early SLA thinking.) It is not unreasonable for people to assume certain characteristics within the individual are responsible for this variation and that an understanding of those characteristics can contribute to more successful teaching and learning. According to Dewaele (2012, p. 159) the belief that “some hidden internal characteristic of the L2 learner predetermines a more or a less successful outcome” has been treated almost as a ‘holy grail’ quest. This ‘holy grail’ approach is crucial to the discussion of motivation and individual differences in L2 learning for, as we will see in the coming paragraphs, it has produced a substantial body of ‘vertically’ oriented research in which individual differences are measured against the ultimate outcome, learning achievement, and a lack of interest in ‘horizontal’ approaches that examine how the various characteristics interact with each other.

The previous section identified personality as the most widely researched and theorized individual difference, but despite the lay perception of personality as a key factor in second language learning (Gardner, 1985) and a few notable exceptions (e.g., Dewaele & Furnham, 1999; Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Ehrman, 2008; Verhoeven & Vermeer, 2002), personality has not really received the same level of attention within L2 studies (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). One reason for this situation is that personality—like motivation—is a huge concept difficult for applied linguists to operationalize, and another obvious reason is that in an undertaking as lengthy and situationally dependent as language learning it can be very difficult to measure any direct effects

personality may have on learning outcomes. The challenge of tying personality to language learning outcomes in a meaningful way has proven too unwieldy, and unappealing, for researchers.

Within L2 studies, aptitude—related to intelligence—appeared much more plausible as an explanation of differences in language learning outcomes; aptitude was the first individual difference to achieve ‘holy grail’ status. In the early days of foreign language education research, the period immediately after the second world war, it was aptitude that captured most interest, with an emphasis on being able to predict successful language learning; the assumption being that certain people had a greater innate capacity for learning a language and identifying such people would improve the provision of language education. The various theorizations of language aptitude (see Granena, 2019) are not particularly relevant to the current discussion of L2 motivation, but what is relevant is the search for a discrete, measurable explanation for language learning success and failure.

For various reasons, people began to look for alternative explanations of individual variation in language learning outcomes. Prominent factors informing this change of perspective were more inclusive, individualistic ideas about education, in particular the growth of mass language education, and questions concerning the explanatory capacity of aptitude in successful language learning—for example, how can aptitude explain why some people manage to learn one language successfully but not others? Although the focus of inquiry shifted, the basic aim of understanding and measuring a single individual characteristic that could account for language learning success remained the same.

Motivation as an Individual Difference in L2 Learning

Towards the end of the twentieth century, and in tune with the prevailing educational and cultural climate, motivation began to supersede aptitude as the primary individual difference in language learning. Education, at least in the economically developed west, was moving towards more learner-centred approaches and motivation offered a pedagogically hopeful, positive message for language educators. Perhaps this optimism was best expressed in Corder’s oft-cited words: “given motivation, it is inevitable that a human being will learn a second language if he is exposed to the language data” (1967, p. 164). The clear implication being that if we can understand motivation then we can understand what makes learners successful; for some, motivation had assumed the mantle of ‘holy grail’. The aim for motivation researchers was clear: to

understand and explain language learner motivation based on the assumption that a better understanding of motivation would lead to improved learning outcomes.

The bulk of early L2 motivation was firmly situated within the dominant IDs paradigm outlined in the early part of the chapter, and for a long time, explicit challenges to that paradigm were rare. However, looking back at even the earliest days of L2 motivation research, it is possible to observe some degree of ambivalence. For example, Gardner's socio-educational model of language acquisition (Gardner, 1985, 2010; see also this volume) bore many of the traits of a classic individual differences approach. It posited motivation as a stable trait within the individual learner; it assumed that motivation could be precisely measured through the use of a sophisticated research instrument, the AMTB; it assumed that structure of learner motivation was generalizable and learning outcomes were predictable in the sense that achievement corresponded to motivational intensity. On the other hand, the socio-educational model also acknowledged learner-external factors, such as the learning situation and the social milieu. In this respect, from its outset L2 motivation has never really been theorized or researched as a 'pure' individual difference, instead it has functioned as something of a hybrid, working within some of the conventions of an individual differences approach while remaining aware of the situated nature of language learning.

L2 motivation theory and research have never been entirely comfortable within the classic modular individual differences framework. To a certain extent, this framework has been called into service on a 'best available' basis. There has always been an awareness that "there are probably as many factors that might account for individual differences in achievement in a L2 as there are individuals" (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1992, p. 212) and that the best way to find out about a learner's motivation is to "sit quietly and chat with him over a bottle of wine for an evening" (Spolsky, 2000, p. 160). However, despite the apparent lack of interest in the motivation of female learners and ignoring the possible health risks of the suggested research instrument, the implications here are clear: a complete account of language learner motivation is impossible, therefore compromise and reduction are inevitable (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). The "challenge for L2 motivation research is to tie something as diverse and disparate as language learning to a concept as huge and nebulous as motivation, and to do so in a coherent and convincing manner" (Ryan, 2019) and in recent years questions of how 'coherent and convincing' the reductionist accounts inherent in an individual differences approach can have become more prominent.

Motivation and Other Individual Differences in L2 Learning

It was the ‘good language learner’ research of the 1970s (Naiman, Fröhlich, Stern, & Todesco, 1978; Rubin, 1975; see also Griffiths, 2008) that initially expanded the range of language learner individual differences beyond aptitude and motivation. Good language learner researchers were interested in exploring the characteristics that made some learners more successful than others and, in particular, to take into account the learner’s active contribution to the learning process. The implication was that these characteristics could be generalized across all learners and the principal addition to the list of core language learner individual differences emerging from this line of research was the concept of strategies (Cohen, 2011; Oxford, 1990, 2011). Learning styles later joined the agenda after being introduced in the seminal publication, *Individual Differences in Second Language Learning* (Skehan, 1989). By the end of the twentieth century, we start to see a much more complex picture than the early discussions based around the ‘big two’ of aptitude and motivation, and in a comprehensive review of individual differences in SLA, Ellis (2005) identifies four principal categories: (1) *abilities*, which include intelligence and language aptitude; (2) *propensities*, which include motivation, learning styles and anxiety; (3) *learner cognitions about L2 learning*, mainly beliefs; (4) *learner actions*, the strategies used in language learning.

Although the research agenda was beginning to consider a much broader range of learner variables, as Piniel and Csizér (2013, p. 524) observe, most of this research was “confined to the investigation of ID variables in pairs or in relation to language learners’ achievement.” Frequent ID pairs for studies in L2 motivation were anxiety (Gardner, Day, & MacIntyre, 1992; MacIntyre, 2002; Tremblay & Gardner, 1995) and self-confidence (Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994). However, it is fair to characterize most research within this strand as being a search for antecedents to motivation and, by implication, learning outcomes. It is only relatively recently that researchers have begun to show an interest in the interactions and interconnections between different learner characteristics (DeKeyser, 2012; Dörnyei, 2009b). In a pioneering study in this area, Piniel and Csizér (2013) explored the relationships between motivation, anxiety, and self-efficacy, looking not only at how the learner internal variables affect learning outcomes but how they impact each other. They employ the term ‘constellation’ to describe the ways in which the various factors interrelate in a stable, systematic way and this represents a promising way forward for researchers looking to understand variation in language

learning. However, it may be necessary to ask to what extent is this new approach consistent with the characteristics of individual differences outlined in the early part of the chapter: Is it better to continue with the individual differences terminology when referring to something very different from the original conceptualization or is it time to abandon the term altogether?

Challenges to the ID Paradigm

This chapter began with reference to a ‘surge’ in interest and activity within the field of L2 motivation research. It is possible to bookend that surge with two key publications highlighting the shifting status of an individual differences approach to the study of L2 motivation. *The psychology of the language learner: Individual differences in second language acquisition* (Dörnyei, 2005) can be regarded as the starting point for the surge in L2 motivation research, as it was this book that first articulated the currently dominant L2 Motivational Self System. This new framework facilitated an expansion of the field beyond its theoretical and methodological origins. The title of the book is notable in that it equates learner psychology with individual differences. However, when the book was revised ten years later (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015), individual differences are conspicuously absent from the title, *The psychology of the language learner revisited*. The new title appears to highlight the fall from grace of the notion of individual differences, implying that the primary consequence of revisiting the original book was a rejection of an individual differences approach. So, what has brought about this dramatic change in such a short space of time?

L2 motivation research has long struggled, like much applied research, with two sets of aims. On the one hand, there has been the pursuit of a theoretical direction concerned with understanding and explaining the structure or nature of language learner motivation. On the other hand, a considerable amount of L2 motivation research has had a highly pedagogic focus, looking at how an understanding of motivation can solve actual classroom problems (see Lamb, this volume). At times this can produce a creative, highly productive tension. Indeed, one of the key factors behind recent interest in L2 motivation research has been the harmonious integration of theory and practice, “where theory and practice intersect most comfortably” (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p. 103). However, there have been occasions where this intersection has not been quite so comfortable.

One of the most persistent complaints from more pedagogically oriented scholars has been that the concept of individual differences has little to offer

classroom practitioners: “What they [individual differences studies] tell us about is groups of people and average scores, rather than individuals. They can, therefore, give teachers very little information about what to do with individual learners in their classrooms” (Williams & Burden, 1997, p. 91). For a working teacher grappling with a particular student, conceptualizations of motivation rooted in averages taken across large populations have little immediate relevance. And this was acknowledged by early L2 motivation researchers, who were clear that their research was “not intended to provide explanations to individual teachers as to why or why not some of their students are more or less successful than others, or to give teachers advice on how to motivate their students” Gardner (2010, p. 26). Such teachers need a more situated account of language learner motivation and referring back to the levels of individual difference outlined earlier in the chapter, this was a call for an approach that focused on the ways in which individuals are unique as opposed to general characteristics shared broadly across large groups.

The criticisms of a lack of pedagogic value have strong methodological echoes. As discussed earlier, individual differences in the classic mould are measurable and their theoretical development has been informed by a quantitative approach to research. These quantitative methods have been challenged in “that they average out responses across the whole observed group of participants, and by working with concepts of averages it is impossible to do justice to the subjective variety of individual life” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 26). Early L2 motivation research was dominated by self-report questionnaire instruments and quantitative data analysis, but recent years have seen a growing accommodation, even encouragement, of qualitative approaches. Alongside developments elsewhere in applied linguistics (Spielman & Radnofsky, 2001), the first sustained calls for an explicitly qualitative perspective began to appear towards the end of the twentieth century (Ushioda, 1994, 1998), but it was not until the appearance of the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) as the dominant model of language learner motivation that qualitative research gained real traction. The conceptualization of motivation offered by the L2MSS exposed some of the limitations of quantitative research and heralded a much more methodologically diverse research environment.

Qualitative research has proven particularly attractive to teacher-researchers who often find its rich, situated accounts more accessible and ‘pedagogically relevant’ than research based in numerical data and complicated statistical analyses. Another attraction for novice teacher-researchers is that the barriers to entry can appear low within qualitative research. For example, one of the most influential qualitative motivation studies (Ushioda, 1994, 1998, 2001) was based on a very simple research design and shows what is possible with

well-conceived qualitative research; setting up and conducting interviews with readily available language learners can seem like a straightforward undertaking, and one with obvious relevance to the immediate teaching context. That is not to say that qualitative methods require little in the way of research skills, nevertheless there is a perception that it is something more achievable for practising teachers and this has encouraged many to take their first tentative steps into the world of research (Ushioda, 2016). Increased levels of participation from more pedagogically oriented researchers has contributed to a methodological shift that has in turn created a climate less conducive to an individual differences perspective.

The most sustained theoretical attack on the concept of individual differences occurred as a result of the so-called 'dynamic turn' (de Bot, 2015) within applied linguistics. Applied linguistics seems to be a discipline prone to turns, and the dynamic turn highlighted some of the dangers of linear, cause-effect models of development in language acquisition and learning: "To attribute causality to any one variable (or even a constellation of variables) without taking time and context into account is misguided" (Ellis & Larsen-Freeman, 2006, p. 563). With specific reference to learner motivation, the dynamic challenge to an individual differences perspective was most forcefully felt with Dörnyei's (2009b) rejection of the 'ID myth'. It was not only Dörnyei's standing within the field of L2 motivation studies that made his rejection of individual differences resonate so powerfully. Dörnyei had risen to prominence largely through his quantitative research (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002) and an apparent embrace of the individual differences framework (Dörnyei & Skehan, 2003), so his sudden 'conversion' caused both established and novice researchers alike to rethink their own positions. At the core of Dörnyei's retreat from the vanguard of individual differences research, which he discusses in his own contribution to this handbook, were concerns regarding the viability of a modular approach to theory and research, an approach based on the assumption of stability in these modular individual differences. Instead, he argued that researchers needed to look more at the interactions between these characteristics, interactions with context, and fluctuations over time. So far, the most complete articulation of this position has been an edited volume (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015) exploring various theoretical and methodological options for understanding motivation from a dynamic perspective. A fundamental question facing the field now is to what extent these two approaches are compatible; do complex dynamic approaches signal the end for an individual differences account of learner motivation or is there room for an accommodation between the two?

Individual Differences and the Current Research Agenda

At its best L2 motivation research functions as an exciting application of ideas from mainstream educational psychology to the specific context of foreign language education. On the other hand, there is the risk of getting caught in a no-man's land between the two. In its earliest days, L2 motivation theory grew independently of developments in mainstream educational psychology—the shift to cognitive theories of motivation discussed earlier in the chapter—and this was a major source of concern, eventually leading to a fundamental reframing of L2 motivation theory in the 1990s and the early part of this century, termed the ‘cognitive-situated period’ (Dörnyei, 2005). This realignment towards established theories within educational psychology was the precursor to the development of the L2MSS, which Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) contend marks the point where L2 motivation research ‘caught up with’ mainstream educational theories. More than ten years have passed since the L2MSS was first proposed and in that time the field of L2 motivation research has undergone a rapid and extensive transformation. It may be pertinent to ask to what extent the L2 motivation research can still claim to be in step with the mainstream.

One of the biggest changes in recent L2 motivation research has been the move away from a dependence on large-scale questionnaire instruments and statistical analysis. The quantitative research methods associated with an individual differences perspective have obvious limitations, especially when it comes to explaining something as complex and dynamic as the motivation to learn a foreign language. But do these limitations mean that we have to abandon them completely? The situation brings to mind the old joke about the statistician drowning while trying to cross a river with an average depth of one metre. Like many old jokes, it contains a grain of truth. Nevertheless, and without wishing to labour the metaphor, the unfortunate incident in the river was surely the fault of the statistician who misused the data rather than with the actual data or methods. Many of the criticisms levelled at quantitative methods—and, by implication, an individual differences perspective in L2 motivation research—are more about the misapplication of techniques than the techniques themselves. Nevertheless, the perception that quantitative methods are incompatible with dynamic accounts of learner motivation appears to be growing and doing so at a time when mainstream motivation research has been re-energized by advances in quantitative techniques. In an authoritative discussion of the ‘re-emergence’ of motivation research, Ryan (2012, p. 10) observes:

Most every classical question in the field was originally posed as a “between persons” issue; yet for most of us personally and practically the core concern is at a “within-person” level of analysis, or what leads to rises and falls in motivation within individuals over time, settings, or events. Describing change over time, and what components of motivation remain stable or vary intra-individually becomes increasingly critical as we examine trajectories during or following critical events or planned interventions.

He goes on to identify developments in quantitative data analysis methods as one of the principal reasons behind this renaissance. Statistical methods have moved beyond the basic inferential techniques common in L2 motivation studies, with multilevel modelling techniques (David Garson, 2012), in particular, opening up new ways of investigating change over time and across contexts within individuals. The relationship between theory and methodology is crucial here, since the classic, modular conceptualization of individual differences was very much a product of the statistical methods available at the time. As statistical methods become more sophisticated and refined, so too does the theory emerging from such analysis. In fact, prior to the recent ‘dynamic turn’, L2 motivation research was pursuing a broadly similar path, with an increased use of, and interest in, advanced statistical techniques, in particular structural equation modelling (see Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Hiromori, 2009). However, as Boo et al. (2015) argue, a combination of the shifting theoretical focus of researchers, especially the rejection of linear explanations of motivation, together with the increasing self-identification of the field of L2 motivation research as a resolutely practice-oriented one led to an abrupt change of course; in effect, accounts of motivation based upon predictable, linear relationships were seen as out of step with the new dynamic understandings of motivation and, furthermore, the accounts of motivation rooted in advanced statistical analysis came to be regarded as of little relevance to practising teachers. Perhaps of more interest to a field with a high proportion of teacher-researchers is the tendency illustrated in Thrash, Maruskin and Martin’s (2012) exploration of the interface between implicit and explicit motives—one of the most exciting possible directions for future motivation research. What is most encouraging about their work is that it is not based on any revolutionary, or especially advanced, new statistical techniques nor does it reject existing theoretical concepts. Instead they show how through patient, incremental refinements, correlations between implicit and explicit measures of motives and attitudes have become more robust, leading to a more complete, systematic theoretical understanding. There is a clear lesson for L2 motivation researchers here: so much of our understanding of L2 motivation

has come from an individual differences perspective, along with its associated methods, and there is still the potential to further develop that understanding through persistence with this approach.

The twenty-first century has seen a “revival of interest in individual differences” (Revelle et al., 2011, p. 15) and as McAdams (2017, p. 46) declares, “the scientific community reached a consensus” in relation to the importance of genetically based, stable dispositions within individuals. In attempting to predict future trends in mainstream motivation research, Ryan (2012, p. 11) calls for a more sustained investigation of “interactions of the genome with cultural and environmental factors” and it would be a great pity if L2 motivation research were to find itself once again cut adrift from developments in mainstream educational psychology as a consequence of a blanket rejection of the concept of individual differences and a blinkered concentration on a single approach.

A core narrative within this chapter has been the search—unsuccessful—for a single explanation of variation in language learning outcomes. This search for a singular explanation has entailed the dominance of a singular approach to theory and research. At the current point in time, complex dynamic accounts are assuming this dominant position. Nevertheless, the recent story within mainstream educational psychology is of the emergence of new approaches to the study of individual differences, inspired both by a greater focus on ‘within-person’ processes and new statistical procedures. The question facing L2 motivation researchers now is whether to repeat the errors of the past by pursuing an independent agenda or to embrace the new thinking about individual differences and integrate it in a way that complements other approaches.

Summary

For authors attempting to describe the scale and scope of motivation, the lure of a vivid metaphor can be irresistible. In mainstream motivation, Ryan and Legate (2012) point to the complex optical system of flies and how multiple ‘eyes’, up to around 4000 lenses, can combine to serve different purposes and offer more effective insights. In L2 motivation, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) turn to the parable of the blind men offering varied descriptions of an elephant dependent on the part of the elephant they touched with their hands. I will turn to something much more mundane, television coverage of a major sporting event, say an Olympic sprint.

Modern technology facilitates, and the twenty-first century viewer requires, a range of camera perspectives for major sporting events. The days of single-camera coverage or a vocal commentary over still photographs have long passed. The modern viewer demands incredible levels of detail—sometimes to the level of individual beads of sweat—in order to illustrate the experience of competing athletes while at the same time receiving pictures that capture the full progress and development of the race. For a close finish or analysis of critical events, the precision lens of the freeze-frame camera is called into service. In order to convey the magnitude of the occasion, the context in which the drama is unfolding, the camera will pull back, often as far back as to a position high in the sky distant from events on the ground. Similarly, there are times when L2 motivation research needs to investigate the dynamism and complexity of individual cases and there are times when large-scale, cross-sectional analysis is called for.

Language learner motivation is a huge topic of investigation and no single account or approach can ever hope to suffice. In fact, it is probably not appropriate to think of language learner motivation as a single topic, it is a collection of many related lines of investigation. For some of these, an individual differences perspective may be highly inappropriate and backward-looking, while for others, it still has much to offer.

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9

Emotions Are Motivating

Peter D. MacIntyre, Jessica Ross, and Richard Clément

Emotions just might be the most important motivation system that human beings possess (Izard, 2007). Emotions are present from birth and can be activated at any moment. Intense emotions such as terror have the potential to overwhelm the mind and body and are therefore potent motivators (Tomkins, 1970). More subtle emotions arise continuously as reactions to ongoing events, memories from the past, and anticipation of the future (Baumgartner, Pieters, & Bagozzi, 2008), guiding thoughts and behaviour in ways that might be consciously obvious or relatively unnoticed. It is now widely accepted that emotions and cognition are intricately blended together into the motivation system (Panksepp, 2003).

Given their ubiquity and importance, it is surprising that emotions have not previously enjoyed a place of greater prominence in the literature on motivation for language learning. In psychology, during the era of behaviourism, emotions essentially were banished as theoretically irrelevant and epiphenomenal, presumed to have no causal role in behaviour. Later, as behaviourism was supplanted by cognitive information-processing theories, emotions were something of an afterthought, an inconvenience muddying the logical waters of the thoughtful mind (Keltner & Lerner, 2010). In recent years, however, emotions have been taking on a more prominent role in theories emerging

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from diverse fields including neuroscience (Damasio, 1994), behavioural economics (Kahneman, 2011), and positive psychology (Fredrickson, 2013; also see Gregersen, this volume).

If psychology has underappreciated emotion, the SLA literature has been even more neglectful of the power of emotion to motivate, to energize action, and to guide behavior. There are only a handful of studies directly addressing the role of emotion in language learning, with one notable exception—a good deal of research has emerged on language anxiety (see Dewaele, Petrides, & Furnham, 2008; Gkonou, Daubney, & Dewaele, 2017; Gregersen & Horwitz, 2002; Gregersen, MacIntyre, & Meza, 2014; Horwitz & Young, 1991). Facilitating the advancement of knowledge about the intricate connections between emotion and motivation in SLA, the goal of the present chapter is, therefore, threefold. First, we review core concepts in the study of emotion to provide a grounding for understanding how emotions act to motivate thoughts and actions. Second, we examine studies of emotions in SLA. And third, we look at the possible future of research in L2 motivation and the prominent role that emotions likely will play.

Emotions in SLA

The literature on individual differences in language achievement does not propose much of a role for emotions. Motivation theories in SLA have come closer to dealing with emotions directly, but most often retained an emphasis on cognitively-oriented concepts such as attitudes (Gardner, 1985, 2010) or reducing discrepancies between present and future selves (Dörnyei, 2005). The notable exception has been the research on language anxiety (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014), which was an element of Gardner's (1985) motivation research but has developed a literature of its own (Horwitz, 2010; MacIntyre, 2017). With developments in emotion theory, the emerging emphasis on the dynamics of the learning process, and a stronger appreciation for considering the whole-person in education (Mercer, 2017), it would appear that the time has come to foreground the role of emotions in language learning (Pavlenko, 2006).

Basic Emotion Theory

To understand how emotions can motivate language learning, it is necessary to consider core concepts of emotion theory. Emotions are a universal human

experience, lasting the fullness of our lifetimes, with intense emotions such as fear and anger being universally recognizable (Ekman, 1994). Emotions are best understood as immediate reactions to events that motivate adaptive responses. Intense emotional arousal energizes the body, focusses the mind, and often can provoke action. As reactions to events, emotions can be differentiated from longer term concepts such as moods (which are more diffuse, backgrounded, and longer lasting) as well as the even longer-term personality temperaments (Davidson et al., 1994; Goldsmith, 1994). Yet, emotions are more complex than they might first appear. As a multidimensional concept, emotions not only encompass subjective feelings, but include also biological, purposive, and expressive dimensions as well (Izard, 1993; Mauss, Levenson, McCarter, Wilhelm, & Gross, 2005; Reeve, 2015), rounding out their role in motivation. Reeve (2015) formally defines emotions as “short-lived, feeling-purposive-expressive-bodily responses that help us adapt to the opportunities and challenges we face during important life events” (p. 340). To fully understand how emotions are motivating, no component can be excluded; we will consider each aspect in turn: feelings, bodily responses, sense of purpose, and expressive behaviors.

The first component, feelings, reflects the subjective experience of emotion, and most (if not all) language learners feel emotions such as anxiety, pride, anger, and enjoyment from time to time. Feelings activate and coordinate with the cognitive awareness of a significant event, and can be so strongly experienced that they often are mistakenly treated as synonymous with emotion. Feelings do not need to be learned—they are with us from cradle to grave—adding to their widespread applicability across situations and their motivational potency (Izard, 2011).

The second component of emotion, bodily responses, helps prepare the body for whatever action is required to cope with a particular situation. This dimension can include activation in multiple areas of the brain, changes in hormonal activity, and physiological activation such as changes in heart rate and blood flow (Reeve, 2015). For example, anxious language students sometimes report sweaty palms, butterflies in the stomach and a racing heart (Gregersen et al., 2014). Although physiological changes due to emotions such as anxiety have not been widely studied, Sevinç (2017) found that a measure of skin conductance, which reflects autonomic arousal, showed significant correlations with self-reported feelings of anxiety. There may be a variety of reasons for research deemphasizing the physical dimensions of emotion in L2 motivation theory and research, including the specialized equipment needed for research, difficulty in modifying the accompanying physical reactions, and the imperceptibility or ambiguity of many of the accompanying

physiological changes. For example, an emotion such as joy is not clearly associated with specific physiological reactions, and specific reactions such as a smile or laugh can express more than one emotion, including joy, nervousness, or even embarrassment. Although there are difficulties in pinpointing the physiological side of L2 motivation, nevertheless the physical systems involved in emotional reactions are integral to understanding how they unfold over time.

If we think of feelings and physiological changes as relatively internal processes, the remaining two major components of the definition of emotion (i.e. sense of purpose and bodily responses) are relatively more external. The sense of purpose provides the direction for action necessary to cope with an emotion and its trigger(s). Emotions typically have a goal-directed quality; specific emotions tend to motivate a specific type of action. For example, fear often motivates protective actions, anger motivates destruction of an obstacle blocking pursuit of a goal, and sadness motivates seeking connections with another person (Reeve, 2015). In considering emotional reactions, conflicting purposes over different timescales may come into play. Dealing with an emotion in the short term can bring about longer term consequences, as when an anxious student avoids active classroom participation thereby limiting learning opportunities over time (Yashima, MacIntyre, & Ikeda, 2016). Although teachers and learners might think of language anxiety as a nuisance, and lament its potential long-term consequences for learning, it is important not to ignore the adaptive quality of the initial anxiety arousal and avoidance of communication. If emotions are motivating action that affects learning, both learners and teachers can contemplate what the emotional adaptation means for the learner as a whole person, not just a language student.

If emotions motivate adaptive responses, even unpleasant emotions have adaptive purposes and are necessary for navigating daily life. As an analogy, physical pain is often seen as both unpleasant and unwelcome, but serves a protection purpose; the congenital inability to feel pain ('congenital analgesia') is considered a serious, even life-threatening disorder. Negative emotions serve similar purposes, functioning to alert a person that something significant is happening and motivating coping efforts. Lazarus's appraisal theory proposes that "how a given individual reacts emotionally to an encounter depends on an evaluation of what the encounter implies for personal well-being" (Smith & Lazarus, 1990, p. 616). As a primary appraisal, an emotion-producing situation must have personal relevance; if an event does not have any significance for well-being, an emotional reaction is unlikely (Lazarus, 1991a, 1991b). The secondary appraisal process triggers a search for coping resources, which helps account for individual differences in emotional

experiences. These appraisal processes do not occur in stages, as might be implied by their names, but rather function in an ongoing coordinated way to motivate adaptation.

The final component of emotion, expressive behavior, is evidenced in a variety of verbal and nonverbal ways (Gregersen & MacIntyre, 2017; Reeve, 2015). This is the most fundamentally social component of emotions, serving to share information and experiences between and among people (Flack & Laird, 1998). For example, the social dimension has been prominent in language anxiety research, where communication processes have been found to be especially anxiety provoking (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986), as well as in research on enjoyment of language learning which identified both private and public dimensions (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2016). Although general tendencies can be described, relationships among emotions can be complex, affected by changes in the situation, time, and language usage (MacIntyre, Baker, Clément, & Donovan, 2003; MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998). During a series of specific communication tasks, MacIntyre, Noels, and Clément (1997) found that higher anxiety can negatively bias the perception of competence, leading anxious L2 speakers to underestimate their communicative abilities as judged by an external observer. The combination of lower anxiety and higher perceived competence reflects a motivational process that Clément (1986) labelled second language confidence and has been associated with increasing motivation, willingness to communicate in an L2, contact between language groups, and other social-psychological processes (MacIntyre et al., 1998; Sampasivam & Clément, 2014).

The integration of the internal and external dimensions of emotion provides ongoing signals to both the self and others about the motivational-emotional processes (Buck, 1988, 1994a, 1994b). Emotions allow for mutual adaptation, with potentially significant social implications, as in an escalating exchange of anger or contagious pre-examination anxiety circulating in a classroom (Buck, 1985; Oatley & Jenkins, 1992; Reeve, 2015). Epstein's (2003) Cognitive Experiential Self Theory (CEST) expands on ways in which emotion can coordinate and influence actions. CEST proposes two major ways a person adapts to and understands the world, experiential and rational. The experiential system is rapid and unconscious, driven largely by emotions; behaviour motivated by the experiential system can seem decisive or impulsive. The rational system operates more slowly and deliberately, allowing conscious resources to contemplate logic and evidence (Epstein, 1993, 2003). Actions motivated by thoughtful reflection tend to emerge from the rational system. It must be emphasized that for Epstein, the constant interaction of the two systems running in parallel, and with continuous integration, shapes

the fullness of reactions to events—behavior that often we attribute to personality or the operation of the motivated self.

Emotion theory has been expanding to include a broader spectrum of processes. Arguably one of the most important developments in emotion theory in recent years has been the differentiation of the functions of positive and negative emotions. The terms positive and negative are used as they would be experienced by a person, fear is negative and joy is positive, even though we argue here that both can aid adaptation. If negative emotions have an adaptive purpose, as noted above, then what is the purpose of positive emotions? The ‘broaden-and-build’ theory suggests that experiencing positive emotions has two key consequences: (1) broadening of one’s awareness of the surrounding environment and motivating a variety of possible thought-action repertoires and (2) building skills and psychological/social broadly-defined resources (skills, knowledge, networks of friendships, etc.) that may be used in the future (Fredrickson, 2004, 2013). An additional function of positive emotions is restorative in nature, helping to undo the lingering physiological and cognitive effects of negative emotions (Fredrickson, 2004). Research on the broaden-and-build theory has shown that positive emotions are associated with greater creativity, motivating exploration, curiosity, and playfulness, as well as increasing the ability to notice cues and a more open-minded approach to taking information from one’s surroundings (Cohn & Fredrickson, 2009; Fredrickson, 2004, 2013; Fredrickson & Cohn, 2008). For these reasons, positive emotions are thought to facilitate the development of long-lasting psychological, intellectual, physical and social resources such as skills, knowledge, and social bonds, which can help foster overall well-being. Evidence for the development of resources based on positive emotions that may facilitate language learning and well-being has been reported (Dewaele & Dewaele, 2017; Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014, 2016; Gregersen, MacIntyre, & Meza, 2016). More broadly, positive emotions are connected to attitudes, behaviour, and social processes that provide powerful motivations for language learning (Gardner, 2010). Negative emotions, on the other hand, tend to motivate a problem-solving orientation, restricting attention to a narrow range of behavioural options, and fostering a focused approach to dealing with them, which often reduces the ability to build additional resources.

A final concept from emotion theory, emotion schemas, helps to articulate the nature of emotions-as-motivation for language learning. Izard (2011) uses the concept of emotion schemas to describe how feelings interact with cognition “... in motivating the decision making and actions of everyday life” (p. 1). Low-level, first-order, basic emotions (such as surprise, fear, and anger) are present from birth, prevalent throughout childhood, and tend to motivate spe-

cific action tendencies. However, emotion schemas are developed over time, becoming more complex with experience. Basic emotions are integrated into more specialized and complex cognitive structures through a dynamic interplay with higher order cognition, built up with experience over time. Emotion schemas are considered to be highly motivational in nature (Izard, 2007). While acknowledging the potential for universal, biological approaches to emotion, unfiltered simple basic emotions are very rarely experienced in adulthood, after a person develops the cognitive capacity to interpret and thereby modify emotional experience. Emotions in adulthood are channeled through multiple, complex interpretations and meanings developed over a lifetime. Emotion schemas may become activated by appraisals, experiences, memories, thoughts, images, or while processing information in general (Reeve, 2015). Most instances of emotions in adults are likely to be the more nuanced concept of emotion schemas rather than the concepts of low-level basic emotions.

Emotion schema theory allows for defining a variety of language-specific emotions as schemas, as is being done with research on language anxiety and foreign language enjoyment (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2016). Such an approach allows for research into distinct emotion schemas that integrate language-related cognition with the short-lived, feeling-purposive-expressive-bodily responses of basic emotions (Reeve, 2015). Considering emotions from a motivational, functional, and adaptive perspective suggests that other emotions, not yet investigated in SLA, might provide additional insight into the interwoven processes of learning and communicating.

The brief overview of basic emotion theory can serve as a framework for understanding how closely emotions are intertwined with motivation. The multidimensional nature of emotion suggests a multitude of ways in which feelings, bodily responses, sense of purpose, and expressive behaviors connect specifically to the motivation to learn language. The review of the literature in the following paragraphs will show that research supports the motivational qualities of a long list of specific emotions, in a variety of studies, using a variety of research methods. Research is showing that both positive and negative emotions, separately and jointly, motivate language behavior. In particular, the emerging interest in a dynamic perspective on motivation implicates emotional arousal and regulation processes fluctuating over a relatively short period of time (see MacIntyre & Serroul, 2015; Waninge, 2015; see also Hiver & Papi, this volume). Finally, the literature in SLA already has shown the unique qualities of language, and its connections to culture, identity, communication and the sense of self suggest that emotion schemas are likely to be a productive conceptual frame within which to study the motivational implications of emotion arousal.

Emotions That Motivate Language Learning

Recent research has examined the role of emotions in SLA, and specifically their connection to motivation (Dewaele, Witney, Saito, & Dewaele, 2017; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; MacIntyre & Vincze, 2017). Although major L2 motivation models, such as Gardner's (1985, 2010) integrative motive, Clément's (1986) social-contextual model, and Dörnyei's (2005) L2 self-system, have implicated both positive and negative emotions, those models have not dealt with the full spectrum of emotions that might be relevant to language learning and communication. However, interest in both positive and negative emotions and their interactions in SLA has been emerging, due in part to progress in the field of positive psychology (Gabryś-Barker & Gałajda, 2016; MacIntyre, Gregersen, & Mercer, 2016; Gregersen, this volume).

It makes sense to consider how a wide range of emotions might connect to language learning motivation. MacIntyre and Vincze (2017) examined the relationship of 19 positive and negative emotions defined by the Modified Differential Emotions Scale (mDES; see Table 9.1; Fredrickson, 2013) with well-established motivational indices from the socio-educational model (Gardner, 2010), the L2 self-system (Dörnyei, 2005), and the socio-contextual

Table 9.1 Positive and negative emotions in the PANAS and mDES

	PANAS	mDES
Positive emotions	Attentive	Amused, fun-loving, silly
	Active	Awe, wonder, amazement
	Alert	Grateful, appreciative, thankful
	Excited	Hopeful, optimistic, encouraged
	Enthusiastic	Inspired, uplifted, elevated
	Determined	Interested, alert, curious
	Inspired	Joyful, glad, happy
	Proud	Love, closeness, trust
	Interested	Proud, confident, self-assured
	Strong	Serene, content, peaceful
Negative emotions	Hostile	Angry, irritated, annoyed
	Irritable	Ashamed, humiliated, disgraced
	Ashamed	Contemptuous, scornful, disdainful
	Guilty	Disgust, distaste, revulsion
	Distressed	Embarrassed, self-conscious, blushing
	Upset	Guilty, repentant, blameworthy
	Scared	Hate, distrust, suspicion
	Afraid	Sad, downhearted, unhappy
	Jittery	Scared, fearful, afraid
	Nervous	Stressed, nervous, overwhelmed

model (Clément, 1980, 1986). On the one hand, positive emotions showed consistently strong correlations with motivation-related variables; 97% of the correlations between specific positive emotions and motivation variables were significant. On the other hand, negative emotions showed weaker, less consistent relationships with motivation (74% of correlations were significant). Based on their analysis, MacIntyre and Vincze (2017) suggest that a wide variety of emotions are intricately implicated in L2 motivation processes. In particular, they argue that the interaction of positive and negative emotion is important for setting the tone for language learning motivation. They concluded that "...the stronger positive emotions are relative to negative emotions, the more favourable the intergroup, interpersonal and intrapersonal outcomes are likely to be" (p. 81).

Using similar methodology, MacIntyre, Dewaele, Macmillan, and Li (2020) also studied positive and negative emotion, specifically with respect to Gardner's measure of integrative motivation. MacIntyre et al. used the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS, see Table 9.1; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), to show that Attitude and Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) scales (see Gardner, this volume) are correlated significantly with both positive and negative emotions in two samples. Attitudes toward the learning situation showed the strongest relationships with emotions, strengthening the evidence of connections between emotions and prior SLA research on attitudes and motivation. Consistent with the MacIntyre and Vincze (2017) results noted above, MacIntyre et al. (2020) also showed that correlations between the AMTB scales and negative emotions were weaker and more inconsistent than correlations involving the positive emotions. As a group, the analyses showed diversity in the emotions that were found to be significant predictors of the AMTB scales. Consistent with emotion schemas, results suggest that attitudes can be associated with a variety of emotions.

Research is showing that a large number of emotions may be implicated to some extent in language learning motivation. The studies that have used scales such as the mDES and PANAS can provide considerable granularity in the discussion of specific emotions. Much of the literature to date, however, has focussed on two specific emotions: anxiety and enjoyment. The most frequently investigated emotion in SLA, language anxiety, has been studied since the mid-1980s from a specialized approach consistent with the idea of emotion schemas. Both Horwitz et al. (1986) and Gardner (1985) argued convincingly that the conceptualization and measurement of anxiety in SLA had to be oriented around the concept of an emotional reaction to language situations. Inspired by the suggestion that anxiety is particular to language learning, and combined with the moderate to severe anxiety experiences they

saw among the university students, Horwitz et al. (1986) theorized that sources of anxiety coalesce into a "...conceptually distinct variable in foreign language learning" (p. 125). Horwitz et al. developed the situation-specific 33-item Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety scale (FLCAS) which has shown excellent reliability and validity (Aida, 1994; Horwitz, 1986, 2010, 2017). Additional measures of even more specific aspects of anxiety in language learning have been developed to describe various stages of processing (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994a, 1994b), classroom-specific anxiety experiences (Weaver, 2005), and skill areas including foreign language-related reading (Saito, Garza, & Horwitz, 1999), writing (Cheng, Horwitz, & Schallert, 1999), listening (Elkhafafi, 2005), and speaking anxiety (Cheng et al., 1999).

As referenced above, fitting language anxiety into a broader model, Clément developed the concept of second language confidence (L2C; Clément, 1980, 1986) corresponding to an amalgamation of a lack of anxiety and positive self-evaluations of competence. L2C was described as a secondary motivational process arising from the oft observed clustering of these variables in factor analytic studies. As discussed by Sampasivam and Clément (2014), there is a long tradition of associating the development of language confidence with conditions of contact between speakers of different languages. Early results (Clément & Kruidenier, 1985; Labrie & Clément, 1986) showed that quality and quantity of contact with the other L2 group had an impact on L2C which also had an impact on L2 competence.

The initial work targeting L2 competence (L2C) was rapidly followed by research documenting other non-linguistic processes motivated by L2C. Clément, Noels, and Deneault (2001) argue that "learning and using another language has a profound effect on the outlook for individuals and on the fate of the groups to which they belong" (p. 560). Accordingly, a series of studies pertained to the relationship between L2C, identity, well-being, and societal harmony. In their review, Rubinfeld and Clément (2020) observe that L2C has, early on, been related to feelings of identification with the second language group and psychological adjustment among both Canadian French and English minority and majority group members. In the case of some minority group members, this has resulted in lesser identification to one's own group, raising the possibility that L2C may have both positive and negative outcomes (Noels & Clément, 1996). Research on L2C, which is strongly connected to anxiety-related emotion processes, demonstrates that those processes both can be complex and have significant consequences in the lives of language learners.

Complementing interest in anxiety as a negative emotion, foreign language enjoyment has been receiving an increasing amount of attention in recent years. Studies have investigated sources of variation in Foreign Language

Enjoyment (FLE; Dewaele & Dewaele, 2017; Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014; Dewaele, MacIntyre, Boudreau, & Dewaele, 2016; Dewaele et al., 2017). Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014, 2016) created a measure of foreign language enjoyment and tested it using a web-based survey with over 1700 language learners. Initial results show that enjoyment has both private and social dimensions, exemplified in learners' feelings of pride and accomplishment versus perceiving comradery in the group. Neither the private or social side of enjoyment was strongly correlated with anxiety, demonstrating that enjoyment and anxiety are not two opposite ends of the same emotional continuum. Rather, they show different distributions and patterns of relationships with socio-demographic variables. Although enjoyment and anxiety are moderately negatively correlated, they follow distinct trajectories of development that appear to be related to gender and other learner variables (Dewaele et al., 2016).

Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014) emphasize the important role that teachers can play in their students' levels of enjoyment, which is consistent with previous research (Arnold, 2011). A recent study, conducted with 189 British high school students learning various languages provided further insight regarding their contributions to the emotions of the learners in the classroom. Results suggest that teachers may exert a stronger influence on enjoyment than they do on anxiety; there may be more value in teachers trying to create enjoyment than reduce anxiety. Waninge's (2017) results also emphasize the role of the teacher in conjunction with other factors within the learning context to spark and maintain a 'conglomerate' state of interest that bundles enjoyment with curiosity, engagement, and activity. A study of Korean learners found that enjoyment was a strong positive factor in self-regulated learning (You, Kang, & Pahng, 2013), mediating the relationship between perceived control and self-regulated learning (You & Kang, 2014). With the role of positive emotions, such as enjoyment, gaining a foothold in research (You et al., 2013; You & Kang, 2014), the motivational impact of a number of potentially relevant emotions is waiting to be studied (MacIntyre et al., 2016; MacIntyre & Mercer, 2014).

Future Research on Emotion and Motivation in SLA

The role of emotions in SLA has the potential to contribute in a significant way to advancing our understanding of how and why people are motivated to learn languages. In closing, we choose to highlight how the role of emotion

can contribute to a dynamic approach to studying learner motivation. The definition of emotion as a brief reaction to events that provides both information about the learners' state of mind as well as motivation to act makes emotion an ideal construct with which to examine the temporal dynamics of language learning and communication. Studies of motivation have begun to adopt a dynamic perspective (see Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015; Hiver & Papi, this volume) and already there have been a few studies of the dynamics of motivation and emotion (Waninge, 2017). The dynamic approach is a relatively recent addition to the SLA literature and a fundamentally different way of defining and measuring both motivation and emotion (Dörnyei et al., 2015). Whereas prior research using instruments such as the FLCAS or FLE scale produce a summary score for each respondent's typical level of the emotion, complex dynamic systems theory (CDST; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008) provides a conceptual grounding for studies of ongoing, interacting emotions in SLA, showing their connections to motivation systems. A CDST view takes emotions as key indicators of what is happening in real-time as learners engage with a foreign language (Gregersen et al., 2014). The effects of emotion can change rapidly, making it possible to study learners' moment-by-moment motivational processes in the here-and-now (Mates & Joaquin, 2013).

Gregersen et al. (2014) demonstrated a way in which a CDST approach can be taken when studying language anxiety. They used a computer protocol and a software specially written to gather learners' anxiety reactions at a rate of once per second while watching their own recent oral performance on video (MacIntyre, 2012; MacIntyre & Legatto, 2011). Data from six language learners were assessed individually, with triangulated physiological data (heart rate), emotion ratings, and interview data. The combination of data sources revealed unexpected but interpretable patterns within a communication event as it unfolded. One participant, identified as typically being low in language anxiety, showed dynamic ratings and heart rate data indicative of high anxiety. Interview data revealed that the student's emotional reaction was unusual for her, attributed in part to feeling uncomfortable in the unusual communication situation—public speaking in the L2 for course grades and instructor evaluation, while wearing a heart rate monitor. The researchers note that had they taken either the typical group-level approach or a qualitative-only approach, the data streams would not have converged in as compelling a way (Gregersen et al., 2014). The strength of studying the emotional experience of language learners on an individual level using triangulated quantitative and qualitative data is evident, and should not be ignored in future research.

The individual approach to triangulating emotion information also was used by Boudreau, MacIntyre, and Dewaele (2018) who studied moment-to-moment changes in the relationship between enjoyment and anxiety. Participants completed an interview and other oral tasks in their L2 and self-rated their anxiety and enjoyment levels separately on a per-second timescale as they watched a video recording of their tasks. This approach allowed researchers to describe the dynamic relationship between the two emotions, with varying patterns of correlation, sometimes showing both positive and negative correlations within the same person. For example, higher levels of anxiety were found to be paired with lower levels of enjoyment when the speaker felt frustrated and had difficulties with the expression of thoughts. Meanwhile, high levels of enjoyment paired with either low or high anxiety appear to be connected to more beneficial themes of language learning (e.g. promotion of interest and task engagement, less frustration and vocabulary issues), which shows the impact enjoyment can have on second language communication as well as its varied relation to anxiety. The fabric of second language usage is, therefore, replete with positive and negative emotional trajectories (MacIntyre & Gregersen, 2012). The dynamics of emotions interacting with cognitive and ability factors in real time is a potentially exciting avenue for future research (Waninge, 2017).

Conclusion

As we look to the future of language learning motivation research, it seems inevitable that the role of emotions will come to occupy a central position. There is a promising convergence of scholarly trends that draw together models of language learning motivation (Dörnyei, 2005; Gardner, 2010), basic emotion theory (Izard, 1977, 2007; Lazarus, 1991a, 1991b; Panksepp, 1998), dynamic systems approaches (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008), integrations of the psychology of emotion and cognition (Buck, 1985; Epstein, 1993, 2003), and developments in positive psychology (Fredrickson, 2013; Shernoff, Abdi, Anderson, & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). As these coalitions of knowledge are created, we can, at this point, surmise the emergence of broad trends in the near future.

First, future studies will advance description and conceptualization of the relationships between language emotions and motivation, in both broad and specific moment-to-moment patterns. Descriptive research, such as is being done for example with qualitative (Waninge, 2015, 2017) and the idiodynamic methods (Boudreau et al., 2018), is helping to advance the theory

needed to describe the connections between emotional states and various processes of language learning and communicating, including motivation. Recent research, for example, is showing how enjoyment and other emotions can motivate the learning process. We believe that future research will develop robust explanations of when, how, and why various language-specific emotions relate to motivation and a variety of other language processes and outcomes, with increasing granularity. Language learning and communication implicate multiple, interacting and complex processes, and various emotions seem likely to play different roles in different processes—for example identifying the emotions that facilitate vocabulary learning might differ from those that motivate face-saving pragmatic adaptation during ongoing communication.

A second avenue for future research, drawing upon the dynamic approach to language anxiety coupled with research on positive and negative emotions, suggests that the interactions among emotions may be especially interesting. Different emotions motivate different action tendencies and it is interesting both theoretically and practically to describe how multiple emotions, arising in the same context, affect the quality of motivation. Transitioning from positive to negative emotion and back again happens often in classrooms and conversations. Linking the ongoing emotional experience to processes such as vocabulary retrieval, fluency of speech, face-saving repair, and other language processes, coupled with learner factors such as personality, sense of self, and goals, will further illuminate fluctuations in emotions. It may be especially interesting to investigate the pattern of changing emotion trajectories over time. Frustrations and challenges are inevitable in language learning and negative emotions such as anxiety certainly arise. But how does a learner react to the anxiety? Does it lead to a self-exacerbating downward spiral that triggers frustration and possibly anger and demotivation, or alternatively might it trigger an uplifting spiral where anxiety may be replaced by increased motivation in the form of determination for further engagement? Understanding the patterns of emotional reactions over a short period of time may provide a better understanding of the processes of learning and communicating, especially if the patterns can be described for individual learners.

Overall, the future is bright for studies of the motivational qualities of emotion in SLA. Given the pervasiveness of emotions throughout our lives, their role in energizing various behaviors, their interacting social/cultural/intrapersonal dimensions, the existing base of methods and measures that can be brought to bear on research questions, and the flexibility provided in adapting and reacting to events, it is clear that emotion forms the dynamic base of motivation for language learning and communication.

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10

L2 Motivation and Willingness to Communicate

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Work on willingness to communicate (WTC) has extended the limits of SLA research toward the goal of intercultural communication and mutual understanding by positioning the desire to communicate as a valued aim of L2 research and teaching practice. I begin this chapter by reviewing the theoretical development of WTC as a psychological and situated construct, focusing on the L2 WTC model proposed by MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels (1998) to address how trait-like and situated variables interact with each other to influence momentary WTC and make the learner “cross the Rubicon” (Dörnyei, 2001, p. 88) from silence to speech. Thereafter, I examine the extent to which empirical research has confirmed the model’s propositions, and the new insights that have been generated through research conducted in various contexts around the globe. Reviewing earlier quantitative studies and more recent qualitative, situated, and dynamic approaches, I identify the current status of knowledge, as well as issues and gaps to be filled by future research. I then discuss L2 WTC and related research with special reference to Asian learners. Although communication avoidance among language learners is a challenge faced by language teachers all over the world, given the seemingly high concentration of WTC research in Asian EFL contexts or with Asian learners (on which more below), there may be cultural or contextual reasons why WTC is more of an issue in these contexts. Applying cultural lenses through which to examine this issue should help deepen our under-

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standing of WTC. Finally, I consider the pedagogical implications of WTC research, and introduce a number of intervention-based studies designed to enhance WTC.

L2 WTC and the Pyramid Model

WTC research originates in communication researchers' inquiries into why some people are more willing to communicate than others, in terms of a general psychological tendency. Defining WTC as the probability of engaging in communication when given a choice, McCroskey and Richmond (1987, 1991) developed a scale encompassing four different communication contexts: speaking in dyads, in small groups, in meetings, and to a large audience, and three types of receivers: strangers, acquaintances, and friends. Research results show that while how much people communicate is context dependent, they exhibit regular communication patterns across different situations. Results also indicate that WTC is related to introversion, communication apprehension, perceived communication competence, and self-esteem, thus demonstrating its trait-like characteristics. It has also been reported that L1WTC scores predict actual communication in an educational context (e.g., Chan & McCroskey, 1987).

It was not long before MacIntyre and his Canadian associates began to apply this concept in L2 learning (MacIntyre & Charos, 1996; MacIntyre & Clément, 1996), WTC being a natural development in the Canadian tradition of motivation research initially represented by Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Gardner (1985) (see also Csizér, this volume). Gardner's Social Educational Model was designed to address intergroup relations, in which *integrativeness* includes the desire to communicate with the target language community and is a vital source of motivation to learn the L2. Using path analyses, pioneering studies by MacIntyre and Charos (1996) and MacIntyre and Clément (1996) demonstrated how integrativeness and attitudes toward the learning situation predicted language learning motivation, and frequency of communication. In the same model, lower L2 anxiety and higher perceived communication competence were shown to predict L2 WTC, which in turn predicted frequency of communication in the L2.

L2 WTC is not a simple transfer from L1 WTC, postulated as a stable individual trait. Rather, it is far more complex, not only because variation in L2 competence across individuals is much greater than in L1 competence, but also because attitudes toward the target language and culture and the motivation to learn the L2 (among other factors) affect how much each learner wants

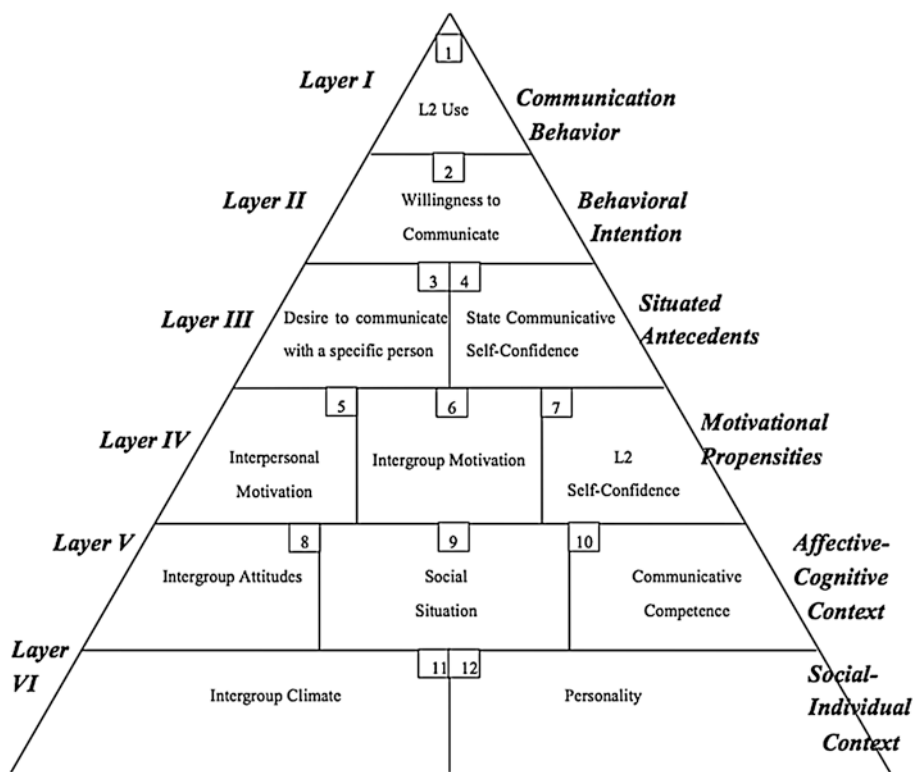


Fig. 10.1 Pyramid WTC model (MacIntyre et al., 1998, p. 547)

to communicate with the target population (MacIntyre et al., 1998). These researchers identified variables that have been theoretically considered or empirically tested as relevant, and used these to develop a heuristic pyramid-shaped model (Fig. 10.1). Here, they introduce L2 WTC as more situated concept along with the definition, “a readiness to enter into discourse at a specific time with a specific person or persons, using an L2” when free to do so (p. 547). They also state that L2WTC should be a goal of L2 teaching.

In this model, the moment a person is about to communicate in the L2 is represented by the apex of the pyramid, where influences of various situated and enduring variables converge and result in L2 use. L2 WTC placed at Layer 2 is a behavioral intention to initiate communication, which results in behavior when combined with opportunities. The model proposes “two immediate precursors of WTC” (p. 548), the momentary desire to communicate with a specific person, and state communicative self-confidence (Layer 3), which, following Clément (1985), is a combination of perceived compe-

tence and a lack of anxiety. In the bottom three layers are more enduring variables that are stable within each individual across time and situations, including individual psychological variables on the one hand, and intergroup and contextual factors on the other. In the fourth layer is L2 self-confidence, which is different from the state self-confidence described above, or “the overall belief in being able to communicate in the L2 in an adaptive and efficient manner” (p. 551), which is supported by communicative competence (Layer 5) and relates to personality (Layer 6). Reflecting the Canadian context where this model was conceived, intergroup concerns are well addressed, including intergroup motivation (Layer 4), which is influenced by intergroup attitudes (Layer 5) such as integrativeness and fear of assimilation within a given intergroup climate (Layer 6). Another contextual influence is the social situation in which a communicative event takes place (Layer 5), in turn affecting intergroup motivation, self-confidence, and interpersonal motivation (Layer 4) as well as situated variables. The model represents a systemic view of how various enduring and situated (or state) variables interact and converge as WTC at a specific moment, giving rise to communication behavior in the L2, thus foreshadowing recent trends in motivation research, including approaches informed by Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST) (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015).

Development of L2 WTC Research

Spread of WTC Research Across Different Contexts

The WTC model has stimulated research in different language learning contexts. In Canada, MacIntyre and associates carried out a range of studies of WTC in French as a second language, focusing on different contexts (e.g., immersion vs. non-immersion) as well as variation based on gender and school grades (Baker & MacIntyre, 2000; MacIntyre, Baker, Clément, & Conrod, 2001; MacIntyre, Baker, Clément, & Donovan, 2002, 2003). In a study from 2001, MacIntyre and colleagues compared L2 WTC inside and outside the French immersion classroom and how it relates to learning orientations including travel, gaining knowledge, friendship with francophone individuals, and job-related and school achievement. All these orientations were positively correlated with inside- and outside-classroom L2 WTC, operationalized as the extent to which students are willing to speak, listen to, read, and write French. Notable differences between the two settings were not found. The

results also showed that social support from friends was associated with a higher level of WTC, and age and gender were also found to influence WTC to some degree (MacIntyre et al., 2002). In the comparison of immersion and non-immersion contexts (Baker & MacIntyre, 2000), immersion students showed lower communication apprehension, greater perceived competence, higher WTC, and more frequent communication in French. The researchers also found that anxiety correlates with L2 WTC more strongly than perceived competence in the immersion context, while the opposite is true of the non-immersion context. Their explanation rests in differences in communication experiences and L2 competence. With relatively less developed communicative competence, non-immersion students' L2 WTC is more strongly affected by perceived competence. If these students experience a lack of competence, they will not willingly communicate. On the other hand, with abundant communication opportunities, immersion students generally achieve higher levels of competence, but feel greater pressure to meet higher performance standards, thus experiencing increased anxiety.

One of the first responses to the L2 WTC model outside of Canada came in studies with Japanese EFL learners (Yashima, 2002; Yashima, Zenuk-Nishide, & Shimizu, 2004). Subsequently, a number of empirical studies inspired by the model have been conducted in various parts of the world, including China (Peng & Woodrow, 2010 with Chinese EFL learners), New Zealand (Cao & Philp, 2006 with mostly Asian learners of English), and the US (Kang, 2005, with Korean ESL students; Hashimoto, 2002 with Japanese ESL students). While earlier studies frequently involve Asian learners, more recently work has been done in Europe, including the UK (Gallagher, 2013, with Chinese-speaking students), Belgium (Denies, Yashima, & Janssen, 2015 with Flemish learners of French), and Poland (Pawlak & Mystkowska-Wiertelak, 2015; Pawlak, Mystkowska-Wiertelak, & Bielak, 2016 with Polish EFL learners), as well as in Iran (Khajavy, Ghonsooly, Fatemi, & Choi, 2016 with Iranian EFL learners).

Quantitative Research Aiming to Capture Enduring Influences

Earlier research inspired by the WTC construct mainly addressed the lower three layers of the model using quantitative approaches with psychometric scales (generally by adapting and translating the original WTC scales developed by McCroskey and Richmond (1987) to measure trait WTC). Often using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), these studies confirmed the rel-

evance of many of the enduring factors shown in the Pyramid Model to influence WTC, including intergroup attitudes, communicative competence, and L2 self-confidence (or perceived competence and anxiety separately), (e.g., Clément, Baker, & MacIntyre, 2003; Denies et al., 2015; Peng & Woodrow, 2010; Yashima, 2002; Yashima et al., 2004, see also MacIntyre, Ross & Clément, this volume), and have helped to form a general picture of how psychological variables interrelate and affect the learners' stable tendencies to communicate in the L2 (i.e. trait-like L2 WTC). In addition, scales measuring L2 WTC in classrooms have been developed (e.g., MacIntyre et al., 2001; Weaver, 2005) in order to achieve a better fit with instructed learning contexts.

In a number of studies, researchers not only tested factors proposed in the model, but identified new context-relevant variables. For example, Yashima (2002) paid attention to the reality of EFL contexts such as Japan, where "intergroup attitudes" in the sense of integrativeness are not clearly formed or relevant without opportunities for direct intergroup interaction. For Japanese learners, English is primarily a tool for communicating with people outside of Japan, including Asians or Africans, with little sense of identification with native speakers of English. Drawing on the intercultural aspect of integrativeness, *international posture* was proposed as a construct to describe attitudes toward an international community, readiness to work overseas, openness toward different cultural groups, and interest in foreign affairs. Studies using SEM found that international posture enhances not only motivation to learn English, but also WTC with people around the globe using English. Peng and Woodrow (2010) noted covert cultural (e.g., Confucian) influence on WTC in Chinese EFL learners, which had been discussed in Wen and Clément (2003) and others. To capture this culturally structured feature, Peng and Woodrow focused on a learner belief defined as "learners' value judgment on how to learn English" and appropriate behavior in the English classroom (p. 839). WTC-promoting beliefs with lower endorsement of traditional, grammar-translation approaches were confirmed in their SEM study as influencing communication confidence, which in turn, was the single strongest predictor of WTC in English. From an ecological perspective, they also included a construct called *classroom environment*, which encompasses teacher support, student cohesiveness, and task orientation. High appraisal of the classroom environment predicted L2 WTC. This variable was also included in Khajavy et al.'s Iranian study (2014) and was found to be the strongest predictor of WTC in English. Noting that group work is an integral part of communicative EFL classrooms, Fushino (2010) reported that beliefs about the value of group work predicted L2 WTC in group work situations in Japan.

The differential influence of anxiety and perceived competence on WTC in immersion and non-immersion groups found in Canadian studies was supported in studies conducted in EFL contexts. In many of these studies, perceived competence correlated more strongly with L2 WTC than language anxiety (Khajavy et al., 2016; Peng & Woodrow, 2010; Yashima, 2002; Yashima et al., 2004; see also MacIntyre, Ross & Clément, this volume), exhibiting the same tendency as the non-immersion context in Canada. A meta-analysis of quantitative WTC studies (Elahi, Khajavy, MacIntyre & Taherian, 2019), focusing on 11 studies published between 2000 and 2015, reported perceived communicative competence, language anxiety, and motivation as three high-evidence correlates of L2 WTC. Although some studies report that L2 WTC predicts L2 use (Denies et al., 2015; MacIntyre & Charos, 1996; Yashima et al., 2004), the link between L2 WTC, its actual use, and proficiency is yet to be explored. In the WTC model, L2 competency is one of the enduring factors that affects L2 WTC. However, from an SLA perspective, a vital question concerns whether enhancing WTC will lead to improved competence. If we are to establish how, through frequent use of the L2, WTC might result in increased proficiency, longitudinal research will be required.

To date, a range of quantitative studies from various research contexts have been accumulated. Generally, these studies take a typically “etic” (as opposed to “emic”) approach in using the same or similar measurement tools, allowing for comparisons of different contexts, and providing information about what is generalizable and what is context-specific. To address the context-specific needs of teachers, to help individual learners, and to find out why in classrooms some learners are willing to talk while others are not, research into WTC has taken a qualitative turn.

Qualitative Studies Aiming to Capture Situated WTC in Context

Since around 2005, increasing numbers of qualitative studies have spotlighted the situated nature of L2 WTC as it emerges in the classroom. Taking WTC as an emerging state of readiness to speak, these studies have revealed a number of factors influencing participants’ state WTC (for a review, see, for example, Pawlak & Mystkowska-Wiertelak, 2015). Early qualitative studies (e.g., Cao & Philp, 2006; Kang, 2005) were triggered by the researchers’ keen interest in why learners are willing (or not) to communicate in L2 learning situations. Through an experiment using dyads of Korean learners of English and native speakers, Kang (2005) found that the decision to communicate in a

particular situation is mediated by three psychological variables: security, excitement, and responsibility. Security refers to feeling free of fear in L2 communication, a condition that is shaped mainly by relative familiarity among the interlocutors, as well as with the topic. Excitement is “a feeling of elation about the act of talking” (Kang, 2005, p. 284). Finally, responsibility is felt typically when the learners themselves introduce the topic or when the topic is one the participants are knowledgeable about. In a model summarizing these processes, feelings of security, excitement, and responsibility are created through a combination of situational variables including topic, interlocutors, and conversational context, and result in situated L2 WTC. Cao and Philp (2006) assessed situational WTC in Asian and European students studying English in Australia using a behavior categorization scheme they developed in three different interactional situations in classrooms (pair work, group work, and whole class). They found no correlations between trait WTC assessed using a scale adapted from McCroskey and Richmond (1987), and situational WTC at any of the three interactional situations. They also found that the level of WTC differs substantially across interactional situations. Based on classroom observations and interviews, Cao and Philp identified group size, self-confidence, knowledge of the topic, familiarity with interlocutors, and interlocutor participation in the conversation as factors that had the greatest impact on frequency of self-initiated communication.

Responding to MacIntyre’s (2007) call for more situated approaches to L2 WTC, further research followed that identified a number of psychological, linguistic, social, and contextual factors (e.g., Cao, 2011, 2014; de Saint Léger & Storch, 2009; MacIntyre, Burns, & Jessome, 2011; Pattapong, 2010; Peng, 2012). To focus on situated WTC, researchers need to move away from self-report questionnaires assessing trait-like WTC. Cao (2014) used the observation scheme developed earlier in Cao and Philp (2006), in which situated L2 WTC is operationalized in terms of the number of self-selected turns (e.g., volunteering an answer, asking the teacher a question, or responding to an opinion). Using stimulated recall interviews and analyses of journal entries, Cao revealed that situational L2 WTC in the classroom results from the interdependence of individual characteristics (self-confidence, emotion), linguistic factors (e.g., L2 proficiency), and learner-external or environmental factors (e.g., topic, task type, interlocutor, teacher). MacIntyre et al. (2011) asked French immersion students to write about situations in which they were either most or least willing to communicate in the L2. Through the qualitative analysis of these self-reports, researchers demonstrated that subtle differences in communication contexts can quickly change a learner’s affective state from willingness to unwillingness to communicate. Thus, growing interest in

situated WTC brought about a growing number of publications on the dynamic and emergent nature of classroom L2 WTC.

Exploring New Methods to Capture WTC Dynamics

A notable trend coinciding with the situated approach is research influenced by Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST) and the development of research methods designed to capture the emergent, dynamic nature of L2 WTC. MacIntyre and Legatto's (2011) study used a CDST framework to focus on the dynamic, moment-to-moment state of WTC through on-going observation and real-time assessment. They developed an idiodynamic method using computer software in which learners rate their level of WTC on a scale shown on the computer screen while simultaneously watching the immediate playback of their performance. Subsequently, the learner offers explanations for each fluctuation in WTC while watching the video again and looking at the printout of the WTC graph. Their laboratory study involving six female students demonstrated that WTC fluctuated dramatically over the few minutes during which the participants were interviewed about eight pre-selected topics. While each participant exhibited unique reactions to the task, consistent patterns were also observed, including a decline in WTC while discussing supposedly less familiar topics. Searching memory for lexis was found to be a key factor in lowering L2 WTC.

Pawlak et al. (2016) applied a similar idea in classrooms. Working in pairs or groups, Polish EFL learners recorded their L2 WTC every five minutes on a grid with scales, revealing fluctuation in individual and group-level WTC during the class period. Participants' responses to open-ended questions and the teacher's record of activities were analyzed to identify contextual and individual variables that might account for the fluctuation. In Pawlak and Mystkowska-Wiertelak (2015), WTC in four pairs of learners conversing in English was self-recorded on a grid every 30 seconds. Through stimulated recall interviews, they found that participants' WTC fluctuation was influenced by a number of variables, including topic, planning time, familiarity with the interlocutor, mastery of lexis, etc. Graphs with two lines representing each pair's individual WTC fluctuation indicated no consistent patterns across the pairs, while participants' WTC tended to be higher while they were presenting ideas and could decrease while they listened, particularly when they did not comprehend their partners.

Following up on this attempt to capture L2 WTC as constructed in interactions with interlocutors, Yu (2015) investigated how Chinese EFL learners'

L2 WTC is influenced by a paired partner's WTC level. She compared interactions in pairs matched by trait WTC level and those of unmatched pairs, finding that the number of turns and words recorded by low-WTC individuals did not improve when they were paired up with peers with higher WTC. Bernales (2016) approached the dynamics of L2 WTC somewhat differently by focusing on the gap between learners' thoughts that were planned to be articulated, and actual articulation in a German as a FL classroom context. The results revealed that links between predicted and actual participation developed progressively over 15 weeks, which the researcher attributed to a combination of factors including classroom norms, teacher expectations, and learner motivation. Yashima, MacIntyre, and Ikeda (2018) noted that with a few exceptions (Cao, 2014; Cao & Philp, 2006), empirical research thus far has mostly focused on either enduring/trait-like L2 WTC or situated/contextual L2 WTC, and that these have been theorized as complementary (MacIntyre et al., 1998). In a study seeking to demonstrate how information about both trait and state WTC can be combined to closely examine why in classroom discussion contexts some EFL learners initiate communication at a particular time—"crossing the Rubicon," so to speak—while others do not, Yashima et al. (2018) attempted to capture both trait-like and state L2 WTC. For trait WTC they used traditional questionnaires, while for situated WTC they counted the number of self-selected turns. Within a nested-system framework, this study also paid attention to the communication behavior of individuals as well as that of the group, findings indicating that individual learners contribute to constructing group-level communication behavior, which simultaneously influences the way he or she communicates.

Unlike trait-like WTC, for which traditional psychometric scales have been used, situated WTC has typically been assessed through frequent, real-time self-assessment on scales or operationalized as the number of self-selected turns (as well as hand-raising that did not result in turns) that researchers coded in classrooms. This research shows how WTC can change momentarily in classroom interaction, and how various factors intertwine to change the dynamics.

L2 WTC research has come a long way over a relatively short period of some 20 years. We have come to understand an individual's L2 WTC as it triggers communication at a specific moment and as a convergence of influences of various learner-internal and learner-external factors interacting in a complex manner. Further, while some recent studies focus on WTC beyond the individual as constructed socially in pairs or groups, others attempt to capture both individual and collective WTC and communication behavior (Khajavy, MacIntyre & Barabadi, 2018; Yashima et al., 2018). Because communication is fundamentally

social in the sense that a person always needs someone else to communicate with, this constitutes an important future direction of L2 WTC research. It also means that it becomes necessary to find ways to reconcile WTC as an individual characteristic, and communication as a hyper-individual phenomenon.

Relevance of L2 WTC to Asian EFL Contexts

While L2 WTC is of widespread concern in language classrooms, given the relatively higher concentration of WTC research in Asian contexts thus far, particular focus needs to be directed to its relevance in these EFL contexts.

Even before WTC was introduced as a construct in SLA, reticence among Asian EFL/ESL learners was a concern for many researchers (e.g., Anderson, 1993; Ferris & Tagg, 1996; Korst, 1997; Sato, 1982; Tsui, 1996), with several studies investigating students' lack of active participation in language classrooms. In her study of ESL classroom discourse, Sato showed that Asians took significantly fewer self-selected turns than non-Asians. This issue has been also discussed and explored in wider educational contexts focusing on silence (Liu, 2002; Markus & Conner, 2013; Nakane, 2006). Liu's (2002) case study explored Chinese graduate students' silence in American university classrooms and identified its multiple functions and complexities. Through cross-cultural comparison of norms regarding silence, Liu found that one important function of silence for Chinese students was "face saving," not only in the sense of saving the learner's own face by, for example, not showing a lack of English competence, but also of not disagreeing with the teacher and "not wanting to waste the teachers' and other students time" (p. 49). Here, face is analyzed as a cultural construct encoding "a reputable image that individuals can claim for themselves" in a given community (Mao, 1994, p. 460). In her mixed-methods ethnographic research, Nakane (2006) pays attention to the politeness function of silence, which is "to avoid imposition, confrontation, or embarrassment" (p. 1812) and closely examines types and causes of silence among Japanese students in Australian university seminars. She observed that Japanese students took substantially fewer self-selected turns compared to their Australian counterparts. Follow-up interviews and discourse analyses revealed reasons for their silence; (1) face-saving, e.g., language anxiety or adherence to correct responses the author analyzes as culturally conditioned; (2) avoiding expressing criticism and disagreement; and (3) silence as meaning "I don't know." These nuanced studies conducted through a cultural lens reveal the complexities of the silence phenomenon among Asian students and demonstrate that it is vital not to view silence as simply a lack of utterance.

As the flip side of silence, WTC in classrooms represents the complex psychology of L2 learners. For them, frequency of communication matters because using the language in a productive manner is necessary for acquisition (Swain, 1995). Recently, noting a lack of objective data on what actually happens in classrooms, King (2013) conducted a study in an EFL context based on 48 hours of classroom observation involving 30 classes in various Japanese universities. He showed that student-initiated communication in English or Japanese accounted for only seven minutes, or 0.24% of the total hours observed, while the total amount of student talk (both self- and other-selected) accounted for 5.21% of the time.

L2 researchers also attempted to explain the reasons behind silence and reticence in WTC-related studies of Asian L2 learners. Some variables discussed are those commonly recognized by researchers across the world as hindering active participation (typically the opposites of factors shown in the WTC model). These include linguistic (e.g., insufficient competence, lack of vocabulary knowledge), psychological (e.g., low motivation, social anxiety, nervousness, lack of confidence) and contextual factors (e.g., tense atmosphere, unfamiliarity with topics). In addition, researchers have put forward cultural factors to explain silence or fewer turns by Asian learners. Examples include concern for other students in the classroom (Liu, 2002; Peng & Woodrow, 2010; Yashima et al., 2018), cultural heritage such as other-directedness and submissive approaches to learning (Wen & Clément, 2003), and the need to maintain performance-avoidance goals (Woodrow, 2012). In Peng and Woodrow's (2010) study with Chinese university students, items eliciting learner beliefs in classroom communication included "The student who always speaks up in class will be loathed by other classmates" and "The student who always speaks up in class is showing off his/her English proficiency," and these beliefs negatively influenced their WTC inside the class. In Yashima et al.'s (2018) intervention study, a student who took a leadership role in classroom discussions mentioned in an interview that "I don't want to monopoly the discussion. I want others to participate equally" to explain her self-constraint. Wen and Clément's (2003) theoretical work focused on two notable features of Chinese interpersonal relations that influence L2 WTC, namely the tendency to care very much about evaluation by others, and pressure to submit to authority. A similar finding comes from a study of Thai ESL learners in Australia (Pattapong, 2010), which identified two cultural norms affecting L2 WTC: the desire to establish a network of relationships, and the need to maintain the hierarchical system. A recurrent theme in discussions of WTC is the Confucian cultural value that emphasizes social relationships and concern for others' evaluation (Liu, 2002; Peng & Woodrow, 2010). In her

study of goal orientations, and citing her earlier study, Woodrow (2012) reports that “learners from Confucian heritage cultures are more likely to adopt performance-avoidance goals than learners from Europe and South America” (p. 197). Performance-avoidance goals include a tendency to avoid embarrassing oneself, to avoid looking like one is unable to do something, and avoiding looking stupid. Woodrow also found that performance-avoidance goals were negatively correlated with oral performance.

Although care is needed to avoid essentializing Asian countries (as differences across Asian cultures and of course individuals are evident), many Asian learners exhibit a tendency to refrain from standing out by speaking out when others are quiet. Another feature often mentioned in the research reviewed above is face-saving, which is related to the tendency to care how one is perceived by others in the community. This tendency to see oneself as permanently socially situated (or always see oneself in relation to others) may reflect a feature referred to as “interdependent self-construal” in cultural psychology (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In this connection, Markus and Conner (2013) present examples of Asian students’ silence in their argument for interdependent self-construal.

It is understandable that interest in L2 WTC developed out of concerns shared among researchers and practitioners working with Asian language learners. Their reactions in classrooms reflect (hyper) sensitivity to social context. However, this also means that the psychology of reticence or silence observed among Asian learners may not be entirely alien to learners around the world. Probing into Asian learners’ communication behavior may help us understand reticent learners’ psychology found in wider contexts. Besides, with the world becoming increasingly globalized, the make-up of L2 classrooms is becoming more diverse. In fact, some WTC studies focus on Asian learners studying English in various parts of the world. The characteristics discussed in these studies may be omnipresent among populations of Asian students and thus of concern for researchers and practitioners around the world.

Another difficulty experienced by teachers in Asian and many other EFL contexts in motivating learners to communicate in the L2 relates to environments in which English-using situations are not readily available. Even when learners are motivated to learn English, this is often the result of having to take high-stakes examinations for admission to higher education or a hoped-for career. Compared to European EFL learners (for example, Denies et al., 2015; Henry, 2013), Asian EFL learners may have fewer chances to communicate in English outside the classroom, and it is a major challenge for teachers

to learn how to build communication into a realistic goal. How to address this challenge will be discussed in the next section.

Pedagogical Implications of WTC Research

Research identifying the enduring factors that affect trait-like L2 WTC helps us understand why learners tend to be talkative or remain silent as a general tendency. Learners who are motivated to learn an L2, are less anxious, and who perceive their competence to be higher tend to be more willing to communicate in the L2. Learner beliefs in communicative approaches in teaching and an international posture also enhance L2 communication. Findings such as these provide teachers with a basic understanding of factors that enhance WTC, and can thus be of help in the design of classroom environments and the selection of teaching materials and methods. It is also possible to classify learners into different affective profiles using cluster analyses with data on WTC, self-confidence, motivation, etc. (e.g., Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Nishida & Yashima, 2017). This kind of categorical profiling can be particularly useful for teachers of large classes. Further, each learner's relative WTC and affective profile can be identified relative to class (or indeed any group) means. On the other hand, trait-like WTC does not necessarily predict performance (Cao & Philp, 2006). We also face the complexity of individual psychology as, for example, in the observation that motivated, highly proficient learners are not necessarily willing to communicate, and that normally talkative students can become silent occasionally. This is precisely where insights from qualitative research are helpful.

Qualitative research on state WTC in language classrooms pinpoints how and when learners are willing (or unwilling) to talk, while CDST-based studies shed light on real-time fluctuations in WTC in ongoing communication, that flow from multiple factors in simultaneous operation. These studies help teachers understand why, for example, certain students are reticent in certain conditions, thus suggesting changes that can be made in conditions such as choice of interlocutor, group-size, topic, activity, instructional style, and classroom dynamics.

In addition, some classroom studies have explored teaching methods, styles, and content that can enhance WTC and learner participation. Task-based language teaching (TBLT) is a promising area, although research into learner characteristics in task-specific situations is scarce. One such study by Dörnyei and Kormos (2000) identified three individual variables that correlate with learners' engagement as measured by the number of words and turns

used during the task: L1 WTC (personality), attitudes toward the English course, and attitudes toward the task. The number of self-selected turns (and number of words) are also indicators and manifestations of situational L2 WTC, as previously discussed (Cao & Philp, 2006; Yashima et al., 2018). We can assume that when learners are engaged in tasks, their WTC is heightened and that they use more language. Other studies report that learner WTC rose through participation in task-based and theme-based teaching (e.g., Freiermuth & Jarrell, 2006; Munezane, 2015; Yashima & Zenuk-Nishide, 2008). These studies suggest that flow-introducing activities in which students are engaged in tasks and discussions are effective in enhancing WTC, which will result in using the L2 in meaningful communication.

Given reports of silence in Japanese EFL classrooms mentioned earlier (King, 2013), Yashima et al. (2018) designed discussion sessions in which teacher-student Initiation-Feedback-Response (IRF) patterns were removed so as to give control to the learners. In such circumstances, the amount of self-initiated communication was found to be much larger than what would normally be expected based on King's (2013) research. In fact, the amount of students' talk and silence fluctuated dramatically due to a number of learner-internal and learner-external factors. Other intervention approaches include consciousness-raising efforts to help students understand the need to participate in order to improve their language skills, and introducing strategies and phrases that learners can use to facilitate participation in discussions.

In addition, a range of approaches should be adopted to address both trait-like and state L2 WTC. For the former this could include more individual psychological approaches (e.g., anxiety reduction training), while for the latter it could be changing social and physical classroom situations. In addition, different approaches may be needed to address the needs of different cultural groups and contexts (e.g., EFL vs. ESL). For Asian learners, tackling issues related to cultural factors (which are not good or bad in themselves, but may nevertheless constrain L2 WTC), reducing face work, and creating an evaluation-free, relaxing classroom environment may be vital if they are to speak in order to learn. As regards the issue of having no immediate need to use the L2 outside school, as is typically found in Asian EFL contexts, activities creating visions of learners using the L2 in real-world situations are essential. Some of the activities mentioned earlier are attempts to create imagined communities in which learners envision themselves as L2 users. Drawing on the motivational concept of the "ideal L2 self" (Dörnyei, 2005), activities creating an imagined international community, as well as imagined L2 selves in EFL contexts will be useful (see also Csizér, this volume). Some examples are found in Yashima and Zenuk-Nishide (2008) with the Model United

Nations concept, which is used to create an imagined international community, and in Munezane (2015), with discussion of global issues, where it was found that when goal-setting training was combined with vision-creation training, learners' WTC increased significantly. Teaching that triggers learners' imagination and visions of themselves using English in new social contexts can bridge the gap between classroom practices and the L2-using world, and, through this, lead to the emergence in learners of a desire for intercultural communication.

Conclusion

L2 WTC has been proposed as an additional goal of L2 teaching (MacIntyre et al., 1998). In fact, enhancing L2 WTC is vital in two senses. First, because a fundamental goal of L2 learning is to acquire a means of communication with those who do not share the same L1 and who often have different cultural backgrounds, the willingness to use the L2 is a basis for successful intercultural communication. Second, research (e.g., Swain, 1995) has shown that learners need to use language in a productive manner in and outside of classrooms if they are to develop language competence. It has also been reported that in "real-life" contexts outside of classrooms, opportunities to use the L2 are not automatically given to learners, who therefore need to create opportunities of their own (Norton, 2000; Yashima et al., 2004). This makes WTC essential in creating language learning opportunities. Insights from usage-based language learning as well as CDST also show that language "emerges bottom-up from interactions of multiple agents in speech communities" (Larsen-Freeman, 2011, p. 49) or, more simply, language emerges from use. If L1 acquisition comes more naturally than L2 learning, it is partly because L1 acquisition is embedded in a child's life, where willingness to communicate with others is entirely natural and essential to survival. One educational goal of L2 teaching will therefore be to create environments in which L2 learners are naturally willing to communicate.

As shown in this chapter, research in L2 WTC has made remarkable progress in its relatively short history by focusing on different aspects of WTC seen as personality-based and enduring, situated, dynamic, or complex. Yet a great deal more research remains to be done. First, all of these diverse types of research need continued investigation, ideally in different sociocultural contexts. Of particular usefulness will be classroom-based interventional studies that generate practical implications for instructed SLA. Another vital future research avenue should address different time scales in order to capture how

situated L2 WTC experienced in classrooms connects to more general and enduring willingness to interact with others in the L2. Similarly, studies linking micro and macro perspectives can shed light on how micro- or individual-level WTC relates to macro-level phenomena in social spheres such as classrooms, schools, and society. Given these vital goals and perspectives, L2 WTC has much to offer researchers and practitioners alike.

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11

The Contexts of SLA Motivation: Linking Ideologies to Situational Variations

Odilia Yim, Richard Clément, and Peter D. MacIntyre

In examining the empirical basis of broad generalizations emanating from current SLA frameworks, it has become evident that there are constant variations in the importance of the elements supporting the motivational processes. While these variations are sometimes overlooked or explained away as minor “local” specificities, they represent, in our view, the influence of a broad, identifiable array of contextual factors. Furthermore, given that L2 acquisition is essentially a social process, it is imperative that context be considered in any explanation of SLA motivation (e.g., Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2013). Contextual factors span a wide family of phenomena, going from nationwide ideological stances, to aspects of intergroup contact, to the nature of the exchange with interlocutors, and whether in or outside the classroom. The breadth of their influence prohibits a full and exhaustive survey within the confines of this chapter. Therefore, in the following we review some of those influences within a framework of multilingual communication proposed by Sachdev and Bourhis (2001) and conclude with a discussion of con-

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text interacting with motivational dynamics for individuals at a given moment in time.

What Is Context?

Hymes (1972) observed that “the key to understanding language in context is to start not with language but with context... [and to] systematically relate the two” (pp. xix-lvii). This focus on context has been preserved in the research surrounding language, whether in the disciplines of linguistics, psychology, sociology, or education. Among these disciplines, there have been different conceptualizations and theories of context and motivation. Of relevance here is the view held in educational psychology that individuals evolve in multiple social contexts where they navigate, and, in so doing, shape their experience and learning (Volet & Järvelä, 2001; Volet & Kimmel, 2012). A related situative approach defines learning as a change in social practice (Greeno, 1998). Nolen, Horn, and Ward (2015; see also Nolen, Ward, & Horn, 2012) further suggest that the unit of analysis within a situative approach is the “learner-in-context” entailing implications for research goals, methods, and interpretations. For example, as in anthropological accounts, situative theories present an integrated cognitive and interactional definition of learning and proceed by describing and observing motives as “stretched across” learners and contexts (Hickey & Granade, 2004).

In comparison, traditional psychological motivational theories are based on a cognitive definition of learning, seeking to explain individuals and their motives through beliefs, understanding, and interpretations (Nolen, Ward, & Horn, 2011). We will primarily borrow from this approach while recognizing the variability and distinct contrasts in the study of context and motivation. That is, in the present chapter, we view the individual and the context as separate but acknowledge that context plays an active role in influencing the individual and vice versa (Bandura, 2006).

There have been numerous conceptualizations and definitions of context in psychology. One such conceptualization was from Bronfenbrenner (1979), who viewed context from an ecological systems perspective wherein contexts are nested within one another, overlapping, and interconnected, rather than singular and uniform. Following a similar approach, Gurtner, Monnard, and Genoud (2001) distinguished four levels of learning context: the micro, concerning the task at hand, the meso, referring to the classroom situation, the exo encompassing the school factors and, finally, the macro accounting for all outside influences. Although Gurtner et al. (2001) had relatively little to say

about the macro level, that aspect is the one which will be focal to the present discussion.

In relation to SLA, Clément, Noels, and MacIntyre (2007) described in some detail how context effects are found in SLA, notably with respect to motivation, identity, and willingness to communicate. Implicit in their discourse, context was mostly viewed as an antecedent to L2 behaviour. In the same vein, Ushioda (2015) discusses the notion of context as it relates to dynamic systems theory (DST). She points out quite appropriately that, traditionally, context has been conceived as the origin of learner processes, including motivation. The converse, that learners as they are learning influence context, is also evident (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1990). But the question then becomes how to distinguish learners from context? Furthermore, how to define the internal, external, and temporal boundaries of context? Any one focal element, such as motivation, potentially makes all other elements part of the context (see Hiver & Papi, this volume).

The DST and other educational psychology approaches sensitize us to the fact that the hermeneutics of motivation in SLA should be a construction of the learner-in-context, with such context including immediate interlocutors. As one example, the idiodynamic method has been applied to language learning motivation, and it represents a paradigmatic shift toward refocusing motivation as the internalization and integration of factors impinging on the individual at a specific moment in time. There is no doubt that the focus on intra-psychic aspects of SLA motivation, such as found in many of the specific applications of DST to date (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015), is a rich contribution to our understanding. At the same time, an internal focus often can be at the expense of the presence of external referents, themselves evolving independently from the intra-psychic dynamics of the learner.

We, therefore, endeavour to provide a perspective which, at once, identifies elements of the context that may or may not be within the learner's awareness. Although, our perspective is steeped in intergroup issues, we wish here to broaden our focus to include, as proposed above, some insight into situational aspects which impinge on SLA motivation.

What Is SLA Motivation?

Numerous variables and factors interact and influence SLA. Importantly, all language learning takes place in a social context and the environmental impact on language learning cannot be underestimated. The introduction to the very first book on the social psychology of second language acquisition (Gardner

& Lambert, 1972) made it clear that SLA motivation had to be cast in the social context of intergroup relations:

Over and above aptitude, one would then anticipate that a really serious student of a foreign or second language who has an open, inquisitive, and unprejudiced orientation towards the learning task might very likely find himself becoming an acculturated member of a new linguistic and cultural community as he develops a mastery of that other group's language. Advancing towards biculturalism in this manner could have various effects on different language learners. For some, the experience might be enjoyable and broadening. For others, especially minority group members, it could be taken as an imposition, and learning the language would be accompanied by deep-seated and vague feelings of no longer fully belonging to one's own social group nor to the new one he has come to know. (p. 2)

Furthermore, over thirty years ago, Gardner (1985) proposed a Socio-educational Model of SLA focusing specifically on the classroom as a learning context. Accordingly, his model distinguished between two attitudinal factors, *integrativeness* and *attitudes towards the learning situation*, and a third component, *motivation* (see Gardner, this volume). While integrativeness and attitudes towards the learning situation were correlated and influenced the language learner's motivation to learn an L2, motivation was an *independent* factor directly impacting successful outcomes for SLA. Gardner (e.g. Gardner, 2010) was, furthermore, adamant that motivation is multifaceted, encompassing the effort to learn, the desire to learn, and a positive attitude towards learning. Identifying motivation conceptually and operationally is essential to disentangle it from adjacent constructs, to formulate clear theoretical explanation, and conduct critical empirical research.

In the original model (cf. Gardner, 2010), one of Gardner's key themes is the learning situation and environment in which language learning takes place. He emphasizes that the cultural beliefs of a community are situated within a social milieu. That is, the language learner's motivation is driven by the value the community places on language learning; the more significance a given community places on language learning, the more likely individual variables such as motivation and aptitude will facilitate language learning, and ultimately, more successful SLA outcomes. One instance of how cultural beliefs can be transmitted from the social context to the individual is through parental encouragement. As the most important socialization agents for children, parents directly and indirectly influence their children's willingness to participate in SLA as well as the attitudes associated with engaging in language and cultural activities. Thus, very early, a consideration of the social

milieu or environmental context was taken into account when discussing SLA motivation.

SLA as Contextualised Multilingual Communication

When casting a global perspective on SLA motivation, it is useful to represent it as multilingual communication. SLA encompasses learning all the linguistic levels of a given language: phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Even if the L2 learner strives to attain native-like fluency in each of these levels, the end goal is not to become another “monolingual” in the new language, but rather to become a bilingual. Therefore, successful SLA should result in bilingualism, or multilingualism depending on the number of languages with which the individual has communicative capacity. SLA motivation must therefore be framed to accommodate the outlook on more than one language.

Sachdev and Bourhis (2001) proposed the Model of Multilingual Communication that can provide an ecological framework to discuss the levels of context influencing the L2 learner. The model outlines three types of variables that influence multilingual communication: (i) societal intergroup context variables, (ii) sociolinguistic setting variables, and (iii) social psychological variables (see Fig. 11.1). First, the intergroup level encompasses the two broadest contexts, the national-level and the community-level. They include, for example, the language policies and laws that are put into place by the state along with the power relations among different ethno-cultural groups in the community. Second, the sociolinguistic setting variables are those considered to be at a conversation-level context, such as speech acts and other normative factors. In our view, these two levels of analysis represent the contexts of SLA which are likely to promote or inhibit SLA motivation. They feed into the social psychological processes that act as mediators of their influence on the outcomes of SLA, on the right side of the model. Although not explicitly stated by the authors, the various listed outcomes represent the social consequences of L2 fluency. For instance, the L2 learner’s language choice and their willingness to alternate their languages in conversation (i.e., code-switching) would be related to the capacity to use the L2. The outcomes highlighted in the model also act to modify the context of SLA motivation. For example, the model accounts for how broader language shifts (across generations) are the culmination of individual language behaviour, and how those shifts will feed back into the inter-group context, the sociolinguistic setting,

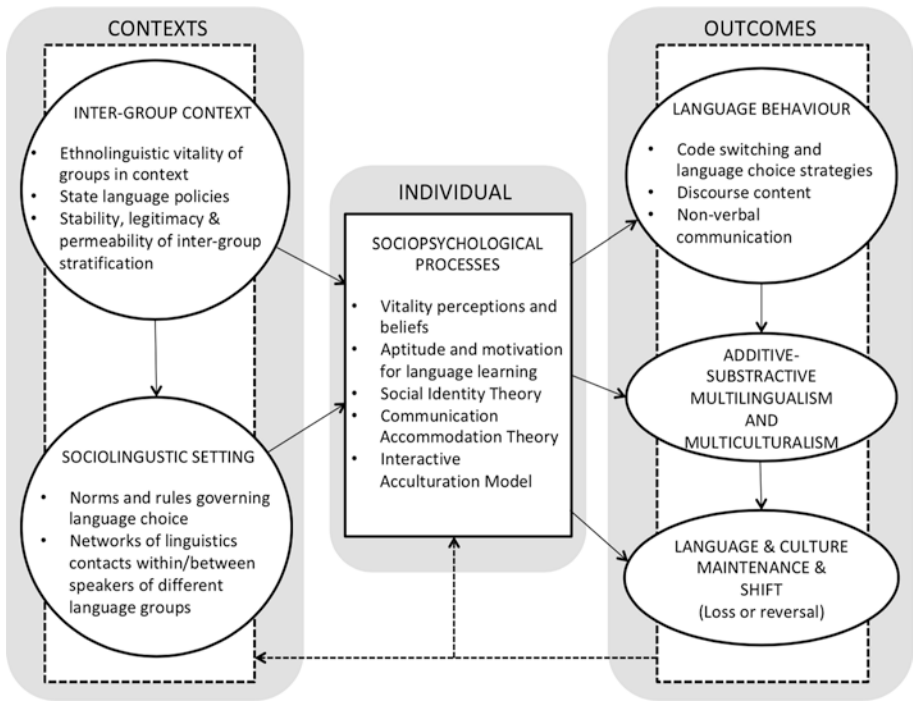


Fig. 11.1 Model of Multilingual Communication adapted from Sachdev and Bourhis (2001)

and also the sociopsychological processes which interact with them (Sachdev, Giles, & Pauwels, 2012). Thus, SLA motivation is best understood as linked not only to L2 fluency but also to a family of L2 phenomena that is deeply entrenched in the social context of the learner.

The model of multilingual communication, therefore, presents not only a framework to observe the influence of context at each ecological level, but also the dynamic nature of language learning and communication. The classroom then becomes a microcosm where these influences come into play. While not intended to be an exhaustive discussion of each element of the model, the following constitutes an illustration of factors likely to impinge on SLA motivation.

Intergroup Context

State language policies. National ideologies and policies adopted by countries and governments are the broadest context in the ecological framework. It is the macro-level context in which the other variables in the model of multilin-

gual communication are grounded. Ideologies and policies dictate the status and power which community groups and their group members have within the state and the goal of any ideology or policy adopted by governments is to maintain harmony among its ethnocultural groups, whether through language integration or language assimilation for its linguistic minority groups. In the Intergroup Communication and Acculturation Model proposed by Bourhis (2001), state language policies dictate and specify the dominant language majority and linguistic minorities, which in turn act upon intergroup communicative outcomes and relations (see Fig. 8.3 in Bourhis, Sioufi, & Sachdev, 2012). Bourhis (2001) suggests that there is an ideological continuum in which state language policies can vary, starting from a pluralism ideology, to civic ideology, to assimilation ideology, and ending with an ethnist ideology (for a review, see Bourhis et al., 2012). For example, Canada adopts a *pluralism ideology*. Mainstream society encourages minority groups to maintain their heritage language and ethnic culture; as a result, different ethnocultural groups are able to take part in heritage language programs funded by the government. As a second example, Canada's neighbour, the United States, adopts an *assimilation ideology*. The mainstream society does not encourage linguistic minorities to maintain their heritage language and presses them to adopt the language and culture of the dominant majority group. Either voluntarily or forcibly, this ideology results in a seemingly uniform society with a single dominant language. Although state language policies are supported by government laws and the judiciary system, they are by no means static. This macro-level context can be dynamic as there can be shifts in language policies depending on the global political climate as well as revolutionary changes, such as threats of terrorism and the development of the internet and other technologies.

State language policies play multiple roles in language learning, directly affecting society's tolerance towards linguistic diversity and linguistic minority groups. Additionally, the status and legitimacy of different languages come into question. Consequently, the influences of these factors can be seen at the community and individual levels. In the community context, there is a negotiation of linguistic legitimacy and what is valued in different spaces (Bourhis et al., 2012). For languages in contact, this leads to differences in power relations as well for the speakers of the respective languages. For the individual, language policies indirectly influence the L2 learner, such as their language attitudes and motivation for SLA, and as such, impacting speakers' language confidence and language use. Adopted national ideologies exert an influence on L2 communication, despite their apparent distance from the classroom, because they are embedded in laws, codes, and constitutions which directly

affect the outlook on languages and the effort expended to acquire them. Furthermore, these ideologies impact the prescribed curriculum determining what and how much SLA is promoted in the classroom.

Groups in contact: majority and minority status. Besides state language policies and ideologies, the linguistic composition of the community can be considered another macro-level context in which the L2 learner operates. Sachdev and Bourhis' (2001) model of multilingual communication refers to group stratification as an important determinant of linguistic outcomes. This intergroup context affects the manner in which linguistic majority and minority communities co-exist and, therefore, their mutual regard for each other's language. In many cases the co-existence is the result of historical events such as colonization, trading agreements, and wars. The outcome of these events determines their relative standing within the community as well as their prestige and the likelihood that they will garner learners. The relative dominance of languages coupled with the social representation of the historical factors underlying their stratification would be expected to directly impact SLA motivation.

Ethnolinguistic vitality. The above findings and others prompted researchers in the late 1970s to formulate what has become an integrative construct capturing what makes contexts more or less favourable to languages. Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) who coined the term *ethnolinguistic vitality* to refer to "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (p. 306). Ethnolinguistic vitality involves three components: first, the demographics of the ethnolinguistic group, such as its size and distribution; second, its status, referring to its socio-cultural history and the prestige of its language; and finally, the institutional support for the group, such as the language group being represented in the media and in business institutions. Together, these three factors estimate the strength of the ethnolinguistic group in a particular community. They would be expected to influence the desirability of acquiring a given language, and, therefore SLA motivation.

Ethnolinguistic vitality and second language confidence. The perceptions and beliefs a L2 learner holds can influence their multilingual behaviors (Allard & Landry, 1994; Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981). For example, Allard and Landry (1994) suggest that an individual's beliefs about vitality can be better predictors of language attitudes and behaviours than simply using objective ethnolinguistic vitality measures (see Landry & Bourhis, 1997). With the above caveat, understanding the link between ethnolinguistic vitality and SLA motivation may require delving into the self-representation of the speaker. Of particular relevance here is the motivational concept of second

language confidence (L2C; Clément, 1980, 1986) which corresponds to a combination of (a lack of) anxiety and positive self-evaluations of fluency. L2C was described as a motivational process due to its frequent association with motivational indices in factor analytic studies. As discussed by Sampasivam and Clément (2014), there is a long tradition of associating the development of language confidence with contextual conditions of contact. Early results (Clément & Kruidenier, 1985; Labrie & Clément, 1986) showed that quality and quantity of contact with the L2 group had an impact on L2C which also had an impact on L2 competence. Minority groups being immersed in contact with the dominant L2 group were shown to develop greater L2C than majority groups (Noels & Clément, 1996).

While in most studies of L2C the emphasis was placed on the second language group, the results obtained by Gaudet and Clément (2005) suggest that the familial context surrounding the first language was also of importance. In extreme minority (low vitality) situations, confidence in the first language, as imparted by a supportive family and network context, is also related to adjustment, reflecting the need for a consideration of the interaction between first and second language issues (see also Freynet & Clément, 2015). In summary, the antecedents and consequences of L2C are closely linked to the context in which motivation is actualized. Of primary interest here are the relative vitalities of the L2 compared to that of the speaker's L1 and the conditions of intergroup contact.

Sociolinguistic setting. In their model of multilingual communication, Sachdev and Bourhis (2001) conceptualized the sociolinguistic setting to encompass conversation-level context variables, such as norms which guide language choice and the sociolinguistic networks of intergroup and intra-group contacts. Norms regarding language usage, therefore, constitute the motivational basis orienting L2 acquisition and usage. In this section, we will especially focus on the situational norms affecting SLA and multilingual communication as a function of the environmental setting, the purpose of communication, and the topic of conversation.

Once SLA planning and policies have been brokered and implemented, other issues remain to be negotiated such as multilingualism and code-switching – the juxtaposition of two different grammatical systems or subsystems within the same speech exchange (Gumperz, 1982). These issues have long been linked to social and political discussions, even in bilingual communities (Woolard, 1989). For example, individuals may hold prescriptive attitudes towards code-switching and consider it improper usage. As well, government and educational policy makers may be critical of code-switching in the context of language standardization (Low & Lu, 2006). In fact, active multilingualism

implies a recourse to multiple languages with their inevitable linguistic cross-influence. SLA motivation may therefore be influenced by the extent to which such variations are tolerated or restricted.

The related phenomenon of diglossia is the case where a certain dialect or language is used in certain situations and another is used for others. This variation often accompanies the relative formality of the situation (Fishman, 1967). As a typical example, Standard German is a “high” variety linked to prestige and used for formal communication in German-speaking parts of Switzerland, while Swiss German is a “low” variety reserved for informal communication and private settings (Ferguson, 1959). Other than diglossic settings, we also find many examples where there are situational determinants affecting language choice. For example, although English use within Cantonese speech is stigmatized in Hong Kong, Cantonese-English code-switching is common in university settings among the student population, denoting a covert status for the speakers (Gibbons, 1987). Bilingual communities may not overtly value low varieties, such as regional dialects or vernaculars, but nonetheless, it remains necessary for language learners to be aware and engaged in expected situational variations.

The various norms governing the perceptions of what is proper and improper often are known explicitly to speakers who may choose to follow or violate sociolinguistic expectancies based in part on the interlocutors, function and topic of conversation. At other times, knowledge of norms is more subtle, not explicitly considered, allowing environment and situation of the sociolinguistic setting to shape language use in the background. Language choice (and possible code-switching) by the speaker is, therefore, implicitly constrained by these sociolinguistic contexts and conversation-level variables, often guided by an intent to create social meaning (cf. code-switching; Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Further, language choice has implications for when there is a change in topic or alternative social meanings are being suggested, bringing language beyond a linguistic arena and extending it for an extralinguistic purpose. The influence of conversation topic on language choice is especially evident in the tendency for multilinguals to revert back to their L1 when discussing emotional topics. For example, Dewaele (2013) found that multilinguals typically use their L1 when recalling emotional memories and feel their L1 has a stronger emotional resonance. Several studies have confirmed that multilinguals report feeling different when using different languages which can affect a multilingual’s language choice when discussing certain topics (Dewaele & Nakano, 2013; Pavlenko, 2005). A language switch driven by a conversation topic has implications as it provides some support to the benefits of code-switching in an educational

setting. For instance, Low and Lu (2006) observed that code-switching is used in the Hong Kong secondary school environment not only to serve a pragmatic function to emphasize arguments or when translation equivalents are unavailable, but also to facilitate the discussion of sensitive or emotionally charged topics.

The extensive and minute linguistic variations described above are all attributed to norms emerging from contextual variations. They are not normally part of the SLA curriculum and research on how these variations affect motivation is lacking. Any form of situational language variation represents an additional complexity for the SLA learner, and, therefore, presumably, the source of additional anxiety and reduced motivation. At the same time, negotiating the social sanctioning of situational variations in the L1 is likely to be more comfortable for most speakers most of the time, but not necessarily in all cases – L1 communication brings its own motivations and anxieties. A fortiori, the L2 learner would be confronted with more challenging situations. The investigation of this phenomenon requires, in our view, an approach which facilitates delving into how individuals transact with the multiple factors impinging on their motivation.

Contact contexts. Before we move along to such a proposed framework, we would like to address the issue of contexts where groups actually come into contact. A general assumption about SLA is that learning the L2 in an environment where it is spoken facilitates an individuals' progress leading to quicker and better learning. Specifically, learning outside the classroom and experiencing the L2 in natural contexts is better in comparison to learning restricted to the classroom with teachers and peers, due to the fact that a naturalistic context promotes motivation by presenting the learner with more tangible language achievements and bolstering their feeling of autonomy. Clément (1979) had already established that two components of the motivational process, attitudes towards the L2 speaking group and L2 anxiety, were favourably affected by these naturalistic contexts (see also Clément, Gardner, & Smythe, 1977; Gardner, Smythe, & Clément, 1979). In these "study abroad" situations, L2 learners who have been exposed to classroom teaching have the opportunity of regularly using their L2 every day through exposure to constant L2 input. In terms of oral fluency, there have been studies confirming that learners who have studied abroad are at an advantage—they are significantly more fluent compared to peers who have only learned L2 in the classroom (DeKeyser, 1991; Lafford, 2004; Segalowitz & Freed, 2004). Additionally, L2 learners increase their L2 vocabulary significantly after their experiences abroad (Ife, Vives, & Meara, 2000; Llanes & Muñoz, 2009; Milton & Meara, 1995). DeKeyser (2007) suggests that learning a L2 abroad

offers more practice opportunities and real-life scenarios, allowing language skills in the L2 to become automatized. However, learners who have studied abroad are not necessarily better at all language skills in their L2 because improvements in fluency may be made at the expense of the development of other skills (e.g., grammar; Collentine & Freed, 2004). Certain formal aspects of learning may be better served by a classroom environment.

Looking at socio-affective variables, Clément (1979) compared attitudes and motivation of students residing away from home with families using exclusively the L2 (the residence program) to students who were involved in intensive learning in a secluded L2 environment (the immersion program). The results show that while both formulae are effective, the immersion program seems better at reducing anxiety while the residence program fared better with attitudes towards the L2 group. These results further refine our understanding by highlighting the impact of contextual program characteristics on SLA motivation.

A Social Psychological Approach to Context

Our examination of the experience abroad context buttresses the necessity for a framework with the potential to map broad and intermediary influences on the learner's behaviour. Focusing on the ways in which social and psychological processes are evoked by Sachdev and Bourhis (2001), more can be done by examining in detail the SLA learners' *willingness to communicate* (WTC). WTC is defined as the "readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with a specific person or persons, using an L2" (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998, p. 547). The WTC Model developed by MacIntyre et al. (1998) incorporates personality, communicative competence, social context, intergroup climate, attitudes and motivation, interpersonal motivation, L2 self-confidence, and desire to communicate with a specific person. WTC takes into consideration both internal and external factors, such as motivation and social context, with self-confidence playing a key role (e.g., Clément, Baker, & MacIntyre, 2003). The model, however, is not strictly linear in orientation and is not conceptualized as a sequence of influences wherein A leads to B, B leads to C, and so on. Rather, the model captures the integration of relatively stable, long-term influences (processes such as developments in intergroup relations and learner personality traits) with relatively immediate, rapidly fluctuating influences (such as moment-to-moment fluctuations in self-confidence and the desire to talk to a specific person, in a specific context, at a specific moment in time). The motivational propensities, positioned at

the center of the model, represent SLA motivation. They act as translators and mediators of all other factors, which, therefore, constitute the context of SLA motivation. Some of these factors, such as intergroup climate and attitudes, have already been discussed in the context of the Sachdev and Bourhis (2001) model. In addition, it includes a variety of relevant situational and cognitive factors not typically subsumed under contextual effects (for a detailed description of WTC, see Yashima, this volume).

At the moment in which a person initiates L2 communication, the myriad of sometimes conflicting proximal and distal contextual influences, both internal and external to the learner/speaker, exert their influence. Examining the dynamics of what happens at a moment in time appears crucial to the understanding of the person-in-context (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2013). A moment-to-moment, dynamic approach requires describing change over time (as each state is a transformation of a previous one), the interconnectedness of variables, fluctuations of variables over time, and small or large changes in one variable having small or large effects on the other (MacIntyre & Legatto, 2011). We now turn to a methodological approach which we believe helps capture these intricacies.

An idiodynamic approach. The idiodynamic method is a methodological protocol in which to analyze those dynamic fluctuations associated with WTC. The method involves a participant completing communication tasks (e.g., class presentation) which are recorded and then played back to the participant who uses specially designed software to rate retrospectively their moment-by-moment WTC or another associated measure. Unlike the majority of research on motivation in SLA, the idiodynamic method uses individuals as the level of analysis, rather than group-level data. Using the idiodynamic method, MacIntyre and Serroul (2015) found that participants' motivation on a second language communication task could be highly variable, fluctuating quickly over time due to an array of factors such as success or difficulty in specific vocabulary retrieval, embedded within a continuous process of choosing what to say and how to say it. In describing the activation of and coordination among key affective dimensions of the socio-psychological context, MacIntyre & Serroul (2015, pp. 130–131) motivation, anxiety, perceived competence, and WTC fluctuate during moments of struggling to find L2 vocabulary.

Increasing avoidance motivation and anxiety, along with lowering perceptions of competence and willingness to communicate might be called “the four horsemen” of communication difficulties. This is not a state in which the person will tend to remain, [because there are] a number of verbal and nonverbal coping

strategies that might resolve the difficulties. Code switching to another language, changing the topic, using nonverbal behaviour such as gestures, or face-saving humour can extract a person from a difficult situation, and possibly restore or increase levels of approach motivation.

The joint activity among the cognitive, affective, social, and other systems at play during moments of conversational difficulties will create new configurations of the socio-psychological state again-and-again, as conversational actions and reactions take place within the norms and rules governing language. Incidents of relatively pleasant or unpleasant contact accumulate helping to set the socio-psychological context for future interaction.

The socio-psychological context for interaction and communication among persons is influenced directly by emotion processes, notably including rising and falling anxiety which is a defining feature of the L2C motivation process. In a recent study, Gregersen, MacIntyre, and Meza (2014) used the dynamic systems approach and idiodynamic method to expand the socio-psychological context to include physiological processes. In a study of high and low anxiety English speakers learning Spanish, the researchers measured the participants' idiodynamic self-ratings and heart rate while making oral presentations. They found that high anxiety participants had both a higher starting and overall mean idiodynamic anxiety rating than low anxiety participants. Helping to set the context for experiencing these anxiety reactions, high and low trait-anxiety participants showed different patterns of preparation, with high anxiety participants favouring memorization strategies and low anxiety participants preferring to speak extemporaneously. There was an individual who represented a clear exception to the general pattern, as one low anxiety participant described her unexpected reaction.

When she was asked, "What triggered your anxiety?" she responded by ticking off her fingers one-by-one, saying: "You've got me hooked up to this thing [heart rate monitor] (1) with a camera rolling (2) recording me speaking a language that is not mine (3) in front of a group of people (4) with the teacher grading me (5). Wouldn't that put you on edge a bit?" (p. 584).

The participant's articulation of her specific de-motivated communication context, at a specific moment in time, helps to highlight the importance of studying the dynamic interactions among various socio-psychological processes within the local and long-term context as they are experienced within individuals.

Much of the literature reviewed above describes the effects of relatively enduring patterns of contact, emphasizing the stability of contexts. In previous

paragraphs, we also discussed longstanding research examining situational norms affecting multilingual communication and how language behaviours are influenced by the environmental setting, the purpose of communication, and the topic of conversation. Employing an idiodynamic method for the study of SLA emphasizes ways in which these outcomes interact continuously, in non-linear fashion, with other relevant processes. Such an approach can open up a new space for explanatory models that do not overlook the potential for short-term volatility and long-term complexity of human communication (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, & Henry, 2015).

Conclusion

Our discussion of context underlines the complexity of the interactions between the levels represented in Sachdev and Bourhis' (2001) model and its far-reaching impact, not only on L2 proficiency, but also on a family of language and communication-related phenomena. Bourdieu (1977) proposed that languages convey meaning only in a specific context which gives meaning to utterances. This function is tied to the power relationship between the speakers. "The value of a language is equivalent to the value of its speakers" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 22, authors' translation). The hierarchical relationship between languages, as echoed in the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality, would therefore be a prime motivator in SLA.

The motivation of the SLA learner is not, however, overdetermined by the broad power relationships embedding the learning context. Proximally, situations and episodes may foster strong motivational tendencies to the extent that they are identity and autonomy supportive, for example (cf. Clément et al., 2007). The same factors that dispose a language toward thriving or declining may be differentially at work in specific virtual or actual communities, including classrooms and curricula (see Gregersen & MacIntyre, 2014).

Disentangling context effects in SLA motivation requires an approach that will, at once, recognize both broad social patterns and specific local considerations, and the potential interactions between enduring and unpredictable influences. Contextual processes such as language policy and changes in ethnolinguistic vitality evolve along their own specific timelines, influenced by dynamics that are relatively independent from individual learners. At the same time, context also implicates the intricacies and idiosyncrasies of the individual learner's representation of the socio-psychological situation, including the learner's understanding of the broad patterns of language development, norms of language use, experience in learning situations, and how such

factors integrate with localized considerations for the individual. Understanding the continuum from general to specific contexts is crucial to any attempt at conceptualizing and intervening in matters of SLA motivation.

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12

L2 Motivation and Investment

Ron Darvin

In the field of second language acquisition (SLA), investment and motivation have always been bound by theoretical complementarity. Constructed within distinct epistemological terrains, they share an interest in understanding the extent to which individuals are able to engage with and commit to L2 learning. While motivation originated from the field of social psychology, investment is a primarily sociological construct, the operationalization of which begins with the recognition that language learning is a social practice, circumscribed by relations of power. Conceptualized by Norton (1995, 2000, 2013) in the 1990s, *investment* can be defined as the commitment to the goals, practices, and identities that constitute the learning process and that are continually negotiated in different relations of power. Investment signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to a target language, and their occasionally ambivalent desire to learn and practice it. Learners invest in a language because it will help them acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power (Norton, 2013). The extent to which they are able to invest in a target language however is contingent on how power is negotiated in different fields. In this view, learners can be highly motivated to learn a language, but may not necessarily be invested in the language practices of a given classroom or community if these practices position them as inadequate, incapable, or unworthy. Conversely, when learners are

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able to claim legitimate positions in these contexts, then they have better opportunities to invest in their learning.

As a theoretical tool, investment enables an examination of the conditions under which social interaction takes place, and the extent to which social relations of power enable or constrain opportunities for language learners to speak. Because identity is driven by multiple and sometimes contradictory desires and is negotiated with others, it is a site of struggle, and thus investment is complex and perpetually in a state of flux. In addition to asking, “Are students motivated to learn a language?”, investment invites researchers and teachers to pose the question, “To what extent are students and teachers invested in the language and literacy practices of a given classroom and community?” (Norton, 2000, 2013). While research in investment and motivation continues to evolve, they remain congruent but still distinct. To examine their relationship more closely, this chapter will historically and epistemologically locate these constructs in SLA research, and map out their points of intersection and divergence. Such a task thus requires a comparison of their origins, theoretical tools, and the multiple ways by which they have been interpreted and adopted by researchers and practitioners.

Origins

Published during the cognitive-situated period of motivation research (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015), Norton’s (1995) article, “Social identity, investment, and language learning” played a significant role in heralding the socio-cultural turn in language education (Block, 2007). Her study of five immigrant women in Canada captured the concerns of a period in history when large-scale migrations were transforming post-industrial societies into more heterogeneous and multicultural spaces. As migrants occupied stratified spaces in their country of settlement, acquiring the country’s official language was crucial to integration and employment. How they negotiated relations of power at work, school, and other community settings shaped their capacity to assert their rightful place in their adopted country and to imagine better futures. All these changes were raising new questions of identity, and Norton saw the need to develop social theories complementary to cognitive and psychology theories, which would capture the complexity of language learning, and respond to the issues of the emerging socio-political landscape.

In the 1990s, SLA research was still beginning to emerge from its predominantly cognitive and psychological orientation to examine how social factors facilitated or inhibited language learning (Firth & Wagner, 1997). L2

motivation research was still transitioning from a social-psychological orientation (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015) led by Gardner and Lambert towards one that formulated more cognitive theories drawn from educational psychology. Gardner (1985) identified three components of motivation that highlighted its intrinsic nature: motivational intensity, desire to learn the language, and attitudes towards learning the language. Recognizing integrative and instrumental orientations, he sought to measure motivation and investigate relationships with other variables such as achievement and performance. In SLA research during those times, the individual learner was often assumed to possess a unitary, fixed and ahistorical “personality”, and subjects in various studies were often assigned traits that indicated the extent to which they were introverted or extroverted, inhibited or uninhibited, motivated or unmotivated (Norton, 2013).

Problematizing this dichotomous orientation and corresponding attempts to quantify a learner’s commitment to learning the target language, Norton (1995, 2000, 2013) argued that these theories of motivation did not sufficiently capture the complex identities of language learners, nor did they explain how a learner may be highly motivated, but may resist opportunities to speak in contexts where he or she is marginalized. She adopted the post-structuralist views of Weedon (1987) who eschewed fixed categories of identity and argued that an individual’s subjectivity is socially constructed. Theorizing the complex relationship between the language learner and the social world, Norton drew from Bourdieu (1991) to examine under what conditions social interaction takes place, and to what extent relations of power limit opportunities for language learners to speak. Investment in language learning, she argued, shifts as learners negotiate asymmetrical relations of power across multiple contexts. Unlike Dörnyei and Ottó’s (1998) process model of L2 motivation that arranged action sequences into preactional, actional and postactional phases, Norton (2000, 2013) viewed investment as nonsequential and always shifting across different contexts of power. She also asserted that investment is not the same as instrumental motivation, because it is not limited to the desire to acquire a tangible reward. Rather, it involves how learners invest in their learning at particular times and in particular settings, as they engage in a range of social interactions and seek a wider range of material and symbolic resources. For Pittaway (2004), investment “collapses the barriers between orientation and motivation” (p. 207), arguing that while the distinction between the two is useful for the statistical methods of quantitative analysis, such distinction is not necessary for what Norton and other qualitative researchers of investment seek to demonstrate.

In the past twenty years, investment has become a powerful construct in SLA that “accentuates the role of human agency and identity in engaging with the task at hand, in accumulating economic and symbolic capital, in having stakes in the endeavour and in persevering in that endeavour” (Kramsch, 2013, p. 195). By responding to both a political impetus and an epistemological shift, Norton’s work on investment acquired historical significance in the field, and key to its continuing evolution and relevance is other theoretical tools that have been instrumental in investment research.

Theoretical Tools

Identity. Norton (2013) defined *identity* as “how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future” (p. 45). Resisting the notion that a person has an essential, fixed and coherent core, she asserted that language learners have complex, multiple and sometimes contradictory identities. That an individual’s relationship with the world is structured across time and space indicates that identities are shaped by cultural and historical contexts, a notion that is also foundational to Ushioda’s (2009) person-in-context relational view of motivation. Identities are transformed and reproduced in social interaction, and negotiated through language, which constructs both social organization and one’s sense of self. Language is a powerful political act (Weedon, 1987), and when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with others, but are reconfiguring their relationship to the social world. While they can speak from multiple positions, as they perform different identities, they can also be positioned in undesirable ways, which may limit opportunities to speak and be heard. Identity categories of race, gender, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation for instance can shape interaction in different learning contexts, and the opportunities available for language learning. Relations of power in the social world also determine access to communities and social networks, and the ways in which language learners interact with target language speakers. To assert their rightful place in these contexts, learners need to claim more powerful identities from which to speak, read, and write the target language.

The right to speak. Earlier theories of good language learners tended to assume that they can always choose the conditions in which they would interact with members of a target language community (Norton, 1995). Gardner and MacIntyre (1992), for instance, asserted that interaction within communicative contexts was “voluntary” and that individuals “can either participate

or not in informal acquisition contexts” (p. 213). Norton argued however that unequal relations of power govern these contexts, amplifying the voices of some while silencing others. What is considered appropriate language in a communicative event is determined through the dynamic relation of power between interlocutors. Whether it be native speakers or employers or members of an elite class, those in positions of power can serve as gatekeepers of communicative contexts, who are able to impose linguistic norms and standards and determine conditions of participation in these spaces. To navigate these power-laden contexts with a greater sense of agency, learners need to be recognized by others and by themselves as legitimate speakers of an L2. Not only should they learn existing rules of use of the target language, but also understand how the rules and conventions that are upheld in specific contexts are determined by powerful others. For example, when an L2 speaker is interviewed for a job by a native speaker, the interviewer is in a position of power to determine what is considered appropriate language use, and the interviewee adjusts accordingly to position himself or herself as a qualified candidate. While recognizing these rules is necessary, a critical awareness of their constructed nature can allow the L2 speaker to recognize this adjustment as more strategic than compliant, engendering the agentive capacity to assert one’s own identity and claim *the right to speak*. In contrast to MacIntyre, Clement, Dörnyei, and Noels’ (1998) willingness to communicate (WTC) that is affected by linguistic, communicative and social psychological variables, the right to speak is a claim to one’s legitimacy as an L2 speaker within contexts of power. Drawing on Bourdieu’s (1977) notion of “the power to impose reception” (p. 75), Norton (1995) called attention to the conditions of communication: “those who speak regard those who listen as worthy to listen and that those who listen regard those who speak as worthy to speak” (p. 18). To claim the right to speak is therefore to also claim the right to be heard, and for language learners to invest in their own learning, they need to assert their own identities as legitimate speakers.

Imagined communities. Recognizing that one’s understanding of possibilities for the future is a critical component of identity, Norton (2013) argued that investment in learning involves not only affirming the existing identities of learners and empowering them to claim the right to speak, but also enabling them to imagine new identities and affiliations. She drew on Wenger (1998) who posited that we gain membership in a community of speakers not only by engaging with others but also by imagining such an affiliation. Through imagination, we are able to connect with others across time and space, in the same way that Anderson (1991) theorized nations as imagined communities where citizens are bound to each other by the “image of their communion”

(p. 6) even though they will never meet or hear of all of them. Aligned with this conception, *imagined communities* (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2001; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007) in language learning refers to groups of people and networks that learners aspire to be part of and that extend from local sets of relationships. By desiring membership in these communities, learners invest in an L2 so that they may gain entry and participate with others. Such desire thus involves an imagined identity where learners are not limited by their historical past, and are instead able to claim new possibilities for themselves. An imagined identity runs parallel to Dörnyei's (2009) conception of the *ideal L2 self* and *ought-to L2 self*, which are part of his L2 Motivational Self System. While imagined identities does not make a distinction between the attributes one would like to possess versus what one should possess to conform to social expectations, what this construct signals is that these possibilities of the self are linked to possibilities of new communities and affiliations. As such, they are always understood as part of social futures, with their corresponding norms, practices and conditions of power. To affirm the identities of learners, educators have to not only validate their lived histories, their race, gender, class, and other identity categories, but also acknowledge the range of identities that these futures can offer.

Review of Research

Since the publication of Norton's (1995) seminal article, there has been great interest in using investment to examine how learners and teachers navigate power-laden contexts of language learning. Drawing on a two-year qualitative study of adolescent Chinese immigrant students in California, McKay and Wong (1996) immediately drew on investment to examine the positionality of students vis-à-vis school and American society. Angelil-Carter (1997) used investment to analyze a shift in power relations during an interaction between herself and a student from South Africa, attributing this shift to the political context in which the interview was conducted. She demonstrated how the student's investment in written academic discourse is shaped by the meanings and function writing had for him as a political prisoner in apartheid South Africa.

By the 2000s, there was a significant rise in investment research all over the world. Norton (2000) published her monograph, *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*, which Pennycook (2013) in an endorsement described as "pathbreaking" research that explored "the changing, complex and contradictory struggles we encounter as we learn languages"

(back cover). Skilton-Sylvester (2002) examined the investment of four Cambodian women in adult English as a second language (ESL) classes in the United States. Dagenais (2003) used investment and imagined communities to understand why immigrant families in Canada chose to enrol their children in French Immersion programs. She argued that parents invest in these bilingual programs because they associate multilingualism with the symbolic capital of social status, and access to imagined language communities that cross national boundaries. Potowski (2004) and Bearse and de Jong (2008) focused on investment in the context of two-way Spanish-English immersion programs; and Haneda (2005) drew on the construct of investment to understand the engagement of two university students in an advanced Japanese literacy course.

Pittaway (2004) provided a helpful literature review on investment research that included comparisons with motivation. Arkoudis and Davison (2008) devoted a special issue of the *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* to investment, examining how Chinese students invested in English medium interaction. Articles addressed a wide range of issues that include the investments of college students from non-urban areas in China (Gu, 2008), the relationship between content and English language interaction in the undergraduate classroom (Trent, 2008), and the use of an “English Club” to practice English by mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong (Gao, Cheng, & Kelly, 2008). In a study of a Chinese language learner in Singapore, De Costa (2010) found the construct of investment useful in understanding how and why this learner embraced standard English to inhabit an identity associated with being an academically able student.

Exploring the African context, Norton and her colleagues (Andema, 2014; Early & Norton, 2014; Norton, Jones, & Ahimbisibwe, 2011; Norton & Williams, 2012; Stranger-Johannessen & Norton, 2017) have worked in different countries, particularly Uganda, to better understand the investment of learners and teachers in the English language, digital literacies, and language policy. The researchers observed that as learners and teachers developed valued digital literacy, they gained greater cultural and social capital. Because the use of digital technology extends the range of identities available to students and teachers in African contexts, expanding what is socially imaginable in the future, they are able to invest in new literacy practices. Advanced education, professional opportunities, study abroad, and other opportunities have become a component of their imagined futures and imagined identities.

In 2014, an international symposium dedicated to a discussion on investment was held at the University of Lausanne in Switzerland organized by Chiara Bemporad and Thérèse Jeanneret. The purpose was “to recontextualize

the notion of investment in the field of the francophone *didactique des langues* and to consider its possible developments, articulating theoretical considerations and empirical analyses from various research contexts” (Bemporad & Jeanneret, 2014). In a subsequent special issue (Bemporad, 2016) of *Langage et Société* that brought together perspectives from the symposium, Bemporad and Jeanneret (2016) discuss the extent to which three learners of French as a foreign language, drawing on their own cultural and linguistic capital, are able to invest in reading both French and Spanish. Engaging with theories of new materialism, Dagenais and Toohey (2016) examine two video production projects of children learning English to explore how multilingual and multi-modal resources can enable greater investment in learning. Using a political economic lens to examine the agentic capacity of learners to invest in their learning, Duchêne (2016) asserts that a critical examination of how institutional mechanisms and access to resources shape their investment and opportunities for professional mobility.

Recent Theoretical Developments

Two decades after Norton’s (1995) original conceptualization, Darwin and Norton (2015) developed a **model of investment** that responds to the new world order transformed by advancements in technology and new forms of mobility. Through digital affordances, learners traverse online and offline, local and global spaces with greater ease and speed. The dynamic nature of these spaces, the diversity of those who occupy them, and the transformation of language have enabled new possibilities for the performance of identities and language learning. The distribution of power in communicative contexts no longer rests on the simple dichotomy of native speaker and language learner. Through the affordances of social media and the internet, learners are able to participate in a wider variety of multilingual communities and assert themselves to varying degrees as legitimate speakers (Darvin, 2017; Norton, 2015). As they move across these spaces governed by different value systems, not only do they have to perform multiple identities and to draw on more complex linguistic and semiotic repertoires, they are also positioned in new, often invisible ways.

As new spaces of socialization and ideas of belonging continue to emerge, two distinct questions confront educators interested in identity and investment in the twenty-first century. First, how do language learners negotiate their identities and capital as they traverse online and offline spaces with greater fluidity? Second, how does power operate within this new social

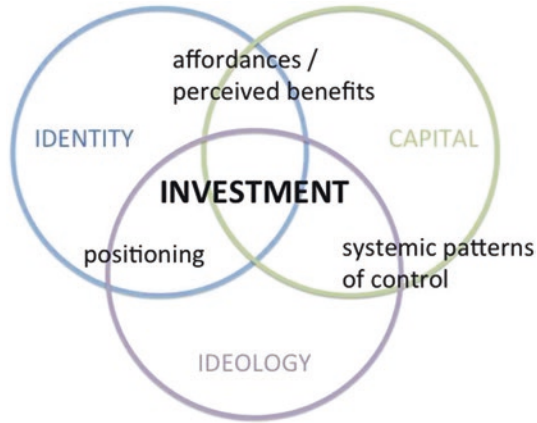


Fig. 12.1 Model of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015)

landscape and impact their investment in language learning? To address these questions, Darvin and Norton's (2015) model locates investment at the intersection of identity, capital, and ideology (Fig. 12.1). As a critical framework of language learning, the model challenges educational agents to examine how discrete language events are indexical of communicative practices, and how learners both position themselves and are positioned not only within the contexts of a classroom or workplace but within local, national, and global networks (Table 12.1).

Capital is power in forms that extend from the material/economic to the cultural and social (Bourdieu, 1986), and how these forms of capital are distributed represents the structure of the social world. The form the different types of capital take "once they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 4) in different fields is symbolic capital. By asserting that capital has different forms and values as it travels across space and time, this model acknowledges that power is polythetic and porous, something that can be redistributed and reconfigured. This conception of power extends to Darvin and Norton's (2015) definition of *ideologies* as "dominant ways of thinking that organize and stabilize societies while simultaneously determining modes of inclusion and exclusion" (p. 72). This pluralized formulation highlights how ideologies are constructed by different structures of power and reproduced by both institutional conditions and recursive hegemonic practices. By shaping dominant material practices, ideologies determine who is at the centre and the periphery of a society, or is outside the parameters of what is considered acceptable. In a more mobile world, learners are able to move fluidly across spaces where ideologies collude and compete, shaping their

identities and determining the value of their capital. While ideologies insert themselves in material practices to appear universal or common sense, they themselves are porous and can be challenged by new ways of thinking.

In formulating this model of investment, Darwin and Norton (2015) also added a new dimension to understanding identity. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1990) notion of habitus, they discussed how identity is a site of struggle, as learners negotiate both habitus and desire, existing and imagined identities. Ideologies and social locations shape a learner's habitus, an internalized system "of durable, transposable dispositions" (p. 53) that allow him or her to make sense of the world. This habitus in turn structures the way one thinks and behaves, and so what one desires may align with or contradict this predisposition. This notion can be somewhat linked to Dörnyei's (2009) conception of "ought-to self" which represents someone's sense of duty, in the same way that habitus can predispose an individual to do or aspire for what conforms with established norms or expectations. At the same time, it is through desire that learners are able to imagine new possibilities for themselves, to transgress these norms and expectations, and exercise agency. Because of this duality, learners need to always interrogate their own language learning goals, and understand to what extent they are shaped by hegemonic or agentic impetuses.

By illustrating the interconnection of identity, capital and ideology, the model also brings to the forefront ideas that are generative for a discussion of investment.

Patterns of control. While ideology operates through structures and relations of power, the idea that control is established through patterns or practices highlights that what is recognized as a norm or as systemic is also a product of recurrence or repetition. Language policies and ideologies shape language learning practices in classrooms, but the grip of such policies and ideologies are dependent on the extent to which these practices are tacitly accepted and reproduced. Consistent with the notion that ideologies themselves are porous, patterns of control calls attention to the fact that communicative contexts are sites of competing dominant, residual and marginal ideas. Those in power are able to maintain control not only through coercion but also through hegemonic consent. By adopting a critical lens, L2 learners can understand the constructedness of linguistic norms and practices and reframe their identities as skilled bi/multilinguals, whose accent and L1 function as linguistic capital rather than constraints to L2 learning. Recognizing how patterns of control operate can also enable learners to reflect on how their own investment in an L2 either challenges or reproduces existing language ideologies.

Positioning. While already an important component of Norton's (1995) original theorization of investment, positioning in Darvin and Norton's (2015) discussion highlights how learners are not only positioned by powerful others, but also position themselves in different communicative contexts. On one hand, learners can be positioned in different social spaces based on the volume, composition, and trajectory of their capital. At the same time, governed by habitus, learners develop a sense of one's place in the social world.

This sense of one's place is at the same time a sense of the place of others, and, together with the affinities of habitus experienced in the form of personal attraction or revulsion, is at the root of all processes of cooptation, friendship, love, association, etc., and thereby provides the principle of all durable alliances and connections. (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 5)

To exercise their agency, learners need to be able to rethink this "place" that has been filled and internalized, and regard themselves as "choosing subjects" (Davies & Harré, 1990). They need to recognize that identities are contingent and shifting, and while positions can be ascribed by existing social structures, they also hold the potential to reframe their identities, and claim more powerful positions.

Affordances and perceived benefits. While learners invest in their learning to gain material and symbolic resources, this interpretation of capital signals the duality of desire and calls attention to the fact that what is perceived as a benefit can be a product of hegemonic consent. At the same time, it underlines that learners are not empty vessels. They are equipped with their own material resources, linguistic skills, and social networks. To what extent teachers recognize the linguistic or cultural capital of learners as symbolic capital can impact how they invest in the language and literacy practices of a given classroom.

This valuation is always a site of struggle, given that what may be valued in one place may be radically devalued in another. When people move across borders, for instance, the linguistic capital they bring with them is subject to what Blommaert (2010) calls different orders of indexicality, that is, their styles and registers are measured against a value system that reflects the biases and assumptions of the larger sociocultural context. Functions that are valid in local settings are imposed on the ways of speaking of L2 learners, and discourses only gain value when others grant them value. These two points compel teachers to reflect on the importance of treating the linguistic and cultural capital of learners as affordances rather than constraints and to question and

re-evaluate the taken-for-granted value systems they use to assess this capital (Darvin, 2015).

Research on the 2015 Model of Investment

Since its inception, the model of investment has been used as a heuristic to frame different research studies. Ballinger (2017) draws on the model to examine the extent to which learners from two Grade 3 French immersion classrooms in Quebec are invested in languages of instruction, French and English. The researcher draws links between the more equitable social status of the two languages and the use of these languages in peer interaction. Analyzing interactional episodes that involved divergence from the language of instruction, the researcher noted how language status operates at societal, classroom and individual levels, shaping learners' language use in the classrooms.

The model has also served as a theoretical lens to examine teacher identities. Drawing on a longitudinal study that investigates the imagined identities of a preservice English teacher in New Zealand, Barkhuizen (2016) examines how language teacher identities are constructed in and through narrative. Recognizing that "investment indexes issues of identity and imagined futures" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 39), Barkhuizen analyzes the lived stories of one teacher, Sela, as they unfold across personal, institutional and ideological contexts. Through these different scales, the researcher demonstrates how one teacher is able to invest in practices and identities that enable both agency and resistance. Stranger-Johannessen (2017) examines how teachers from Uganda exercise their agency by using one particular resource, the African Storybook Project (ASb), an online platform that provides stories written and illustrated by Africans. By using the model of investment as a means to understand teacher identity, the researcher explores the teachers' own views of their professional identities, and the material conditions and ideological influences that structure the work they do. He asserts that teacher agency can take form in the absence of explicit guidelines and pedagogical training to use the ASb as a resource. In a study of EFL instructors in South Korea, Gearing and Roger (2017) used the model to analyze to what extent teachers were invested in learning and using the Korean language. While their status as native English speakers provided them with symbolic capital, the participants shared how they were also positioned as outsiders by locals who did not fully accommodate non-standard pronunciation of Korean. The failed attempts of the foreign teachers to negotiate membership into these local communities, and the

perceived lack of value of the L2 in terms of their long-term life trajectories made them less invested in learning the target language.

Investment vs Motivation

To demonstrate how investment differs from motivation, this section presents a brief case study of John, an immigrant high school student, and discusses how these theoretical tools can be used to approach the case differently. While limited space in this chapter prevents a greater discussion of the case, data presented here is taken from Darvin (2017) and Darvin and Norton (2014), which provide a more detailed analysis.

John. John is a Grade 11 student in a public school in the east side of Vancouver, where there are a great number of immigrants. He moved to Canada when he was ten, after six years of being separated from his mother, who started working in the country as a caregiver under temporary migrant worker arrangements. After years of dealing with the immigration requirements, his mother was able to bring him and his older sister to Canada through the Family Class, which allows migrant workers to become a landed immigrant with their immediate family members. John's father, who is legally separated from his mother, continues to live in the Philippines. John, his mother, sister and six-year-old brother live in a one-bedroom apartment in a three-story building, in a catchment where there are a great number of Filipino immigrants. They speak primarily Filipino at home, which was also the case when they lived in a rural area of the Philippines. When John moved to Canada and was assigned to an ESL class, he says, "It was like hard adjusting my English." Although he had always spoken English, the medium of instruction in the Philippines, it was not until he moved to Canada that he realized he had an "accent" and, more importantly, that this accent was not valued outside his country of origin. His mother and older sister, who are always at work or school, are not able to supervise his learning or to provide financial support for tutors or extracurricular activities. His circle of friends remains resolutely local, and a great majority of them are Filipino, with whom he speaks in his mother tongue.

In applying the two theoretical lenses to this case study, many different research questions can be posed. The table below lists some questions that represent different theoretical constructs developed by various scholars. These questions however are not meant to be a comprehensive account of all the tools that have emerged in the past decades, but merely a sample to illustrate the contrasting epistemological concerns of investment and motivation.

Table 12.1 A comparison of investment and motivation

Investment	Motivation
What material and symbolic resources does John want to acquire by learning English? (Norton, 2000, 2013)	What are John's integrative and instrumental motivations to learn English? (Gardner, 1985)
To what extent is John invested in the language practices of his classroom and his community? (Norton, 2000, 2013)	How do the teacher, the curriculum and the learner group play a facilitative, neutral or inhibitory role in John's L2 learning? (McGroarty, 2001)
In what way do the material conditions of John's lived existence shape his investment in learning? What conditions of power in different learning contexts shape his investment? (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2000, 2013)	What cultural and historical contexts have shaped John's identity and his motivation for learning English? (Ushioda, 2009)
What imagined communities does John want to be part of? How does this imagined identity enable him to invest in learning an L2? (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2001)	What are John's ideal and ought-to-selves that shape his motivation? (Dörnyei, 2009)
Under what conditions can John claim the right to speak? In what way should he reframe his identity so that he can claim a more powerful position? (Norton, 2000, 2013)	What psychological, linguistic and communicative variables would influence John's willingness to communicate? (MacIntyre et al., 1998)

While motivation research accounts for individual differences such as language aptitude, learning styles, and capacity for self-regulation, investment examines the performance of multiple identities, the negotiation of linguistic and cultural capital, and the enactment of one's agency. Other questions that Darwin and Norton's (2015) model of investment could pose would be:

- How is John positioned by others as ESL student, as immigrant, or as Filipino in these learning contexts? How does John position himself as such?
- To what extent do John's teachers and peers value his knowledge, language and cultural resources as capital and affordances to learning?
- What dominant ideologies or worldviews shape how John is positioned or positions himself? What patterns of control/ideological structures and practices shape the way John's capital is valued or devalued?

Future Directions

As research on both motivation and investment continues to grow, these complementary theories continue to intersect in new ways. In more recent research in motivation that involves a more complex dynamics systems perspective (Dörnyei, 2009; Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015), motivation has become less of the trait that earlier research presented it as, and more of “fluid play, an ever-changing one that emerges from the processes of interaction of many agents, internal and external, in the ever-changing complex world of the learner” (Ellis & Larsen-Freeman, 2006, p. 563). This view runs parallel with Norton’s (2000, 2013) original assertion that because identity is multiple, a site of struggle, and changing over time, investment is complex, contradictory and always in a state of flux. In *The Psychology of the Language Learner Revisited*, Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) cite Norton’s (2001) theorization of imagination to discuss how this construct, together with vision, are associated in the concept of imagery, which is key to the theorization of directed motivational currents (Muir & Dörnyei, 2013). According to this theory, the prolonged process of engagement is driven by the imagination or the visualization of a future self. There has also been increased interest in the motivational dimension of language teaching (Henry & Thorsen, 2018; Lamb, 2017), in the same way that there has been a reinvigorated surge in research on teacher investment (Barkhuizen, 2017; De Costa & Norton, 2017).

The point of divergence between more recent theorizations of the two constructs is that while motivation has addressed fluidity and complexity by looking towards the future and formulating vision-inspired motivational strategies (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014), investment has sought to lay bare what has become increasingly invisible because of this flux: ideologies, institutional power, and patterns of control. In the twenty-first century where the consumption and production of knowledge and the interaction between people are increasingly programmed by algorithmic processes and corporate motives, learners require new competencies to navigate these spaces. Darwin and Norton (2015) have discussed the need to develop what Bourdieu calls *sens pratique* or practical sense. This “feel for the game” comes with knowing the various rules, genres, and discourses that inform learners’ practices and help them make strategic decisions across diverse spaces. For learners to remain invested in language learning, they need to expand their linguistic and semi-otic repertoires, and to manage new gatekeeping mechanisms, so that they may assert their rightful place and claim the right to speak.

As diverse research on investment and motivation charges towards the future, what remains clear is that these two constructs continue to complement and enrich each other as they examine how language learners commit to L2 learning. Because they illuminate the conditions of this commitment in congruent ways, future studies that follow the call for greater transdisciplinarity (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016) can explore how these two lenses can be integrated in more comprehensive theoretical frameworks. The bifocality of such an approach holds great possibilities in grasping the interconnectedness and interdependence of the cognitive, emotional and social processes that constitute learning. Indeed, at the heart of educational research itself is the desire to understand the learner as a complex being that thinks, feels, and relates with others, and it is this shared desire that enables motivation and investment researchers to discover new and exciting ways to understand language learning.

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Part II

L2 Motivation in Practice



13

Task Motivation

Judit Kormos and James Wilby

Motivation is key to the long-term success of language learning. Although some stable motivational characteristics of language learners, such as their long-term goals and future visions of themselves account for achievement (for a review see Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015), it is also important to examine the factors that influence how students learn and perform on language learning tasks. During the lengthy process leading to a required level of language proficiency, language learners engage in a large number of tasks both in and outside of the classroom. These tasks which are “goal-oriented activities that people undertake and that involve meaningful use of language” (Van den Branden, 2016, p. 240), can promote learning and offer useful opportunities for practice and consolidation. Yet, learners differ in how they participate in tasks and consequently in how much they can potentially learn from a task. One significant factor that can explain this individual variation is level of motivation to complete language learning tasks.

This chapter discusses the construct of task motivation and how it has been hitherto applied and researched in the field of educational psychology and second language acquisition (SLA). The chapter starts with a definition of the concept of task motivation, which is followed by a review of the most important theoretical constructs relating to task motivation in educational psychology. In the second half of the chapter we give an overview of task motivation research as it relates to language learning. The chapter concludes with a

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discussion of the importance of task motivation in language teaching pedagogy and suggestions for future research.

Theories and Concepts of Task Motivation in Educational Psychology

The concept of task-motivation was first introduced to the field of SLA by Jülkunen (1989). Jülkunen defined task motivation as a conglomerate of trait motivation, or learners' general motivational dispositions, and state motivation, meaning how motivated learners perform in a given task. Task motivation encompasses state-like task appraisals, which are "task-specific cognitions and feelings evoked in the actual task situation" (Seegers & Boekaerts, 1993, p. 136). Students appraise tasks by considering their abilities in performing them, the pleasure they derive completing them, and their impression of the value of the task (Boekaerts, 2002). An additional element of task motivation is the cost of performing the task, which in educational psychology, is often described in terms of the level of anxiety students might experience while carrying out the task (Boekaerts, 2002). In the field of general educational psychology, cognitive and affective task appraisals have been found to predict task engagement and subsequent learning outcomes (Harackiewicz, Durik, Barron, Linnenbrink-Garcia, & Tauer, 2008).

The majority of motivation research in educational psychology has focused on the relationship between learner goals, values and beliefs motivated behaviour. Below we will discuss six important motivational concepts: achievement goals, self-efficacy, expectancy-value, intrinsic motivation, flow, and interest, and how they relate to learning tasks. These concepts have been selected because of the important role they play in task engagement, in other words, in the increased attention and cognitive, behavioural, emotional and social involvement in performing an activity (Philp & Duchesne, 2016). Further potential elements of task motivation can include roles students are assigned for task completion and vision, which according to Dörnyei (2019) is "a mental imagery component that activates appropriate emotions and that is cued to a variety of appropriate cognitive plans, scripts and self-regulatory strategies".

Achievement Goals

Learners approach tasks with particular goals they aim to achieve by performing a given activity. Goal orientation, which refers to "the purpose and focus of an individual's engagement in achievement activities" (Schunk, 2012, p. 374)

plays a key role in initiating motivation to engage in a task. In the dichotomous model of achievement goals, a person will exhibit either mastery or performance orientations towards a task. According to Ames and Archer (1988) with a mastery goal an individual places importance on the development of new skills and “the process of learning itself is valued, and the attainment of mastery is seen as dependent on effort” (p. 260). Learners with mastery goals gain satisfaction from hard work and challenging tasks, see mistakes as part of the learning process, expend effort due to the enjoyment of learning something novel, and evaluate their performance in absolute terms (Ames & Archer, 1988). In contrast, individuals who hold performance goals are primarily concerned with the judgment of their ability by others and deem themselves to be successful if they can outperform others or by successfully performing a task with minimal required effort (Ames & Archer, 1988). Individuals with performance goals tend to become anxious when they make mistakes and define success as obtaining normatively high grades (Ames & Archer, 1988).

Research into the dichotomous model of achievement goals in the 1990s highlighted the fact that mastery goals have numerous positive effects on learning processes and outcomes; for example, on task value, self-efficacy, deep-processing learning strategies, self-regulated learning strategies, persistence, and adaptive help seeking. On the other hand, research into performance goals has brought mixed results and did not provide convincing evidence to support the view that performance goals lead to hypothesized negative learning outcomes (Murayama, Elliot, & Friedman, 2012). The lack of clarity and empirical support for the construct of performance goals led to the creation of a trichotomous model of achievement motivation that separated performance goals into performance-approach and performance-avoidance goals (Elliot, 1999). In this model, mastery goals are still defined as goals that focus on self-referential competence and task mastery, while performance-approach goals are concerned with gaining positive judgments of competence from others, and performance-avoidance goals are directed towards avoiding negative judgments from others (Elliot & Church, 1997). Both mastery and performance-approach goals are theorized as leading to positive achievement outcomes and a desire for task mastery. On the other hand, performance-avoidance goals have been posited to yield negative outcomes and maladaptive learning behaviour (Elliot & Church, 1997).

Self-efficacy

Even though learners might have particular goals for task performance, if they lack positive evaluations of their abilities to do well in a task, they might not

engage in the given activity. Self-efficacy is a leading construct in educational psychology that has been widely applied in the prediction of successful completion of tasks (Bandura, 1977). Self-efficacy is defined as “the conviction that one can successfully execute the behavior required to produce the outcomes” (Bandura, 1977, p. 193). In other words, self-efficacy is a belief that one has the necessary skills to complete a task or accomplish a goal. According to Bandura (2012), self-efficacy is a key determinant in human behaviour as it affects motivation and performance accomplishments directly and indirectly through its influence on outcome expectations, goals, and other socio-structural (environmental) factors. Although Schunk (1995) states that competent task performance is unlikely without the requisite skills regardless of self-efficacy, Bandura (1997) highlights the fact that self-efficacy is often a better predictor of task accomplishment than skills or knowledge alone because “people’s level of motivation, affective states, and actions are based more on what they believe than on what is objectively true” (p. 2). If an individual believes that they are capable then they will approach difficult tasks as challenges to master whereas someone with weak self-efficacy will tend to avoid tasks that they deem to be beyond their capabilities even if they have the required knowledge and skills (Bandura, 1994). Self-efficacious students are more likely to successfully accomplish tasks because their self-confidence leads to greater effort and persistence. Individuals with weak perceived self-efficacy, however, may only expend minimal amounts of effort and persistence, and may fail to complete a given task when faced with difficulties they feel unable to overcome (Bandura, 1977).

Expectancy-Value

Other important factors that explain task engagement include the value of the task and expectations about successful task completion outcomes. Expectancy-value theory (EVT) (e.g. Wigfield & Eccles, 2000) is grounded on the assumption that learners’ achievement behaviour is based on a subjective interpretation of reality rather than being attributed to actual successes and failures. Learners’ perceived expectancy of success and task value are assumed to exert influence on task choice, motivation, performance, and ultimately achievement. In the most recent formulation of the theory (Eccles, 2005), expectations of success and subjective task value are posited as both directly affecting achievement related choices and performance. Expectancies and values are in turn influenced by task-specific social cognitive variables such as self-concept of ability, perceived difficulty, goals, self-schema, along with affective memories.

In Eccles and colleagues' conceptualization of EVT, expectancies for success are defined as "individuals' beliefs about how well they will do on upcoming tasks, either in the immediate or longer-term future" (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002, p. 119). Expectancy beliefs are an evaluation of one's ability to complete a given task (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). The nature of an individual's expectancy beliefs is determined by their self-concept of ability, perceptions of task difficulty, and perceptions of others' expectations (Eccles et al., 1983). Subjective task value (STV) is defined broadly as "a function of both the perceived qualities of the task and the individual's needs, goals, and self-perceptions" (Eccles et al., 1983, p. 90). According to Eccles (2005), STV is a key predictor of task selection and is defined as consisting of four components: attainment value, intrinsic or interest value, utility value and cost.

Attainment value is related to the importance one feels when performing a task and doing well in it. Eccles (2005) states that "tasks will be seen as important when individuals view engaging in the task as central to their own sense of themselves, because such tasks provide the opportunity for the individual to express or confirm important aspects of the self" (p. 109). Therefore, individuals are more likely to choose or persist in tasks that conform with their perceived self-image and individual goals (Eccles, 2005). Intrinsic value is defined as "the enjoyment the individual gets from performing the activity or the subjective interest the individual has in the subject" (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002, p. 120). This component is conceptually similar to the intrinsic motivation construct in self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000) and the model of interest theorized by researchers such as Hidi (1990). Utility value refers to how useful a task is in relation to an individual's current or future plans and goals (Eccles, 2005). A task may have relative value if it is consistent with an individual's goals while at the same time being of little inherent interest (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). Finally, cost refers to negative aspects of performing a task such as anticipated failure or potential stress from a challenging task (Eccles, 2005).

Intrinsic Motivation and Flow

As well as researching goals, values, and beliefs, which deal with the direction of motivation once a task has commenced, researchers have focused on other aspects of motivated behaviour such as the reasons why a learner engages in a task. A leading theory that addresses initial task engagement is self-determination theory (SDT). Self-determination is the perception that an individual is able to choose and has choices in the actions that they undertake,

as opposed to their actions being determined by an outside influence (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Deci and Ryan (1985) also state that as well as having control over their actions, an individual strives to feel competent by engaging in activities that are challenging and interesting. Fulfilling the needs of self-determination and competency leads to intrinsic motivation.

Intrinsic motivation is also a key feature of Csíkszentmihályi's flow theory (Csíkszentmihályi, 2002). While intrinsic motivation in SDT focuses on the satisfaction of the basic human needs of feeling competent and autonomous, flow theory is concerned with the immediate feelings of satisfaction that arise when an individual is engaged in a task. Csíkszentmihályi and Nakamura (1989) define flow as "what people feel when they enjoy what they are doing, when they would not want to anything else" (p.55). In other words when individuals are in a state of flow, they are completely engrossed and committed to the task at hand. Furthermore, when a student is experiencing flow, the activity they are performing becomes autotelic in that the goal or reward for doing the activity is the satisfaction of performing the activity itself (Nakamura & Csíkszentmihályi, 2002). Nakamura and Csíkszentmihályi (2002) state that there are two conditions that must be met for flow to be achieved: (1) the task must be challenging enough to feel like the learner's abilities are being stretched whilst still being achievable with their current skills, (2) the student is clear about the goals of the task, and feedback is given to the student throughout the task regarding their progress. Research into flow theory in educational settings has found that flow relates positively to commitment and achievement at school as well as to greater persistence on tasks (Nakamura & Csíkszentmihályi, 2002).

Interest

Interest is another concept closely related to intrinsic task motivation, and it also has a state and situation-specific dimension (Hidi, Renninger, & Krapp, 1992). Situational interest arises as an affective response to the environment, which includes tasks and their content, whereas individual interest is a state-like characteristic that predicts whether someone would re-engage with a particular task (Hidi & Renninger, 2006). Situational interest can be increased by the structural characteristics, novelty, content and personal relevance of tasks and can be generated by teachers or the learners themselves (Renninger, Nieswandt, & Hidi, 2015). In the academic domain, Hidi and Renninger (2006) have found that individual interest in interaction with situation-specific interest positively contributes to motivation, learning outcomes and achievement.

Task Motivation Research in the Field of Second Language Acquisition

Task motivation has only recently become the focus of investigations in second language research following Jülkunen's (1989) introduction of the concept into this field. One important line of studies has investigated how the characteristics of language learning tasks affect students' task motivation. Another area of research has focussed on the role of task motivation in second language performance. Research in this field has also been concerned with the social dimension of task motivation and changes and fluctuations in how motivated students are in performing language learning tasks.

The Effect of Task Characteristics on Task Motivation

An important aspect of tasks that can influence students' motivation to engage with them is their content. As mentioned earlier, personally relevant and novel task content can arouse situational interest, which in turn can lead to increased attention, sustained effort and enjoyment and ultimately result in more learning (Hidi et al., 1992). The interestingness of content is also related to the perceived value of tasks (Boekaerts, 2002). Task content can easily be changed and adapted to the students' characteristics (e.g. age, cultural background, professional interests) and needs in the language classroom; therefore it is very important to understand what aspects of content students find interesting in general and in specific contexts. A careful examination of the interrelationship of task content and its effect on interest is also necessary because topic-related interest was found to be associated with willingness to communicate in the L2 (Kang, 2005), which is an important antecedent of actual language use.

In the field of SLA research a number of studies have investigated the effect of task content on task motivation either by eliciting students' judgements of the content of different types of tasks (Poupore, 2014) or by manipulating learners' choice over task content (Lambert, Philp & Nakamura, 2017; Mozgalina, 2015). Poupore (2014) administered a task-motivation questionnaire, a topic preference questionnaire and conducted interviews with Korean adult learners of English to examine what aspects of task content influence task motivation in interactive tasks. Based on responses to an adapted version of Boekaerts's (2002) task motivation questionnaire, which assessed task enjoyment, reported effort, perceived relevance and success, he identified two highly motivating tasks and two tasks with low motivational value. The analy-

sis of the interview responses referring to these two tasks and the topic preference questionnaire revealed that personally relevant task content made the two highly motivating tasks interesting and enjoyable. Interestingly, controversial life themes (e.g. drugs, abuse) were also found to be appealing and motivating, which Poupore explained with reference to relevance and the intensity of the emotional reactions to the topic. Conversely, the tasks that received low ratings covered topics which were remote from the participants and were concerned with global issues the students had little background knowledge of. Level of clarity, ease of comprehension and concreteness of content were also significant factors accounting for interest and task motivation. The results relating to interest in controversial life issues and lack of willingness to engage with global themes might be specific to the investigated group of students. Nevertheless, the findings with regard to personally relevant content are in line with expectancy-value theories which argue that engaging tasks need to be relevant for the learners' selves and give opportunities for self-expression (Eccles, 2005).

According to Dörnyei (2019) task ownership also constitutes an important factor in task motivation. The question whether task ownership in terms of control over topic choice and content increases task motivation and promotes engagement has been investigated by Mozgalina (2015) and Lambert et al. (2017). Mozgalina's (2015) participants, who were German learners of Russian, were offered completely free, limited or no-choice over which famous contemporary Russian person they will give a presentation on. The students were also divided into different groups with regard to procedural choice. Half of the students received detailed guidance on how to prepare their presentations, while the other half was free to organize how they would achieve the task outcomes. The assumption underlying the study was that choice, as a key component of autonomous action, would enhance intrinsic motivation and increase effort exerted on the task (Patall, Cooper, & Robinson, 2008). In this study task motivation was examined with the help of a questionnaire that assessed four components of self-determination as they relate to tasks: intrinsic motivation, identified regulation, external regulation and amotivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985). The results were surprising because they indicated that the group that had completely free choice over content and procedures was the least motivated to perform the task. The findings also showed that choice over content when task procedures were fixed did not affect task motivation. However, when content was non-negotiable, freedom over task procedures evoked more positive task motivation. Less choice over content was also associated with more task engagement, which was operationalized as the number

of words produced. Mozgalina explained the results with reference to psychological research, which indicates that choices require mental effort and can deplete cognitive resources that would otherwise have been devoted to task performance (Vohs, Finkenauer, & Baumeister, 2011). The findings of her study highlight the importance of striking a careful balance between learner autonomy and teacher guidance and control in designing and administering language learning tasks.

Lambert et al.'s (2017) research complements those of Mozgalina (2015) by examining whether learner generated content in a narrative task results in increased task motivation and more active engagement in a fixed procedural condition. The participants in this project, who were Japanese learners of English, reported higher interest, more control over the task and more intensive engagement when they could narrate a story of their own choice compared to a story assigned by their teacher. The students in the learner-generated condition also produced more language, spent more time on task and elaborated and negotiated the content of the stories more frequently than those in the teacher-generated content group. This is in contrast with the results in Mozgalina's study who found no effect of content-related choice on task motivation when students had no procedural control. The difference in the findings might be due to the fact that in Mozgalina's study participants worked in dyads where negotiating task content might have been a compromise. Another reason can be the high number of potential choices of famous people in Mozgalina's study and the fact that the content of the task was not personally relevant for the participants. Lambert et al.'s (2017) study indicates that learner generated content can ensure that tasks are personally relevant and intrinsically motivating.

Another important characteristic of tasks is how complex they are in terms of language demands and the cognitive processes required to perform them successfully (for a recent review, see Skehan, 2014). Complexity of tasks is associated with perceived difficulty and can influence learners' evaluations of their own abilities to carry out the task as well as the enjoyment they derive from task fulfilment. Therefore, motivation to complete complex tasks that exceed learners' self-perceived or actual abilities might be low, whereas students might be more willing to engage in tasks that pose an optimal level of challenge. In a recent paper Kormos and Préfontaine (2017) examined how narrative tasks that made different cognitive demands on learners affected task motivation. In this study L2 learners of French told three stories under different task conditions. In the first task, students were asked to creatively construct the content of the narrative based on picture prompts, while in the

other two tasks the storyline was given. In the former condition, students had to invent the plot of the story but they could tailor the content to their linguistic knowledge. In the latter two conditions, there was little opportunity for learners to adjust the content if they lacked the linguistic resources to narrate the story. These two tasks differed in whether the task input was visual (cartoon strip) or written. A short task-appraisal questionnaire assessed interest, task-related anxiety, task motivation, and perceived success in task-completion, and follow-up interviews with the students were conducted. The results showed that the cartoon-based task with given content provoked lower levels of anxiety and was more highly evaluated in terms of success than the task where students had to invent the story line. The qualitative data revealed that perceptions of lack of task structure and a concomitant need for content planning induced feelings of anxiety. Freedom of expressivity, creativity and the opportunity to customize speech production given students' linguistic resources contributed to perceived success. Findings in Lambert et al.'s (2017) and Kormos and Préfontaine's (2017) study seem to suggest that while allowing learners the opportunity to generate task content might increase task motivation and lead to more engagement, high demands on learners' creativity can potentially have a detrimental effect on task motivation.

It is important to recognize, however, that L2 learners' motivation to complete cognitively challenging tasks might vary based on their goals, self-efficacy beliefs and expectancy of success. Maad's (2012) study investigated how L2 learners' goal orientation might be associated with motivation on tasks that vary in cognitive complexity. In his research, Tunisian learners of English were divided into two groups based according to whether (1) they showed high mastery-goal orientation, i.e. attributed high value to the process of learning and growth in their abilities, or (2) high performance-goal orientation, i.e. were more concerned with the actual outcomes of the learning, potential failure and comparisons with others (Ames & Archer, 1988). They performed three tasks that varied in cognitive complexity based on familiarity and the opportunity for pre-task planning, and they also filled in a brief task motivation questionnaire. The results showed that students with mastery-goal orientation exhibited higher task motivation on cognitively demanding tasks than those with performance-goal orientation. Participants whose goals were performance-oriented, however, reported higher motivation on cognitively less challenging tasks than mastery-oriented students. These findings are important because they show that students' task motivation can be the result of a complex interaction between students' goal orientation and task characteristics.

The Effect of Task Motivation on Performance

As discussed earlier, high levels of task motivation promote cognitive and behavioural engagement with tasks. In a study conducted with Hungarian learners of English, Dörnyei and Kormos (2000) found that attitudes towards the task were significantly correlated with the number of words and turns produced in a dialogic oral argumentative task. They also examined the relationship between task motivation and the quality of students' output in a later study using the same database (Kormos & Dörnyei, 2004). Their results revealed weak associations between linguistic output measures such as lexical richness, accuracy and the number of arguments and counter-arguments, and motivational variables. The findings, however, suggested that task-related attitudes were highly correlated with the number of counter-arguments the learners produced in the task, which they considered an important measure of task engagement.

Kormos and Dörnyei (2004) also examined the relationship between motivational factors and output measures in two sub-groups of learners: those who had high and low task-attitudes. They found that students with negative attitudes to tasks but positive attitudes to their language learning course demonstrated higher level of accuracy than those with unfavourable dispositions towards the course. This suggests that more stable and trait-like motivational factors can assist students in exerting more effort on tasks that they do not find interesting and engaging. The study also showed that in the learner group which had positive attitudes to the task, a composite score on motivational variables comprised of integrativeness, incentive values, course attitudes, self-confidence and L2 use anxiety was very strongly associated with syntactic complexity and the number of arguments produced. This result points to the importance of both situational, task-specific as well as general motivational dispositions in predicting task production outcomes.

Mozgalina's (2015) research, which was reviewed earlier, also gives indirect evidence for the impact of task-motivation on language performance. Her study suggests that engagement, which was operationalized as the number of words produced, was more intensive in written tasks where students had more favourable motivational dispositions. In these tasks students also received higher scores on their written output.

Kormos and Préfontaine's (2017) study indicated that higher appraisals of success and motivation to engage in similar tasks in the future were associated with increased fluency of speech. Their results, however, also show that the relationship between task motivation and fluency differs across tasks. In the

task where learners had to narrate given content depicted by a series of pictures, task appraisals were only weakly associated with the fluency of performance. In performing a task that required creativity in inventing the story line, participants who were motivated by the task were more fluent. Interestingly they found an inverse relationship between task motivation and measures of utterance fluency and fluency ratings in the task where students had to retell a story they read in their L1. They argued that participants' interest in this task and motivation to complete it might have been triggered by the topic or the story-retell aspect of the task design. They hypothesized that participants who found the topic and task interesting and motivating invested more effort in encoding the content of the task more precisely and selecting the most accurate and appropriate lexis to express this content. This increased interest might then have negatively affected both utterance fluency and ratings of fluency. Kormos and Préfontaine's (2017) study highlights the importance of examining the effect of task motivation on performance in the light of the cognitive demands and structure of tasks.

The Effect of Social Factors on Task Motivation

Language learning tasks are often performed in co-operation with others, and peers and interlocutors can exert an important influence on task motivation, engagement and performance measures. Dörnyei's (2000) research, which analysed the same dataset of Hungarian learners' performance in an argumentative task as reported in Kormos and Dörnyei (2004), showed that partners' task-attitude was strongly associated with how many words and turns students produced in the task. The strength of association between partners' attitudes and language production was particularly high in the group of students who displayed low task attitudes. Dörnyei argued that in this group, partner's positive task attitudes "served as a 'pulling force': if someone with a low task attitude is matched up with a more motivated peer, the chances are that the person's performance will improve" (p. 532). His findings also indicate that when the task motivation of the dyad is considered jointly, it explains a substantially larger proportion of variance in the amount of language produced, than the task motivation of an individual student. Therefore Dörnyei (2000) concluded that when tasks are performed in pairs or groups, task motivation is co-constructed and the motivational characteristics of individual students interact.

Not only the motivation of peers but also the efficient functioning of groups of individuals working together can impact task motivation. Positive

group dynamics, “which is a genuine sense of warmth, trust, cheerfulness, and accomplishment within the group” (Poupore, 2016, p. 724) can foster more positive and secure emotional atmosphere, increase enjoyment and enhance cognitive engagement (Murphey, Falout, Fukada, & Fukuda, 2012, this volume). In a recent study Poupore (2016) examined the impact of group dynamics on task motivation. He analysed the recordings of groups of Korean learners of English who performed 15 cooperative tasks and developed a scale for measuring group work dynamics. Scores assigned to group work dynamics for each group on each task were than correlated with students’ reported task motivation. He found strong significant correlations between the measure of group work dynamics and overall task motivation, as well as the specific components of task motivation such as task enjoyment, reported effort, result assessment and task relevance. The relationship between task enjoyment and group dynamics was particularly strong. Based on the findings, Poupore argued that “motivation is a socially mediated process in which a strong intrapersonal motivation needs to be supported by helpful interpersonal interactions and/or scaffolding within a positive social environment” (p. 730). Poupore also divided group work dynamic measures into verbal and non-verbal indicators, which comprised smiling, head-nods, body movements, gestures and eye-contact. When verbal and non-verbal measures of group work dynamics were considered separately, verbal measures did not show any associations with task motivation. Non-verbal measures, however, were strongly linked to overall task motivation, task enjoyment and result assessment. This shows that non-verbal communication clues of emotions and support play a particularly important role in creating a positive environment for task performance and increasing learners’ perceptions of success.

Changes in Task Motivation Over Time

Not only individual level motivational factors are amenable to change, but also task-motivation can fluctuate over time. From the perspective of the process model of motivation proposed by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) before engaging in a task, motivation needs to be generated (pre-actional phase). For successful task completion, motivation needs to be sustained (executive phase), and after the task has been carried out, effort and outcomes need to be evaluated (post-actional phase). These motivational processes, however, do not follow each other in a strict sequence but take place parallel and enter into a dynamic interaction with each other (for a recent account of the dynamics of task motivation see Dörnyei, 2019). Dörnyei and Tseng (2009) proposed

a task processing system, in which “signals from the appraisal system concerning task execution trigger the need to activate relevant action control strategies, which in turn facilitate the execution process” (p. 130). A number of recent studies have investigated the dynamic nature of task motivation in different contexts and yielded insights into how task motivation evolves in response to different task characteristics, group dynamics and experiences during performance.

Poupore (2013) examined the dynamic interplay of various task-related and motivational variables by asking Korean learners of English to respond to a task motivation questionnaire, before and after completing a series of interactive tasks. Participants also indicated their interest and emotional state on a graph during task performance and were interviewed after finishing the tasks. Interestingly, motivation changed in only two tasks out of 15, and even in these two tasks task attraction and enjoyment remained stable. In one of the tasks, expectation of success and evaluation of performance outcomes decreased, which seems to have been caused by the high complexity and perceived difficulty of the task. Task relevance, intended and reported effort and expectancy of success declined significantly in the other tasks, the topic of which was felt to be too serious and highly specific. Poupore argued that certain facets of task motivation can remain relatively stable during task performance, whereas others are more prone to change in response to the demands of the tasks and the dynamics of the group.

Yanguas (2011) took a different approach to researching motivational change in tasks and analysed think-aloud reports of heritage speakers of Spanish while they wrote a story. She identified themes in students’ think-aloud reports relating to the “quality of the learning experience, perceived progress/success, performance appraisal, distracting influences, boredom, and self-regulatory strategies” (p. 45). The majority of participants sustained their initially high motivational level, while some students remained poorly motivated as they performed the task. Five out of 30 students increased their motivation as they engaged more intensively in writing. Yanguas concluded that “participants who stayed motivated throughout the task created and implemented a higher number of subtasks, got distracted less, and appraised the task and their progress in positive terms” (p. 54).

Recent research by MacIntyre and Serroul (2015) examined momentary fluctuations in motivation while Canadian L2 speakers of French completed eight speaking tasks. They provided ratings while they watched the recordings of their own performances and also offered qualitative comments on their performance. Students were asked to evaluate their approach and avoidance motivation. Four different patterns of motivational dynamics emerged from

the ratings. One type of student “showed a rollercoaster of swings between approach and avoidant motivation during the tasks” (MacIntyre & Serroul, 2015, p. 123), while another group of students demonstrated stable neutral states of motivation. The remaining two types of students were characterized either by consistently positive approach or by negative avoidance orientation. The interview data revealed that most of the fluctuations in motivation were caused by the lexical and grammatical demands of the tasks. When participants felt that they successfully dealt with the linguistic requirements of the tasks, and conversation was effortless, their performance approach motivation was high. In contrast, when they experienced difficulties retrieving words, lacking background knowledge or breakdowns in the conversation, they often adapted an avoidance approach.

Pedagogical Implications

Although task motivation is only a recently expanding field of SLA, existing research findings allow us to draw several important pedagogical conclusions. Currently available results have relevant implications for task choice, task design and the set-up and organisation of tasks in the classroom. First of all, studies highlight the significance of the choice of task content and ensuring that tasks are personally relevant and give learners a chance for self-expression. Second, setting tasks that provide opportunities for learners to generate task-specific content rather than content predetermined by the teacher or the instructional materials increase motivation to complete the tasks. This enhanced engagement can assist students in exploiting learning opportunities that arise during task performance. It is important, however, to maintain a good balance between completely unregulated choice and strict teacher control. If students are given little guidance on how to complete tasks and have an absolute freedom over content at the same time, valuable time and effort might be spent on agreeing on how to perform the task and what content to work with. Mozgalina’s (2015) research suggests that either some procedural or content support is valued by learners and helps them perform better on language learning tasks.

Research findings on the effects of task difficulty call attention to the significance of setting tasks that pose an optimal level of challenge for students. Students’ approach to difficult tasks might vary based on their motivational orientations, and classes rarely consist of language learners with similar abilities. Therefore, teachers should aim for differentiation in task choice and task procedures in order to meet the varying needs of their students. Although

performance-approach to task motivation can also be helpful, teachers should also foster mastery-goal orientation and provide students with feedback that enhances their self-efficacy beliefs in successful task completion.

Studies also highlight that peers and group dynamics play an important role in task motivation and engagement. Motivation in tasks that require interaction among students is co-constructed and is strongly influenced by the functioning of smaller learning groups and the whole class. Teachers can enhance group-dynamics and scaffold efficient learner interaction in a number of ways (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003) and students should also be encouraged to take responsibility and action in creating a classroom culture that maximises opportunities for learning through tasks.

Directions for Future Research

Although task motivation was first introduced in the field of SLA research by Jülkunen in 1989, our review shows that compared to the large number of studies on general motivational dispositions, task motivation is a relatively under-researched construct. Task motivation in SLA is often conceptualised without reference to relevant concepts in educational psychology. It is also frequently operationalised through brief questionnaires which might not sufficiently assess the various facets of task motivation. Therefore, future research in the SLA field should incorporate task-related goals, values, outcome expectations, self-efficacy, intrinsic motivation, flow and interest in instruments assessing task motivation.

Most available studies focus on the inter-relationship between task motivation and task performance measures, and it is only recently that behavioural aspects of task engagement have been investigated (for a review, see Philp & Duchesne, 2016). More research is needed on how task motivation can explain task-based learning as it happens during task performance. Questions such as whether students with more positive task motivation engage in more language-related episodes and negotiation of meaning and whether higher task motivation results in more efficient of transfer of learning from one task to the other would need to be addressed.

The field would also benefit from more in-depth understanding of how particular task characteristics enter into a complex interaction with individual level motivational factors, language proficiency, age and cultural background. There is also a scarcity of research on how social interactions and context shape task motivation. Qualitative case studies that examine the intricate interplay of task motivation, individual characteristics and social and instruc-

tional context could also give language teachers guidance on how to foster task motivation and design motivating tasks.

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14

Motivational Teaching Strategies

Martin Lamb

The majority of teachers recognise that motivating their learners is a part of their job, though it is probably more important for some than for others. In certain pedagogic contexts (e.g. adult vocational or academic settings) learners may, or may be expected to, bring with them such high initial levels of motivation that the teacher's focus is exclusively on maximizing the efficiency of the learning processes. At the other extreme, there are pedagogic contexts where learners are compelled to attend, and where the teacher's main task seems to be to persuade them to engage in learning tasks. For teachers working in contexts somewhere between those extremes, there will be times (e.g. Monday mornings?) or tasks (grammar revision sessions?) when deliberate attempts to motivate may feel more urgent, and of course some learners for whom such efforts will be more necessary.

As they consider how to do this, are teachers able to draw on useful research evidence to inform their thinking? Academics working in the field of learner motivation usually try to draw out implications for pedagogy from their research, and even if they do not read research directly, teachers can now benefit from a number of excellent, theory-based but classroom-oriented textbooks, from general education (e.g. Anderman & Anderman, 2010; Gilbert, 2012; Schunk, Meece, & Pintrich, 2013) and from language education specifically (Dörnyei, 2001; Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014; Hadfield & Dörnyei, 2013; Thorner, 2017). Yet the actual study of motivational pedagogy, or of the

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teacher's influence on learner motivation, remains a minority interest among researchers—for instance Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan (2015) estimate that about one third of the >400 high quality publications in the period 2005–14 had a focus on *motivating* learners, as opposed to learner *motivation*.

This chapter focusses on a subset of that research literature on 'motivating learners', namely studies which have investigated the strategies used by teachers "to consciously generate and enhance student motivation, ... maintain ongoing motivated behaviour and protect it from distracting and/or competing action tendencies" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 103). This is not in any way to denigrate the importance of other work on motivating learners, for example that which examines the pedagogic implications of particular theories, or the motivational impact of innovations in communicative task design, project work or digital technology. Much of that work is reviewed in Lamb (2017) and in other chapters in this volume. But research on motivational teaching strategies (hereafter MotS) has the potential to speak directly to teachers, since it deals centrally with their conscious behaviours and the impact on learners.

Dörnyei's (2001) Taxonomy of Motivational Strategies

This line of research was initiated by Dörnyei's (1994) proposal for a set of strategies at the levels of language, learner and learning situation, which was later expanded and transformed in Dörnyei (2001) into a comprehensive taxonomy of 102 motivational strategies, based on both pedagogic wisdom and motivational theory, organized according to when in the teaching process they would be deployed:

Creating the basic motivational conditions: The assumption here is that unless learners feel comfortable in the classroom, in the presence of their teacher and peers, then other motivational strategies used by the teacher will likely be in vain. Strategies proposed therefore relate to behaving appropriately as a teacher (e.g. showing students that one really cares about the subject and their success in it), creating a pleasant classroom environment and helping to build positive group dynamics among the learners (see Fukada et al., this volume).

Generating initial motivation: As noted above, in many educational contexts learners may only have a vague notion of why they are learning; even when the overall purpose is clear, they may not understand what is feasible or desirable to achieve in a particular course of study. Teachers therefore may

need to work on raising learners' interest in languages generally, or in the particular language being taught, and increasing their belief that they can develop competence. This may be especially important in monolingual or Anglophone social contexts where the value of foreign languages is not immediately apparent and examples of successful learners few on the ground.

Maintaining and protecting motivation: Language learning is inevitably a long-term process; it is also notoriously difficult to see progress, particularly when studying in the home country, in non-intensive programmes. In classrooms as well as the Wi-Fi-connected home there are always multiple potential distractions to which the language learner could succumb. Therefore it is important for the teacher to have an armoury of strategies to keep their learners 'on task'. These include first and foremost making the language class enjoyable and stimulating, making clear the purpose of tasks, skilfully scaffolding learners while they are engaged on tasks, setting proximal goals, reducing feelings of anxiety, and helping learners to be autonomous and self-motivating.

Encouraging positive self-evaluation: "A very important aspect of motivating", Dörnyei (2001) argues, "is to help [learners] to deal with their past in a way that it will promote rather than hinder future efforts" (p. 117). This is true for significant experiences years ago, as well as for emotional daily events. So in addition to promoting positive attributions for their past successes and failures (see Peacock, 2010), on a class-by-class basis teachers need to keep motivation high through giving sensitive, constructive feedback on their work, being careful in the way they use rewards, marks or grades, and providing a sense of satisfaction and achievement through the display of L2 knowledge and skill.

Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) provide a useful summary of these strategies, updated with fresh theoretical and empirical support, but accompanied by important disclaimers:

- that no teacher could possibly be expected to implement all the strategies—they should pick and choose according to taste (i.e. what fits their own teaching style);
- that any strategy would have to be made appropriate to particular sociocultural contexts and classrooms;
- that teachers should be wary of "controlling or regulating" (p. 136) their students' motivation through 'carrot and stick' techniques. The aim must be always to develop the students' internal motivation.

In response to Dörnyei's (1994) original proposals, Gardner and Tremblay (1994) made the point that even the most reasonable sounding motivational

strategy remains a mere generalization unless validated by empirical research. So far there have been about 20 research studies published in major journals attempting to provide that validation, often using Dörnyei's (2001) taxonomy as a starting point for investigation. I will organize this review by considering what light the research throws on three important questions: What motivational strategies do language teachers favour? Which strategies do language learners favour? and How do motivational strategies affect learners' behaviour? In trying to address these questions, some of the complexities and paradoxes involved in the teacher's task are made apparent. The second part of the chapter will therefore offer a critique of the 'motivational strategy' approach and suggest other ways that researchers might try to expand our understanding of a motivational L2 pedagogy.

What Strategies Do Teachers Favour?

The most common way of researching MotS has been by asking teachers what they think they do to motivate learners. Dörnyei's (2001) own taxonomy was built partly on a (Dörnyei & Csizér, 1998) pioneering survey of Hungarian English teachers from primary to tertiary level. As Lamb's (2017) comparison shows, most of their 'top 10' strategies have been validated in other international contexts when similar methods are used (i.e. teachers are asked to prioritize lists of given strategies). For example, 'setting an example by your own behaviour' was also considered the most important strategy by school teachers in Taiwan (Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007) and Korea (Guilloteaux, 2013) and second most important by American university teachers (Ruesch, Bown, & Dewey, 2012). Other elements of 'creating the basic motivational conditions' are also highly valued. Among university teachers in Saudi Arabia (Alrabai, 2016) and the USA (Ruesch et al., 2012) and among school teachers in Indonesia (Lamb, Astuti, & Hadisantosa, 2016), developing a strong personal rapport with learners was considered the pre-eminent motivational strategy. While in Taiwan fostering a cohesive learning group was also highly valued (Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007), this strategy was not rated highly by Korean teachers (Guilloteaux, 2013). Other priorities expressed by teachers in diverse contexts are 'presenting tasks properly', 'making language classes interesting' and 'promoting the learners' self-confidence', though of course these statements may imply very different classroom actions for (e.g.) American university lecturers and Korean school teachers.

Given that teachers' pedagogical beliefs derive both from their classroom experience and from values inherent in the local educational culture (Borg &

Burns, 2008), it would not be surprising if systematic differences were found in MotS use. Both Cheng and Dörnyei (2007) and Guilloteaux (2013) for example found that teachers in their Asian contexts downplayed the importance of promoting learner autonomy compared to teachers in western settings. However Lamb et al.'s (2016) study in Indonesia adds nuance to this tendency by noting a difference between metropolitan and small town teachers' priorities, that is, learner autonomy may be considered more important where there are more abundant resources for independent language learning. Ruesch et al. (2012) point out that teachers in the USA seem particularly averse to using comparisons of learner performance as a motivational strategy, whereas Huang (2012) reports Taiwanese university teachers favouring the use of test results to deliberately encourage study. However, as Wong (2014) notes, Chinese teachers also emphasise the need to avoid face-threatening acts, which presumably might include the publication of low test scores.

Further empirical support for the validity of Dörnyei's (2001) taxonomy has come from a recent study in Sweden by Henry, Korp, Sundqvist, and Thorsen (2018). Instead of using a prepared survey instrument they asked over 200 junior secondary school teachers to describe a classroom activity that had successfully motivated their learners; results revealed a "close correspondence" (p. 16) with those MotS in Dörnyei's taxonomy relating to pedagogic tasks, especially making use of authentic materials, exploiting popular culture from English-speaking countries, ensuring tasks are relevant to learners' lives, and giving learners the chance for self-expression in the L2. Their study also threw up contrasts with previous studies, for example in highlighting the motivational value of mobile phones in class (see Chang, Chang, & Shih, 2016)—an affordance that was not available at the time Dörnyei was drawing up his taxonomy—and of project work, which is possibly a reflection of the relatively high standard of proficiency in Swedish schools, as well as a cultural predilection for learner-centred teaching (see Muir, this volume).

It is now well-established in studies of teacher beliefs and practice that the two are not always aligned (Borg & Burns, 2008). The question therefore arises as to how far teachers actually implement the motivational strategies they claim to believe in. Even in Dörnyei and Csizér's (1998) original study, discrepancies were found between the importance accorded various strategies and the frequency with which they were practised. The Hungarian teachers claimed that it was important that learners should be helped to have realistic and personal goals for language learning, for example, yet admitted that they did little to promote this in class. Somewhat ironically, another underused strategy was "show[ing] a good example by being committed and motivated" as a teacher (p. 221). Guilloteaux (2013) found that while her teacher

respondents rated many motivational strategies as potentially important, they did not use any of them frequently, prompting her to argue that motivation was not very salient in Korean school teachers' classroom thinking. As we see below, researchers aiming to test the *effectiveness* of MotS have tended not to put faith in teachers' self-reports (on either beliefs or practice), preferring to judge their style of motivating from observing them in action.

What Strategies Do Learners Favour?

Some MotS research has included surveys of language learners' views, through asking them to prioritize among a prepared list of potentially motivating teaching practices. Ruesch et al. (2012) directly compared US college students' views with those of their instructors and found that they generally agreed on what was most and least motivating. Where differences of opinion surfaced, the authors tentatively attribute them to generational differences: thus, while teachers tend to believe that urging students to make more effort is motivating, "[m]illennials tend to be more confident and assertive than previous generations" and therefore may find teachers' focus on effort to be "tantamount to be disparaging their abilities" (pp. 22–23). Likewise, students put a higher value on the motivational benefits of designing and presenting classroom tasks in the right way, a preference the writers relate to the younger generation's liking for tasks which offer an objective measure of success (i.e. where there is a clear right or wrong answer). Whether or not these interpretations are correct, the study highlights the potential significance of generational differences in motivational teaching strategies.

Interestingly Wong's (2014) study in Chinese secondary schools also identified differences between teachers' and students' views of motivating classroom tasks, with teachers putting more value on variety of topic and mode of classroom organization for example. The most striking agreement was on the motivational value of rewards and other extrinsic indicators of success like high exam grades. Interestingly, this strategy has not featured prominently in any other research study, though it does resonate with the arguments of Chen, Warden, and Chang (2005) that some motivational maxims formulated in the West may not apply to learners from Confucian educational cultures. For instance their own survey of language learners in Taiwan identified a prominent motive which they termed the 'Chinese imperative'; this, they suggested, led students of English to prioritize exam success and to favour classroom tasks such as memorization, rather than the communicative speaking skills

activities promoted by western textbook writers (also see Huang, 2012, mentioned above). An East-West dichotomy though would be equally simplistic; Lamb and Wedell (2015) found some significant differences in the preferences of Chinese and Indonesian learners, with the latter tending to put a premium on enjoyment in English lessons and the former valuing teachers who made classes academically interesting.

How Do Motivational Strategies Affect Learners' Behaviour?

As this volume attests, learner motivation is an immensely complex construct, with a multitude of interacting influences; how do we know that what the teacher does in class actually impacts on learning behaviour? In Lamb and Wedell's (2015) study, learners claimed their teacher had affected their attitudes and feelings about English (one third of respondents said (s)he had made the subject more interesting, for example, while many other comments related to building linguistic self-confidence) and also changed what they did to learn English (e.g. read more books, seek out native-speakers to practise speaking with). Other studies which have surveyed learner views (e.g. Ruesch et al., 2012; Wong, 2014) also provide evidence that learners *think* teachers' classroom behaviour affects them but do not furnish any evidence that it changed their actual behaviour. Some recent MotS research has attempted to establish this link between teacher practice and learner behaviour. Guilloteaux and Dörnyei (2008) and Papi and Abdollahzadeh (2012) found a positive correlation between school teachers' motivational practices as measured by a classroom observation checklist (the MOLT) and a subjective appraisal of the motivational quality of the lesson, with pupil motivation as displayed in classroom behaviour (paying attention, participating actively, volunteering answers) and questionnaire responses.

That these studies were conducted in Korea and Iran, both contexts "where relatively rigid classroom traditions do not lend themselves readily to the use of motivational strategies" (Guilloteaux & Dörnyei, 2008, p. 72), adds weight to the finding that MotS *do* affect learner motivation. However, big differences were identified in the motivational practice of teachers working even in the same schools, suggesting that individual teachers had sufficient agency to shape their own desired practice. In Japan, Sugita McEown and Takeuchi (2014) found that the MotS used by university EFL instructors did not all correlate with learner motivation; what is more, some strategies seemed to

work better with higher proficiency students, or at the beginning or end of the course, reminding us that no strategy is likely to work for all individuals at all times. Bernaus and Gardner's (2008) study with Catalan university students of English adds another layer of complexity, for they found that students did not always recognise the MotS the teachers thought they were using, and only when they perceived strategies being used did it affect their attitudes and motivation.

Correlation, of course, is not causality. Two quasi-experimental studies in Saudi Arabia (Alrabai, 2016; Moskovsky, Alrabai, Paolini, & Ratcheva, 2012) set out to identify a direct relationship between teachers' use of MotS and learner motivation. Both trained a group of 14 teachers in pre-selected MotS and then measured the motivation of their learners in short (8/10 week) courses compared to the motivation of learners taking the same courses in control groups. Class observations showed that the trained teachers did indeed use the strategies (e.g. reducing anxiety through sensitive feedback, adding variety to learning tasks, showing students that they cared) more than the control group teachers. Survey instruments showed that overall the state motivation of the students increased more (or declined less) than in the control groups, for example in more positive attitudes towards the teacher and greater enjoyment of lessons, and their observed behaviour in class was also more motivated in terms of attention, participation and volunteering. In Alrabai (2016), a further link was established with learner achievement as mediation analysis demonstrated that greater gains in progress tests among students in the experimental group could be ascribed to the fact that the teachers were using the MotS they had been trained in. Alrabai argues that the study was the first to provide "empirical validation of the most fundamental assumptions in motivational theories that teacher motivational behaviour causally affects learner motivation levels and that higher motivation leads to higher [second language] achievement" (p. 330).

Before rounding off this review of research, it should be noted that Dörnyei's (2001) taxonomy is not the only basis on which MotS studies have been formulated. Maeng and Lee (2015) observed Korean teachers in action and analysed the motivational strategies they used with reference to Keller's (1987) ARCS principles of attention, relevance, confidence and satisfaction. The most notable finding was that teachers concentrated mostly on gaining pupils' attention, and rarely used strategies to enhance the relevance of tasks for learners, increase their linguistic confidence or provide feelings of satisfaction with progress. They also found that more experienced teachers used fewer strategies than those who were less experienced. This was a finding replicated in Karimi and Hosseini Zade (2019) and is a point I will return to.

Challenges in Researching MotS

A fair appraisal of MotS research at this point, two decades on from the first published article (Dörnyei & Csizér, 1998), is that it has been useful, though limited in scale and impact. At least partially answering Gardner and Tremblay's (1994) original challenge, studies have shown that both teachers and learners recognise the value of many of Dörnyei's (2001) MotS, but that teachers do not use them as frequently as one would expect from their stated importance, and when they do, students do not always recognise them. There is some evidence of contextual differences in the use of MotS by teachers across the globe, and in learners' preferences, though we cannot be sure whether these derive from deep-seated cultural factors, from teacher differences such as training and career stage, or from individual learner differences such as age, proficiency level or socioeconomic background. More recent and sophisticated studies have shown that if teachers are trained to use MotS, there can be a beneficial effect on learner motivation and even on L2 achievement. However these few studies (e.g. Alrabai, 2016; Moskovsky et al., 2012) employed experimental methodologies, meaning that we cannot be sure how valid their findings are for regular classrooms. Moreover, they only measured immediate gains in motivation.

The relative paucity of research on motivation and pedagogy, and on MotS in particular, can be at least partly ascribed to inherent conceptual and practical difficulties. In laying down their challenge to researchers to treat MotS as hypotheses to be tested, Gardner and Tremblay (1994) provide an example of what it might take to establish the validity of one of Dörnyei's proposed strategies: 'Include a sociocultural component in the L2 syllabus' (e.g. by sharing positive L2-related experiences, using popular cultural products like music and films, inviting native-speakers and so on). This is a concise summary of the necessary steps:

1. Identify the anticipated benefits of the strategy (e.g. in terms of increased cultural knowledge, more positive attitudes, desire to study, L2 proficiency);
2. Design reliable and valid measures of these outcomes;
3. Randomly assign several classes in one institution to the condition over a course of teaching; that is, with experimental classes being exposed to the motivational strategy, and other classes not, ideally with some evidence of the 'equivalence' of control and experimental classes;
4. At the end of the course, compare the mean scores of the control and experimental classes on the measures in '2' above;
5. Conduct appropriate statistical analyses to produce convincing evidence of the effect of the strategy.

This would be a formidable project to establish the validity of a single motivational strategy, but at first sight it does not appear to be beyond the capability of, for example, a doctoral researcher well-versed in quantitative research methodology. However, there are some crucial elements which Gardner and Tremblay leave out. There is a need to ensure that the ‘treatment’ in the experimental classes is similar, and in all cases aligns with the theoretical precept, here, for instance, that the positive L2-related experiences are genuinely perceived by students as positive, or that native speaker guests in the class are well received. This implies training the teachers in, and monitoring, the implementation of the strategy. There are also major ethical issues; here it would be necessary to secure permissions from a suitable institution, and this would involve not only convincing them of the potential benefit of the ‘treatment’ but also, paradoxically, asking them to ensure that the same ‘benefit’ is *not* applied to the control classes. In fact, if the experiment lasted any length of time, it is difficult to imagine that there would not be some ‘contamination’ of the data as teachers within the institution exchange ideas informally.

The language education profession would benefit from such ambitious large-scale intervention studies of motivational teaching strategies, as exemplified recently by the two studies in Saudi Arabia (Arabai, 2016; Moskovsky et al., 2012). However human and financial resource limitations, and other contextual constraints, mean these will always be relatively few in number. There are, of course, other ways of responding to Gardner and Tremblay’s challenge. In the two decades since their article, other forms of ‘proof’ have become more legitimated in social science research, notably that offered by trustworthy qualitative and mixed method studies (see Ushioda, this volume). In fact it might be argued that this very motivational strategy (‘include a sociocultural component in the L2 syllabus’) has already been validated by the accumulation of evidence in several smaller-scale studies, such as interviews with secondary school teachers in Hong Kong (Luk, 2012), the classroom vignettes offered in Lamb and Budiyanto (2013), and the descriptions of motivating activities from Swedish school teachers (Henry et al., 2018).

Being situated in state institutions, and based on insights from serving teachers, such research has a good level of ecological validity. By the same token, it also identifies important qualifications in the motivating potential of this teaching strategy, as indeed Gardner and Tremblay would have predicted. Luk (2012), for example, notes that teachers in Hong Kong may feel uncomfortable using popular culture in formal classes, being less familiar with it than the teenagers they are teaching; Lamb and Budiyanto (2013) acknowledge that the products of western Anglophone cultures may be exciting to some young Indonesians but seem threatening to the religious or moral values of others;

Henry et al. (2018) point out that while Swedish teachers see great motivational value in Anglophone TV shows and music, for instance, they place very high demands on teachers' language awareness, and their ability to build in linguistically-oriented components in the design of activities.

The multitude of interacting variables that mediate learner motivation is now well recognised, and mean that it is not possible to confidently predict the outcome of any particular teaching strategy. Williams, Mercer, and Ryan (2015) make this point effectively by asking readers to consider how a classroom episode like being publicly praised by the teacher, or getting a poor test result, could be motivating *or* demotivating depending on the learner. Consequently, their recommendation is that teachers should think in terms of 'motivational contingencies' (p. 118) rather than motivational strategies, accepting that a range of outcomes is possible from any particular teacher behaviour. Dynamic systems theory (DST) offers conceptual and methodological tools which might enable researchers to address the challenge of this complexity (see Hiver & Papi, this volume).

Dangers in Researching MotS

One particular advantage of a DST approach is that it treats the teacher as just another agent in the system, rather than as the instigator and controller of learners' motivation. As noted above, one of Dörnyei and Ushioda's (2011) caveats regarding motivational strategies was the danger of teachers ignoring the "critical difference between 'motivating learners' and 'developing their motivation'" (p. 136). A theme of Ushioda's work has been the need to socialize learners' motivation in such a way that they come "to endorse and internalize curriculum goals and values including specifically the learning and use of foreign languages" (2011, p. 224). Drawing on self-determination theory (see Noels, Lou, Chaffee, Vargas & Dincer, this volume), she warns against attempts to manipulate learners' classroom behaviour through extrinsic motivators (e.g. entertaining activities, reward systems, excessive praise) that might promote short-term compliance with curriculum goals, but which do not foster the kind of intrinsic motives and internalized goals which are surely necessary to sustain motivation for long enough to achieve proficiency in a foreign language.

A programme of research focused on teachers' deliberate attempts to motivate their learners could, in this view, have the harmful effect of perpetuating myths about direct causal relations between teacher behaviour and learner motivation, and carry outdated behaviourist assumptions about the forma-

tion of good learning habits. For example, despite the general disapproval among motivation theorists of extrinsic motivators, “contemporary classroom environments are laced with a labyrinth of rewards and punishments contingent on students behaving in a certain way” (Bowman, 2011, p. 265), from the classic gold stars of primary school year 1, to the excursion trip awarded to Year 9 high achievers. As Glas’s (2016) research in Chile reveals, some language teachers may be aware of the threats their practice poses to learners’ long-term motivation, but feel such pressure from their institutions that they lack agency to choose alternatives; others may have such little faith in their learners’ motivational traits that they believe *any* strategy which induces effort, and produces exam success, is justified.

Moreover research focused on teachers’ deliberate strategies to motivate may deflect attention away from other aspects of their behaviour that have an equal (if unpredictable) influence on learner motivation. For example, in Lamb and Wedell’s (2015) survey of learners who had had inspiring English language teachers, about half of the comments did not relate to any particular MotS, but instead to the personal qualities of the teacher (e.g. kindness, cultural knowledge, high language competence), or to the personal relationship they had established. In general education, research suggests that learners can be profoundly influenced by the teacher’s own enthusiasm for the subject, which can be conveyed in many indirect ways, as well as their desire to share that enthusiasm with learners (Kunter, Frenzel, Nagy, Baumert, & Pekrun, 2011). It is also true that many other aspects of a teacher’s routine practice have a motivational influence without them necessarily being aware of it, as research on learner demotivation well demonstrates (see Thorner & Kikuchi, this volume).

One further criticism of MotS research so far could be that, in proposing a ‘recipe’ of possible techniques for motivating learners, it seriously underestimates the challenges that teachers face in developing a motivational teaching practice. The suggestion (from Maeng & Lee, 2015) that experienced teachers might use fewer MotS than novice teachers should warn us away from any simplistic notion that ‘more is better’. As Glas (2016) writes, “if and how teachers put motivational strategies into action depends on their own beliefs about motivation and their perceptions of the context in which they work” (p. 442). Kubanyiova’s (2012) work, monitoring and evaluating the impact of a professional development course with Slovakian teachers of English, shows how teachers’ receptivity to motivational strategies and willingness to try them out with their students are mediated by a range of idiosyncratic features, including their own professional identity and motivation, as well as a rational assessment of their value for particular groups and contexts. It is well-

established now in the literature on educational reform that teachers need time to reflect on new ideas and appropriate them into their own daily routines (Fullan, 2015). Acknowledging this, Turner, Christensen, Kackar-Cam, Trucano, and Fulmer (2014) introduced a small group of maths teachers in the USA to motivational principles in individual support sessions over a period of three years—yet still found that take-up was partial, teachers' subject knowledge and beliefs deeply affecting the way they interpreted proposals for enhancing pupil motivation.

Ways Forward for MotS Research

With these reservations in mind, I offer the following suggestions for future research on motivational strategies.

1. Focus on teachers' own conceptualizations

Any attempt to change needs to start with teachers' existing beliefs and state of practice (Freeman, 2016). However, since so much of the research has been based on pre-selected lists of MotS, we actually know very little about this in regard to L2 motivation. Research into other aspects of language education suggests that teacher beliefs about effective practice are overwhelmingly experiential in origin, and make little reference to SLA theory (e.g. Borg & Burns, 2008, on grammar teaching). The glimpses that we have of practising teachers' own conceptualizations of motivational practice (e.g. Glas, 2016; Hardré & Hennessey, 2013) suggest a similar orientation, and in fact raise questions about teachers' beliefs in their own capacity to improve learner motivation. A further question of interest is how teachers' beliefs about motivational teaching are formed, and what part formal training/education plays in belief formation.

2. Focus on teachers' motivational 'thinking-in-action'

As previously noted, the relationship between teachers' beliefs and their practice is not straightforward, and our understanding in particular of what shapes teachers' moment-to-moment decision-making in their classes has become much more nuanced in recent years (Kubanyiova & Feryok, 2015). Whether or not teachers believe they have responsibility for learner motivation, another pressing question is how often they think about this aspect of their work while planning, while teaching or while reflecting on their teaching and, if so, how it affects their behaviour. What is required here is use of a 'small lens', as Ushioda (2016) puts it, to produce "illuminating small-scale studies of motivation in relation to specific learning

events and experiences, and...grounded evidence-based analyses of how teachers work with and enhance their students' motivation" (p. 567). Though not specifically targeting motivational practice, Feryok and Oranje (2015) show how an experienced teacher makes frequent references to her learners' motivation and emotions while planning the integration of a cultural portfolio project in her German language classes, even at the cost of other pedagogic principles. Ushioda herself (ibid.) proposes a specific focus on "how teachers motivate learners to think through problems and difficulties in their learning" (p. 570), for instance by recording classroom interactions around particular tasks and analysing how the teacher scaffolds learners' strategic behaviour through to task completion. Other studies might look at how teachers give feedback on learners' work, or take a longer time perspective and examine how they help learners set goals at the start of and during a course of study. Together with point 1 above, this would address the definitional problem at the heart of MotS research—what do individual teachers understand by strategies like 'present the tasks properly', 'give sensitive feedback' or 'increase the learners' goal-orientedness', and how do they try to realize them in practice?

3. Focus on learners' responses

There is some evidence that generational differences affect teachers' ability to anticipate learners' reactions to their teaching (Ruesch et al., 2012). Furthermore, experienced teachers are well aware that individual learners do not respond motivationally in the same way to their own actions. While this can sometimes be attributed to relatively transparent factors like different personal interests, research in mainstream educational psychology points to the influence of more subtle individual learner differences mediating the impact of environmental factors on academic motivation. For example, reward schemes may 'crowd out' the intrinsic motivation of some learners, while for other more 'autonomy-oriented' learners incentives may simply be seen as validating their own chosen goals (Hagger & Chatzisarantis, 2011). Likewise, different teaching styles may confound the predictions one would make about learners' classroom participation if one relied on measures of their motivational beliefs (Turner & Patrick, 2008). We need more research on the *interaction* of MotS and learner motivation, and this implies the adoption of a range of methodological approaches. It is certainly useful to know the differential impact of MotS on learner groups. Practical and ethical challenges notwithstanding, we need more quasi-experimental studies like those already conducted in Saudi Arabia (Alrabai, 2016; Moskovsky et al., 2012). However we also need qualitative studies which shed light on different individuals' motiva-

tional responses to the same behaviours, including longitudinal projects that track their evolving thoughts and feelings over a course of study or indeed longer.

4. Focus on contexts where motivation is low

Although learner demotivation appears to be a widespread phenomenon (see Thorner & Kikuchi, this volume), it is likely there are contexts where teachers face particular motivational challenges. Lanvers and Chambers (this volume) describe the plight of teachers of modern foreign language teachers in Anglophone countries and teachers of third or fourth foreign languages in countries like Germany, yet apart from a few isolated studies of small-scale interventions (e.g. Taylor & Marsden, 2014), there have been no systematic attempts to analyse MotS in these contexts. It would be interesting to know if teachers of particular languages adopt MotS which they believe are suited to that language. Another set of educators who deserve more attention are those working in rural (or outer-urban) areas of developing countries, where scarce resources, poor teacher training and low levels of support from home often mean that proficiency in English remains tantalizingly out of reach for the majority of learners, despite their knowledge that it could open doors to future advancement (Lamb, 2013).

Conclusion

The body of published research evidence about motivational language teaching strategies remains thin, and certainly pales into insignificance next to the ‘accumulated wisdom of best practices of the teaching profession’ (Dörnyei, 2001, p. 267). However, through the endeavours of academics over the past 20 years we are now able to describe with some confidence the motivational strategies that language teachers across the world think they are employing, and we know that when deployed effectively, these can positively influence their learners’ motivation. We also know that there are systematic local variations in teachers’ and learners’ preferences, and we can be sure that further research in particular national or institutional settings would uncover more subtle differences in preferences, in practices and in outcomes. The chapter has discussed some of the challenges facing researchers in this area, in terms of producing convincing evidence of motivational impact, as well as the risks involved in adopting a mechanical model of the teacher as a mere implementer of pedagogical strategies. Taking these challenges and risks into account, I have suggested four priorities for future research which have the most potential to inform professional practice. How practitioners access this

future research is an important, separate topic of debate, but as Paran (2017) has recently argued, without systematic research efforts, there is a risk that “teaching might become merely the transmission of self-perpetuating, unsupported beliefs and prejudices, based on experience that is never examined” (p. 506), and many language learners would remain unfortunately, and unnecessarily, demotivated.

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15

Motivational Group Dynamics in SLA: The Interpersonal Interaction Imperative

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A Brief History of Group Dynamics in SLA

In the 1940s, the systematic study of group dynamics began in social psychology. Even before that, how groups work had been researched by some psychologists, but it was Lewin (1947) who coined the term group dynamics and founded the Research Center for Group Dynamics in 1945 at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. After he suddenly died, the center moved in 1948 to the University of Michigan, where it is still located (Regents of University of Michigan, 2016).

It was not until the 1960s that a formal definition of group dynamics was provided, when Cartwright and Zander (1969) called it a “field of inquiry dedicated to advancing knowledge about the nature of groups, the laws of their development, and their interrelations with individuals, other groups, and larger institutions” (p. 7). Afterwards, the study of group dynamics took off and was researched vigorously in psychology, sociology, business, and politics.

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Group dynamics in educational contexts essentially concerns “the interrelations between individuals within groups and how these interrelations affect the formation, performance, and dissolution of these groups” (Murphey, Falout, Fukada, & Fukada, 2012, p. 250). The dynamic network of associations stemming from within each learner can explain the unique individual differences related to learning, and so too can the interconnecting network within each group of learners “take on a life of its own, with its internal dynamics being a major factor in its success” (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003, p. 4). These dynamics can be overtly expressed in the behavioral makeup directly observable among a group, a display of the aggregated *visible group*. Underlying these interpersonal interactions are the unconscious communications, the *invisible group*, represented by the unseen interpersonal processes that can be inferable (Ehrman & Dörnyei, 1998). SLA research concerning group dynamics is almost always associated with L2 motivation, as it is commonly believed that “the learner group can have an impact on an individual’s language learning motivation” (Busse & Walter, 2013, p. 447).

The gathering of more than one person in the same place for the same purpose by itself does not ensure formation of a group. Usually a group is recognized as a group when there are “two or more individuals having some common bond, goal, or task, and exerting influence on one another” (Paulus, Kenworthy, & Coskun, 2012, p. 276). The degree to which the members within a group recognize themselves as a group is known as its *entitativity*, the self-recognition of the group as a group, determinable by the individual perceptions of inter-membership similarities, emotional ties, and shared situations (Forsyth & Burnette, 2010). This *social identity* can be very important to the members as it feeds into an individual’s self-concept (Spears et al., 2004), and it can become the most consequential aspect of one’s own identity (Jenkins, 2008). Social identities can be drawn simultaneously from various groups, such as within a school, class, sports club, or dorm. *School belonging*, for example, can be defined as “the extent to which students feel personally accepted, respected, included, and supported by others in the school social environment” (Goodenow & Grady, 1993, p. 80). A number of studies have found positive correlations between school belonging and academic motivation (e.g., Anderman, 2002; Goodenow & Grady, 1993; Sari, 2012).

While group dynamics can influence individuals, individuals also act upon and even take advantage of the dynamics within the group. Groups generally respond unfavorably to those who disagree with the majority of their members, but they can sometimes benefit from those who move and lead others in promising directions, even though it may happen against the will of most members. Different types of leaders are recognized in groups, such as informal

or temporary leaders, formal leaders chosen by means of election or appointment, and successful or unsuccessful leaders—these characteristics of leaders and groups also influence each other reciprocally (Paulus et al., 2012).

In SLA today, group dynamics as a field of inquiry is not often researched. Perhaps one reason is that few applied linguists have backgrounds in psychology, and those entering teacher training programs tend to focus on teaching the forms of language, rather than on the ways of learning. Another reason might be that too many groups are involved in learning languages for any given language learner, which complicates attempts to analyze effects of group learning in formal schooling (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003). Students can become involved in multiple groups inside one classroom, and outside interact with other groups of students and teachers in ways related to L2 learning, such as studying at cram schools, practicing in conversation schools, and interacting in online interest communities in which groups of people gathering from around the world use the L2 as their lingua franca.

How groups work in language learning might seem outside the main scope of applied linguistics, as mentioned by Dörnyei and Murphey (2003), due partly to the current research bias on individual cognitions. However, Hadfield (1992) found what troubled teachers most was not how to present the language to learners, but how to deal with unmotivated groups. She surveyed teachers and declared that it was “the cries of misery from staffrooms all over Britain” that had convinced her that “a successful group dynamic is a vital element in the teaching/learning process” (Hadfield, 1992, p. 10). Considering that task-based learning, pair-work, and group-work have become standard practices, “relationships within the group become more important: it is fundamental to the success of these activities to have support and co-operation from the group and a harmonious relationship between its members” (Hadfield, 1992, p. 10). Therefore, advancing research into interpersonal interaction in L2 learning is imperative because “an awareness of classroom dynamics may help teachers ... create learning environments where language learning is a rewarding and *therefore* efficient experience” (Dörnyei & Malderez, 1997, p. 65).

Group Dynamics and L2 Motivation

The matrixes of diverse types of learners in diverse types of language classrooms make researching group dynamics—as grounded and described by each potential arrangement of the matrix—not only interesting but imperative if we want to better understand their influences. And as most teachers

know, even within the same educational situation, each classroom takes on its own collective identity and temperament, becoming, in a way, its own form of life as a single organism, a living complex social system. In this way, classes can be conceptualized as *socially intelligent dynamic systems*, that is, SINDYS (Fukada, Murphey, Falout, & Fukuda, 2017).

Individual members within a classroom, moreover, can take views dissimilar from other members regarding the social dynamics of their classroom group. Different perspectives of the same socially-situated phenomena in the observable classroom can invisibly play divergently across motivational spectrums within the psychologies of its members. For example, in a study among students ($N = 25$) studying English within only two classrooms at a tertiary institution in Macau (Eddy-U, 2015), students from both classrooms reported that good group-mates and a good *classroom atmosphere* motivated them to engage each other in the L2, while they felt demotivated by bad group-mates and bad classroom atmospheres. In other words, within a single classroom, certain pairings or groupings of students can click well with each other, while others may not, and some but not all students will feel tuned into the overall social vibe of the classroom. Similarly, many of the Japanese learners ($N = 265$) participating in another study (Falout, Murphey, Fukuda, & Trovela, 2013) reported becoming demotivated to learn English in their junior high or high school classes due to one teacher's unlikeable personality, but soon after had become re-motivated—*unintentionally*—most often by the positive influences and kind interventions of another teacher, friends, or family members. It seems there is potential for both negative and positive motivational group dynamics within a single classroom to be transcended by the powers of group memberships and social circles beyond the immediate circumstances of that classroom—for better or worse. This complexity of group dynamics has been described in related concepts such as *person-in-context* (Ushioda, 2009) and *context-in-person* (Murphey et al., 2012).

Group norms represent commonly accepted and expected ways of interacting. The group norms of students may not be those shared by their teachers, who are also members of the classroom group. Teachers might wish, however, that students value certain behaviors, such as preparing for the lesson before class, coming to class on time, not chatting with classmates when the teacher is talking, and helping the teacher set up for the class. These examples are actually four of the ten descriptive behaviors that comprised the ten-item factor for group norms in research by Chang (2007). Students ($N = 152$) in four classroom groups studying English at a technical university in Taiwan responded to these and other items, and it was found that group norms moderately correlated ($r = 0.26$) with self-reported autonomous behaviors.

From another study (Murphey, Falout, Fukuda, & Fukada, 2014) at several universities in Japan, students ($N = 449$) were able to individually describe their preferred interpersonal classroom behaviors for conversation-based English classes. Then upon a unified list, a subset of the students ($N = 341$) validated their most preferred behaviors, the top five of which were, in order of importance: Help by explicitly teaching each other; actively talk to lots of partners in English in class; take risks and challenge yourself and others to do more with English; show passion and enthusiasm for learning English; and be accepting, patient, and encouraging with yourself and others when struggling and making mistakes. Their preferred classroom behaviors also correlated moderately-to-strongly with perceptions of their own corresponding classroom behaviors ($r = 0.46$) and those of their classmates ($r = 0.58$). Even more associated were the students' perceptions of their own helpful behaviors toward their classmates and helpful behaviors that they received from their classmates ($r = 0.83$). Although adopting the teacher's preferred values of classroom behaviors may be desired by teachers, for research into actual group norms, it seems well-worth asking students themselves about what kinds of behaviors they wish to see in their classmates.

Group cohesion relates to the degree that classroom members feel emotionally close to each other and truly work well together toward the group's purposes for gathering (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003). From the same set of students ($N = 152$) from Chang's (2007) study conducted in four English classrooms in Taiwan, but with additional reported research measures, Chang (2010) found a moderate correlation ($r = 0.34$) between student's perceived group cohesion and group norms. The results showed an even stronger association ($r = 0.43$) between group cohesion and self-perceived self-efficacy. An interesting contrast to this finding comes from another study (Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994) in which there lacked a strong level of correlation ($r = 0.02$) between group cohesion and self-perceived self-confidence among eleventh-grade students ($N = 301$) studying English in Budapest. However, between student perceptions of group cohesion and learning environment (i.e., classroom atmosphere), a moderate correlation ($r = 0.30$) was found, with an even stronger correlation ($r = 0.62$) occurring between teacher perceptions of group cohesion and student perceptions of learning environment. These student perceptions of learning environment did not appear to associate much ($r = 0.12$) with their own self-confidence in L2 learning.

Students ($N = 381$) studying English in secondary schools in South Korea self-reported their learning beliefs in a study (Joe, Hiver, & Al-Hoorie, 2017)

that investigated the directional relationships (i.e., potential causes) of various components of motivation. It was found that classroom social climate (i.e., classroom atmosphere) acted as a significant predictor of three fundamental psychological needs of individual students' psychological well-being: autonomy, competence, and relatedness. This, in turn, appeared to form a motivational base from which other motivational components could develop, all from which these learners felt empowered to communicate with each other in their L2.

One hypothesis proposes that the emotions, cognitions, and motivations of the individuals within a classroom could meet in an imaginary social space, called *present communities of imagination*, and transform the motivations of all within through a collective psychological shift, called *group framing of motivation* (Fukuda, Fukada, Falout, & Murphey, 2012; cf. Sasaki, Kozaki, & Ross, 2017). This hypothesis was tested in a 3-year panel study (Fukada et al., 2017) involving students ($N = 1351$) learning English communication at several universities in Japan. Commonalities across these classroom groups were an adherence to group norms, as reported by the teacher-researchers and validated by many of the participants themselves in Murphey et al. (2014), such as: talking in the L2 with many different classmates, encouraging each other to take risks in using the L2, and accepting each other's mistakes with the L2. In self-report measurements taken at the beginning and end of 15-week semesters, average increases in positivity were found among all tested components of L2 motivations and motivated behaviors: Past-self images, present-self investments (inside and outside class, measured separately), and future-self images. Moreover, all relationships within the correlation matrix became stronger over the semester.

A recent study (Sasaki et al., 2017) showed that students' perceptions of their classmates' future-oriented L2 motivations and career aspirations had a stronger influence on growth in L2 proficiency than their own L2 motivations and career aspirations. The study followed 1149 students within 44 classrooms, taking a wide variety of subject majors, across their first year at university. As with the traditional Japanese university system, these students remained within the same classroom cohorts, meaning that they did not take any classes with students of other subject majors besides their own. Classrooms with the highest perceived norms of high career aspirations—regardless of whether the careers required English—shared the highest gains on English reading abilities. Taken together, the results of Fukada et al. (2017) and Sasaki et al. (2017) could be considered as strong evidence that good classroom atmosphere, group norms and group cohesion contribute importantly to increasing individual L2 motivation and motivational self-congruence.

Hurdles to Researching Group Dynamics in SLA

Considering that qualities of learning and levels of motivation boost when group dynamics are good, and dip when they are bad, it is surprising to find research into group dynamics somewhat neglected in SLA. There are at least two basic hurdles to researching group dynamics. First, it may be difficult to break out of the dominant trends, cultures, and traditions of methodologies that do not readily apply themselves to investigating the social encounters, engagements, and dynamics of learning that can occur inside or outside of language classrooms. Second, although there are employable methodologies that could well investigate group dynamics, most researchers in group dynamics, and in the SLA field as a whole, face limitations of knowledge, experience, time, financial resources, and access to learner groups.

Growing out of a research culture primarily invested in the study of learner differences, motivation research in SLA continues to favour survey-based studies that treat belief systems as found within each individual rather than investigate behaviors exhibited within each group. Questionnaires and surveys are commonly utilized, and when seeking to find learner perceptions relating to the groups in which they learn, the unit of analysis is given to each group member rather than to a group. Commonly, individuals' responses to questions using Likert-scale-based data are used for gathering data of the individual's perspectives about the groups in which they are learning. Their responses are then averaged to give research findings that represent an average individual's attitudes or beliefs regarding their groups. In other words, as opposed to first aggregating participants into their classroom, task, or study groups, and analyzing the aggregate at the group-level, the methodologies and statistical tools that are commonly employed handle individual participants as singular cases, rather than whole groups as singular cases. This is a fine start, as represented by the inchoate but valuable knowledge on group dynamics and motivation collected within the second part of this chapter; however, these practices inadvertently confine what can be studied and learned about group engagement and social processes inherent to language learning. For research that does survey participants individually, the following specialized statistical procedures are recommended by Forsyth and Burnette (2010) to help determine whether it is appropriate to analyze at the individual-level or group-level: inter-class correlations, average deviation scores, and within-or-between analysis statistics.

Group dynamics is a complex phenomenon and it is crucial to investigate this issue empirically, especially observationally and quantitatively, through

longitudinal research designs. However, of the limited number of quantitative studies conducted on group dynamics in SLA, most have predominantly employed some basic analytical methods such as *t*-tests and ANOVA, when more sophisticated methods could better examine the complexity. More sophisticated statistical methods are employed in only a limited number of studies, notable examples of which are Kozaki and Ross (2011) and Munezane (2016). This trend appears not only in motivation research but across most SLA studies. Moreover, among motivation research adopting these analytical methods, barely more than half of statistical studies in SLA involve random assignment or a control group (Plonsky, 2014), without which research could lead into some biased findings. There are other sophisticated research methods, however, to accommodate multiple factors in group dynamics and their causal relationship with L2 motivation. One approach employs an advanced quantitative research method called *structural equation modeling* (SEM), which can help researchers to untangle causal relationships among multiple variables that might be useful for group dynamics and motivation in classrooms. According to Foster, Barkus, and Yavoroksy (2006), SEM is a “confirmatory, multivariate technique that looks at causal relationships between variables in a diagrammatic form” (p. 103). During the 1990s and 2000s, a small but rising percent of studies in SLA incorporated SEM into their designs (Plonsky, 2014). But a noticeable lack of the use of SEM in SLA research has appeared in more recent years, despite an overall huge surge in publications on motivation, perhaps attributable to interest in complex dynamics systems theory and its related, qualitative methodologies (Boo, Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015). By adopting this analytical method, researchers might better clarify how group dynamics can lead to L2 motivation.

Perhaps there is not enough graduate-level education in SLA to conduct the same kind and amount of quantitative research which uses SEM as done in the social sciences (Loewen et al., 2014). From an analysis of 39 studies in SLA that had employed SEM, only six focused upon motivation (Winke, 2014). All six studies analyzed certain aspects of language acquisition, such as the influence of motivation on vocabulary acquisition (Tseng & Schmitt, 2008); however, none investigated group-level motivational changes among learners over time. Considering the recent trend in complex dynamics systems theory, a statistical tool as adaptable and concise as SEM in analyzing complex phenomena involving the interactions of multiple factors over time is recommendable (Winke, 2014). For example, by adopting SEM in a study of group dynamics and L2 motivation, we can incorporate a lot of motivational factors within the group context to examine statistically an established hypothesis on

these factors, and the statistical analysis can indicate their causal relationships, unlike correlation coefficients. A good example of the use of SEM in SLA which researchers can learn from is in Csizér and Dörnyei (2005).

Social network analysis (SNA) can incorporate different theoretical perspectives and methodologies conducive to researching group dynamics (Forsyth & Burnette, 2010). For example, SNA can be used to: show group structures along the lines of communication flow; express relationships in terms of status; portray the number of connections in between each member, the total of which is recognized as group density; and relate the individual levels of attraction or repulsion (i.e., degree of popularity) among the members in a method called sociometry. Despite being a practical and promising way to study group dynamics, SNA-based studies have yet to appear within the motivation literature. Mercer (2015), devoting a chapter to illustrate its fertile potential in SLA, concluded, “research into learner psychology and motivation may benefit from moving beyond researching isolated individuals, to exploring more explicitly relational perspectives on learners and for this, SNA promises to be an invaluable tool” (pp. 80–81).

Observational-based research is an almost non-existent—though most appropriate and essential—area of research that could greatly inform group dynamics and motivation in SLA. The four following studies of (1) language learners’ silence within the classroom, (2) interrelations among willingness to communicate, actual classroom communications, and L2 motivation, (3) an international student’s TL-mediated socializing in the host community, and (4) language learners’ (collaborative) autoethnography within the classroom illustrate the potential worth of going the extra distance to bring observational data into study designs. These studies offer rare examples that require high levels of originality in mixed methods research, considerable investments of time and financial resources, and special access to learner groups. Importantly, the results from these studies offer initial evidence of social learning phenomena that, prior to their publication, had only been assumed by theory or common assumptions, without careful observational testing. In sum, these studies focused on group interactions in language learning by direct observation, and reported on quantitative and qualitative features of group dynamics.

College students in English classrooms across Japan were notorious for their recalcitrance and reluctance to participate, but the evidence was merely anecdotal. King (2013) set out to discover exactly how silent these students could be, visiting 30 distinct classrooms across six universities. He quietly sat off on the side during 48 classroom sessions and studiously mapped the seating positions of all classroom members and kept notes of their behaviors.

King ended up with 48 hours of audio recordings involving 924 students and their teachers interacting within their whole-classroom group. Then he analyzed the data minute-by-minute using an original coding approach termed the *Classroom Oral Participation Scheme* (COPS). It was designed to be flexible in measuring “who is speaking within the classroom and how the interaction is organized” (p. 330). King’s persistence paid off by establishing, for the first time in hard data, what had been known by teachers but not shown by systematic investigation: That Japanese college students in English classrooms do indeed seem to keep predominantly silent. And when not silent—at least based on this large-scale data set—students were chiefly engaged in off-task, raucous L1 banter. Student-initiated talk in the L2 was found to be as little as less than 1% of the total recording time. King concludes that student silence appears to be a culturally-generated, semi-permanent feature of L2 classrooms in this particular socio-cultural educational environment. Certainly, further observational-based research into group dynamics and motivation is important for developing pedagogical counter-measures to break this classroom group silence.

A desire to speak with others, called *willingness to communicate* (WTC) (MacIntyre, Dörnyei, Clément, & Noels, 1998), had long been considered a significant motivating factor, as established solely through L2 learner self-reports. But these learner beliefs had not been observationally verified as relating to actual communicative behaviors until Munezane (2016) conducted her innovative study. She made audio recordings of 372 learners discussing in small groups during L2 classroom tasks at three different time periods across one semester. She quantified their L2 output by counting the number of words spoken, measured their self-reported levels of WTC, and ran the data through an SEM analysis, which included the students’ self-reported levels of their ideal future L2 self. This was the first study to verify two important points. First, self-reported WTC does correspond with actual communicative behavior, and second, WTC predicts actual L2 use within group discussions. Moreover, for this data set and research design, it was determined that the desire to be socially connected and interact in the L2 with classmates in the immediate present had a more direct influence upon motivated L2 use than did the strength of the learners’ future self images. However, the greater their sense of having an ideal future L2 self, the more they desired to communicate, and actually did, in their L2 with each other in their present peer groups.

The research literature provides plenty of evidence that students who go overseas to study L2 abroad actually do not have many opportunities to socialize in their L2 outside of class, and indeed, face social marginalization from

others within the host community, which can contribute to their own potential insecurities and reluctance to socially mingle. Fukada (2018) tracked the progress of a South Korean graduate student of music in Hawaii, from feeling excluded among the social circles within her L2 classroom as a student and her own classroom as a music teacher to agentively co-constructing social networks with others who included her participation and increased her opportunities for L2-mediated socializing. Applying ethnographic practices, Fukada integrated interview data from multiple participants within her social network, including the graduate student herself, with observational data gathered from inside an L2 class and outside. The findings indicate that despite initial instances of neglect or rejection, international students living within their host communities can create ways to become socially engaged in groups and use their L2. These groups disregard and cross borders defined by ethnic, racial, religious, and class identities by building upon shared interests, activities, and goals, doing so within a common ground of participation known as an *affinity space* (Gee, 2004).

We can expand possibilities of group dynamics and L2 motivation research even further in another aspect: Language learners themselves can be involved in the research, not as participants but as researchers, as language-learning autoethnographers. “Autoethnographies ... follow the tradition of ethnographic research” (Duncan, 2004, p. 29). They can conduct observation and journal-writing to record what they observed, focusing on their “personal experiences and dialogues regarding [themselves] or [their] interaction with others” (Gurvitch, Carson, & Beale, 2008, p. 249) within a group or groups in the language classroom. Language learners’ autoethnographies can reveal students’ own voices as insiders (Dyson, 2007) of the language-learning group, and enable their reflecting on effective ways of promoting group-forming or agentive learning or socializing within the group (e.g., Fukada, 2017). This, as a result, can lead the autoethnographers to their taking actions to make better changes in themselves (i.e., personal transformation) or in their groups (i.e., group change). The process has been described as pedagogical metamorphosis (Belbase, Luitel, & Taylor, 2008) or conscientization (Austin & Hickey, 2007). While language learners would need some support from their teachers in conducting their autoethnographies, utilizing a preformatted observation sheet (e.g., Schmuck & Schmuck, 2001) could facilitate language learners’ engagement in such self-reflective research. In addition, they could share each other’s findings and explore better language-learning groups together as *collaborative autoethnography* (Chang, Ngunjiri, & Hernandez, 2013) or as a group activity, task, or project.

Using Theories of Group Dynamics to Strengthen Student Motivation in the Classroom

Students just arriving in new classrooms with new groups may not feel connected to the others in the class and may need caring attention to help them become more familiar with each other, to connect and bond, and to become group-sensitive. Attributes such as physical attraction, perceived ability and competence, as well as similarities in attitudes, personalities, hobbies, living conditions, and economic and family status can help form interpersonal attractions during initial stages of group formation (Schmuck & Schmuck, 2001). Over time, though, these superficial attractions may become enriched by a sense of group identity and belonging, and then comes a deeper sense of acceptance. Such feelings “could be compared to how we may feel toward a relative, for example, an aunt or an uncle, who has his or her shortcomings but whom we know well and is one of us” (Dörnyei & Malderez, 1997, p. 69). When students are allowed to learn about each other personally, they are not only increasing their chances of gaining interpersonal acceptance, but they are learning how to get along and interact with each other for the classroom goal of language learning (Dörnyei & Malderez, 1999). In this way students can become comfortable in learning about the invisible group of the classroom, or the unspoken “rules or standards that describe behaviour that is essential for the efficient functioning of the group” and “internalize a norm so that it becomes a part of the group’s total value system” (Dörnyei & Malderez, 1997, p. 69).

Cooperative learning (CL) is an established instructional approach that “has been rooted in a social psychological approach to the studying of small groups” (Ehrman & Dörnyei, 1998, p. 245). Dörnyei and Malderez (1999) explain that “this instructional approach is entirely based on the understanding and positive exploration of classroom dynamics” (p. 158). Johnson and Johnson (1995) have been notably instrumental in providing specific steps for teachers of all subjects to follow cooperative learning methods, which, from a language learning perspective, are expected to promote students’ group cohesiveness and mutual interactions, and to strengthen each individual student’s L2 motivation (Ehrman & Dörnyei, 1998).

Situated learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991), which is sometimes categorized as *collaborative learning* (Oxford, 1997), is “more philosophically oriented” (Oxford, 1997, p. 452) to social constructivist learning methodologies proposed by theorists such as Dewey, Vygotsky, and Leontiev (Ehrman & Dörnyei, 1998; Oxford, 1997). Situated learning theory explicates people’s

learning of various skills and knowledge in relation with others with different backgrounds through engaging themselves in certain practices in which their learning skills or knowledge are embedded. The group of people is perceived as a productive community which is recognized as a *community of practice* (CoP). The CoP consists of both old timers and newcomers or more competent and less competent peers. The former has more knowledge and skills related to their engaging practices within the CoP, and newcomers learn the embedded knowledge or skills by peripherally observing old-timers' engagement in the practices, or by receiving coaching or practice time from them (Ehrman & Dörnyei, 1998). This assisted mode of apprenticing is known as *scaffolding* (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Classmates can scaffold each other and become each other's models as learners in a practice termed *near peer role modeling* (Murphey & Arao, 2001).

Oxford (1997) muses that such mutual assistance in learning, "when compared with cooperative L2 learning, seems less technique-oriented, less prescriptive, and more concerned with acculturation into the learning community" (p. 449). She also wonders as to what extent these instructional approaches can be employed in the same L2 classroom, and as to what degree these approaches clash or overlap, noting that these potential limitations have not yet been clarified (Oxford, 1997). However, situated learning could occur in a cooperative language-learning environment, as Ehrman and Dörnyei (1998) state "interpersonal and group dynamics in conventional classrooms often result in situated learning when they are permitted to play out as in the kind of cooperative learning" (p. 260). They note, however, that "non-exploitative apprenticeship mechanisms tend to be very time-consuming" (p. 260). Because of this constraint, Donald Freeman (personal communication, June, 1996 introduced in Ehrman & Dörnyei, 1998) points out that, in addition to modeling classroom interaction upon a CoP, there is also cause for a Community of Explanation, meaning that expert instruction still must be explicit and provided with aplomb.

The teacher is arguably the most influential member upon group dynamics in the classroom. Three traditional leadership styles are autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire (Lewin, Lippitt, & White, 1939), but to promote positive group dynamics for students in classrooms, traditional authoritarian or autocratic teaching approaches are not always desirable. Teachers lead better in groups as facilitators, adopting "a more 'democratic' teaching style" (Dörnyei, 1997, p. 486). Dörnyei and Murphey (2003) propose that most students actually need various teaching styles to remain motivated during different times. Students seem more motivated with a somewhat autocratic style at the beginning of a course and want to know what to do. But at the same

time or soon after they like to have choices and to enjoy an increasingly democratic class in which their opinions are considered. Near the end of a term, a more autonomous or *laissez-faire* style is appropriate, in which more responsibility is passed over to the students.

Teachers as group leaders need to commit to the group. Dörnyei and Malderez (1997) state that the most important aspect of the teacher as group leader is that “the teacher embodies group conscience; we can say with some exaggeration that the group’s disposition and commitment to the group goals and norms will follow that of the teacher” (p. 75). That is, if teachers do not commit to the group, students will not. Dörnyei and Murphey (2003) also championed Rogers’s (1961) three attributes of the effective facilitator: Empathic ability, which can be described as “the ability to get on the same wavelength as the students and to be sensitive to the group atmosphere” (Dörnyei & Malderez, 1997, p. 76), acceptance of members, which means including even troublesome students as belonging to the group, and congruence, which refers to “the teacher’s ability to live, to be, and to communicate according to his/her true self” (Dörnyei & Malderez, 1997, p. 76).

For further practical ways of encouraging positive group dynamics both inside and outside the formal classroom, the following last thoughts, procedures, and resources may be useful. Dörnyei and Malderez (1997) provide a long list (pp. 77–79) of suggestions that can help teachers be mindful toward sowing the seeds of positive group dynamics in their classrooms, starting with “Spend some time consciously on group processes” (p. 77) and “Value every member equally as a contributor to group resources” (p. 77). Ehrman and Dörnyei (1998) include in their book a chapter titled *Lessons for the Teacher* (pp. 211–244), which offers advice for possible social roles, values, and skills that teachers can cultivate with conscious practice, as well as concrete countermeasures to alleviate interpersonal conflict between students, which is said to be unavoidable in the process of the group formation. Hadfield (1992) introduces in her resource book many activities which are useful at the three stages of a course: Forming the group, maintaining the group, and ending the group experience. Dörnyei and Murphey (2003) also provide practical guidelines for each stage of a course that can be invaluable for teachers who wish to instill positive group processes among students. Falout (2014) asserts that whole-class circular seating is crucial in helping students gain a sense of group belonging, and provides sound reasons and practical ways for including circular seating in classrooms. Lastly, Fukada, Falout, Fukuda, and Murphey (2019) introduce their original concept and procedure of using the *Ideal Classmate’s Prompt*—“Please describe a group of classmates that you could learn English well with. What would you all do to help each other learn better

and more enjoyably?”—for helping students to actively explore interacting in the cooperative learner behaviors that they have suggested for themselves and value.

Conclusion

The interpersonal interaction imperative tells teachers and researchers that language learning in groups can be productive in many general ways as students begin to learn to help each other more and become sensitive to individual and group needs, as well as developing their own interactional competence and willingness to engage with others. The diverse identities that develop in diverse groups need more in-depth research, as do the changes people make in their perspectives, neurologies, and biologies to increase sociality, well-being, and connectedness. It is quite possible that the group dynamics in which language learners are situated override many of the motivational components of individual differences studied in SLA today. This chapter has reviewed the conventional bases of motivational group dynamics in SLA, but a call seems to be in order for inviting new paradigms of research and understanding, as might be informed by advances made in fields such as anthropology, neurobiology and sociobiology. Hari's (2018) *Lost Connections* offers a recent political, pedagogical, and psycho-social understanding of the danger of not connecting into social groups, and the benefits of belonging and positive group dynamics. Without human connectedness, the meaningfulness of our very lives, as well as our language learning, can be lost. This is the interpersonal interaction imperative that points to motivational group dynamics, better lives and better learning environments.

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16

Motivation and Projects

Christine Muir

Project work is experiencing a renaissance in educational contexts worldwide. Projects have a long history in second language (L2) education, yet are implemented inconsistently and have received significant variation in their reported success and effectiveness (Beckett, 2002). Part of the reason for this stems from a paucity of empirical research into projects in this context. Understanding related to how to best exploit the motivational possibilities of projects remains limited, and even where research is available it is often situated in specific educational environments. This chapter will begin by offering a definition of the term ‘projects’ and a brief critique, before giving a short overview of projects in the L2 classroom. The chapter will then examine key motivational aspects of projects and conclude by highlighting under-researched areas, laying out an agenda for future research.

What Is a Project?

Among different contexts and teaching traditions, the generic term ‘projects’ can be found to describe a variety of approaches. Stoller (2006, p. 21) highlights just some of the variation in terminology:

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- Experiential and negotiated language learning (e.g. Eyring, 2001; Legutke & Thomas, 1991; Padgett, 1994)
- Investigative research (e.g. Kenny, 1993)
- Problem-Based Learning (e.g. Savoie & Hughes, 1994; Wood & Head, 2004)
- Project approach or project-based approach (e.g. Levis & Levis, 2003; Papandreou, 1994)
- Project work (e.g. Fried-Booth, 2002; Haines, 1989; Henry, 1994; Phillips, Burwood, & Dunford, 1999)

Some approaches have distinctive hallmarks. For example, Problem-Based Learning is always based around a central problem to be solved. However, regardless of terminology, all projects can be understood to involve collaborative learning, to be process oriented and to result in tangible products (Park & Hiver, 2017). This focus on process is underlined by Blumenfeld et al. (1991), who define the artefact (a term they use synonymously with product) produced at the end of a project, as a “sharable and critiquable externalization of students’ cognitive work in classrooms [... denoting] that the results of student’s cognitive work proceed through intermediate phases and are continuously subject to revision and improvement” (pp. 370–371).

In the context of language teaching and learning, projects have been defined as, “A unit of work involving constructive thought and action in connection with learning, including a goal, a series of actions (activities or tasks) and a pre-defined sequence” (Tremblay, Duplantie, & Hout, 1990, pp. 58–59). Other authors focus their definitions on the separate stages which might be included in a project:

...a project is defined as a long-term (several weeks) activity that involves a variety of individual or cooperative tasks such as developing a research plan and questions, and implementing the plan through empirical or document research that includes collecting, analyzing, and reporting data orally and/or in writing. (Beckett, 2002, p. 54)

Henry (1994) stresses instead that a definition might rather be built from a recognition of what must be in place for a project to be successful. This practical reasoning is one which makes intuitive sense, particularly in light of the fact that projects are so highly dependent on the context in which they are implemented. Stoller (2006) offers one such characterisation:

...a definition is attempted by specifying the numerous conditions that should be present for effective project-based learning to take place: Project-based learning should (a) have a process and product orientation; (b) be defined, at least in part, by students, to encourage student ownership in the project; (c) extend over a period of time (rather than a single class session); (d) encourage the natural integration of skills; (e) make a dual commitment to language and content learning; (f) oblige students to work in groups and on their own; (g) require students to take some responsibility for their own learning through the gathering, processing, and reporting of information from target language resources; (h) require teachers and students to assume new roles and responsibilities (Levy, 1997); (i) result in a tangible final product; and (j) conclude with student reflections on both the process and the product. (pp. 23–24)

A Brief Critique of Projects

Any discussion of projects is not complete without acknowledging their long history within education, and their variable reception. In the context of general education, a recent voice questioning the pedagogical value of projects has been that of Christodoulou (2014), who makes a strong case to argue in favour of the importance of teaching ‘facts’. She stresses that it is vital to ensure students leave school not only with developed soft skills (such as communication and teamwork), but also a core and robust knowledge base. In the context of the UK education system, Christodoulou argues that “grammatical knowledge, which is one of the most fundamental bodies of knowledge you need to be able to write well, is barely taught” (p. 103). The same cannot be said, however, of many second language classrooms. Here, a heavy reliance on grammar teaching and a focus on accuracy can often come at the cost of opportunities for students to develop the skills necessary to put this knowledge to practical use.

In the context of L2 classrooms, two often heard complaints relate to the relevance and additional workload of projects. Students have perceived projects as not “worthwhile pursuits in ESL classes”, and even that projects have distracted them from their ‘real’ education (Beckett & Slater, 2005, p. 109). However, there is evidence that such evaluations may be founded in poor project design and insufficient structure and support for learners. Dupuy (2006) reports student dissatisfaction stemming not from the workload itself, but rather from their perceived feelings of not being able to capitalise on the opportunity. That is, although students’ initial motivation might be high, it can quickly dampen.

Further complications arise when considering teachers' capacity and preparedness to facilitate projects, leading to "hybrid" methods of project teaching. In such instances, teachers might ask students to collaborate on a project, but themselves continue to carry on in the same role as in a traditional teacher-fronted classroom (Mitchell, Foulger, Wetzel, & Rathkey, 2009) or to present the project idea to students in a way "that reduces the need for student thought" (Blumenfeld et al., 1991, p. 375). It is of note that teachers themselves report a lack of sufficient training in order to be able to lead effective project work in their classrooms (Guo, 2006), and that variation in implementation can lead to considerably different outcomes (e.g. Turnbull, 1999). Even where teachers are willing to try to implement projects, it is clear that a lack of training and experience can lead to wide variation in the motivational and educational outcomes. As Blumenfeld et al. (1991, p. 373) conclude: "We submit that projects were developed and disseminated without sufficient appreciation for the complex nature of student motivation and knowledge required to engage in cognitively difficult work."

What is likewise clear is that in some instances projects are able to facilitate remarkable learning opportunities. In the wider context of general education, projects have been used to inspire students who might be educationally disadvantaged (e.g. minority groups) to engage with maths and engineering, and to realise previously 'untapped' potential (Gallagher & Gallagher, 2013). In the context of L2 classrooms, projects are able to create situations where unexpected learning can take place. Hilton-Jones (1988) reported one such unintended gain as students understanding more clearly their strengths and weaknesses as language learners. Similarly, Tessema (2005) found that students demanded far greater levels of clarification and feedback for accuracy in the production of their written work (thus demonstrating increased autonomy and self-directed learning). Muir, Florent, and Leach (*under review*; see also Muir, *in press*) also found evidence of developed learner autonomy, and an increase in demands from students for specific language that they realised they needed in order to complete particular tasks. Further reported gains from projects have been the development of students' ideal L2 selves, regulation of their L2 anxiety, and positive effects on levels of L2 self-efficacy (Park & Hiver, 2017).

From a motivational perspective, projects likewise offer considerable potential. Dörnyei, Henry, and Muir (2016) have argued that "There is a convergence of accounts in the literature suggesting that successful group projects are capable of energizing and empowering groups in a way seldom otherwise possible in a classroom context" (p. 151). Indeed, the project literature is peppered with examples of the motivational benefits of projects and the uniquely

high levels of motivation that they can create. Jakar (2006) reported on the atmosphere during the final ‘exhibition day’ of a project in Israel attended by parents and grandparents of children in the class. She writes that students were “‘high’ on self-esteem”, how there was “obvious joy” in the classroom, and how students’ “delight in their achievements was contagious” (p. 187). Highly reminiscent of group flow (Shernoff, Abdi, Anderson, & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014), experiences of successful projects in language classrooms can occasionally verge on the euphoric (Dörnyei et al., 2016).

It is indisputable that some projects have the ability to support extraordinarily motivated learning. But, what are the motivational processes at play, and why is it that only some projects facilitate this? Following a brief overview of projects in the L2 classroom, the chapter will then turn to address these questions.

Projects in L2 Education

The initial goal of project-based instruction in L2 classrooms centred on facilitating increased opportunities for the development of communicative competencies (Fried-Booth, 2002; Haines, 1989). Beckett (2002) argues that projects were first introduced into L2 classrooms as a response “to perceived inadequacies in Krashen’s (1981) input hypothesis” (p. 53), and that they were popularised by Swain’s (1985) demonstration of the equal importance of comprehensible output for language acquisition. Jakar (2006) highlights two neat illustrations of projects in the language classroom: the ‘Bread Project’, in which students researched the different types of bread enjoyed by the different cultures found within the class (and where the focus was on form and language structure in recipes, posters and narratives), and the ‘Peacefolks Project’, which culminated in students penning a short vignette from the perspective of one of a multicultural group of residents residing in a ‘Forest of Peace’. Here, the focus was on developing different written narratives, and developing students’ speaking skills through interviews, with a particular focus on question formation.

A more recent example is Muir et al.’s (under review, see also Muir, in press) description of a project with a group of business English students which challenged them to organise and run a charity fundraising event. The project required them, among other things, to pitch their ideas to school management and local businesses, to raise various forms of sponsorship, to put together suitable advertising materials and to roll out a full marketing campaign, as well as encouraging attendance and interacting with

visitors on the day of the fundraising event itself. The focus was on creating opportunities for students to develop fluency and communicative competence. Clear evidence was found of students' investment of considerable amounts of effort and time (their goal being constantly on their minds), of students surpassing their initial expectations, and their experiencing it as something special and unique (Muir, *in press*). All of these features indicate the experience of a Directed Motivational Current (Dörnyei et al., 2016).

Directed Motivational Currents (DMC) have been a recent development in L2 motivation theory (Dörnyei et al., 2016; see also Henry, this volume). DMCs describe periods of highly motivated behaviour towards a personally relevant goal, during which individuals operate on a motivational level over and above what they may usually feel capable of. They are also characterised by a strong positive emotionality (see MacIntyre, Ross & Clément, this volume). DMCs can be experienced by individuals or groups, and in L2 classrooms group DMCs can evolve organically during project work. Significantly, initial empirical findings also indicate that the purposeful facilitation of this type of strong motivational current is a tangible possibility (Muir, *in press*; Muir et al., *under review*). Over a decade ago Beckett (2002, 2006) argued that the possibilities of project-based learning in L2 classrooms were yet to be fully realised, and this call for further research has again been echoed by Dörnyei et al. (2016).

Motivational Aspects of Projects

The chapter will now turn to highlight some of the key motivational underpinnings of projects. It will focus on four areas of particular relevance: project goals and learner centred content, project structure, collaboration, and assessment and feedback.

Project Goals and Learner Centred Content

A motivational project is predicated on an explicit, pre-defined goal to provide both focus and cohesion to students' efforts (Dörnyei et al., 2016). In mainstream motivational psychology, *goal setting theory* (Locke & Latham, 1990, 2006) has looked at variation in performance differences between individuals by way of *goal attributes*, with three in particular receiving considerable focus: *specificity*, *difficulty* and *goal commitment*. The conclusions of a substantial body of work indicate the following:

1. The more difficult the goal, the greater the achievement.
2. The more specific or explicit the goal, the more precisely it can regulate performance.
3. Goals that are both specific and difficult lead to the highest performance.
4. Commitment to goals is most critical when goals are specific and difficult (i.e., when goals are easy or vague it is easy to inspire commitment: it does not require much dedication to reach easy goals, and vague goals can be easily redefined to accommodate low performance).
5. High commitment to goals is attained when (a) the individual is convinced that the goal is important; and (b) the individual is convinced that the goal is attainable (or that, at least, sufficient progress can be made toward it). (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 20; Locke, 1996).

Several other goal dimensions are also relevant. It has been demonstrated that goals are most motivating if they are not only self-determined, but also if they are self-concordant (Sheldon & Elliot, 1998, 1999; Sheldon & Houser-Marko, 2001). A self-concordant goal is one that connects with an individual's core identity or beliefs, for example someone studying a language to be able to fulfil their desired identity as a multilingual global citizen (Dörnyei et al., 2016).

Goal content is likewise critical. Interest has long been identified as a powerful motivational conglomerate, able to traverse motivational, cognitive and affective dimensions (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). Learner-centred content is also a central motivating principle in many different theories and approaches related to language teaching and learning. The notion of relevance is a key maxim within the Principled Communicative Approach (Arnold, Dörnyei, & Pugliese, 2015), where the first tenet is that teaching “should be meaning-focused and personally significant as a whole” (p. 10). Relating content to learners' personal experiences and lives outside of the classroom has been empirically linked to positive motivational outcomes (Alrabai, 2016; Moskovsky, Alrabai, Paolini, & Ratcheva, 2013; Poupore, 2014).

Poupore (2014) highlights that the extensive body of research into Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) has focused little on the content and design of task characteristics with regards their effect on motivation, and the same critique may be fairly made of projects. A recent study by Henry, Korp, Sundqvist, and Thorsen (2018) sought to address this by analysing specific activities described by teachers as being particularly motivational. Two key findings emerged. First, activities were described as motivational if they allowed students to work in ways they felt to be authentic. This was often connected to the use of authentic materials, defined by the authors as “cultural

artefacts produced for a purpose other than teaching” (p. 254). Linked with the notion of self-concordance highlighted above, this taps into the important motivating function of self-authenticity (Gecas, 1991; Vannini, 2006; Vannini & Burgess, 2009). Such an approach can also facilitate students’ engagement with their transportable identities. A learner’s transportable identity encompasses all aspects of themselves that makes them who they are. Allowing students to act in this way in the language classroom can have a significant positive impact on student engagement and motivation (Ushioda, 2011a, 2011b). Henry’s work (Henry, 2013, 2014; Henry & Cliffordson, 2017) has demonstrated that this is especially important when learning English in contexts where the language is widely encountered in the immediate environment outside of the classroom, where the disconnect between students’ use of English in and out of school can be particularly marked.

The second characteristic emerged from Henry et al.’s (2018) study is the importance of creativity in the motivational activities teachers described, and the use of technology to help achieve this. The authors further investigated Dörnyei et al.’s (2016) claim that the inclusion of an external audience was key to increasing the motivational pull of project goals and levels of accountability for learners. They found that although some activities did culminate in students presenting their work to people outside of the immediate classroom context, the majority of the activities that were described remained within the class group. It is important to note that even though Henry et al.’s paper is presented in terms of classroom activities, many of them involved extended learning sequences akin to projects.

It is inescapable that many of the references given so far are rooted in the context of learning English; the considerable bias in the field of motivation research in English speaking contexts (Boo, Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015) is likewise evident with regard to projects. However, it may be that project work is ideally suited to engage learners of languages other than English (LOTEs). High proficiency in LOTEs often stems from clear personal goals (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017). For example, in the context of heritage language learning, a strong personal goal lies at the heart of a ‘rooted L2 self’ (MacIntyre, Baker, & Sparling, 2017). A rooted L2 self is “defined by connections to place and speakers of the language”; it links with deep-seated beliefs and group members are bound together with strong emotional ties (p. 501). The community-level motivational processes therefore at play may provide an excellent basis for the development of highly authentic project goals. Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017, pp. 462–463) argue that “long term LOTE learning may only be successful if students have had the opportunity to construct aspects of their narrative identities that support their unique language-learning enterprise”.

Well-designed project goals might provide a unique possibility in the classroom to help them to achieve this.

Project Structure as a Pre-requisite for Self-Regulated Learning

A well-crafted project goal is not sufficient to ensure motivated action; a clearly defined ongoing structure is likewise critical. The motivational role of proximal subgoals is well established in this regard, and their relevance has been demonstrated in multiple contexts, both within and outside the field of education (e.g. Bandura & Schunk, 1981; Bandura & Simon, 1977).

Several project frameworks can be found in the context of language learning, the most fully expanded of which being that put forward by Beckett and Slater (2005). Their *Project Framework* is made up of six discrete components. This includes a *planning graphic*, a visual display summarising specific knowledge and skills targeted by each aspect of the project. This is laid out in three sections: (a) Language (forms, functions), (b) Content, and (c) Skills, the purpose being that students can see exactly the aims and rationale for each project stage. Another component of their framework is a *project diary*, a weekly summarisation task to give students space to reflect on what they have achieved throughout the week, and what is yet to be done. This diary also functions as a planner for the following week. This clear structure, laid out to students in full at the start of a project, is key for them to be able to take ownership of the process.

In tandem with bringing authentic materials into the classroom noted above, there is also growing evidence that teachers are increasingly engaging in their own activity design (Henry et al., 2018; Hughes, 2017). This is something particularly common to many L2 projects, not only because teachers wish to incorporate relevant authentic materials to better motivate their learners, but also due to a lack of published resources. This need is further underscored by the fact that when resources do exist, the possibilities to transfer them between classrooms and contexts can be limited. Generally, teachers often lack both time and the skills to be able to utilise authentic materials in a way that will both motivate and be educationally beneficial to L2 learners (Henry et al., 2018). Furthermore, even where teachers are in tune with research findings, there is as yet little support available to guide them in designing a well-structured motivational project which can support students' learning. This is an important issue and an area where further research is needed.

Group Work and Collaboration

One of the key differences between projects and more traditional classroom activities is the significantly increased level of collaboration required of students. Cooperative learning describes learning sequences in which students work in groups to achieve a collaborative outcome. Cooperative learning is capable of generating powerful ‘motivational systems’ which can energise positive learning behaviours (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 28). Not only can cooperative learning increase motivation, but it has also been linked to better student-student and teacher-student relationships (Dörnyei, 1997). Although little is known about the exact ways in which student motivation is impacted by teacher-student interaction (Henry & Thorsen, 2018), in an initial step to investigate this phenomenon Henry and Thorsen argue that positive teacher-student relationships can have a positive influence on students’ motivation. Although this line of research remains in its infancy, it is clear that positive teacher-student relationships play a significant role in encouraging and supporting students during project work, and that teachers can actively inspire motivation (Lamb, 2017).

Positive group dynamics are key for all classroom teaching (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003, see also Fukada et al., this volume), and when strong positive dynamics emerge—such as within the social units in cooperative classrooms—levels of motivation “can significantly exceed the motivational level the individuals would have demonstrated if they had remained independent” (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 28). In collaborative projects, group rather than individual processes of motivation govern action. In this context, processes of contagion—the catching or ‘infection’ of the cognitions and emotions of others—play an important role (Barsade, 2002). Ripple effects occur, whereby the enthusiasm and positive emotional state of one group member can infuse the group with a similar emotion. It is through this process of emotional contagion that “belonging to a group offers access to resources that are not available to individual learners” (Murphey, Falout, Fukada, & Fukuda, 2012, p. 225). Murphey and colleagues go on to discuss the importance of the idea of ‘collaborative agency’ (p. 226). They highlight the fact that agency is not only context specific, but continually subject to co-construction and renegotiation, and that involvement in a positive group can lead to increased opportunities for this to occur (see also Fukada et al., this volume and Dörnyei et al., 2016).

A culture of collaboration can also provide an excellent foundation for other motivational processes to flourish, such as near peer role modelling

(Murphey & Arao, 2001; Murphey & Murakami, 1998). It is important to note, however, that before any of these group motivational processes might emerge during a project, there is a set of basic classroom conditions that first must be met. These primarily relate to the positive development of clear and productive group roles and norms, group maturity, and group cohesiveness (Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003). A strong interplay likewise exists between the social dynamics of a group and the physical environment in which it is situated. Thus, an important consideration is providing learners with an optimal learning environment (see Shernoff & Anderson, 2014).

Assessment and Feedback

Learning and teaching through projects is markedly different to that of more traditional methodologies, and modified approaches to assessment are required. Although important in all learning contexts, the issue of assessment is particularly acute when projects are introduced in contexts with a prominent emphasis on successful exam achievement (e.g. China: Fang & Warschauer, 2004; Guo, 2006). Ensuring effective assessment is key to establishing and supporting the position and status of projects in L2 classrooms, and to challenge the fact that projects have historically been—and often still are—only used in instances where subject content is not examined (van Lier, 2006). Project assessment remains a highly contentious issue, and a more detailed discussion than can be offered here can be found in Slater, Beckett, and Aufderhaar (2006). As Grant (2011, p. 65) stresses: “If project-based learning is to offer a valuable alternative to teacher-centred instruction, then the rigor of learning cannot be called into question.”

Projects are very different to traditional classrooms, and demotivation can occur when students do not understand how they can succeed in this unfamiliar learning environment (Savin-Baden & Howell Major, 2004). In addition to detailed assessment rubrics, another practical way ‘high achievement’ can be demonstrated is through the use of *examples of excellence* (Patton, 2012). Here, students are presented with examples of past project solutions or details of previous events as the basis for a critique of their strengths and weaknesses. In their development of an intensive group project, Muir et al. (under review) include a small scale ‘trial run’ in the first week of a four-week project in which students were challenged to organise a fundraising event. This tangible experience of what students were being asked to do was key to triggering the initial flow of motivation. Such physical demonstrations can

also serve to help students visualise their own success, so adding a further sensory element to the final goal (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014).

In addition to summative feedback, formative feedback is also a key motivating feature within projects, and a detailed project structure can also create regular feedback opportunities from both teachers and peers. From a motivational perspective, the most important type of feedback as a project progresses is that which is focused on *progress*. Progress—or affirmative—feedback focuses on achievements already accomplished, and highlights the positive differences between initial and current levels of performance. This can be contrasted with discrepancy feedback, which focuses on that which is still yet to be achieved (Voerman, Meijer, Korthagen, & Simons, 2012; see further Dörnyei et al., 2016).

Future Research Directions

Some calls for further research have already been highlighted above. This final section adds several additional areas where knowledge about motivation and projects in language classrooms could valuably be extended.

Reflecting Ushioda's (2016) recent call for L2 motivation research that is conducted 'through a small lens', a particularly productive direction for further research would be to look at the ways motivation is generated as projects unfold. As Ushioda argues, this would allow us "to understand more clearly how motivation connects with specific aspects of SLA or specific features of linguistic development" (2016, p. 567). In the context of projects, where criticism has been made of their academic rigour, this is particularly important. Several of the research tasks Ushioda suggests are directly relevant. For example, investigating "how learners co-construct their motivation to think through problems and difficulties in collaborative language tasks" (Research task 5, p. 571), and investigating the motivations of teachers and students during 'critical events' in a lesson (Research tasks 6 and 7) would be of particular value. Successful group work is critical for the emergence of many of the motivational processes discussed in this chapter, and a more specific understanding of critical events during a project—both positive and negative—could provide research-based evidence to better equip teachers to be able to manage and support the motivational energy that emerges during project work.

Although potentially engaging for all students, in the context of general education projects have been demonstrated as particularly effective when partnered with the enquiry-oriented learning style often seen in academically

able students (Gallagher, 2008; Sak, 2004). Research into flow has likewise highlighted the fact that some people are more likely to experience it than others (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975; see Dörnyei et al., 2016) and that some language learning tasks themselves are more likely to facilitate flow, for example when they allow for authentic personal interaction with native speakers (Egbert, 2003; see also Piniel & Albert, this volume). Research into the motivation of different student groups, at different levels, and of learners varying on individual difference factors such as age or introversion/extraversion will therefore aid the design and implementation of projects with varied goals, to be able to more consistently support the emergence of motivation.

Reflecting the turn in recent years to emphasise the dynamic, situated and temporally mediated nature of language learning motivation (cf. Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015), further research is also needed into the *group level* motivational processes at play during projects. Poupore (2016) has recently introduced a new methodological tool to measure ‘group work dynamic/GWD’, which he defines as distinct from group cohesiveness as something that “goes beyond just the ‘closeness’ of the group and includes a sense of accomplishment and goal-directedness, which may not be present in a cohesive group” (p. 742). An exploratory study, it provides an interesting new approach to data collection by means other than self-report. Research would be welcome to assess the generalisability of Poupore’s findings to other contexts, and also to focus on specific issues these results have brought to the fore, for example the importance of non-verbal communication. This latter focus would also sit hand-in-hand with the call elsewhere for a greater focus on unconscious motives (Al-Hoorie, 2016a, 2016b). Lastly, research is also needed in relation to other group processes which can underpin student motivation. These include, group flow (Shernoff et al., 2014), collective agency (Murphey et al., 2012), directed motivational currents (Dörnyei et al., 2016) and more generally related issues evolving from recent work investigating positive psychology in SLA, such as student emotions (e.g. MacIntyre, Gregersen, & Mercer, 2016).

In addition to looking at group processes and a group’s collective motivational trajectory, focus is also needed on *individual* motivational experiences. A second recent study of note is therefore Park and Hiver (2017). The authors tracked students’ motivational trajectories while completing a project in an English classroom in Korea, focusing in particular on their L2 anxiety, self-efficacy and their ideal L2 selves. Vision and imagery have been posited as ways to enhance the motivational power of the Ideal L2 self (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014), and Park and Hiver posit that projects “may be one such instructional method for developing this productive motivational imagery”

(p. 61). This initial investigation into individual motivational trajectories might therefore valuably be followed up in different contexts, in the context of LOTEs, and might also investigate the motivational implications of students learning not only an L2, but an L3 or Lx.

Finally, research into projects has traditionally favoured the perspective of teachers/observers, and this has sometimes served to positively skew results by clouding more variable student perceptions (Beckett, 2002). Balance is needed in capturing the complexities of both teacher and student motivational experiences throughout projects, and of the impact of motivational projects on teacher-student relationships themselves (Henry & Thorsen, 2018). This does not downplay the importance of teachers' insight. This remains underrepresented in the field as a whole, and action research/exploratory practice has the potential to contribute valuable knowledge (Ushioda, 2016): this call is equally relevant in the context of language learning projects.

Conclusion

Projects can provide language learners with unparalleled motivational experiences. The collaboration students are required to embrace during project work can create the basis for powerful group motivational processes to emerge, and this can push students not only to invest over and above in terms of time and effort, but also to surpass their expectations and create both lasting memories and positively revised future language goals. While the popularity of projects in broad educational domains has created a research base from which our field has been able to draw, dedicated research specific to the language classroom is now required to drive this agenda forwards and to fully capitalise on the motivational opportunities offered by projects. Although there currently exist more questions than answers, evidence to date indicates that there is much to gain from taking up the mantle, and that language learners worldwide can benefit greatly from the motivational affordances of group projects.

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17

Motivation in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) Research

David Lasagabaster

Broadly speaking, CLIL can be defined as an additive bilingual programme in which a language other than the students' L1 is used as the medium of instruction. However, in this chapter this acronym will only be applied to programmes in which a foreign language is the means of instruction, since CLIL languages are mainly international *linguae francae* (Dalton-Puffer, Llinares, Lorenzo, & Nikula, 2014) which are not the usual language of communication outside school. CLIL is therefore an instructional approach that makes “a dual, though not necessarily equal, commitment to language and content-learning objectives” (Stoller, 2008, p. 59).

As research clearly indicates that in higher education institutions there is no dual-focus on language and content (Macaro, Hultgren, Kirkpatrick, & Lasagabaster, 2019), foreign-language-medium instruction at university should not be considered as CLIL and will not be reviewed here.

CLIL programmes have undergone a dramatic upsurge in the last few decades due to the steadfast support of national governments, as well as the widespread belief that they will help to improve foreign language learning without having negative effects on content learning. Since “empirical research on CLIL implementation visibly started to happen in different national contexts around the mid 2000s” (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2014, p. 214), this review will consider studies carried out in the last 15 years in Europe, where CLIL is rooted. Although CLIL was initially a mainly European phenomenon, the

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issues raised will be of interest to a much wider international audience. In fact, many of the questions addressed in this chapter will also apply to other contexts in which CLIL is rapidly spreading (e.g. Asia and Latin America).

Motivation in CLIL Contexts: An Under-Researched Field

Although motivation is one of the most widely researched aspects of second language acquisition, it is largely unexplored in CLIL research. While two of the most widely quoted state-of-the-art articles in the field, those by Dalton-Puffer (2011) and Pérez-Cañado (2012), focus on the effect of this approach on foreign language learning, content learning, L1 development and classroom interaction, little heed is paid to motivation, as in the CLIL arena generally there is not much research on individual learners' affective differences. In their review of German-speaking CLIL research, Breidbach and Viebrock (2012) bluntly acknowledge that motivation has been marginally examined. This is because applied linguists have focused on two main issues of concern to both education authorities and parents: (1) whether CLIL really does have a positive influence on foreign language competence and, (2) whether or not it hinders the normal development of students' L1 and content learning. With this in mind, the importance of investigating motivation in CLIL contexts comes to the fore, and not least the motivational factors that make CLIL such an attractive approach for both students and their parents.

Coyle (2013) represents an exception and provides a definition of CLIL that includes motivation as one of its cornerstones, since this approach purportedly integrates subject content and foreign languages "in some mutually beneficial way to ensure more learners are motivated to learn and use other languages in the future" (p. 23). Many other researchers seem to agree that one of the main benefits of CLIL has to do with the high levels of motivation generated among both students and teachers, but without any empirical data to substantiate their opinions. From a theoretical standpoint, there may be three main reasons for the positive effects that are believed to arise. Firstly, CLIL provides a cognitively challenging situation which is associated with a meaningful use of the foreign language and an improved sense of achievement. Secondly, CLIL seems to promote fruitful discussions on pedagogical issues and practices. And thirdly, it provides teachers and students with a sense of ownership of their teaching practice and the learning process. As a result of these inherent features, it is widely believed that CLIL leads to higher motiva-

tion than regular foreign language classes. Probably because motivation is taken for granted, there are not that many systematic studies on the interaction between CLIL and motivation.

Theoretical Frameworks Used in CLIL Research

It is noteworthy that many studies on motivation in CLIL rely on research tools (mainly questionnaires) that either are created *ad hoc* (Otwinowska & Foris, 2017; Pladevall Ballester, 2015; Verspoor, de Bot, & Xu, 2015) or adapt different scales from instruments used in previous studies (Coyle, 2013; Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2014; Lasagabaster & Doiz, 2017). However, the current trend to analyse L2 motivation in the light of self and identity has also reached CLIL research and is closely linked to the hegemonic position of English as a global lingua franca. The conviction that English is the key to internationalization and the language of learning and teaching in education is well documented and consequently schools cannot escape the use of English. In fact, the vast majority of European students are nowadays learning English on account of state policies that make it a compulsory part of the curriculum, rather than as individuals who have different options to choose from (Ricento, 2014). At a time when national education budgets are under strain, the outcome is that English is becoming the strongest language not only in EFL courses, but also in CLIL experiences, while other foreign languages are in sharp decline. As economic and personnel resources are scant, the teaching of foreign languages other than English is erased from the curriculum. With this context in mind, Ushioda (2013, p. 9) affirms that “being an English user may be integral to how they (learners) wish to see themselves—that is, part of their desired identity or sense of self.”

Dörnyei's (2009) L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) model has become a very influential theoretical framework in the field and a ripple effect has now reached a number of CLIL studies (Heras & Lasagabaster, 2015; López-Deflory & Juan-Garau, 2017; Mearns, 2012; Pérez, Lorenzo, & Pavón, 2016; Sylvén & Thompson, 2015). However, since research on motivation has not been abundant, theoretical frameworks other than the L2MSS are rather scant.

One of the few exceptions is represented by the model proposed by Coyle (2014), a model that focuses on micro-level motivational phenomena. Adapting Guilloteaux and Dörnyei's (2008) construct of motivational teaching practice, Coyle put forward the Interacting for Teaching and Learning in CLIL (ITALIC) process model as a conceptual tool for investigating motivation in CLIL contexts, a model that takes into account the learning environ-

ment, learner engagement and learner identities/selves. This tool is based on a collaborative inquiry where learners and teachers become researchers in a process in which both work together with a view to analysing and identifying (successful) learning moments. That is, teachers and students collaboratively reflect on those classroom incidents that turn out critical for learning. Coyle calls this the LOCIT (learning-oriented critical incident technique) process which helps teachers and students to carry out respectful discussions. In accordance with Ushioda's (2016) proposal of researching motivation through a small lens, the objective is to focus on the micro-level of learner's motivation in relation to a specific task or critical event in an attempt to "signify the conditions for learning in a particular classroom which motivate particular learners" (Coyle, 2014, p. 64). Although this is a potentially powerful research tool, it still needs to be underpinned by systematic research in CLIL settings.

Studies on CLIL and Motivation

The present review of the literature is divided into three groups: (i) Studies based on the actual measurement of students' motivation by means of quantitative and/or qualitative instruments; (ii) Studies based on stakeholders' beliefs, that is, research that analyses parents', teachers' and learners' views about motivation in CLIL courses; and (iii) Multilingualism in CLIL contexts, which summarizes research in which motivational drives towards more than two languages are considered. Having traced research on motivation, the review spans the European continent from North (Finland and Sweden) through Central (Austria and Germany) to South (Italy), and from East (Poland) to West (Great Britain and Spain). The special attention paid to Spain is due to its leading role in CLIL motivation research.

Studies Based on the Measurement of Students' Motivation

The first study to be considered is Seikkula-Leino's (2007), a study undertaken at a school where the majority of CLIL students were selected through entrance examinations in order to be allowed to enroll on CLIL programmes. Seikkula-Leino assessed primary education (grades 5 and 6) pupils' motivation and self-esteem and observed that the participants had a low self-concept in foreign languages, but a strong motivation to learn in general (including the learning of foreign languages) when compared with their non-CLIL coun-

terparts. Since there was a selection process for CLIL students, their higher motivation was to be expected, but not their lower self-esteem, which Seikkula-Leino puts down to the language demands inherent to CLIL. In the same country Merisuo-Storm (2007) also found that pupils in CLIL strands in primary education (grade 4) held more positive attitudes towards language learning than their non-CLIL peers.

In the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain, several studies have examined secondary education CLIL students' motivation. Together Lasagabaster (2011) and Doiz et al. (2014) found a higher degree of motivation to learn English among CLIL students. Lasagabaster (2011) observed that CLIL students were more motivated than non-CLIL students with respect to their interest, instrumental motivation, attitudes towards learning English at school, and effort made. Doiz et al. (2014) also detected higher motivation among CLIL students than non-CLIL students in intrinsic motivation, instrumental orientation and interest in foreign languages and foreign cultures. However, since no baseline data was gathered before the actual implementation of the programmes, it cannot be established whether it is the CLIL approach by itself that strengthens motivation, or whether CLIL students were already more motivated from the very beginning.

In Navarre (also in Spain), Heras and Lasagabaster (2015) noted that the degree of intensity of CLIL programmes should be considered, since a low intensity programme did not yield any significant difference between CLIL and non-CLIL groups' motivational stance. However, their study confirmed that CLIL may help to blur gender differences, because male students felt more motivated to learn both the language (and the subject matter) than is usually the case in EFL studies. The authors conclude that the implementation of CLIL in subjects traditionally enjoyed by male students (such as physical education) could become a very effective course of action to improve males' traditional lack of motivation towards foreign language learning.

In an attempt to overcome the lack of baseline data, Lasagabaster and Doiz (2017) looked into the *evolution* of motivation within CLIL and non-CLIL groups respectively (intra-group comparisons) from a longitudinal perspective, instead of comparing CLIL and non-CLIL groups (inter-group comparisons). Two cohorts participated in the study, the first one made up of first-year secondary school students (12–13 year olds when the study began) and the second one of third-year secondary school students (14–15 year olds). The results revealed that the non-CLIL students' motivation to learn English did not decline among the younger cohort in the three-year period, or among the older cohort in the 2-year period under scrutiny. Whereas previous studies had shown a downward tendency in students' motivation to learn foreign

languages as they moved towards higher grades, in this study motivation was maintained over time in non-CLIL classes. In addition, the motivation of the non-CLIL and the CLIL students was very similar by the end of the study. Also contrary to expectations, CLIL students did not maintain motivation and there was a motivational decline over time in some of the affective dimensions of the younger students. It is worth mentioning that the younger students who were selected to take part in the program happened to be the ones who became less enthusiastic as time went by, whereas the positive effect endured in the case of the older students who were not selected for the programme. The authors concluded that, although CLIL did not have long-term positive effects on students' motivation to learn English, it did when it came to motivation to learn the subject matter, and this motivation was maintained over time.

Doiz et al. (2014) also conducted a qualitative study among CLIL students enrolled in secondary education. The authors observed that, although students highlighted the many challenges posed by the CLIL approach (learning subjects in English is difficult, requires additional effort to understand the content, and involves more work), they were however motivated. Among the pedagogical implications drawn from the analysis of the students' responses, it has to be mentioned that the participants were clearly motivated by group work as opposed to book activities and individual work, whereas they found the repetition of activities found in CLIL classes demotivating (some concepts are repeated over and over again as a result of teachers' desire to underpin them). Nevertheless, Doiz et al. (2014) underscore that what is experienced as (de)motivating varies from student to student, although the aforementioned were common trends experienced by the majority of the participants in their study.

In Germany, Fehling (2008, in Sylvén and Thompson, 2015) observed that whereas non-CLIL students' motivation decreased over time, CLIL students managed to maintain their motivation. In the same context Rumlich (2016, 2017) examined the impact of CLIL through a longitudinal study that followed almost a thousand secondary education students over a two-year period (grade 6 to grade 8), and which focused on both linguistic (English proficiency) and non-linguistic (self-concepts and interest) outcomes. The results revealed a similar increase in EFL interest among CLIL and non-CLIL students, results which confirm that, contrary to previous studies in the field, students' interest in EFL did not wane as time wore on, and irrespective of the teaching approach. Only a minor increase in EFL self-concept that might be attributed to CLIL was detected. However, since all groups showed very similar development, Rumlich concludes that this increase "seems to appear independently of CLIL" (Rumlich, 2017, p. 128).

The only two longitudinal studies that have measured motivation in CLIL contexts relying on large samples, namely the aforementioned research by Lasagabaster and Doiz (2017) and Rumlich (2016, 2017), indicate that students assign great symbolic value to English, which can be attributed to its role as the current global lingua franca. The hegemonic position of English seems to help students maintain their interest in learning it irrespective of the approach, whether it be CLIL or non-CLIL. Although it has traditionally been believed that students' motivation towards the learning of foreign languages decreases over time, Dörnyei, Csizér, and Németh (2006) also observed in the Hungarian context (albeit in an EFL setting) that English represents an exception due its role as a world language. It can thus be concluded that studies conducted in three different European contexts (Germany, Hungary and Spain) suggest a consistent and steady trend.

In Sweden Sylvén and Thompson (2015) compared CLIL and non-CLIL programmes before the beginning of the start of a CLIL programme. The participants were enrolled in the first year of high school (grade 10). The results brought to light significant differences in seven of the factors (including the ideal L2 self, interest in foreign languages and attitudes towards learning English), and the authors conclude that CLIL students are more motivated from the very beginning of the experience. However, the authors did not consider intervening variables such as the socioeconomic and sociocultural status of the two groups, which should have been controlled for. Indeed, since some participants in the CLIL group were taken from an international school in which English was the means of instruction for all subjects except Swedish, this is likely to have influenced the findings since it directly impacts on items such as those related to the role of English in students' future careers (ideal L2 self).

In one of the few studies conducted in primary education (10- and 11-year olds), Otwinowska and Foris (2017) arrived at two main conclusions: (1) CLIL classes evoked both negative and positive feelings but negative affectivity prevailed in the Polish school under scrutiny; and (2) negative affectivity and impaired cognition were linked. The authors concluded that low proficiency students did not always benefit from learning content in a foreign language, and that negative affect ended up triggering a negative attitude towards the CLIL subject, explaining why learners needed to be equipped with adequate cognitive and academic language proficiency. The lack of clear-cut methodological guidelines in these CLIL classes led to a significant number of students feeling resentment towards CLIL classes. The authors wondered whether learning cognitively demanding subjects in English (maths and science) may be too complex and beyond learners' proficiency threshold. This

concern about students' feeling overwhelmed by the task of learning content in a foreign language has also been acknowledged by other CLIL researchers, an issue that undoubtedly impacts on learners' motivation. In fact, Seikkula-Leino (2007) also noted that CLIL students may have low self-concept (low self-esteem) in foreign languages, as they are frequently exposed to language beyond their ability.

Studies Based on Stakeholders' Beliefs

Since CLIL is not infrequently an active choice made by students and their parents, beliefs about the nature of learning are likely to play an important role. In fact, there is ample empirical evidence showing the importance of beliefs in learner motivation (Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer, & Smit, 2013), and how beliefs affect teachers' classroom behaviour (Borg, 2006). In the next section focus is directed to four studies that have addressed these issues.

Coonan (2007) reports the findings of research conducted in Italy over three years with a group of secondary school teachers enrolled on a postgraduate programme as part of a two-year training and action-research project in CLIL. While 80% of the participants regarded students' motivation as either good or excellent, the author questions as to whether these positive results could be the result of both the novelty of the CLIL programme, and the effort the teachers put into making the lessons accessible. Only a longitudinal study would help answer such questions.

Coyle (2013) conducted a longitudinal study in eleven secondary schools in England and Scotland. The starting point was that in order to make CLIL successful, learner motivation needs to be understood from the student's perspective. By taking "classroom practices as the locus of investigation and the learners as mediators in the process" (p. 245), the aim was to provide them with a voice, and to find evidence of successful learning, thus enabling an analysis of how students' motivation evolved over time. The latter was analysed using the three themes embedded in the aforementioned process-model framework: learning environment, learner engagement and learner identities/selves. The results indicated that learners believed that CLIL experiences should help to change pedagogic practice, in the sense that they have to feel the need to communicate, to develop ways of using the foreign language and to engage in the learning process. If motivation is to be sustained, learners also highlighted the need to develop expectations of achievement.

Hüttner et al. (2013) also delved into beliefs, their focus being on lay theories held by both teachers and learners involved in CLIL programmes in

Austrian upper secondary schools. The student participants were enrolled in grades 9 to 13 and were interviewed using semi-structured guides, one aimed at teachers and one at students. Motivation was one of the topics covered. Students underscored that their vision of themselves as proficient and effective English speakers (their ideal L2 selves) kept them motivated. One of the most striking findings of this study had to do with the fact that the stakeholders' motivation and the relaxed atmosphere and positive affect were maintained because of the absence of both clear language-related curricular aims and any language assessment. Were the language component to have a larger role, teachers' and students' motivation might not have been as high. Moreover, it was found that CLIL helped students to feel more confident when using English, and strengthened their motivation, as opportunities for practice enabled them to view their English as better than that of non-CLIL students. Despite the lack of language goals, teachers were also convinced of the success of CLIL for English learning. None of the participants needed any proof of their English improvement, because for them it was enough to feel better about speaking English. Hüttner et al. (2013, p. 280) affirm that it is the absence of language management that may be the reason underpinning the widespread idea of CLIL success, and that this can lead to "a learner-intrinsic change in affect towards English and increased self-confidence as a foreign language user". These lay theories (as labelled by the authors) would help to explain the rapid spread of CLIL, as well as stakeholders' high levels of motivation.

In Catalonia, Pladevall Ballester (2015) carried out a study in primary education in which parents, teachers and students participated. Although all the stakeholders were positive about the impact of limited exposure CLIL on motivation, results which dovetail with San Isidro's (2017) in Galicia, it is noteworthy that the three groups were concerned about low achievers' motivation, especially the teachers, who "felt they could not help them learn or get motivated" (p. 56). This is a key issue that will be returned to in the future research section below.

Multilingualism in CLIL Contexts

Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) point out that the learning of LOTEs (languages other than English) takes place in the shadow of Global English, as reflected by the fact that studies focusing on motivation to learn English dominate the L2 motivation field. Henry (2017) elaborates on this, and claims that research on motivation suffers from a monolingual bias because

motivation models do not take into consideration the individual's other languages. Henry expands the L2 Motivational Self System to bring it in line with multilingualism as a new world order where multiple language identities are becoming the norm rather than the exception. As a result, he proposes *the multilingual motivational self system*, a model that presents the motivational systems of different languages as cognitively interconnected (see Thompson, this volume).

Spain is one of the contexts in which motivation has been more thoroughly examined. In no small part, this is due to the increasing importance attached to learning English, which has led to the mushrooming of multilingual school programs in which different languages (the minority language—be it Basque, Catalan or Galician –, Spanish and English) are used to teach content (Lasagabaster, 2017). Since the coexistence of different languages ineluctably causes linguistic strains, motivation has been scrutinized. The results obtained in Spain may contribute to informing L2 motivation theory, as there are concerns about the purported negative influence that English may exert on motivation towards the other languages in contact, especially the minority language. These studies may help to shed light on the nature of the influences that stem from the use of different languages of instruction, and the effects on students' multiple selves. They may also help to neutralize ideas spread by those whose monolingually biased perception of language learning makes them view languages as enemies fighting for the same linguistic territory. The following three studies were undertaken in Spain's officially bilingual autonomous communities in which English represents the students' L3.

Lasagabaster and Sierra (2009) were interested in providing empirical evidence to support or to disprove the beliefs of those who stated that CLIL in English would only harm students' attitudes towards Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community. These authors observed that secondary education CLIL students held positive attitudes not only towards English, but also toward Spanish and Basque. When CLIL students were compared with non-CLIL students, the only significant differences were found in attitudes towards English, CLIL students being significantly more favourable. The authors conclude that these results should help to dispel those fears concerning the potential detrimental effect that the use of a powerful and international language such as English as means of instruction could have on attitudes towards the two other languages present in the curriculum, especially towards Basque due to its minority language status.

In Galicia, San Isidro (2017) used a mixed-methods approach in a two-year longitudinal study aimed at investigating the effects of a CLIL-oriented language policy on students' language attitudes and motivation in a rural school.

The findings showed that both CLIL and non-CLIL students developed long-term positive attitudes and motivation towards the three languages in contact (Galician, Spanish and English), although CLIL students improved their attitudes to a greater extent. Furthermore, in a mixed-methods study undertaken in the Balearic Islands, López-Deflory and Juan-Garau (2017) observed that secondary education students' ideal selves and their linguistic interest in future imagined communities were underpinned by CLIL programmes. As happened in the two previous studies, results corroborated the positive impact of CLIL on the perception of the local language, Catalan. The authors conclude that CLIL lives up to expectations and promotes cosmopolitan and global identities.

However, despite the general positive motivation and favourable attitudes towards the three languages in contact (Basque/Catalan/Galician, Spanish and English), these studies did not examine how the ideal selves of their different languages interact and might contribute in shaping an ideal multilingual self (Henry, 2017), this since the different languages were analysed independently.

Discussion

Despite the enormous amount of research spawned by the CLIL approach in the last two decades, “few are robust accounts of outcome-oriented research where pertinent variables are factored in and controlled for” (Pérez-Cañado, 2012, p. 329). Broadly speaking, studies fail to take account of background variables and motivational factors prior to the start of CLIL programmes, which creates problems in the generation of trustworthy understandings of the influences that CLIL exerts on students' foreign language learning motivation. Nevertheless, studies on CLIL provide unequivocal support for two motivational aspects, the first being of a theoretical nature and the second more grounded in practical terms.

From a theoretical point of view, the studies that have relied on the L2MSS allow us to conclude that Dörnyei's model also proves to be valid and reliable in CLIL contexts, confirming previous research studies in EFL settings (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Ryan, 2009; Csizér, this volume). The motivation to learn a foreign language therefore draws from the three components of the system: the learner's vision of him- or herself as a proficient and effective L2 speaker (the ideal L2 self), the social pressure coming from his/her environment (the ought-to L2 self), and positive learning experiences (the L2 learning experience). As is also the case in EFL contexts (Csizér & Lukács,

2010; Lamb, 2017), CLIL research has demonstrated that the ideal L2 self is the most significant component when it comes to predicting L2 motivation among CLIL learners.

The second aspect is more practical. One of the main assets of CLIL has been that many stakeholders feel very motivated to implement these programmes. The cases put forward by Hüttner et al. (2013) in Austria, and Pladevall Ballester (2015) and San Isidro (2017) in Spain are very good cases in point, as all the interviewed stakeholders (parents, teachers and students) were firm advocates of CLIL. However, longitudinal studies in which students' motivational development has been actually measured have yielded more neutral results (Heras & Lasagabaster, 2015; Lasagabaster & Doiz, 2017; Rumlich, 2016, 2017).

A word of caution is needed at this stage. When it comes to examining the relationship between CLIL and motivation, it must be considered that some programmes go through a selective process in which potential students are screened for school results, foreign language proficiency and motivation. As a result, CLIL programmes are deemed elitist and have been criticized for boosting inequality at school (Smala, 2014). A side-effect of this selection process is that some scholars wonder whether the positive motivational impact may be due to the fact that CLIL students are more motivated even before joining their CLIL courses, and not as a consequence of the educational approach *per se* (Admiraal, Westhoff, & de Bot, 2006; Rumlich, 2016, 2017; Sylvén & Thompson, 2015). Consequently, it cannot be affirmed whether the positive results were caused by CLIL, conditions previous to CLIL (selection, higher motivation, etc.) or a mixture of both. However, in some European countries such as Spain, CLIL is no longer an elitist approach as no entrance examinations are allowed, and the CLIL label is usually associated with success by all stakeholders (Pladevall Ballester, 2015; San Isidro, 2017).

An Agenda for Future Research

This review has detected a number of problems in the existing CLIL motivation literature, such as the use of diverse constructs for motivation (including too many *ad hoc* questionnaires), and the lack of baseline data when comparing CLIL and non-CLIL groups.

In addition to research avenues previously identified in this chapter, issues that require immediate attention are highlighted here. The research studies hitherto carried out lead us to conclude that there is a pressing need to screen for differences between groups *before* the actual implementation of CLIL (see

e.g. Rumlich, 2016, 2017; Sylvén & Thompson, 2015), and if differences are observed, to analyse the evolution of students' motivation *within* groups of learners (Lasagabaster & Doiz, 2017). Only this control will allow researchers to affirm with confidence that CLIL programmes yield a significant motivational boost since, currently, the results obtained are far from conclusive and may be grounded on stakeholders' opinions. In order to enable comparisons between contexts, future studies should also include detailed descriptions of the programmes.

Research is also greatly needed in CLIL programmes in which languages other than English (LOTEs) are used as means of instruction. Since English has become the main global lingua franca, motivation seems to be clearly affected (Lasagabaster & Doiz, 2017). Except those studies carried out in Great Britain (Coyle, 2013, 2014; Mearns, 2012) and a few scattered others (e.g. Pérez et al., 2016), CLIL research has focused on English as the language of instruction. There is therefore a need to address this bias and to begin to focus on LOTEs. European institutions pay lip service to multilingualism, but the CLIL reality leaves little room for doubt about the overwhelming presence of English and its negative impact when it comes to learning other foreign languages. This situation could be reversed by developing CLIL programmes for LOTEs.

Currently the vast majority of studies involve secondary education participants. Therefore, a third avenue of research should focus on CLIL programmes implemented in primary education. The absence of systematic research on the motivation of primary school pupils found in EFL settings in the review of literature by Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan (2015) is even greater in CLIL contexts. CLIL is also becoming popular in primary education, but we need to know more about how these programmes influence motivation. The negative affectivity found by Otwinowska and Foris (2017) confirms that this is an issue that needs to be looked into. In fact, Moate (2014) proposes a model for Finland in which CLIL should only begin in the lower secondary school, a proposal in line with Lorenzo, Casal and Moore's study (2010), whose results suggested that middle or late introduction of CLIL results in foreign language competences similar to those achieved in early introduction.

A closely related issue that needs to be researched is how CLIL teachers can motivate low achievers or students that lag behind (Pladevall Ballester, 2015). Very little information is available about the links between affectivity and cognition, and the reasons that lie behind students' demotivation in CLIL settings when they feel they cannot cope with the language demands (Otwinowska & Foris, 2017; Pladevall Ballester, 2015; Seikkula-Leino, 2007). Since demotivation pulls learners back, understanding of the underlying

causes must be achieved so as to detect the internal and external factors that lead to some learners' decreased motivation. Studies should therefore be conducted in different contexts to explore whether CLIL students' preferences and (de)motivation is transferrable across different cultural settings, which is why international projects involving researchers from diverse contexts would be greatly welcomed.

Most of the studies reviewed above relied on questionnaires and statistical analyses. Following Ushioda (2009), a focus on individuals rather than on abstract learners (the group as representative of all the individuals) is also needed, because students are necessarily located in particular cultural and educational contexts in which their experiences and self-states may facilitate or hinder their learning engagement.

A promising field of research is the analysis of critical incidents during a lesson (Coyle, 2014). Although anchored in a single classroom event, such examinations would provide researchers with the opportunity to gain "insights into how processes of motivation evolve cumulatively among teacher and learners in a particular classroom" (Ushioda, 2016, p. 572). By focusing on successful learning moments or critical incidents as a participatory exercise the motivation of both CLIL teachers and CLIL learners could be increased, while very useful information about class-related motivational events will be unearthed.

There is one final line of research that needs to be developed within work on CLIL. As Henry (2017) points out, research drawing on complexity-generated understandings of L2 motivation, multilingualism and self-concept development is direly needed (see Hiver & Papi, this volume). Multilingual school situations are becoming commonplace in many school systems the world over, and the multilingual motivational self system may become a very useful theoretical framework to study the dynamic interactions of the different languages in learners' motivational systems. These ideas present a potentially powerful future field of research for CLIL.

Pedagogical Implications

Despite a growing number of studies on motivation in the CLIL literature, few are geared towards pedagogical implications. However, it is necessary to apply the insights and experiences gathered to date to both materials development and to teacher education.

Research on the interaction between CLIL and motivation still needs to pay more attention to practices that may help teachers to motivate their stu-

dents in the form of pedagogical recommendations, teaching materials and group dynamics. Some publications have gone some way towards tackling CLIL teachers' demands (Banegas, 2013; Doiz et al., 2014; Lasagabaster, Doiz, & Sierra, 2014). However, most of the implications for practice have been distilled by CLIL teachers themselves in their own forums. These practices tend to respond to a bottom-up process triggered by practitioners themselves (Banegas, 2013), whereas the research community has been more focused on theoretical frameworks, which teachers often find of little use in their everyday practice. Once again the researcher/teacher divide seems to come to the fore.

Materials designers should take advantage of the existing empirical evidence to incorporate activities that strengthen motivation in CLIL classes. They should also avoid undemanding texts and treating students with low proficiency in the foreign language as students with low cognitive abilities (Banegas, 2014), since this will lead to both teacher and student demotivation. Conversely, the meaningful use of the target language (Hüttner et al., 2013) and collaborative tasks such as project work (Banegas, 2014; Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2016; Sierra, 2016) are highlighted by all stakeholders as lynchpins in the successful image of CLIL, and as basic tools to maintain motivation.

In this vein, Coyle's (2013, 2014) proposes the combination of the ITALIC process model and the LOCIT model as a way to influence CLIL classroom practice through the process of data gathering and reflection on instances of successful learning highlighted by learners themselves. The combined reflection on teaching practices and learners' voices will help to pave the way to situate professional practice across diverse CLIL contexts. In a similar vein, Banegas (2013) stresses that students' motivation can only be raised if democratised and negotiated practices are implemented. In the action research project he led it was observed that CLIL is a valuable option to co-promote and strengthen motivation not only among students but also among teachers when the content is negotiated with the students and materials are co-developed. This is one of the few examples (together with the aforementioned by Coyle) found in the literature in which collaboration between teachers and researchers has been fostered.

Last but not least, an obvious pedagogical implication from the review of the literature is that learners' visions of their multilingual selves need to be included in CLIL teaching materials (Henry, 2017). Henry affirms that the visualization techniques developed in the literature (Dörnyei & Kubanyiova, 2014) can be easily adapted to visions of becoming multilingual, and can strengthen positive multilingual identities if motivational strategies centred

around multilingual self-guides are worked on. CLIL and the use of different languages as means of instruction based on a holistic view of multilingualism can help to achieve this objective. At a time of global turmoil and fear of the other (including other languages), such proposals should be high on the education agenda. Multilingual school systems are to be held accountable for shaping multilingual identities.

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18

The Process of Demotivation in Language Learning: An Integrative Account

Nick Thorner and Keita Kikuchi

Demotivation is arguably a greater issue in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) than motivation. After all, as Lamb (2017) points out, students often begin courses of language instruction with high levels of motivation. It is the collapse of motivation that is the problem. For most teachers, tackling classroom demotivation has long been a struggle. The word itself often brings to mind familiar, challenging behaviours, ranging from sleeping in class to disrupting lesson activities. Furthermore, there is little evidence that globalization is destined to sustain learner motivation in SLA. The number opting to pursue foreign languages at school and university has collapsed in the UK, and in low-resource settings in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia efforts to maintain conditions for motivation, especially teaching quality, have not kept pace with the drive to raise school enrolment (Bennell & Akyeampong, 2007).

However, the academic literature on demotivation in SLA has not always helped teachers struggling to understand the phenomenon. As we will see in the first part of this chapter, current definitions and approaches have, on the contrary, led to a focus on external, perceived causes of demotivation, which often put the teaching at fault. In the second section, we will therefore attempt to give the mind of the learner a central place in the discussion of demotiva-

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tion, as we draw together theoretical insights into the psychological processes involved. Finally, we examine demotivation in practice through research in the fields of motivational dynamics and neuroscience. In its conclusion, this chapter identifies common elements in the process of demotivation and discusses implications for pedagogy and research.

Research into Demotivation

Terminology

In Dörnyei (2001), a chapter was devoted to the topic of demotivation. This was, to the best of our knowledge, the first time this concept was dealt with systematically in the SLA literature. In defining demotivation, Dörnyei (2001) carefully differentiates the term from amotivation, a distinction with clear implications for future research. He saw demotivation as “specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioral intention or an ongoing action” (p. 143), focusing on the impact of external causes. Amotivation, by contrast, was related to learners’ unrealistic expectations of learning outcomes, in line with Vallerand’s (1997) conceptualization of amotivation as a product of various beliefs relating to one’s ability or effort (capacity), strategy and helplessness. In Vallerand and Ratelle (2002), amotivation is described as follows:

Amotivation is at work when individuals display a relative absence of motivation. In such instances, individuals do not perceive a contingency between their behaviors and outcomes, so they do not act with the intention to attain an outcome... They begin to feel helpless and may start to question the usefulness of engaging in the activity in the first place. (Vallerand & Ratelle, 2002: 43)

Following this conceptualisation, Kikuchi (2015) made the distinction between the key terms used in demotivation studies. As depicted in Fig. 18.1, the learner’s motivational state changes constantly. As demotivators reduce or diminish learner motivation, a state of demotivation may be reached. However, this state is seen as different from amotivation, in that the demotivated learner may become motivated again. Some researchers (e.g., Djigunovic & Nikolov, this volume; Falout, 2012; Kim & Kim, 2017) call this process remotivation. So, while amotivation refers to the complete lack of motivation, demotivation describes learners who were once motivated but have lost their motivation, the process that this chapter will principally address.

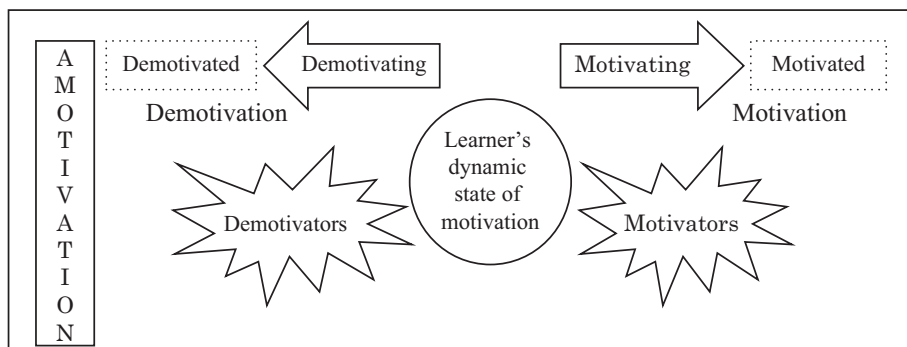


Fig. 18.1 Concept of demotivation and demotivators (adapted from Kikuchi 2015, p. 4)

To better understand the current view of demotivation it is worth considering how the term has evolved distinctly from the term *motivation*. Whereas a century ago *motivation* formed part of a literature on social control, which described how passive individuals might be influenced by advertisers or managers (Danziger, 1997), a far more person-centred notion of motivation has now emerged. In a language learning setting, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) stated that motivation concerns (a) the choice of a particular action, (b) the persistence in that action and (c) the effort expended. By this definition, motivation comes from within the individual.

Yet the term *demotivation*, in comparison, still retains the idea of an external agency acting on a passive subject, even at the level of definition. According to the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, the prefix *de-* means (a) do or make the opposite of; reverse; (b) remove or remove from; (c) out of; (d) reduce; or (e) derived from. The term demotivation, then, alludes to a process in which learners are being held back (Kikuchi, 2015, p. 5).

Demotivator Studies

An emphasis on external causes was also reflected in early research into demotivation in the field of communication studies (Christophel & Gorham, 1995; Gorham & Christophel, 1992; Gorham & Millette, 1997; Kearney, Plax, Hays, & Ivey, 1991). This focused on the impact of teacher communication style and behaviour on learner demotivation during college lectures in various subjects. In a more recent study in this vein, Zhang (2007) studied the relationship between negative aspects of teacher behavior (as originally identified by Kearney et al., 1991) and college students' demotivation. Based on a study

of 695 college students attending university classes in the United States, China, Germany, and Japan, she concluded that learners' perceptions that teachers were incompetent, offensive, and indolent, frequently become demotivators in classrooms. Among these three factors, teachers' incompetence, namely "a cluster of behaviors that reflect teachers' indifference to the students and/or the course (such as) confusing and/or boring lectures, unfair testing, and information overload" (p. 211) was reported to be the most demotivating, within and across the four different contexts in her study. Zhang's (2007) emphasis on the role of teachers, along with her definition of demotivation as "the force that decreases students' energy to learn..." perpetuated the idea that demotivation was a product of external causes.

Issues with teaching were also highlighted in early studies in the field of L2 research. Among the studies on demotivation cited in Dörnyei (2001), Chambers (1993) was the earliest. Based on a questionnaire administered to 191 students at 9th grade in UK schools, he identified poor instruction-giving, poor explanation, teachers shouting, and use of old-fashioned teaching materials as key issues identified by students. Dörnyei's own research in Hungary also revealed that teachers were by far the most commonly cited factor among demotivated learners (as cited in Dörnyei, 2001).

However, results of subsequent studies into L2 demotivation have tended to emphasise the importance of a range of factors in addition to teaching. Furthermore, researchers have also sought to explore learners' own motivational resources, conscious that so much language development is not directly mediated by the teacher. Basing their analysis on a review of empirical studies, Sakai and Kikuchi (2009, p. 61) proposed six common demotivators in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts, combining internal/external factors:

1. Teachers: critical attitudes towards students, lack of teaching competence or language proficiency, personality and teaching style not matched with learners' preference.
2. Characteristics of classes: course content and pace, excessive focus on difficult grammar points or vocabulary, monotonous and boring lesson procedures, focus on university entrance exams preparation and memorization of language.
3. Experiences of failure: disappointment due to test scores obtained, lack of social acceptance by teachers and classmates and the feeling of not being able to (e.g.) memorize vocabulary and idioms, understand texts, or perform oral tasks.
4. Class environment: attitudes of classmates, the compulsory nature of English study, friends' attitudes, inactive classes, inappropriate level of dif-

ficulty and inadequate use of school facilities (e.g. not using audiovisual materials).

5. Class materials: unsuitable or uninteresting materials (e.g. too many reference books and/or handouts).
6. Learners' loss of interest: for example, a learners' own sense that the target language used at school is not personally relevant or necessary; learners' low regard for speakers of the target language.

While this list gives us some ideas of external and internal demotivators, it is not exhaustive and we should note that several demotivators may affect learners concurrently.

Researchers also began to cast doubt on whether teaching is indeed a particularly demotivating factor in L2 learning. In a large-scale study of 900 Japanese university students attending seven universities in Tokyo region, Falout, Elwood, and Hood (2009) studied the impact of six external and internal influences on motivation: *teacher immediacy* (how approachable and friendly teachers have been), a *grammar-translation* methodology (negative experience with this method), *course level* (appropriate level of materials or pace of lessons), *self-denigration* (blaming oneself for past failures), *value* (low value attached to language learning), and *self-confidence* (including expectation of success, susceptibility to embarrassment). Notably, to these they added three factors relating to student strategies for dealing with demotivation: *help-seeking* (asking for help from friends and teachers), *enjoyment-seeking* (e.g. watching movies or listening to English songs), and *avoidance* (e.g. sleeping in class to avoid studying). They then asked students how these affected their motivation. Surprisingly, *teacher immediacy* was on average a source of *motivation* for these students, rather than demotivation, whereas *grammar-translation* was the factor that led to demotivation most commonly. Based on this finding, they speculated that “poor teacher behaviors are not a substantial problem for these learners, but the converse, ...teachers seem quite inspiring” (p. 410). Focusing on demotivation specifically, Kikuchi (2015) found a similar pattern among high school learners. A questionnaire based on the six-factor model of demotivation was administered to more than 1200 Japanese learners of English. Results showed that course difficulty best explained demotivation while teacher behaviour was the least influential factor.

While participants in these studies still tended to cite external factors, links between internal factors and demotivation were successfully established, notably capacity to regulate emotion (Falout et al., 2009), leading some researchers to rethink the focus of demotivation studies. Kikuchi (2015), reviewing prior studies, defined demotivators as “the specific internal and external forces that

reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioral intention or an ongoing action” (p. 3) departing from the original definition proposed by Dörnyei (2001) which had identified only external factors.

The studies cited above make it very clear that the relative importance of demotivators can vary from one context to another. This has been emphasized through subsequent demotivator studies from around the world. For example, in contrast to Falout et al. (2009), Xaypanya, Ismail, and Low (2017) found that in Laos a key factor in demotivation at college level is concern at lack of mastery, especially of English pronunciation, and accompanying foreign language anxiety (FLA). Meanwhile, Hassaskhah, Zafarghandia, and Fazelia (2014) found that students at a similar stage of education in Iran were most demotivated by ‘institutional factors’ like teaching facilities and even a lack of air conditioning. They also identified prospects of employment as a major demotivating factor, which clearly vary in place and time. By contrast, recent findings from Pakistan suggest ‘course content and teaching material (are) the most perceived demotivating factor’ (Sher Ali & Pathan, 2017, p. 85).

A range of further personal factors have also now been linked to demotivation. Lamb (2017, p. 328) offers a useful summary of studies that reveal how demotivation can vary between groups. Migrants for example can be particularly turned off learning by a feeling that their identity in the host country is being neglected (Norton, 2001). Significant variations between age groups are also evident: one interesting comparison is how middle school children’s sense of having no control over their learning has been cited as a demotivating factor (Littlejohn, 2008) whereas college students may believe academic staff do not control programmes closely enough, implying a lack of interest (Oxford, 2001). In other research, Kaivanpanah and Ghasemi (2011) found that negative attitudes towards the English-speaking community were more demotivating for university students than for junior high school and high school students. Interesting variations also occur between learners of different proficiency levels. Falout and Maruyama (2004) found that weak students tended to attribute declines in motivation to their own capabilities, citing previous experience as evidence, whereas highly proficient learners cited ongoing external sources, such as rote learning methods or teacher attitude.

Limitations of Demotivator Studies

The great variability in findings makes it difficult to draw lessons from demotivator studies that can be applied more widely. They have tended to reveal

that all factors can be seen by learners as demotivating or motivating to a degree, depending on other variables. For instance, Lamb and Wedell (2015) found that in English classes in China, even the grammar translation approach seemed to inspire learners if practised by an enthusiastic teacher. In addition to these difficulties with generalizability, we might note three significant weaknesses of demotivator studies.

First, they only deal with *perception* of causation and so can lack reliability. Perception of causation may be affected by cultural values, such as respect for authority figures, or self-serving biases, that is a greater disposition to explain negative experience by focusing on external factors (Mezulis, Abramson, Hyde, & Hankin, 2004). Bias is certainly evidenced in the findings of Chambers (1993), who points out that the seven teachers in his study cite a range of factors *other* than teaching as the main cause of learner demotivation, contradicting the student accounts. Furthermore, Ushioda (1998) raises the possibility that students' perception of teacher weakness is really a projection of responsibility for loss of motivation onto external factors. Demotivator studies may therefore identify underlying cause inaccurately.

Second, it is very difficult to understand where a chain of causation stops, and perhaps unhelpful to apportion responsibility. For example, there is little value in identifying poor teaching as a cause of demotivation if there are systemic factors that are demotivating the teachers. Bennell and Akyeampong (2007) reveal that many teachers across Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia are trapped in poor working and living conditions by a lack of employment alternatives. Here, poor teaching may exist but is certainly not the underlying factor.

Third, demotivators need not be present for demotivation to occur. Zhang (2007) herself observed that demotivation might be a result of the *disappearance* of motivators, such as when exams are completed, a point echoed by Falout et al. (2009). Removing the negative consequences of not studying, for example, by removing punishments for not doing homework, may also erode motivation as surely as demotivators might. Furthermore, a student's reluctance to learn may be the result of more attractive alternatives emerging, or in other words of a rising 'opportunity cost' (Miele & Scholer, 2016, p. 375), which may cause them to resent their learning commitments. Looking for demotivators may therefore prove futile.

Besides, demotivator studies do not attempt to explain why some individuals within a group are affected by demotivation more than others. To account for individual demotivation, we turn first to the literature on psychology.

Demotivation as a Psychological Process

Various explanations have been put forward to account for individual demotivation, including an inability to deal with emotions (Ushioda, 1998); a fixed mindset (Dweck, 2006), that is, a belief that intelligence/talent are fixed traits; and a lack of 'grit' (or resilience) in one's personality (Duckworth, 2016). This section attempts to assemble such fragments of understanding into a coherent overview.

Need Frustration

Low motivation to learn may be understood as a process that starts with need frustration. Intrinsic motivation is sustained when an activity satisfies certain 'growth' needs, like achieving mastery of a skill (Maslow, 1943). Conversely, motivation is at its most vulnerable when we experience 'deficits' in need fulfilment during a task. A need deficit is said to occur when the frustration of a need leads to negative emotion (Reeve, 2015). These unfulfilled needs are often called 'deficiency needs' and may encompass a range of biological needs (e.g. hunger), social needs (e.g. belonging) and psychological needs, (e.g. esteem) (Maslow, 1943). Although frustrated biological needs are of course an issue in education wherever children or teachers go to school hungry or in fear of conflict, 'higher' order needs are perhaps of broader relevance in the classroom. To examine these in more detail, it is helpful to distinguish between the 'implicit' needs we acquire through our upbringing, identified in the work of McClelland (1987), such as the need to achieve, affiliate (belong), or gain power, and the 'fundamental' psychological needs of relatedness, competence, and autonomy, identified in self-determination theory (SDT) (see Noels et al., this volume).

While implicit needs can be frustrated, particularly in specific learning environments (Kaplan & Patrick, 2016), it is deficits in fundamental psychological needs that have to date been most explicitly linked to demotivation (Gnambs & Hanfstingl, 2016), and which appear to be most far-reaching. Firstly, a lack of relatedness in the classroom, which may include rejection by peers or lack of support from teachers, is a strong predictor of disengagement and may also prevent a student from internalising the positive values of the school environment (Ryan & Deci, 2016). Second, students who are not granted autonomy in a school environment due to constant pressure, surveillance, or even extrinsic reward, will be prevented from experiencing satisfaction and pride and may lose intrinsic motivation. Finally, students who are unable to experience competence because tasks are too easy, challenging, or

poorly defined will anticipate anxiety or frustration when considering school work.

Need frustration can occur at any stage of schooling. Yet, since demotivation is particularly prevalent during the transition to middle school (e.g. Eccles, Lord, & Midgley, 1991; Kitsantas & Cleary, 2016), it is worth considering how biological and environmental changes during this period can affect both levels of need and need satisfaction, regarding all three fundamental needs. In early adolescence, the need for autonomy grows (Eccles et al., 1991), a trend which stands in sharp contrast with the more regimented organisation of middle school, creating what is widely referred to as a poor person-environment fit. Relatedness needs are also at risk at this stage of schooling since new notions held by peers about what is acceptable (injunctive norms) may place value on disengagement from school, alienating students who continue with achievement-striving behavior (Juvonen & Knifsend, 2016). On a biological level, increased oxytocin levels lead to heightened self-consciousness (Steinberg, 2008) and feelings of judgement. This, together with divisions created by emerging sexual identities, disrupts feelings of security and relatedness within classes. All this follows the severing of the relatively strong attachments pupils tended to form with their elementary school class teachers (Wentzel, 2016), combined with a sudden drop in perceived support from staff as teachers struggle to get to know large new in-takes. At the same time, a tendency to compare students academically, as a result of normative testing, ability streaming, and public evaluation of results (Eccles et al., 1991), can erode students' sense of competence. As some peers struggle to adapt, and exhibit disruptive attention- and power-seeking behaviours, like bullying, other students can even experience a deficit in basic security needs. This cumulative stress is recognized as a common starting point of demotivation. Indeed, Gnamb and Hanfstingl (2016) argue that deficits in fundamental needs fulfilment are sufficient to account for demotivation during the school career.

Avoidance

Needs deficits provoke negative emotions, which teach us which stimuli to avoid (Olsson, 2003, p. 5). Elliot and Covington (2001) argue that, once developed, this avoidance pre-disposition is difficult to override and should therefore (alongside its *approach* corollary) be a conceptual foundation to our understanding of (de)motivation. Their point seems particularly pertinent in language learning, where learners run the risk of negative evaluation and negative emotion every time they produce language, frequently resulting in FLA.

Once a learner begins to experience strong negative emotions, the emotion can quickly become dominant in a learning environment, leading to a desire to avoid a subject, or school generally. This may happen through well-established mechanisms like selective attention, whereby people in a negative emotional state focus on and seek out congruent stimuli (Rinck, Becker, Kellermann, & Roth, 2003), and evaluative conditioning (De Houwer, Thomas & Baeyens, 2001), whereby learners may transfer negative feelings about one stimulus (e.g. a failed test) onto associated stimuli (e.g. a teacher). If left unchallenged, negative emotion can intensify through cycles of rumination (Kross & Ayduk, 2017).

Maladaptive Cognition

The degree to which an avoidance tendency persists will depend on whether a learner believes they can recommence learning behaviour *and* avoid a recurrence of negative experience. Failure to regard negative experiences as avoidable will lead to disengagement and so may be described as maladaptive cognition.

To understand maladaptive cognition, it is useful to draw on Attribution Theory (Weiner, 1985), which outlines how people explain achievement and failure. On the one hand, if causes of failure are seen as unstable (subject to change) and controllable we may respond positively. So, if a learner who fails an exam believes that she will have a kinder marker next time or could prepare herself better, she may continue to 'approach' study. Thus, FLA often results in over-studying rather than demotivation (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986).

On the other hand, if causes of failure are seen as stable and beyond a person's control (e.g. if the learner decides she will not be able to improve her grades since she has exhausted all strategies, or the exam format is too difficult) then motivation will decline. Repeated attribution of failure to unchanging and uncontrollable circumstances can have far-reaching consequences. Initially, it may create a state of 'learned helplessness' (Seligman & Maier, 1967), a belief that one is powerless to affect change in a given situation. If a learner fails in several language learning tasks, they may believe factors apply globally (e.g. *all* language tests are too difficult) and withdraw from the whole domain. If the learner decides it was their lack of ability that was responsible, they may also develop low self-efficacy (Bandura, 1993), that is, a belief that they lack the attributes to create positive outcomes, which may undermine long-term learning goals or self-identity as a learner. This tendency to apply attributions broadly may be described as a pessimistic attributional style, resembling amotivation.

Mindset Theory, associated particularly with Dweck (2006; see also Lou & Noels, this volume) has extended this work on attribution. Dweck suggests that it is not so much whether we attribute failure to our ability that is important, as how malleable we believe our ability to be. One student may see ability as fixed while another may believe they have the potential to develop their skills. Students with the more fixed mindsets may lose motivation in the face of failure as they may then regard failure as unavoidable.

It is worth noting that various factors may make maladaptive cognitions more likely. For example, as children age, they doubt their ability more (Eccles, Wigfield, Harold, & Blumenfeld, 1993); rule-based environments may increase the perception that one is powerless to affect change; and, on the level of social discourse, simply reminding a student of a negative ability stereotype related to their ingroup (e.g. boys can't do languages) will immediately reduce motivation and interest in the subject (Master, Cheryan, & Meltzoff, 2016).

To conclude, individual demotivation can often represent a collapse in resilience caused by a failure to enlist cognitive strategies to resolve the negative emotions that stem from deficits in need fulfillment.

Demotivation from Contemporary Research Perspectives

The psychological literature helps explain *why* adverse circumstances can lead to individual demotivation. However, since learners have a wide range of needs, and experience a variety of interactions with the environment over time, motivational change in practice seldom resembles a single process with a beginning and end point. As technology evolves, we have become better able to observe demotivation directly both in its social context and through neural imaging, to see how a variety of demotivational (and re-motivational) processes may operate in learning contexts.

Complex Dynamic Systems

Changes in motivation that occur as an individual interacts with the environment have been described as a 'complex dynamic system' (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015; Hiver & Papi, this volume) and are currently proving an exciting focus for research. A good illustration is the study by Waninge, Dörnyei, and De Bot (2014) who tracked a group of students in lessons using a reporting tool for measuring motivation in real time. In so doing, they were able to observe the interplay between the

stable motivational tendencies of each student, sudden individual variations, collective drops in motivation in response to certain lesson activities (e.g. long explanations), and subsequent recovery.

These dynamics, involving motivational change and recovery, can be grasped conceptually in terms of attractor state theory. This describes how motivation may gravitate to central points called 'attractors', like water in a basin (Hiver, 2014). Individuals within a group may find themselves drawn to a shared motivational attractor or drawn (back) towards their own motivational attractors. However, new attractor states may emerge as impactful events known as 'perturbations' (like the arrival of a new teacher or the announcement of a forthcoming exam) cause the system to re-organise.

Movements within and between attractors frequently emerge as the result of 'feedback' mechanisms, according to which perturbations can either have knock-on effects, creating a spiral of demotivation (known as 'positive' feedback, reflecting a growing impact), or be resisted (negative feedback). For example, a deficit in one's sense of competence may lead to self-handicapping (withdrawing effort to save face in the event of failure) which will reinforce low competence. On the other hand, it may lead to help-seeking and result in improved performance, restoring motivation. Demotivation might therefore be described as the emergence of a new attractor state or as part of fluctuation within an attractor.

A range of demotivational feedback mechanisms have been observed. Lamb (2017, p. 329), having reviewed longitudinal studies such as Lamb (2011) and Busse and Walter (2013), observes a positive feedback loop involving learning and non-learning environments: frustration in class leads to low effort beyond the classroom, fewer chances to experience efficacy, which in turn produces a further reduction in confidence, and so less effort in the classroom. In contrast, research by Kim and Kim (2017) explores the strategies used by Korean students, like changing study methods, to (periodically) recover from episodes of low motivation, an example of negative feedback.

Further feedback mechanisms can be observed in the field of group dynamics (see Fukada et al., this volume). For example, students who study with less motivated peers may see their motivation drop towards the group average and students relegated to low ability groups may see motivation fall considerably (Schunk & Benedetto, 2016). Both may happen as a result of emotion sharing, mirroring of others in their group, or arguably because individuals stand less chance of being singled out for criticism in low ability settings, which reduces their negative motivation (i.e. fear of punishment).

Longer-term dynamics may also result in demotivation. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) observe the common pattern of an 'emerging dislike' (p. 149)

of second language learning. They explain starting a course is like writing a 'blank cheque' where costs in terms of effort and other negative experiences only become known over time. Similarly, Hassaskhah et al. (2014) also note how demotivation may emerge in accordance with the length of time spent at an institution, with third year majors reporting lower motivation than new intakes.

Neuroscience

Despite the various factors and dynamics linked to demotivation, research presented to this point has tended to treat the *experience* of demotivation as a single phenomenon. But research into neural systems suggests it can take a variety of forms.

Motivation is largely regulated through the actions of the neurotransmitter dopamine as it passes along neural pathways, particularly the mesocorticolimbic projection, into regions of the brain that play a role in promoting 'seeking' behavior, such as the Striatum and the Ventromedial pre-frontal cortex (VMPFC). Studies continue to show that dopamine transmission is implicated in seeking not just external rewards but those we associate with intrinsic motivation and learning, like choice, interest, positive feedback, or integrating behaviour with self-knowledge (Kim, Reeve, & Bong, 2017). Within this circuitry, dopamine plays a role at different stages of motivation (Hamid et al., 2015). Firstly, it assigns objects and events (stimuli) a reward value for future reference, often thought of as a common currency (Landreth & Bickle, 2008), based on how positively we experience them. Thereafter, when we anticipate stimuli that are positively valued, dopamine release increases appetite to approach them.

Demotivation to study may occur, firstly, when the prospect of consuming rewards through learning recedes relative to other activities. To understand this, the notion of prediction error hypothesis (Schultz, 1998) is especially useful. Our brains will keep an estimate of the average reward we can expect from stimuli, by constantly assessing past and ongoing experience. As we work towards a goal, dopamine-producing neurons will become more or less active as estimates change following 'errors' in our prediction. Errors may include how great the reward is, how soon it will arrive, or how difficult it will be to obtain. Worse-than-expected estimates inhibit release of dopamine, resulting in demotivation. Evidence to link low dopamine to specific learning experiences may be lacking, but we suggest it may account for the kinds of reduction in interest experienced when school work is perceived as too simple (a smaller reward than expected) or challenging (a reward too difficult to obtain).

Yet studies have also indicated that in addition to being ‘withdrawn’ from reward seeking circuitry, dopamine may be released into regions that respond to cost, namely the bilateral insula (Treadway, Buckholtz, & Cowan, 2012), and aversion, particularly the mesolimbic pathway (Salamone & Correa, 2012). This will happen whenever we face ‘punishers’, that is stimuli encoded with a negative value. This raises the possibility that a second, aversive form of demotivation (as discussed in the *Avoidance* section above), experienced largely as anxiety, may be linked to the dopaminergic system. Arguably, this may occur, for instance, when a student fears negative judgment by peers or failure in exams.

Thirdly, demotivation may occur when regions of the brain that motivate learning are impaired. Brain-imaging studies (Kim et al., 2017) show that monetary rewards, lack of emotional support, judgmental feedback, and lack of day-to-day need fulfilment can all limit the activity within brain regions implicated in learner motivation. With the exception of the monetary reward, these impairments tend to affect regions controlling executive functions like the VMPFC, which inhibits emotional responses or uses self-knowledge (like values or goals) to direct behavior, functions which are particularly important when striving for long-term rewards. This kind of demotivation may be experienced as distraction or poor behavioural control.

Neuroscientific research remains a conceptually complex and rapidly-evolving field, which we have been unable to explore in depth. Yet it offers direct, unmediated methods for observing motivational change, and demands consideration when accounting for demotivation.

Implications

The idea that there are different kinds of motivation involving different mechanisms forces us to question how we use ‘catch-all’ labels like demotivation. Nevertheless, episodes of demotivation arguably share enough common causal characteristics for the term to be useful. In this section we identify three such components (see Fig. 18.2) and outline a few examples how a focus on each can help education practitioners and researchers address demotivation in SLA.

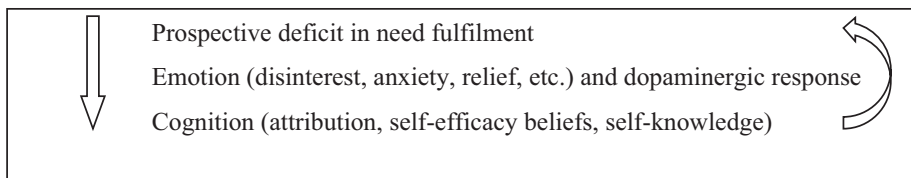


Fig. 18.2 Core components in demotivation

Shared Characteristics of Demotivation Processes

Firstly, since the reward value we attach to stimuli is based on human need at some level (Olsson, 2003), demotivation arguably involves an expected deficit in need fulfilment. This deficit may be relative to previous expectations, or else to costs, like time, effort, esteem, and loss of opportunity. Second, demotivation is accompanied by emotional change when contemplating learning. This is mostly negative, like lack of interest or anxiety, but also (when negative motivation disappears) may include relief. Third is the influence of cognition: particularly whether or not we believe the predicted experience that is causing negative emotion can be avoided, or whether it is worth enduring to fulfil personal goals. This calculation may further affect expectations of need fulfilment.

Addressing Needs Deficits

The suggestion that need deficits spark demotivation has obvious implications for teachers. As Gnambs and Hamfstingl conclude, “If teachers manage to adequately address students’ need for competence, autonomy, and social relatedness, intrinsic motivation can be properly maintained throughout the school career.” (Gnambs & Hanfstingl, 2016, p. 12) Although Gnambs and Hamfstingl are referring to long-term declines in motivation, it seems reasonable to suggest that addressing need, through methods like those outlined in the table (Fig. 18.3) below, might also prevent shorter-term demotivation.

Yet teachers must attend to a variety of needs, including the creation of motivational conditions like sensory stimulation and novelty. These may be difficult to create in formal L2 learning where there is often a reliance on printed material or a regular revisiting of learning topics. Furthermore, since not all needs are universal, the identification of learner needs itself creates a significant challenge. Creating a needs profile of students recording, for instance, implicit needs like desire for competition may help teachers defend students against need deficits.

Unmet needs	Solution
Competence	Attainable/challenging objectives, short-term goals
Relatedness	Warmers and games, laughter, inclusive interaction
Autonomy	Self-assessment, language portfolios, task choice

Fig. 18.3 Resolving unmet needs

However, to the best of our knowledge, little attempt has been made by researchers to identify a set of needs deficits implicated in declining student motivation, let alone within the field of L2 learning (though see Noels et al., this volume). We might speculate that L2 classes are not satisfying the desire for autonomy if this need is better met by the proliferation of self-access learning resources; L2 instruction may not be meeting the need for personal relevance in the era of translation and subtitling software; and the need to observe progress may remain unfulfilled whenever ‘plateauing’ occurs in students’ development. If we can understand from learners which needs are most commonly felt to be in deficit in the learning environment, we can take steps to alleviate deficits before demotivation develops. Therefore, a focus on need deficits (rather than external demotivators) may provide a useful paradigm shift in demotivation research.

Mitigating Emotional Disturbance

Our analysis also suggests teachers might mitigate demotivation by helping resolve negative emotion, like FLA. One useful approach may be to encourage self-distancing (seeing events from the perspective of an onlooker). This may involve writing about anxiety-inducing experiences or acknowledging and sharing concerns. Simply discussing events to gain other viewpoints has been linked to stress reduction when considering past and future events (Kross & Ayduk, 2017). The opportunities for self-expression in the language classroom make it a particularly suitable place to air negative emotion verbally. We might note, however, that anxiety may also be lowered simply by promoting an environment that is inclusive and accepting of failure (though not accepting of low effort), avoiding a focus on grades and outcomes. A further pedagogical approach may be to use modelling techniques, showing interest and curiosity, for instance, to help alleviate apathy or boredom. However, research is needed to understand the potential such strategies have to motivate particular learning behaviours.

Supporting Adaptive Cognition

Finally, teachers can support processes of cognition, particularly attribution. Encouraging students to write about negative experience may itself promote adaptive explanatory thinking in place of mere rumination. Through feedback, teachers can then guide students towards the identification of controllable, unstable factors, like effort. A notable example of such guidance is the intervention designed by Dweck (2007), which involved explaining to

students how they can grow their brains as they might a muscle, thereby making competence a controllable and unstable factor. Another aspect of cognition that may prevent demotivation is self-image as a language user. Strong self-knowledge helps to guide our motivational system towards behaviours coherent with goals and values whenever decision-making conflict arises. Developing L2 self-guides (Dörnyei, 2009 and see Csizér, this volume) may prevent students being distracted from learning goals.

Once again, research can help evaluate such interventions and it often encourages us to exercise caution. For example, Dweck's intervention reported promising outcomes (Dweck, 2007), but attempts to replicate it have not brought notable results (Sisk, Burgoyne, Sun, Butler, & Macnamara, 2018). It may be that one-off interventions are less effective than sustained approaches to tackling demotivation.

Conclusion

Current research into demotivators in SLA is undeniably valuable for L2 practitioners. Understanding and addressing the problems in the learning environment identified by learners will, at the very least, help satisfy their need to be listened to and respected. Besides, our ability to help students develop adaptive styles of cognition depends on our understanding of how they currently explain motivational crises. But if we are to interpret learner accounts of demotivation confidently, to design interventions that tackle underlying causation, and to pre-empt demotivation effectively, we need to enlist a range of theoretical perspectives on the processes involved. In setting these out, we have argued that it is necessary to supplement the emphasis on external factors with consideration of internal processes involved in demotivation: re-shaping the learning environment will only succeed if we re-shapes the learning experience too. We have also underlined the seriousness of demotivation and suggested that unresolved episodes of demotivation may sometimes develop into amotivation. To ensure demotivation is kept in check, teachers must support need fulfilment, improve emotional states, and enhance expectations of learning.

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19

Language Teacher Motivation Research: Its Ends, Means and Future Commitments

Magdalena Kubanyiova

The need to look at ‘the other side of the desk’ and consider the motivation of language teachers as well as that of students has been long acknowledged (Savignon, 1976), though the topic has arguably not enjoyed the same theoretical and empirical attention as the burgeoning field of L2 motivation (Boo, Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015). In their reflection on the possible reasons, Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) state,

The ultimate aim of motivation research is always to explain student learning, and in order to associate the latter meaningfully with the motivation of teachers, we need to show first that an increase in teacher motivation leads to improved motivational practice on their behalf, which in turn promotes student motivation, which eventually results in enhanced student performance. While the chain is intuitively convincing, it is difficult to get empirical confirmation for it because of the manifold confounding variables at each connection level (p. 101).

Put in this way, the task of language teacher motivation researchers does appear to be fraught with challenges from the outset, which no doubt plays a contributing role in the lack of attention from this specific domain of inquiry, referred to as language teacher motivation research. At the same time, however, enlarging the conceptions of motivation, of language learning, and of the language teaching-learning relationship opens up a rich and growing body

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of existing research in applied linguistics that presents both new opportunities and new imperatives for language teacher motivation research.

In this chapter, I provide a brief overview of key theoretical perspectives of current language teacher motivation research, before launching a reflection on its future. I suggest that a broader and necessarily transdisciplinary scoping of research across applied linguistics and beyond can be instrumental to articulating this domain's purposes and to enlarging its theoretical and methodological repertoires. I then return to the existing language teacher motivation literature through this enriched lens and outline three theoretical metaphors, complexity, figured worlds, and acts of imagination, for their promise to contribute to this more encompassing agenda of language teacher motivation research. I end by proposing a new epistemological orientation to researching teacher motivation as a way of harnessing this promise. In so doing, I hope to prompt researchers and educators to consider anew why and how teacher motivation matters to the work of educating language learners and why, therefore, a concerted effort to look at 'the other side of the desk' may not be an optional extra but a necessary complement to our understanding of what goes on in language classrooms and beyond. Becoming more comfortable at the transdisciplinary intersections rather than dwelling firmly in the ever more innovative but largely confined disciplinary homes may cast a new light on the purposes, methods and future directions in this area of research.

The Current Landscape of Teacher Motivation Research

Language teacher motivation research has been concerned with issues broadly summed up by questions of what brings people into the language teaching profession and what keeps them in it, often despite the multitude of micro- and macrostructural constraints (for a comprehensive overview of specific themes and findings, see Hiver, Kim, & Kim, 2018). Yet, delineating the boundaries of this domain of inquiry in the larger context of educational and applied linguistics inquiry is not as straightforward as it may first appear. On the one hand, there is a sense of a clearly carved out *language teacher motivation* agenda firmly located in the psychological tradition of educational research and closely linked through its theorising with L2 motivation research. On the other hand, however, research whose findings speak to the broad questions of why language teachers do what they do, does not always begin with this focus in mind, often borrows from theoretical traditions beyond the

motivation literature, or openly rejects the conceptual, epistemological or methodological assumptions of motivation research.

More specifically, at one end of this theoretical continuum, a range of psychological theories and constructs found in general motivation research, including self-determination, self-efficacy, and self-discrepancy, have informed the theorising within language teacher motivation agenda. These have contributed to our understanding of a range of motives (from intrinsic, internally and externally regulated, to altruistic and value-driven), self-efficacy beliefs (both individual and collective) and future possible selves that shape language teachers' entry into the profession, their investment in their continuing professional development, and their classroom practice. Some examples include the application of self-theories to the study of EFL teachers working in state schools in Brazil (Costa Ribas, 2012) or to English Medium Instruction university teachers in the Basque Autonomous Community in the north of Spain (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2016).

Others have examined teacher motivation through the broader lens of vision (Kalaja, 2016; Kubanyiova, 2014) or visual identity (Brandão, 2018), incorporating insights from neighbouring domains, most notably language teacher identity and language teacher cognition (cf. Kubanyiova & Feryok, 2015). And there is also a substantial body of scholarship that has made implicit or explicit links to teacher motivation while focusing on distinctive concepts such as, among others, inspiring teaching practice (Lamb & Wedell, 2015), teacher commitment (Moodie & Feryok, 2015), teacher enthusiasm (Peng, 2008), teacher emotions (Martínez Agudo, 2018), or teacher resilience (Hiver, 2018).

At the other end of the spectrum is research which has been informed by distinctly sociocultural, sociolinguistic and/or critical perspectives with the aim to inform language teacher education policies and practices, as well as language pedagogy. This body of work, located primarily at the intersection of language teacher education (Crookes, 2009; Hawkins, 2011; Johnson & Golombek, 2016) and language teacher identity (De Costa & Norton, 2017; Varghese, Motha, Park, Reeves, & Trent, 2016), has not referenced motivation as its construct of inquiry. Its findings have, nevertheless, illuminated issues that are, or might need to be in the future, at the heart of language teacher motivation research.

To give but one example, critical language teacher education research has made it clear that the growth in populations of multilingual children in mainstream education across the world has created a need to think about language and language learning differently in order to understand and serve such contexts (Hawkins, 2011). This suggests that the landscape from which to

examine language teacher motivation has also been enlarged as a result. It is because some of those language teachers who enter the profession do so from a strong critical stance: they see themselves as advocates for the often marginalized communities of bilingual children and their families (Télliez & Varghese, 2013). Others position themselves as active dissenters against political, social and administrative pressures that actively discourage language teachers from adopting such advocacy roles (Morgan, 2016). These identity positions shed new light on questions about what compels language teachers to join and remain committed to the profession and how they can be supported in articulating and embodying their values, visions and professional identities. Crucially, they amplify ways in which language teachers' desires and visions are deeply embedded in and constrained by the social, cultural and political ecologies of their teaching contexts on the one hand while shaping the educational consequences for their students on the other.

Drawing from insights from across these multiple domains might lend an instructive transdisciplinary perspective on the future shape, scope, and directions for teacher motivation research; that is, a perspective that engages more systematically with the broader sociocultural and ideological as well as psychological layers of language teachers' work on the one hand and which seeks to integrate the knowledge base of other disciplinary domains, such as sociolinguistics and second language acquisition (SLA) on the other. I return to the latter point at the end of the next section.

The Ends of Language Teacher Motivation Research

Another, closely related, reason that this wide-lens approach to scoping the terrain of language teacher motivation may be necessary is rooted in its original aspiration to connect empirically the motivation of teachers with that of their students. The teaching-learning relationship is of course complex in its own right (see, for example, a discussion of the 'relationship of influence' in Freeman & Johnson, 2005) and any scholarly effort to establish the connection needs to account for this complexity in non-reductive, ecologically valid and ethical ways; a commitment which is likely to test the limits of any one disciplinary domain. Yet, the urgency of that effort is uncontested and increasingly visible in the surrounding areas of applied linguistics research as well as in the general teacher motivation inquiry.

For example, in the recent re-envisioning of purposes of language teacher cognition, Kubanyiova and Feryok (2015) have urged scholars working in

this line of research to articulate more explicitly and enact more robustly their commitment to addressing some of the central questions of classroom-based language education research, namely: “How do language teachers create meaningful learning environments for their students and how can teacher education, continuing professional development, and the wider educational and sociocultural context facilitate such learning in language teachers?” (p. 435) This, they further argued, was needed because while the research activity focusing on describing language teachers’ knowledge and beliefs had seen a vigorous growth over the past few decades, assessing its relevance to the real-world concerns of language teachers, language teacher educators and language learners was problematic if the connection between language teachers’ cognition and students’ language learning remained unexamined.

That a similar commitment might be necessary for the language teacher motivation domain has been signalled in a recent review of extensive research on motivation and emotion in general teacher motivation literature. In their stock-taking chapter on teacher self-efficacy beliefs, for instance, Klassen, Durksen, and Tze (2014) have noted a significantly slowing trend. They ascribe this to the weak links between theory and practice, noting that very little of the extensive research on teachers’ self-efficacy has actually been translated into concrete practices or policies. Among many reasons, not accounting sufficiently for the various dimensions (sources) that influence teachers’ self-efficacy and not linking research on teacher self-efficacy to the actual educational outcomes (students’ learning) were cited by the authors as the most pressing concerns. Commenting on the state of the art of teacher motivation research more globally, Alexander, Grossnickle, and List (2014) conclude,

What we found in our analysis of these chapters was that the end state of investigating teacher motivations and emotions was not often clearly depicted. And, without a more definitive sense of where those embarking on this adventure are headed, it will be rather impossible to determine whether they are moving in a positive direction (p. 159).

Finally, reflecting on the ends of teacher motivation research in relation to student learning is crucial but further complicated by an expanding picture of what we mean by L2 learning and whose L2 learning and in what settings is relevant to our inquiry (cf. Teemant, 2018). This is captured in a recent transdisciplinary framework by a group of scholars in the field of SLA:

... our present collective text is motivated by the conviction that SLA must now be particularly responsive to the pressing needs of people who learn to live—and in fact do live—with more than one language at various points in their lives,

with regard to their education, their multilingual and multiliterate development, social integration, and performance across diverse contexts. A new SLA must be imagined, one that can investigate the learning and teaching of additional languages across private and public, material and digital social contexts in a multilingual world. We propose that it begin with the social-local worlds of L2 learners and then pose the full range of relevant questions—from the neurobiological and cognitive micro levels to the macro levels of the sociocultural, educational, ideological, and socioemotional. (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 20)

It would appear, therefore, that if the contemporary language teacher motivation research aspires to make firmer connections with students' lives and thus serve their needs "with regard to their education, their multilingual and multiliterate development, social integration, and performance across diverse contexts" (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 20), it might, by definition, have to expand its traditionally psychological boundaries and borrow insights from across the sociolinguistic and critical perspectives on language learning, language teaching and language teachers' lives. In what follows, then, is my return to the existing language teacher motivation literature with the aim to examine possible conceptual and methodological pathways that it offers for advancing such a transdisciplinary agenda.

The Means of Language Teacher Motivation Research: Theoretical Metaphors

In this overview of promising theoretical directions for language teacher motivation research, I propose three broad conceptual metaphors as examples of productive lenses through which to study language teacher motivation in relation to the educational consequences for language learners. These frameworks have already guided language teacher motivation scholarship by foregrounding the situated, synergistic and dynamic nature of the phenomenon of teacher motivation (complexity), the multiple sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts in which teachers' motivation is embedded (figured worlds) and the teachers' here-and-now investment in their imagined futures (acts of imagination). I see these theoretical lenses as promising possibilities, especially if they are treated in the way I intend to offer them here: as heuristic devices that allow and actively encourage new questions, understandings, and interdisciplinary borrowings in the effort to address the changing realities of the language education context across the globe. In other words, these theoretical umbrellas, while distinctive in what they foreground with regards to

teacher motivation, all open up transdisciplinary possibilities that can guide the field more closely towards its worthwhile ends. I offer examples of published as well as unpublished research that can serve as useful framings for extended future inquiry.

Complexity

Complexity-informed research into language-related phenomena is already firmly established in applied linguistics (Larsen-Freeman, 2017) and the existing scholarship across different sub-fields of applied linguistics has focused on moving away from complexity as a metaphor and towards the development of substantive theoretical principles of complex systems and dynamic systems theory in particular (cf. Ortega & Han, 2017; see Hiver & Papi, this volume). In contrast to these efforts, I take a deliberately metaphorical stance here by offering *complexity* as a profitable but essentially open-ended frame of thinking about language teacher motivation, inviting multiple and varied theoretical iterations. I briefly allude to sample studies inspired by complexity thinking which juxtapose teachers' motivation and students' engagement in their language learning and thus signal future possibilities for substantiating that relationship.

Michlizoglou (2007) adopted a systems theory to examine the motivation of state-school EFL teachers working in remote regions of Greece. Her findings show teachers who saw their job as a way of giving back to their community and pursued it as an "offering". They were energised by supportive relationships with colleagues as well as by the recognition received from their school management. But the most powerful fuel to their day-to-day job of teaching English in these remote parts of the country was their students' "fulfilment of their role as students" (p. 62). Michlizoglou's data, however, exposed frequent accounts of students' reluctance to take up such roles, manifesting in their misbehaviour or unwillingness to participate in learning tasks, which, in turn, had detrimental consequences for the teachers' motivation. At the same time, Michlizoglou's careful application of a systems theory approach allowed her to portray classroom life as a succession of interrelations, interactions and recursive motives behind the teachers' and their students' behaviour with important implications for understanding and enhancing the motivation of both. To this end, she used her findings to emphasize the need to generate detailed descriptive rather than judgmental evidence of what goes on in the classroom, to remember that students and teachers are co-participants in and co-contributors to the system and to focus on communication as key in creating more productive relations across people, ideas and institutional conditions.

Another example of complexity-inspired understandings of language teacher motivation is Kimura's (Kimura, 2014, *in press*) rare type of an over a decade-long ongoing research programme, capturing the professional development of a group of English language teachers in China, South Korea and Japan. Over the time, the teachers have participated in various curricular initiatives informed by the broad principles of project-based learning and Kimura has been documenting their developmental and motivational trajectories. There are variations across and within the participating teachers' settings, encompassing differences in the types of support mechanisms that these teachers have enjoyed, the institutional roles they have assumed, or their public status. Kimura's research has made visible how each language teacher is located uniquely in more than one system with unique consequences for the kinds of interactions and relationships with students that they are able to access. These, in turn, shape their motivation to teach and, ultimately, make a difference to how or whether the students benefit from the teachers' participation in professional development.

Finally, Sampson's (2016) autoethnographic account of his practice as an EFL teacher at a Japanese technology college focused on the ebbs and flows of teacher motivation over the course of one academic year. Drawing on his introspective research journal along with data from his students' reflections, Sampson's data have linked teacher motivation in a complex relationship with emotions and professional identity and to the external forces beyond the classroom. His chief conclusion, however, was that teachers' complex motivational trajectories captured over the life of the project are uniquely bound to specific class groups.

Although these sample research projects locate the study of teacher motivation in diverse contexts, they collectively demonstrate thanks to their complexity-conscious research designs that our understandings of teacher motivation will be limited if we attempt to separate the bonds between the teachers' and students' lives as they play out in specific institutional, cultural, and historical settings. Language teacher motivation research, then, has a lot to gain by adopting and adapting the metaphor of complexity, especially if it also strives to draw on the language of arts and humanities (Cameron, 2015) in its efforts to expose and revel in the uniqueness of specific people's relationships.

Figured Worlds

Another perspective that has informed a particular aspect of teacher motivation research, teachers' motivation *to learn*, is a situative approach to learning

which is concerned with how individuals learn within their activity systems (Horn, Nolen, Ward, & Campbell, 2008; van Lankveld et al., 2017). Combining the focus on motivation and learning, this perspective places an emphasis on student teachers' motivation to learn to participate in relevant activities across different contexts of their professional development (such as university teacher education settings, teaching placements, or real-world classrooms). But it also recognises and endeavours to make visible the role that these contexts play in shaping their motivation. Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain (1998) have termed these contexts *figured worlds* to amplify their own histories and shared cultural practices, which place distinctive demands on participants' roles, identities and practices, are governed by distinctive and often contradictory goals and values, and afford participants different levels of access depending on their social and professional status.

Because student teacher motivation is brought to bear differently across these distinctive figured worlds of teacher education settings, teaching placements, or real-world classrooms, research on teacher motivation to learn has to strive to provide detailed accounts of both persons' motivations and the varied contexts in which their motivation is (or is not) invested. As Nolen, Ward, and Horn (2014) explain, "Our approach to teacher motivation orients us to the factors, both individual and situational, that contribute to teachers' desire and commitment to learn and use particular instructional practices" (p. 169). They call these reasons to learn and commit "motivational filters", which are both personally relevant to individuals at any point in time as well as socially shaped through teachers' participation in "collective imaginings" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 51), that is, established and shared ways of being and acting in the varied figured worlds in which teachers' professional development takes place. Although similarities with complexity thinking are obvious, this perspective's insistence on deeper understandings of these shared practices as a way of appreciating individuals' motivation clearly sets it apart.

In applied linguistics, the concept of *figured worlds* has been used to account for linguistic practices and identities of students in different settings, such as multilingual children in language immersion contexts or adult refugees learning the language of their receiving environments (Baynham, 2006; Dagenais, Day, & Toohey, 2006), but admittedly less so in the context of language teachers' motivation. Varghese (2008, 2018) or Clarke (2008), for example, have drawn on this framework to discuss language teacher identity construction, which is seen as fundamental to language teachers' professional learning (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). Although this work does not tend to refer to teacher motivation explicitly, the questions that Varghese (2018) poses as a way of justifying the importance of adopting sociocultural conceptualisations, such

as figured worlds, are at the core of a teacher motivation line of inquiry. As she notes,

One of the reasons that examining language teachers' beliefs and experiences is important is because it provides us with a greater understanding of what shapes teachers' learning and professional identity along with other factors such as their professional development/teacher education experiences. It can also provide an insight into language teachers' professional paths such as what kind of jobs they may seek and why, where they would be seeking such jobs, how long they may stay, and what types of support may assist teachers in staying in and enjoying the particular professional paths they have sought (p. 71).

The questions, then, are close to identical to those asked by what we know under the umbrella of language teacher motivation. But while the latter would seek conceptual explanations in the largely cognitively-oriented models of *individual motivation*, the metaphor of figured worlds lends a distinctly socio-cultural and, crucially, ideological and socio-political perspective on understanding *the worlds* in which teachers are invested as they learn to support their students. For example, language ideologies, educational policies and accountability regimes that discourage or even sanction language teachers' investment in supporting their students' language learning in particular ways may have negative consequences for the teachers' desire to remain in the profession despite, or paradoxically because of, their continuing deep commitment to their students (cf. Santoro, 2015).

This appears to be an important opportunity for language teacher motivation researchers committed to addressing the link between teacher motivation and educational consequences for their language learners: to bring into conversation insights from research into the figured worlds of students from the broadest range of lived experiences (e.g. Dagenais et al., 2006) with those of their teachers as they grow or are constrained in their commitment to teach them (cf. Varghese, 2018).

Acts of Imagination

Finally, language teacher motivation research has also been approached through a theoretical perspective which seeks to illuminate the very acts of teachers' investment in those 'systems' or 'figured worlds': language teachers' emerging *acts of imagination* (Kubanyiova, 2019). This metaphor has grown from research into what is now a well-known construct of *language teachers' possible selves* (Kubanyiova, 2009), whose origins were inspired by theorising in psychology (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and whose relevance to the study of

language teacher motivation has been examined across diverse contexts of language teachers' work (Arkhipenka, 2017; Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2016; Hiver, 2013; Kumazawa, 2013; Sahakyan, Lamb, & Chambers, 2018).

Given its scholarly heritage, the theoretical metaphor of acts of imagination may at first sight appear to be bounded by a well-theorised construct of *possible selves* and therefore less permeable to transdisciplinary influences. Yet, recent research efforts have shown its power as a broader lens for encompassing sociologically- as well as psychologically-informed ways of understanding students' and teachers' lives, striving for balance in the emphasis between agency and structures, tackling issues around social justice (Henderson, Stevenson, & Bathmaker, 2019), and foregrounding the moral dimension of educators' meaning making (Kubanyiova, 2017, 2018).

Contemporary research on language teachers' motivation is decidedly moving away from seeing possible selves as distinctive and clear-cut images of ideal, ought-to or feared selves that teachers articulate and which, especially in the case of ideal selves, they are often unable to live up to. The current inquiry is directed instead towards assessing the ways in which the framework of possible selves might serve as a broader metaphor for understanding language teachers' sense making as they go about their task of educating language learners. For example, Sahakyan et al.'s (2018) study of Armenian language teachers has signalled the need to open up the construct of possible selves in order to understand the teachers' motivational trajectories over time. Their findings showed that the images of ideal future selves that the teachers articulated as they entered the profession were either transformed or completely abandoned, because they no longer reflected their day-to-day realities as these teachers progressed in their careers. They found that although imagination was clearly crucial in fuelling the teachers' motivation to support their students, it was more accurate to talk about these imaginings as 'feasible' future selves, encompassing components of teachers' desires, obligations, as well as fears.

My own inquiry into language learning opportunities in teacher-led classroom discourse of EFL teachers in Slovakia showed that despite their professed motivation to create opportunities for students' meaningful and equal participation in classroom conversation, the teachers did not always appear to act on it when such opportunities presented themselves in teacher-led discourse (Kubanyiova, 2015, 2019). I have theorised that what language teachers are doing as they perform the activity of language teaching is participate in what I have termed emerging *acts of imagination*: They see, make sense of, and engage in their professional interactions through the prism of their deeply desired evolving images of their future selves. To use the previous metaphor, these images are, of course, clearly anchored in the "collective imaginings"

(Holland et al., 1998, p. 51) of the teachers' figured worlds but are not easily articulated at a conscious level. At the same time, however, they cannot be separated from teachers' here-and-now actions and, crucially, have factual consequences for students' engagement in the classroom. In other words, what feeds language teachers' acts of imagination appears to shape which language learning affordances in classroom discourse become genuine learning opportunities and for whom.

The metaphor of *acts of imagination*, then, presents an opportunity for language teacher motivation researchers to inquire not so much into what 'possible selves' language teachers 'possess' and how these might or might not relate to their motivation and practice, but rather direct the analytical gaze much more directly to teachers' specific practices of supporting their students' language learning. It is through this shift in focus that further questions can be asked: what kinds of images are at the heart of teachers' acts of imagination, what are the sociocultural, historical, political, or linguistic circumstances that may have given rise to those images, in what ways do these 'acts of imagination' evolve in ways that are symbiotic with or, in contrast, in active resistance to the circumstances of the teachers' work, and, most importantly, what difference do they make to their students' language learning experience in the classroom and beyond?

In addition to the opportunities for transdisciplinary borrowings that the broader lenses of complexity and figured worlds present to the domain of language teacher motivation research, the metaphor of *acts of imagination* also invites a more philosophically-informed stance of teacher motivation. Desire, for instance, is central to the images that feed teachers' acts of imagination. But perhaps the kind of desire which channels students' meaningful language learning has less to do with the "restlessness reflected in the continual quest for the perfect method, the perfect lesson or the ideal language learner" or a "desire for that which the other deems desirable, or the desire to attain the other's approval" (Clarke, 2017, p. 266), and more to do with the desire to receive and enter into a relationship with the Other (Biesta, 2015; Kubanyiova, 2016b, 2018; Levinas, 1972/2006).

The Means of Language Teacher Research: A Practice-Oriented Epistemology

The perceived difficulty to link teacher motivation with student learning may at first sight appear to be an insurmountable obstacle in advancing the worthwhile ends of language teacher motivation research. Yet, as noted earlier in

this chapter and shown through my discussion of selected theoretical metaphors and sample studies, the nature of this challenge depends on how we conceptualise and, consequently, research motivation, learning, and the learning-teaching relationship. A typical response has been to present this challenge as principally a methodological one, with qualitative methodologies generally seen as better equipped to deal with the complexities of teacher motivation than the quantitative ones. While this remains a largely uncontested view, the studies discussed in this chapter have signalled that the question is fundamentally an epistemological one, requiring a robust reflection on what we treat as evidence of motivation and learning. I propose that the place to look is *practice* and the commitment to such *practice-oriented epistemology* has several implications.

To start with, the aspiration to make the connection to student learning requires that language teacher motivation inquiry be located more directly in the contexts in which students' lives are invested and in which such learning unfolds. This means that in a research study committed to addressing the link between teacher motivation and the educational consequences for language learners, the question of the latter might have to become a starting point rather than an afterthought. Studies which began as in-depth inquiries into students' experiences and evolved into explorations of teacher motivations (Ogawa, 2017; Sampson, 2016) can serve as useful examples of research designs capable of producing insights into these motivational synergies (cf. Pinner, 2017). Related to this is the need to move away from often simplistic measures of student L2 achievement as evidence of student learning and consider a fuller range of deeper and more nuanced understandings of what it means to learn, use, and live with multilingual repertoires across people's contexts of meaning making (Hall, 2019; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016).

More generally, a commitment to a practice-oriented epistemology in the study of language teacher motivation draws on an anthropological heritage in the conviction that researching people's motivation involves "direct, intimate, and more or less disturbing encounters with the immediate details of contemporary life" (Geertz, 2000, p. 22). Whether one is inspired by the metaphor of complexity, figured worlds, acts of imagination, or any other, understanding people's motivation to act essentially requires a direct gaze at such acts as they unfold in relevant interactions, systems or figured worlds. In other words, a practice-oriented epistemology does not take interest in isolating different facets of teacher motivation as reified concepts, such as intrinsic motives, altruistic values, or ideal selves. Instead, it is concerned with studying how such or other motives are embodied in the teachers' practice. Adopting some of the well-established approaches across applied linguistics, such as grounded

theory ethnography (Kubanyiova, 2016a), linguistic ethnography (Creese, Blackledge, & Takhi, 2014), or emerging narratives (Razfar, 2012) may open up new opportunities to generate thick descriptions of teachers' motivation in practice.

Inherent in the practice-oriented epistemology is also the recognition that people's motivation is "managed immediately and subtly through the normative resources of interaction" (Potter, 2012, p. 576). Such a discursive orientation to studying psychological concepts is already visible across research on teachers' lives, including research on teachers' emotions (White, 2018), cognition (Kubanyiova & Feryok, 2015), personal practical knowledge (Golombek, 2009), or possible selves (Kubanyiova, 2015, 2017, 2019). But the practice-oriented approach must also acknowledge with humility that the meaning of that which is visible in practice may not be immediately obvious to the analyst without painstaking piecing together of other pieces of the mosaic. Cameron's (2015, p. 43) summary of her "discourse dynamics model" which is grounded in the discursive approach and informed by broader principles of complexity can serve as an apt summary for this practice-oriented epistemology: start by interpreting an instance of interaction, unpack the elements, connections, and dynamics of the system, investigate the detail with appropriate tools, and take moral responsibility for every decision.

Conclusion: Future Commitments of Language Teacher Motivation Research

This overview has examined a body of research built around a seemingly straightforward broad question of 'What moves language teachers to make a difference to their students' language learning experience?' The idea that we may not find meaningful answers unless we commit to working and thinking in a transdisciplinary, and perhaps by necessity collaborative, fashion may be a deeply disorientating proposition to some. Yet the unfolding geo-political events, public discourses, and the countless human stories from around the globe challenge us to reflect critically on virtually all of this question's parts: who are language teachers, who are language students, what is language, and what does it mean to learn, use, and teach it? The answers will be far more complex than the traditionally psychologically-informed language teacher motivation research agenda could ever aspire to provide. This, however, is not the domain's problem but rather its unique opportunity: to strive to ground the study of language teacher motivation in the specific spatial and temporal

contexts of particular people's lives, to work in concert with other domains of applied linguistics as well as reach beyond its boundaries, and to commit to an intellectual, practical, as well as methodological stance that is resolute in its effort to preserve rather than erase "the dignity of difference" (Sacks, 2002, pp. 47–8):

Each landscape, language, culture, community is unique. Our very dignity as persons is rooted in the fact that none of us—not even genetically identical twins—is exactly like any other. Therefore none of us is replaceable, substitutable, a mere instance of a type. That is what makes us persons, not merely organisms or machines. If our commonalities are all that ultimately matter, then our differences are distractions to be overcome.

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Part III

Contexts of L2 Motivation



20

EFL Learning Motivation in Korea: Historical Background and Current Situation

Tae-Young Kim and Youngmi Kim

Even though South Korea (hereafter Korea) is considered an English as a foreign language (EFL) country, meaning English is not used in everyday life, national interest in English is at unprecedentedly high levels, regardless of generation, age, sex, and occupation. The desire to use English for travel abroad and to communicate in English with foreign visitors to Korea has been identified as a widespread social phenomenon. However, only after the 1990s can studies on EFL learning motivations in Korea be identified in academia (e.g., Lee, 1996). For more than two decades, EFL learning motivations in the Korean context have been explored from various perspectives, such as using the Socio-educational Model (Gardner, 1985), Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), and Activity Theory (Engeström, 2001).

In Korea, English education starts from the third grade, nine-year-olds, in public elementary schools. English is considered one of the key school subjects for the College Scholastic Ability Test (CSAT), which in turn influences the teaching and learning of English in secondary schools across Korea (Song, 2012). After entering college, the expectation is that students would put great effort into learning English at mandatory English classes provided at the university and into meeting their graduation requirements. In addition, English scores from such standardized tests are also required for employment, regardless of whether or not English is actually used at work (Park, 2009, 2011).

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The aforementioned social demands and motives for English learning can be approached from a variety of existing second language (L2) motivation theories. For example, studying English for university entrance can be explained by instrumentality, and may also be analyzed from the perspective of the ideal L2 self (Dörnyei, 2009; see Csizér, this volume), namely, the self-image that you want to possess while using the L2. Nonetheless, in the Korean context, preparing for English exams or CSAT is not merely for university admission; enrolling in prestigious universities is regarded as the first and essential qualification for obtaining an elite social status (Kang, 2009). Educational credentialism is also found in many East Asian countries such as China and Japan, and is observable in the popularity of intense private education in cram schools (T. Kim, 2017). However, the impact of educational credentialism seems particularly strong in Korea due to the rapid social and industrial transformation from an underdeveloped agricultural to an urban technological soft-power society that has taken place over the approximately six decades since the Korean War (1950–1953) (Kim, 2010). The impact of social changes and the competitive atmosphere can be found in the motivational profiles through all ages, from young to adult learners. In Korea, there are other second languages such as Japanese and Chinese due to geographic proximity, but in this chapter, mainly English will be discussed.¹

In order to fully understand why Koreans learn English, it is important to consider the historical context, which reinforces this competitive atmosphere. Therefore, in this chapter, in order to understand the uniqueness of EFL learning motivations among Koreans, the historical backdrop, from the late nineteenth century to the present day, will be explored in the next section. In section “Changes in EFL Learning Motivation Across Educational Stages”, we investigate how such socio-historical conditions still affect present-day EFL learning in Korea by highlighting their differential impacts on Korean students’ EFL learning motivations as they progress through the various school levels.

Historical Considerations for English Learning Motivation in South Korea

The Late Joseon Dynasty: After the Korea-US Commercial Treaty of 1882

Initially, English learning in Korea emerged from the need for diplomacy and international trade (Kim, 2011). In 1882, when Korea and the United States’

Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation was ratified, there was no one in Korea who could communicate in English. Following ratification of the treaty, trade between Korea and the U.S. expanded, resulting in an urgent demand for those having communicative competence in English. For the development of communicative skills at the professional level, the government established English-learning institutions such as Dong Mun Hak (同文學) in 1883 and Yuk Yeong Gong Won (育英公院) in 1886 (Hwang, 2014). At Yuk Yeong Gong Won, Korea's first comprehensive foreign language school, textbooks were imported directly from the U.S., and the medium of instruction was also English, influenced by the principles of the Direct Method (Richards & Rodgers, 2014). Besides such governmental initiatives, private English institutions were also established, mostly by Christian missionaries dispatched to Korea.

Following the introduction of English learning institutions, the popularity of English learning, especially speaking skills, surged among ordinary people (M. Kim, 2006). During this period, English learning was recognized as a shortcut to promoting the learner's social and financial status. With English speaking skills, it was possible to work at customs offices in major ports in Korea, receiving wages four to five times those of ordinary workers at other governmental offices. English speaking skills also provided access to "new knowledge" such as postal and telecommunication systems and opportunities for professional jobs in related fields, mostly positions at governmental offices (Hwang, 2014). Thus, a desire to climb the social ladder apparently functions as the main motivating factor during this period (Choi, 2008).

The Japanese Occupation (1910–1945): The Rise of Competitive Motivation for Improving Social Status

During the period of imperialist Japanese occupation, the Japanese Governor-General of Korea rigorously controlled the education system, leading to drastic changes in language learning and English learning motivation (Kim, 2016; Kwon, 2000). Learning Japanese became mandatory, and the opportunities for learning English speaking skills decreased. Grammar skills became the focus of teaching and testing, requiring sophisticated knowledge of English vocabulary and grammar (Kim-Rivera, 2002). For those aspiring to attend secondary schools, acquiring grammar knowledge became necessary. During the colonial period, secondary education for Koreans was restricted, let alone tertiary education, and enrollment in professional colleges and Kyungsung Imperial University² through fierce internal competition with fellow Koreans

was considered the surest way towards leading a stable life; competition ratios for college entrance became severe (Seth, 2002).

In this context, the meaning of English learning had changed from the learning of communication skills to memorizing vocabulary and complicated grammar rules for English exams in college admission tests (Kim, 2015). With the increased level of difficulty, the priority of learning English changed from practical verbal skills to test-taking skills, the inevitable wash-back effect of the test format. The instrumentality during the Japanese occupation related more to the desire to obtain a higher English test score than one's peers, a desire not closely related to authentic communicative needs (Hwang, 2014; Y. Kim, 2011). English tests functioned as a tool for stimulating fierce internal competition among compatriots, consolidating competitive motivation, gaining superiority over others. When learners have only one chance in the national exam, the test tends to stimulate social competition and family commitment to education, as found in the traditionally "Confucian" education nations such as Korea, China, Hong Kong, and Singapore (Marginson, 2011). Under normative evaluation, the way to gain a high score appears to be tenacious, repetitive practice. In this regard, competitive motivation seems to share similarities with performance goals, referring to the focus of proving one's ability by surpassing the standards set up by others, as discussed by Ames (1992). However, competitive motivation does not simply imply surpassing the normative standards but securing a higher position than others (T. Kim, 2006, 2010). Those with competitive motivation aim to outperform others, and they do not mind putting excessive efforts into practicing already familiar knowledge in order to avoid making mistakes (Kim, Yoon, & So, 2008). Under this competitive atmosphere, the learning of English often ends up consisting of exclusively individual tasks rather than collaborative ones (Gan, 2009).

Transforming the Nation From Poverty to Prosperity (1945–1980s): Continued Use of English for Screening University Applicants

After World War II, for the purpose of disarmament of the Japanese army, Soviet Russian troops entered North Korea north of the 38th parallel, while U.S. troops were stationed in South Korea from 1945 to 1948. As the U.S. supported South Korea's reconstruction after the Korean War, the importance of English increased (Hwang, 2014). During this period, the stated aim of English teaching was the development of communication skills to revitalize

the country by expediting international trade (Kwon & Kim, 2010). For exporting merchandise, practical English skills were needed, resulting in a growing concern with the practical usage of English. Learning English also represented the acquisition of the new knowledge and technology of the U.S. (Choi, 2006).

However, learning communicative skills remained a challenge, mainly because of the lack of systematic textbooks and English teachers with competent speaking and listening skills (Seth, 2002). In addition, the function of English as a useful gatekeeping device for internal competition through a set of (mostly multiple-choice) tests still prevailed in this period, exacerbating the already high level of competitive motivation. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Korean government pursued industrialization policies through higher education, and technical colleges were established based on those policies (Lee, 1999). As the number of secondary educational institutions increased, the passion for higher education spread.

During this period of rapid social upheaval, social status advancement was possible primarily by obtaining higher scores in tests, including English tests. Competition in entrance exams became more intense, even compared with that seen during the years of Japanese occupation. In order to gain admission into such quality education, English was one of the key subjects in the college admission test. In this context, a test-oriented form of English learning became widespread, with the primary purpose of improving one's chances of being included in the elite social class (Lee, 2017; Seth, 2002).

From the 1980s to the Present: Going Global with English Speaking Ability

With the hosting of major international events such as the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Summer Olympics, both in Seoul, the role of English in Korea gradually came to be seen as a means of communication. In the 1990s, interest in developing communicative skills was further strengthened by the “internationalization” policies of the government (Song, 2012). Such a political drive was reflected in the English curriculum of the 6th and 7th National Curricula, in place from 1992 to 2002, which highlighted authentic communication and verbal fluency. Furthermore, native speakers were recruited to teach English at public schools from 2009, mostly through the nationwide program known as the English Program in Korea (EPIK) (Kwon & Kim, 2010). Having native speakers in class provided opportunities for learners to use English for communicative purposes (Kim, 2012), potentially leading to

more developed ideal L2 selves among young EFL learners. According to Kim (2012), the participants in his study were able to imagine an imminent future for themselves of communicating with their foreign instructors in English.

Despite efforts to promote communicative skills in the public sector, competitive motivation still exists in Korea (T. Kim, 2006, 2010). In addition to university entrance, English skills are perceived as necessary even for job seekers in terms of meeting the English standards required by most employers (Shin, 2016). For these learners, their English learning motivation is instrumental for achieving a standard set by others, which is attaining a certain score in the standardized English test. Instead of developing the actual communicative skills implied by the score, they become more interested in acquiring the test-taking skills as a short cut. Thus, they become aware of the unbridgeable gap between their test scores and their actual proficiency level, and even have the tendency to consider studying for the TOEIC as something quite distinct from authentic English learning (see section “College Students: Influence of the TOEIC in the Job-Seeking Process”).

Once they attain a desired score in the standardized test and are free from the burden of studying for the test, adult learners tend to show authentic communicative interest regardless of the need for English for their job. As they recognize English as an international language, adult learners try to learn English for both work-related purpose and traveling overseas, not for obtaining a certain score in the standardized test (Kim & Kim, 2016).

Changes in EFL Learning Motivation Across Educational Stages

Elementary School Students: The Influence of Sagyoyook or Private Education

As previously mentioned, the 1980s and 1990s in Korea witnessed the hosting of global events such as the 1988 Summer Olympic Games and a phenomenal increase in international trade. Reflecting these socioeconomic changes, the national curriculum was changed in 1997 to extend English education to third-graders in elementary schools (Kwon, 2000). The main focus of English learning in elementary school is developing learners' communicative skills. For this purpose, speaking-focused activities are frequently used in elementary schools, and ample demonstrations are provided in class (Ahn, Kim, & Roh, 2015). Despite the fact that individual writing and reading are included in class activities, English classes at elementary schools generally pay more attention to oral language skills.

Empirical studies with elementary school students report that learners tend to have both internal and external forms of motivation. The ideal L2 self is often identified as an internal form of motivation (Jung, 2015; Lee & Ahn, 2013). Students would have opportunities to develop their ideal L2 self, based on a positive EFL learning experience. Researchers have identified two external forms of motivation: instrumentality-promotion (Jung, 2015) and family support (Lee & Ahn, 2013). Family support for managing the increasing learning burden can also help learners obtain higher scores in tests.

Even though family support seems to play a positive role in achieving a higher level of proficiency, it has a detrimental influence on learners' actual motivational level. T. Kim (2011, 2017) reported that the level of motivation appears to decrease significantly in terms of intrinsic/extrinsic motivation and integrative/instrumental motivation due to the excessive parental involvement, represented through *sagyoyook* or private education.

One special case related to the private education of English is sending young students abroad. Considering the intense competition for being admitted to the prestigious universities and the necessity of English communicative skills as one of the key elements to obtain decent jobs, study abroad at an early age has been adopted as a new way to obtain high English proficiency, especially oral skills (Shin, 2016). Top companies in Korea tend to be interested in hiring candidates who have a degree from foreign universities located in English-speaking countries, based on their expectation that graduates from foreign universities may have fluent language skills and intercultural awareness. As a form of meeting requirements for job applications and investment for future career, parents tend to utilize programs for study abroad provided by agencies in the language learning industry. In Song's (2010) study, Korean mothers who sent their child abroad for studying reported that they did not find English education in the public sector sufficient to be equipped with practical communication skills in English.

Elementary school students are often accompanied by their mothers while their fathers remain in Korea and financially support their family members staying abroad (Lee & Koo, 2006). This transnational form of household for education is referred to as a *gireogi* family. *Gireogi* refers to a wild goose that flies a long distance to mate; it is used to describe a family living separately for the purpose of better education, particularly English education. It is also found that some young learners are not accompanied by their parents. There are agencies in the language learning industry that arrange homestay and legal guardians for the young learners during their study abroad (Shin, 2016).

Sagyoyook tend to lead to a widening of the gap in English competence among learners. Students with higher socioeconomic status (SES) spend more

time learning English and are more likely to study at private institutes than those of lower SES (T. Kim, 2017). As students grow older, both high and low SES groups feel an increasing disenchantment with public education and with the English language. Students with higher SES can gradually lose interest in English at school due to their overexposure to it in private institutes, while those with lower SES may be discouraged when they witness the ever-growing proficiency gap between themselves and their counterparts from higher SES.

Junior High School Students: Prominence of the Ought-to L2 Self and Demotivation

As learners progress to junior high school (middle school in the official Korean terminology), they experience changes in both textbooks and learning activities (J.-R. Kim, 2014). At elementary school level, the curriculum focuses on affective aspects of English learning and communicative skills, such as increasing students' interest in English and maintaining their high level of English learning motivation. In contrast, the junior high school curriculum places more emphasis on cognitive aspects, including the accurate decoding of the meaning of reading passages and precise English composition (J.-R. Kim, 2014). Also, research suggests that teaching styles tend to be more teacher-centered and motivation strategies employed by teachers generally relate to stimulating learners' extrinsic motivation, such as emphasizing the importance of in-house tests for students' GPA (Ahn et al., 2015). Regular in-house tests at schools seem to increase the burden of English learning for students, and apparently, parents also start to take great interest in their children's test scores, since students' GPAs become a major criterion for the choice of high school, which is often related to university admission (Song, 2012).

Under these educational circumstances, the motivational profiles of junior high school students reflect the changes in their English curriculum and the consequential changes in their learning methods. Empirical studies with junior high school students show their perception of English often reflects their extrinsic motivation (Murray, 2007; Park, 2012). For example, Murray (2007) explores junior high school students' motivation from the perspective of self-determination theory (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 1985). This study indicated that identified regulation scored the highest average among four types of self-regulation, a sense of obligation in terms of English learning. Another study conducted by Park (2012) analyzed the English learning motivations of junior high school students based on Gardner's (1985) Socio-educational Model,

particularly integrative and instrumental orientations. Between these two orientations, an instrumental orientation (e.g., learning English to prepare for further education or to get a better job) was found to be prominent among junior high school students.

Even though learners presented motivations having both extrinsic and instrumental characteristics, some also demonstrated more internalized types of motivation (Murray, 2007). For example, they also showed interest in communicating with foreigners and enjoying English movies and music (Park, 2012). Learners wanted to understand the contents of movies and the lyrics of songs in English.

However, increased cognitive emphasis in the English curriculum seems to adversely influence junior high school students' motivation, compared to that of elementary school students. In fact, while investigating levels of motivation from grades 3 to 12 across Korea, Kim (2012) found that grade 8 students' levels of motivation were the lowest among all school grades. As sentences in textbooks become increasingly complicated, and grammatical meta-language starts to appear in learning materials, the resulting cognitive burden learners experience was counted as one of the demotivators (Kikuchi, 2015) or the sources of student demotivation (K. Kim, 2014). Internal factors such as losing specific learning goals and declining interest in learning English functioned as other demotivators.³ Both a lack of learning motivation and goals, and the perceived difficulty of learning English, negatively influenced junior high school students' English proficiency.

High School Students: The Emergence of Competitive Motivation for CSAT

The current high school English curriculum in Korea consists of two major parts: required, mandatory English, and elective English. Mandatory English was established in order for students to develop a balanced knowledge in the four skill areas (i.e., listening, speaking, reading, and writing). In accordance with individual students' preferences, aptitude, and career choices, elective English courses (e.g., *Practical English*, *English Culture*, *Career English*, and *English and American Literature Reading*) are added in junior and senior years at high school. The current high school curriculum shows that learners have more choices in their English learning than in the past (S. Kim, 2017).

It should be noted that even though the national curriculum emphasizes balanced development in the four areas of linguistic competence, in reality it is difficult, if not impossible, to strictly conform to the curriculum due to the

negative wash-back effects of CSAT. It is a widespread belief that matriculation in a prestigious university is a stepping-stone to success in society (Choi, 2008). English is one of the major subjects in CSAT, and the practical purpose of learning English in high school contexts in Korea is to achieve a higher score in this test (Jung, 2011). As such, English, as a major CSAT subject, has continually served a gatekeeping function by stratifying and selecting university applicants; in this educational environment, it is not uncommon to find an extreme level of competitive motivation among students. However, it should also be noted that competitive motivation among high school students was not a valid variable predicting the scores of their English tests (Kim, 2010). This means that excessive competition among students would not guarantee a better English score in CSAT. In this competitive environment, learners can also be demotivated in their EFL learning. According to Lee and Hwang (2017), the compulsory nature of L2 learning was identified as the most significant demotivator. In other words, learners show reduced motivation when they are forced to study English regardless of their personal interests. Aside from this, classroom-related factors (e.g., lack of learning materials and inappropriate learning environments) were identified as demotivators. When classroom learning materials were considered unrelated to attaining higher scores in CSAT, high school students often expressed dissatisfaction, resulting in demotivation (Lee & Hwang, 2017).

College Students: Influence of the TOEIC in the Job-Seeking Process

A unique motivational profile found among learners in tertiary education is the significant influence of college students' past learning experience (Hwang, 2013). Low ability students have already lost their interest due to previous negative experiences such as rote memorization of vocabulary and grammar pattern drills. However, they cannot avoid learning English at university because taking English courses is one of the requirements for graduation at most of universities. University students, often in their first year, are allocated to one of several English classes regardless of their interest in or preference for English learning. In this context, they often exhibit an extrinsic type of EFL learning motivation (Hwang, 2013).

Even though many appear to dislike the mandatory English classes at universities, learners do not negate the need to study English for employment and future career. The importance of English among first- or second-year stu-

dents seems to be reinforced through conversations with seniors or faculty members (Jo, 2015). Learners tend to hold the belief that higher scores in standardized English tests will enhance their competitiveness in their future job seeking. Because the belief in the usefulness of English proficiency is widespread, some first- or second-year students start to attend private English learning institutions in preparation for the standardized English tests even before they decide their future career (Park, 2013). Choi (2008) argued that these phenomena found on Korean college campuses can be the manifestations of the prevailing power of instrumental motivation surrounding English learning, rather than reflecting any authentic interest in developing their capacity to communicate in English.

Apparently, college students recognize the importance of learning English, but they also appear to be demotivated. Most studies have shown that the main demotivators were extrinsic factors such as being forced to study for meeting a required score in the TOEIC test for job seeking (Cho & Chung, 2014; Ma & Cho, 2014). Besides external demotivators, internal ones such as self-denigration and low levels of self-efficacy were identified (Cho & Chung, 2014; Ma & Cho, 2014). Jung (2011) suggested that a negative self-evaluation can discourage learners from putting more effort into learning, stalling progress and leading to further demotivation.

As students advance to their junior and senior college years, the burden of English becomes substantial as they actually embark on the job-seeking process. Most companies in Korea require high scores in standardized English tests such as TOEIC⁴ regardless of the day-to-day use of English in the workplace (Park, 2011). Based on the belief that companies employ TOEIC scores as a tool for screening job seekers, university students invest much effort in acquiring higher TOEIC scores in order to increase their competitiveness in the job market (Shin, 2016).

In studying to attain higher scores in the TOEIC test, learners tend to become gradually more demotivated (Kim, 2015). For most, studying for the TOEIC was considered as preparation for employment rather than learning authentic communicative skills for use later in life. When studying for TOEIC does not seem to be contributing to their general English competence, learners tend to spend less time studying for the TOEIC, functioning as a demotivator (Kim, 2015; Kim, Choi, & Kim, 2019). Also, when learners cannot see the immediate improvements in their scores of the TOEIC test as a result of their efforts in learning English for the test, they easily lose the willingness to persevere. The experience of repetitive failure in obtaining their desired scores discourages them from learning English (Trang & Baldauf, 2007). Internal attribution of their failure to individual weaknesses such as laziness and lack

of self-determination discourage learners and ultimately result in poor performance (Ushioda, 1998).

Besides the TOEIC test, speaking tests, such as TOEIC speaking or Oral Proficiency Interview-computer (OPIc) become concerns for job seekers, as the scores of these speaking tests are included as a required qualification at the document screening stage of the job application process. In addition to submitting the test results, successful candidates are often asked to demonstrate their oral skills in the form of group discussion or interviews with native English-speaking interviewers. As one way of equipping themselves with the required oral skills in the specific work-related setting, job seekers may choose to study abroad. Their main intention for joining study abroad programs seems to be acquiring authentic and practical oral skills that they can utilize in the job seeking process and work-related settings (Jang, 2015). According to Jang, learners reported fluctuations in their motivation according to their level of satisfaction in the language learning programs. When they did not find the language program beneficial to develop oral skills for work-related settings, they would choose to find another program or institute focusing on business English or offering an internship program.

Summary and Future Directions

Korean society has experienced drastic changes, and EFL learning motivation has also undergone corresponding vicissitudes. English learning motivation started from instrumentality, stemming from the need to expedite commercial trade with native English speakers. This communicative orientation gradually gave way to competitive motivation during the period of Japanese occupation. Since then, it has widely been believed that gaining admission to a prestigious university provides a competitive edge and brighter future prospects, and English has consistently formed an important part of the college entrance exam. The long tradition of competitive motivation and instrumentality for advancing social status has constructed and reinforced the social value of English in Korea, and its impact has often been felt, from the early days of English learning right up to the present. Young EFL learners in Korea start to learn English with a high level of internal motivation such as communicating with others and interest in foreign cultures. However, their learning motivation gradually decreases as they advance through the educational system (e.g., Kim, 2012). Parents impart the importance of English to the next generation, and invest in private English education for their children with the aspiration of achieving or maintaining a superior status to others.

Based on the belief that entrance to college is the first step to success, competitive motivation among high school students has become intense. At universities, while learners may experience intermittent intrinsic motivation when speaking in the target language, they still feel the burden of preparation for employment opportunities, requiring a high score in standardized English tests.

Most previous studies conducted in the Korean context have been based on existing motivation literature from around the world. However, such reliance on exogenous theories might not be sufficient for a full understanding of the complexities and unique aspects of EFL learning motivation in Korea. In this regard, it would be a worthwhile direction to adopt the socio-historical approaches discussed in this chapter in order to investigate competitive motivation, rooted in a test-oriented culture and academic credentialism, which seems distinct from performance goals or instrumental motivation. Further studies are also needed incorporating more diverse EFL learning populations from Korea and elsewhere. For example, expanding the population beyond the university level would enrich language-learning motivation research in the future. After initial job placement, promotion, and even after retirement, there may still be the need to learn another language given the worldwide phenomenon of longevity in the twenty-first century. As part of lifelong education, interests in English are growing (cf. Kim & Kim, 2015). Besides English, interest in learning other languages such as Chinese and Japanese appears to grow among adults for job-related purposes, such as tourism and trade. Thus, future L2 motivation research in Korea will require extensive efforts to investigate the motivation for learning foreign languages other than English.

Notes

1. In Korea, while English has been taught as a major foreign language, German and French had been mainly taught as minor foreign languages in high schools (Kim, 2003), but over the past 30 years, the number of students taking Japanese and Chinese language classes has increased (Kwon, 1999). In terms of Japanese, the Japanese government provided funding to expand Japanese education. As diplomatic relations between Korean and the People's Republic of China were established in 1992 and China's economy has been growing fast, the number of the learners in Chinese classes has been increasing accordingly (Kim, 2003). In high schools, Japanese and Chinese languages are mainly taught as elective courses under the classification of liberal arts. Japanese classes are available in 57.3% of high school classes and Chinese ones are 40.6% (C. Kim, 2014).

- Those languages are elective subjects for CSAT, but those are not considered as significant in terms of university entrance. In this context, most learners in these elective courses tend to show a low level of interest (J.-E. Kim, 2014).
2. Kyungsoong (or Keijo) Imperial University (京城帝國大學), founded in 1924, was the only existing university in Korea at the time, and was also one of the six imperial universities across Imperial Japan. After the liberation from Japan in 1945, most of the university's facilities were annexed to Seoul National University. Besides Kyungsoong Imperial University, quite a few professional colleges had been established either by Korean educators or by foreign missionaries, but none of them were officially accredited by the Japanese Governor-General's office.
 3. Expanding Dörnyei's (2001) definition, Kikuchi (2015) defines demotivator as "the specific internal and external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioral intention or an ongoing action" (p. 4) and demotivation as "the negative process that pulls learners down" (p. 5) (see Thorner & Kikuchi, this volume).
 4. The number taking the TOEIC in South Korea was 2.07 million in 2013 (Park, 2017). TOEIC scores are widely used by companies and governmental organization as a default criterion for employment. Some top companies also require TOEIC speaking scores.

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21

In the Shadow of Global English? Comparing Language Learner Motivation in Germany and the United Kingdom

Ursula Lanvers and Gary Chambers

David Wagner grew up in Germany and was until recently the manager of Huddersfield Town Football Club. He has four German players in his squad. He speaks to them in English when in the company of the other English players. Would an English manager working in Germany speak in German to his English players? Probably not. According to the Eurobarometer survey (European Commission, 2012) 39% of Britons are able to hold a conversation in a language other than English - in Germany, 60% can. Furthermore, 86% of Germans agree that everybody should be able to speak another language, compared with 72% in the UK (all data: European Commission, 2012). Monolingual speakers of English may not perceive the need to gain competence in another language (Lanvers, 2017a). For them, encounters with speakers of other languages using English as a *lingua franca* confirm their perception that English is all they need.

In Germany, foreign languages (FLs) are a core subject. The legal requirements for teaching FLs are often spelt out for specific target languages. Progression in education is hampered without good grades in languages (Ellis,

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Gogolin, & Clyne, 2010). Proficiency in at least two languages is needed for anyone aiming for a University-entry qualification (*Abitur*). As a result, all university applicants have basic competencies in two FLs.

Why, then, compare learner motivation in countries with such different starting conditions, language learning traditions and policies? In both countries, the global dominance of English might leave students increasingly demotivated to learn any other languages. In Britain, this might lead to progressive monolingualism, and in Germany, to “foreign language monolingualism” (“*Fremdsprachenmonolingualism*”, Quetz, 2010). Consequently, comparing learner motivation in these different contexts might help us to better understand motivation for learning *languages other than English* (LOTE; c.f., Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017).

In Europe, English is perceived to be the most desirable FL by far. The Eurobarometer survey (European Commission, 2012) reports that 67% of EU citizens agree that English is the most useful language to learn. Seventy-nine per cent of Europeans would choose English as the language for their child to learn. Across Europe, 97% of school students learn English (Eurydice, 2017). The perceived value of English as economic, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) has been well described in recent works investigating ecological and political contexts of language learning (e.g. Pavlenko & Norton, 2007; Van Lier, 2006). The higher desirability of English compared to other languages, may generate bottom-up dynamics not necessarily intended by official language policy. For instance, when FLs were made optional from age 14 onwards in England in 2004, many students chose to discontinue FLs. It remains uncertain to what extent Brexit might change future language requirements of the UK (Lanvers, Doughty, & Thompson, 2018), but it is generally thought that the desirability of skills in other world languages (Chinese, Arabic, Spanish) might increase (Kelly, 2018). In Germany, a similar bottom-up trend can be observed, albeit for English only. French border regions traditionally offer French as first FL, often against parental wishes. In 2007 parents successfully sued the *Land* (region with some administrative autonomy) for the right of their child to learn English as first FL (Quetz, 2010). It is unlikely that Brexit will alter the desirability of English as FL in Germany, as English is likely to remain an important *lingua franca* in a post-Brexit EU (Ginsburgh, Moreno-Tertero, & Weber, 2017; Modiano, 2017).

Despite different foundations for language education policy, FL trends in both countries are affected by the pervasive influences of English as a *lingua franca*, including the impact on the motivation to learn LOTE and (students’

and parents') perceptions of the value of language skills. This chapter will present research evidence on FL learner motivation from a social perspective, including the effects of English as a *lingua franca* and educational contexts, and therefore takes a necessarily broad angle. The next section reviews language policies and uptake trends in both countries, followed by a report on empirical studies on learner motivation. The conclusion discusses problems relating to LOTE of relevance beyond the borders of these two countries, and offers some novel answers to the motivational and other challenges for learning LOTE generally.

Language Policy and Language Uptake Trends in Germany and the UK

Just as education policies differ between the four nations which make up the UK (England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland), so do the policies of the 16 German *Länder*.

In England, schools are required to teach a FL to pupils aged 7–11 in Primary school and aged 11–14 in Secondary school. The number of hours allocated to languages is not stipulated. In Wales, there is no statutory requirement for the teaching of a FL at Primary school. Welsh is compulsory in the first three years of Secondary school and a FL is encouraged. The aim of the Welsh Government is to achieve 'Bilingualism (i.e. English and Welsh) plus 1' by 2020 (Welsh Government, 2015). Scotland is committed to the European Union's '1+2 model', i.e. aiming for two FLs in addition to their mother tongue, by 2020. In Northern Ireland, there is no statutory requirement to teach a FL in Primary schools; a FL is statutory only at lower Secondary school level.

England experienced a brief phase of high FL learner engagement for students aged 11–16; from 1998 to 2004 languages were compulsory for students in this phase of education. In 2004 FLs were made optional for students aged 14+ and the number of students taking a FL exam age 16 (GCSE) went into a steep decline, from 76% in 2002, to 25% in 2011 (Board & Tinsley, 2015; Tinsley & Han, 2012).

In 2014, the provision of languages in Primary schools was made statutory, and the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) was introduced. This qualification consists of five core subject areas, one of them a FL. Neither of these reforms have made much impact on languages uptake. Entries for A-level French have declined by a third, and numbers for German have nearly halved. The statistics

for Spanish show modest growth, but not to the extent of making up for the shortfall in French and German (Tinsley & Board, 2016).

Beyond school, the numbers studying languages at university are also in decline. Entrants for modern FL degree courses fell by 16% between 2007/08 and 2013/14 (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2015). Since 1998 40% of university languages departments in the UK have closed (Lanvers, 2017b). Among adults, FL competencies in the UK are judged to be amongst the lowest in Europe (European Commission, 2012).

The decline in languages uptake interacts with an ever-increasing social divide. Independent schools tend to teach more languages, to a greater percentage of their cohort, and for longer, than schools in the state sector. Within the state sector, students from economically disadvantaged background (measured by their entitlement to receive free school meals) are under-represented in FL study (Board & Tinsley, 2015). At Higher Education, this social divide is exacerbated further. Nearly a third of those studying languages at university come from independent schools (Tinsley, 2013).

The 16 German *Länder* have sovereignty over certain issues, such as education and culture. In addition, there is a national body that oversees the coordination of education policies, the *Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (KMK). In every *Land*, all pupils receive some tuition in English, and many learn two FLs. In Primary schools, languages are taught from year 1 or year 3, a second and third FL are introduced later.

At Primary level, English is the dominant FL but pupils in regions close to France are often offered French as first FL. Only 66% of *Länder* offer Primary FL from year 1. This is below the EU average of 82% (Eurostat, 2015). Nearly all (95%) Primary school children who do receive FL teaching are taught English (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010) and at Secondary level 87% of FL tuition is English (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016).

After Primary school, most *Länder* offer a 3-tier system, with students attending different schools according to ability. The *Hauptschule* offers a first compulsory FL, a second is rarely offered. In the *Realschule*, a first FL is compulsory, and a second is often offered. In the *Gymnasium*, two FLs are compulsory. One FL must be taught from year 7 to 9 or 10, in all school types. In practice, nearly all schools teach a FL from year 5. Lessons must be a minimum of 3 × 45 min per week. A second FL is compulsory at *Gymnasien* (secondary schools for the more able students; roughly equivalent to the ‘grammar school’ in the UK). A third FL is always offered at *Gymnasien*, but compulsory only in specialist (e.g. humanistic) *Gymnasien*. Many *Länder* also have Comprehensive schools, which combine at least two of the above types. In all

school types, FLs are a core subject. This means that, in order to be promoted to the next school year, a student must achieve a pass in their language(s). Thus, language tests (multiple assessments by teachers) constitute high stake exams, in all school forms.

As early as 1971 the KMK agreed on encouraging Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL; see Lasagabaster, this volume). Germany has rapidly increased CLIL provision over the last decades, first in *Gymnasien*, and now in other school forms, including Primary schools. The KMK acknowledges the dominance of English in CLIL but stresses the importance of developing variety in the offering (KMK, 2013). A recent overview of CLIL provision demonstrates that, despite strong English dominance, CLIL is offered in many languages. Geography and/or history are most frequently taught via the FL at Secondary level, and music, art and PE at Primary level (KMK, 2013). Students following a CLIL rather than a traditional FL pathway tend to outperform other learners in their language development; they show higher motivation (Abendroth-Timmer, 2007; Dallinger, Jonkmann, & Hollm, 2018), fulfil their language requirements and gain a further subject qualification. Thus, the popularity of CLIL in Germany is due to perceived motivational benefits, enhanced learning outcomes, as well as pragmatic advantages. However, the ‘enhanced learning outcomes’ need to be interpreted with caution, as CLIL students tend to self-select from higher achieving and higher socioeconomic status (SES) background than those following traditional FL lessons; nevertheless, even when adjusting for these variables, slight differences in outcome remain (Dallinger et al., 2018).

If all FLs stand “in the shadow of English” (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 457), which will always attract the highest incentives to both teach and learn, the question arises what incentives students in Anglophone countries—such as the UK - might have to study a FL. Judging by those who opt to learn languages today in the UK, competence in other languages is considered a desirable skill only by and for a minority of learners, most commonly those from advantaged backgrounds (Lanvers, 2017b). Rationales for FLs in the UK seem to be lacking direction (Pachler, 2007), despite ample evidence of the economic and societal benefits of improving language skills. Poor language skills are estimated by the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, to cost the UK economy in excess of £48 billion (Foreman-Peck, 2007). According to the UK Commission for Employment and Skills (2015), employers said that they found it difficult to fill 17% of their vacancies because of lack of FL competence.

By contrast, in Germany, the KMK puts forward clear political rationales for FLs, and anchors language education and plurilingualism into both education for European citizenship and integration (KMK, 2013), and the principles of peace and international concord (Council of Europe, 2007). These rationales are unequivocally echoed by academics and language pedagogues (e.g. Busse, 2017b; Jakisch, 2014). The KMK (2011, p. 2) state the following four objectives of FL education:

- to deepen language competencies and multilingualism;
- to strengthen cultural diversity within Europe;
- to foster mobility and integration;
- to prepare for an increasingly internationally competitive economic environment.

Having described the stark politico-educational differences in the language learning in both countries, the next section discusses empirical studies on language learner motivation from each context.

Motivation Studies in Germany and the UK

The focus of FL motivation studies is rather different in the UK and in Germany - hardly surprising given the contextual differences outlined above. In UK studies, the focus tends to be on (de)motivation on the level of the individual learner and interventions to increase both motivation and uptake. FL motivation tends to be conceptualized as a learner characteristic applicable to all FLs, rather than relate to specific target languages (exceptions exist, e.g., Williams, Burden, & Lanvers, 2002). German empirical studies on FL motivation, on the other hand, tend to conceptualize motivation as language-specific (Riemer, 2006). Overall, there are fewer studies on FL motivation in Germany, where there is more focus on methods, especially for Primary teaching and CLIL, learning outcomes, and computer-assisted language learning (see e.g., Finkbeiner, Olsen, & Friedrich, 2013). Less attention afforded to motivation might be explained by FL policy: as language study is compulsory to a much greater extent than in the UK, there is little need to incentivise uptake via positive learner motivation.

In the UK, a recurrent theme is students' low self-efficacy (Graham, 2003; Williams et al., 2002). Although this is generally felt to be more apparent at Secondary than Primary level, Courtney, Graham, Tonkyn, and Marinis (2017) provide evidence to suggest that a significant minority of younger

learners also hold negative views about their current and future language learning ability. Other studies report that in the early stages of language learning, up to the first year of Secondary school, learner attitudes tend to be positive, but deteriorate with age (Cable et al., 2010; Enever & Watts, 2009; Hunt, 2009). The transition phase from Primary to Secondary school is acknowledged as important for students' motivation in FL (e.g., Courtney, 2014). When students enter Secondary school, a 'sense of making progress' is key to maintaining motivation (Chambers, 2019; Erler & Macaro, 2011; Graham, Courtney, Tonkyn, & Marinis, 2016), but Secondary schools tend to take little account of students' Primary school FL experience (Bolster, Balandrier-Brown, & Rea-Dickins, 2004; Chambers, 2016; Evans & Fisher, 2009). This can lead to a lack of continuity in the FL learning experience and is often reported to have a demotivational effect on learners (Bolster et al., 2004; Graham et al., 2016). Others (e.g., Chambers, 2016) report that students enjoy the more serious approach to work in Secondary schools, including being taught by specialist teachers, and receiving feedback based on regular assessment.

Student attitudes to FLs are influenced by numerous factors, including negativity towards target language countries at home and in the media. British parents are reported to be less supportive of FL learning than, for example, Dutch and German parents (Bartram, 2006); parents from poorer socio-economic backgrounds tend to show more negative attitudes to FLs than those from other social strata (Gayton, 2010, 2018). At the lower Secondary age, Chambers (1999) concludes that the 'liking' of the FL teacher is a major influence on whether FL learning is viewed positively.

Unstimulating learner experiences are reported by many (e.g., Chambers, 1999; Evans & Fisher, 2009). These may relate to inappropriate level of challenge, students' lacking a feeling of progress being made and/or teachers' focus on the examinations and 'rehearsal' for these (Gayton, 2010; Graham, 2003; Wingate, 2018). The responsibility for subsequent poor motivation might be laid at the door of teachers (e.g., Mole, 2003), a restrictive and poorly designed curriculum, syllabus and examinations, (e.g. Gruber & Tonkyn, 2017; Macaro, 2008), or outdated pedagogy (Pachler, 2007). Regardless of where to lay such blame, studies on Secondary schools report that students perceive languages to be irrelevant, boring and 'for the brainy' (e.g., Board & Tinsley, 2014; Graham, 2003), a reputation that leads students to discontinue the subject when they can (age 14) (Erler & Macaro, 2011; Graham, 2003; Graham et al., 2016).

An important factor contributing to the negative cycle of low self-efficacy and poor learner engagement is the reputation of FL as a 'hard' subject

(McPake, Johnstone, Low, & Lyall, 1999; Myers, 2016), and the severe marking of FL compared to other subjects. At GCSE, students score on average one full grade below results in other subjects (Myers, 2016). This influences not only students' decisions to continue with languages or not, but also decisions at school management level on the place of languages on the timetable: schools are inclined to limit GCSE in FL to high achievers in order to boost their position in 'league tables'.

Beyond the age of 16, the low number of students choosing a FL is a major concern. Reasons for this are competition with subjects deemed to be more 'important' (science, mathematics), the difficulty in scoring a high grade in comparison to other subjects, poor marketing of languages studies (Fisher, 2001), and poor self-efficacy (Graham, 2004; McPake et al., 1999).

Gender differences in motivation are also frequently reported, with girls showing higher motivation (e.g., Courtney et al., 2017; Williams et al., 2002) and performing better in examinations, with a widening gap for older Secondary students (Courtney et al., 2017).

School policy can make a difference to FL motivation. Parrish (2017) found that students are the least motivated in schools where students are hand-selected for FL study beyond the compulsory phase. Given the difficulty of obtaining good GCSE grades in FL, and the pressures of schools to deliver good results, many schools offer FL GCSE study only to the most academically successful. This FL policy was found to impact negatively on the motivation of all groups (both those selected for further study and not). A 'completely free choice for all students' policy yields better motivational results than a selective policy.

The motivational problem for FLs is well established, but it is not to be confused with a disregard for the subject. Several studies (e.g., Krüsemann, 2018; Lanvers, 2016b; Parrish, 2017) report that Secondary students are curious about other people, their languages and cultures. However, the negative learning experiences (see above) tend to cancel out such positive stances. Against this backdrop, interventions with a focus on instrumental motivation (e.g., Taylor & Marsden, 2014) do not quite address the actual motivational dilemma the students experience.

Studies have also addressed the question of what factors motivated the (few) learners who then continue with a FL beyond the compulsory phase. As can be expected, these learners generally profess high intrinsic motivation (e.g., Busse & Walter, 2013; Stolte, 2015). Stolte (2015) reports that some students enjoy the academic rigour and 'rarity' value associated with FL study, and often persist despite demotivational influences at the level of the learner experience (poor material, poor match to learner ability and needs; see Busse

& Walter, 2013). In fact, some adult or university-level language learners describe a type of motivation that goes beyond this intrinsic level: a motivation that thrives precisely on rejecting an environment that is perceived to counter the learner's own openness to other languages and cultures. Such learners are motivated to react against an environment perceived as linguaphobe and see their FL engagement as a deliberate act of rebellion against the dominant culture and have thus been described as adopting a 'rebellious stance' (Ferrari, 2013; Lanvers, 2016a); this phenomenon is also observed in other Anglophone countries such as the U.S. ('anti-ought-to self', see Thompson, 2017 and this volume).

The UK has seen many initiatives aimed to counter the FL decline, such as the British Academy's 'Languages Matter' (2009) and 'Languages Matter More and More' (2011). Such initiatives often highlighted the instrumental benefits of FLs (Taylor & Marsden, 2014); some schools adopted CLIL (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010) to increase language learning. Lanvers, Hultgren, and Gayton (2019) offered a different type of intervention which highlighted rather than downplayed English as *lingua franca*, in order to then raise awareness of the ubiquity of multilingualism globally. Motivational effects on FL were positive, suggesting that a focus on multilingual competencies and disadvantages of monolingualism, might offer novel ways to incentivise English FL learners.

The difference in motivation focus in German studies mirrors the difference in policy: in the UK requirements for FL study do not tend to specify a particular target language; most *Länder* in Germany prescribe (at least loosely) which languages are to be learned, and distinguish between FL1, FL2 and FL3 (Finkbeiner et al., 2013). We recall that in Germany, *all* students are required to learn FLs, one reason why empirical motivational studies are relatively scarce compared to the UK. Even if learners might be less than optimally motivated, they cannot 'vote with their feet' and discontinue FL altogether, as they can in the UK, although they are able, eventually, to drop one FL.

There are studies suggesting that German students tend to *value* FLs more highly than in comparative (by GDP measures) European countries—not only higher than the UK, but also the Netherlands (Bartram, 2006). Overall, the literature reports that FL learner experiences are often far from optimal but despite this, students may still show relatively high intrinsic and/or extrinsic motivation (Finkbeiner et al., 2013; Riemer & Schlak, 2004). German students also show great appetite for new pedagogical approaches and innovative practices (Finkbeiner et al., 2013). There seems to be consensus across several studies (Bartram, 2006; Busse, 2017a; Chambers, 1999, 2016;

Meißner, Beckmann, & Schröder-Sura, 2008) in two respects: most German students do not question the need to learn English and regard it as a life-skill, and students obliged to study two languages readily accept this obligation.

Nonetheless, the knock-on effect of the popularity of English on the motivation to study other FLs has been a concern for German pedagogues for some time. Meißner et al.'s (2008) study showed motivation scores to be higher for English than for French, a finding corroborated by Busse (2017a), and a British-German comparative study (Gruber & Tonkyn, 2017) found no significant motivational differences for learning French, among similar age and ability cohorts. In addition, older students often judged French not to be much less useful than English, but younger learners had more open attitudes to a variety of languages (Meißner et al., 2008). Learners of French also suffer from low self-efficacy, which often increases with study time (Feuerhake, Fieseler, Ohntrup, & Riemer, 2004). Furthermore, learner effort is observed to be greater for English as a result of higher motivation; nonetheless, learners generally supported the policy of *two* compulsory FLs, if this rule applied to them (Meißner et al., 2008). Thus, evidence suggests that despite increasing preference of English over other FLs, many German students still tend to subscribe to the notion of developing plurilingual skills.

This attitude to FLs is of interest in the light of Parrish's (2017) results, if (cautiously) applied to a German context. We recall that Parrish concluded that a comprehensive FL policy (i.e., same obligation for all) carries a motivational advantage. German students do not experience 'hand-selection' for FL study; they are enculturated into school systems where not one but two FL competencies are the norm. It remains unknown, however, if the trend observed by Meißner et al. (2008) towards a strong motivational advantage of English suggests a generational shift away from this plurilingual ideal—no cross-sectional or diachronic studies exist on the topic.

One might assume that, because English is compulsory for nearly all students in Germany, and because of its perceived high instrumental benefit, motivation for English is always higher, and more extrinsic than motivation for other FLs. No studies exist to test these hypotheses specifically; however, Riemer's (2003) qualitative study showed that motivation for English is much more of a 'mixed bag': some students were demotivated as a result of poor learner experiences ('boring lessons'); some resented the obligatory nature of the subject. Studies (Cronjäger, Doff, & Schmidt, 2007; Riemer, 2003) have demonstrated how outside school engagement with English encourages students with hitherto extrinsic motivation towards more intrinsic types of motivation, and lowers learner anxiety. Helmke, Schrader, Wagner, Nold, and Schröder (2008) demonstrated a positive effect of foreign travel on motiva-

tion, in turn influencing learners' academic self-image. Given the ubiquity of English, these motivational factors favour English as opposed to other languages.

The overall more positive disposition towards FLs in Germany, and relatively high motivation to learn English, can only partially be explained by the global English phenomenon. Instrumental rationales for learning English do not suffice to engender the positive learner self-images and positive learner attitudes that we observe. Despite a tendential preference for English as FL, students can also be motivated to learn other FLs, and evidence suggests that many learners support the policy of learning more than one FL. Thus, we observe that the rather broad, humanistic and political rationales for teaching FLs seem to echo with student attitudes on FL, which do not foreground instrumental benefits of FL skills. Indeed, Gnutzmann (2001) explicitly warns against using utilitarian rationales to motivate students, precisely because the highly treasured humanistic, political and social rationales for language study would be neglected. Overall, despite the high proportion of German students studying two FLs, and the FL diversity in the education system, we note that for German academics, safeguarding FL diversity is a greater concern than FL motivation (De Florio-Hansen, 2007; Schröder, 2009; Wode, 2001).

Conclusion

Some key differences have been identified between the two countries regarding FL motivation, policy and provision. The ever-increasing dominance of English, forces us to conceptualize motivation for LOTE as 'in the shadow of English' (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017). Both countries share this experience: Germany has witnessed parents fighting for their children's right to learn English as opposed to LOTE; the UK experiences an unprecedented crisis in learner motivation for any language (Lanvers, 2018). Both countries have reason to concern themselves with ways to avoid 'pure monolingualism' or 'FL monolingualism'— a debate well advanced in Germany. Here, academics, language pedagogues and language policy providers share a vision of promoting *plurilingualism*, and education for European citizenship, embedded in European integration and European citizenship. Thus, Germany looks to stand reasonably good chances of achieving these visions and safeguarding FL diversity, given the percentage of multilingual learners (i.e., learning several FLs formally). Both policy and pedagogical directives effectively resist the social, cultural and economic pull of the one globally dominant language, English.

In the UK, FL motivation is characterized by social and educational stratification in several respects: students perceive *the* subject (i.e., all FLs) as difficult, hence only for the ‘nerdy’ and/or those with good grades. Students from a privileged background, who benefit from social and cultural capital (in a Bourdieuan sense) associated with openness towards other cultures, can be motivated more easily for FL study than others. This social divide is often reinforced by school policy: for instance, private schools (demanding high school fees, hence for the advantaged only) tend to make FLs compulsory for longer than state schools, and within state schools, many schools permit only high achieving students to continue language study (Lanvers, 2017b). Furthermore, the UK has concentrated its efforts to incentivise FL learning on utilitarian benefits—a focus which ignores the finding that self-efficacy and enjoyment (e.g., Parrish, 2017; Stolte, 2015) are important factors for deciding to continue with FL study. Besides, a focus on utilitarian types of motivation harbours a Global English-related danger: this motivation is easily undermined by all (be it students or parents) who embrace the ‘English is enough’ mindset, and see little reason to learn the languages of others who also speak English.

We have reports from both Germany and the UK demonstrating that students may experience less than optimal FL teaching; nonetheless, key differences remain. For instance, the complaint of ‘teaching to exams’ is prominent in the UK only, and the *demotivational* impact of such negative learner experiences seems much higher than in Germany. In Germany, other types of motivation seem more robust in the face of negative learner experiences than in the UK: the possibility, and necessity, to achieve some FL competency is taken for granted by all, regardless of academic ability. Parrish’s (2017) results underline the importance of inclusive policies to maximise learner motivation: applied to the German context, they suggest that *all* learners are given the opportunity to develop positive self-efficacy. We recall that Germany has a high proportion of students studying more than one FL, in stark contrast to the very low number in the UK (Eurydice, 2017). FL motivation for German students is reported as relatively high, and, unlike in the UK, not associated with (perceived) social or cultural capital, only for the very ‘clever’, or socially advantaged. The expectation is that most students gain FL competency in two FLs, and this expectation leads students to see FL competency as a desirable norm to achieve. There is also indirect evidence that more challenging materials, less chunk learning and less ‘teaching to the exam’ in Germany might incentivise learners more than in the UK (Gruber & Tonkyn, 2017). In this manner, language policy, self-efficacy, and a teaching context that offers more experiences of ‘making progress’, all contribute to a virtuous learner circle.

What could the UK take home from this to address their language learning crisis? Brexit notwithstanding, the demand for skills in European languages is likely to continue to outstrip that of supply (Kelly, 2018). Scotland, for one, having decoupled linguistic educational goals from the Brexit agenda, is pursuing a vision of plurilingual education, and demonstrates that a range of visions and rationales for FLs remain accessible, regardless of EU membership.

One aim of this chapter was to investigate relations between global English and FL motivation in both countries. One outcome deserves further attention. Future UK efforts to incentivise learners might benefit from consideration of the fact that, in Germany, the (overall strong) motivation to learn English is not linear to the perceived instrumental benefit of this language. There is some empirical evidence that increased motivation for English coincides with demotivation for other FLs, notably French; however, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that this is a widespread trend, related to other languages as well, nor that German students prefer to become 'foreign language monolinguals'. In fact, evidence suggests that high motivation for several FLs simultaneously is possible. Variables at the level of learner experience (lessons, teacher) and individual differences are important factors moderating such relations, but the comprehensive and inclusive nature of FL provision ensures that learners can access positive future visions as FL users.

In contrast, in the UK, many studies point to the fact that students are curious about languages in general, but that poor learner experiences lead to demotivation, leaving them unable to imagine using their FL in practice in the future (Lanvers, 2016b). A majority of students have this curiosity stifled through uninspiring and exam-focused experiences at the classroom level. Teachers and school managers, for their part, are driven to such delivery in order to survive in the competitive world of school league tables, and adopt selective FL policies that further demotivate learners.

This chapter has underlined the interwoven nature of FL policy at school and national level, education policy, societal attitudes to languages, and learner motivation. In the current UK education system, learner motivation tends to flourish only in small pockets of elite education (whether measured by student socio-economic status, or school type). Only policy-driven, concerted efforts to address the above-described systemic disadvantages of FLs could hope to change the motivation and learner experiences of more students. Germany has provided one pathway, of several possible, which could ensure that FL motivation for *all* FLs remains high despite global English. The German example suggests that three conditions for this pathway are a minimal requirement: (i) making FL education inclusive; (ii) making FL success high-stakes within the education system; (iii) a shared understanding of the

societal value of FLs. These conditions might yet not be sufficient to safeguard healthy motivation for languages other than English, as the tendential outcomes comparing motivation for different FLs suggest (Busse, 2017a): further (policy-induced) protection of LOTE might bring about the desired motivational attitudes towards LOTE.

It is not totally inconceivable that, in a caustic paradox, Brexit itself might contribute to a shift in the perceived value of languages in the UK and beyond (see e.g., Bolton & Davis, 2017), as the country may need to look further afield than Europe for new trading partners, including threshold countries and economies, countries with much lower English proficiency in the general population than in those trading partner countries used hitherto. When that moment comes, the UK, and other Anglophone countries, might recall the words of the former German Chancellor Willy Brandt: *If I'm buying, dann müssen Sie Deutsch sprechen!* [then you have to speak German].—i.e., you must use the language of the people you are selling to.

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22

Motivation for Learning Chinese in the Australian Context: A Research Focus on Tertiary Students

Hui Ling Xu and Robyn Moloney

Shifts in global power and employment opportunities, increasing mobility, and rediscovery of family heritage in diaspora communities, all contribute to shaping new reasons for people to study an additional language. Increased diversity within learner groups has also given rise to a more nuanced conceptualization of motivation constructs. With the growth of China's economy and international outlook, and the growth of the Chinese diaspora, Chinese language learning has greatly expanded in many international contexts. This chapter briefly overviews current global interest in learning Chinese and the international research foci on teaching Chinese as a foreign language both in China and abroad, focusing particularly on the area of learner motivation. It is followed by an analysis of three case studies carried out in the Australian context against the background of fast development of teaching Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) in the past decade. The studies represent a progressive observation over a number of years of motivation in groups of tertiary Chinese language learners.

Chinese Language Education Internationally

The formal teaching of Chinese as a foreign language (CFL) began in the 1950s when basic Chinese language training was offered to some Eastern European exchange students at Qinghua University (Sun, 2009; Zhao, 2006).

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Chinese language courses were later extended to other universities in Beijing as more foreign students came to study short-term Chinese courses or to gain Chinese language proficiency in order to undertake formal university education in China. It was in the 1980s that CFL gained momentum after China opened its doors to the outside world (Sun, 2009; Zhao, 2006). Since then, there has been a steady increase of CFL programs across the country, with many universities offering short and long term CFL courses as well as bachelor and master degrees in CFL teacher training in recent years. Furthermore, driving the support of the growth of Chinese programs, there have been concerted efforts in China to train more qualified teachers of Chinese and to produce and disseminate resources, through *Hanban* (Chinese National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language) and the Confucius Institutes set up in various countries in recent years. In addition, *Hanban* annually trains and sends teachers and teaching assistants as volunteers to schools and universities in many different countries to solve teacher shortage problems. For example, by 2014, *Hanban* had sent over 30,000 volunteers to about 20 countries in Asia, Europe, America, Africa and Oceania (Xu & Moloney, 2015).

Internationally, the teaching of Chinese has expanded in many contexts as a result of perceived opportunities arising from the growing economic strength of China. As of 2014, there were about 100 countries with more than 2500 universities offering Chinese language subjects (Zhou, Liu, & Hong, 2014). The Chinese learning 'fever' has also seen a steady increase in learners of Chinese. According to an article by Cai and Wang (2017), by 2017, it is roughly estimated that there were more than 100 million learners of Chinese globally, among whom about 60 million learners were overseas heritage learners. In the US, for example, by 2015, there were Chinese programs in more than 550 elementary, junior high and senior high schools, while at the college level, enrolment in Chinese-language classes has increased 51% since 2002 (Shao, 2015). The growth in teaching of Chinese has also occurred in the UK where, by 2016, 13% of UK state schools and 46% of independent schools offered some form of Chinese study (BACS, n.d.). In other European contexts such as in Denmark, due to public interest in China within Danish society, Chinese language classes have been introduced into high school curricula as elective courses. In the last three years, more than one fifth of Danish high schools have begun offering Chinese classes.

Australia, with a large Chinese diaspora, has taken initiatives to support the learning of Chinese through the Federal Government's policies and funding programs (Commonwealth of Australia, 2012). There is an increasing number of weekend Chinese community schools set up, and the number of

students enrolled in Chinese courses at day schools has risen steadily. By 2016, there were about 170,000 students studying Chinese in more than 319 schools (Orton, 2016). The expansion can be observed in the tertiary sector, where the majority of universities and colleges offer Chinese programs. Although there is no recent estimate of tertiary Chinese language learners, the increasing rate of 60% between 2001 and 2006 (cf. White & Baldauf Jr, 2006) is a clear indication of an upward trend.

At the same time, while initial enrolments in courses are strong, there is also a high drop-out rate from school and university Chinese study. In the case of school study, of all students who commence Chinese study in primary or secondary schools, 96% have dropped out by senior secondary level (Orton, 2016). There is no equivalent data for university study, but we can observe anecdotally a significant drop in numbers between each year of undergraduate study. Thus the issue of motivation is a crucial one in sustainable Chinese language education, and a worthy object of research.

A Brief Overview of CFL Research

Chinese Context

After more than 60 years of practice and rapid growth, CFL has developed into a fully-fledged academic discipline (Xu & Moloney, 2015). Apart from the teaching and learning, it is also evidenced in robust research activities, including the emergence of a number of journals devoted to CFL research since the 80s. These include 汉语教学与研究 (Chinese Language Teaching and Research) (1979), 汉语教学 (Chinese Language Learning) (1980), 世界汉语教学 (Chinese Teaching in the World) (1987), 海外华文教育 (Overseas Chinese Education, 2000), 国际汉语教学 (International Chinese Education, 2009), 国际汉语教学研究 (Journal of International Chinese Teaching, 2014), to name but a few. Furthermore, the setting up of local and national research organizations, such as “the Language Teaching and Research Society of Beijing Language Institute” (1984) and “Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language Research Society of the Chinese Education Academy” (1983), further demonstrate an emerging CFL research agenda in China (Wang, Moloney, & Li, 2013; Zhao, 2006).

As a new area of study in the early 1980s, CFL research tended to adopt western second language acquisition theories and practice, focusing mainly on areas similar to EFL, such as error analysis, grammar and language acquisition. A search of extant literature on the development of CFL research

in Chinese yields titles such as “On the development of research in interlanguage in CFL in the past 30 years”, “An analysis of research on error analysis in CFL in the past 30 years”, “A review of the research of pedagogy grammar of CFL since the 80s”. As noted, the 1990s witnessed even greater growth of CFL in China. It was at this stage that Chinese scholars began to take a strong interest in the motivation of learning Chinese. According to Gao (2013), early studies on ‘motivation’ were mainly of a descriptive nature, lacking a theoretical framework, scientific methodology design and in-depth analysis (Tan, 2015). However, with the continuing interest in the field (e.g., Wang, 2000; Feng, 2003; Gong, 2004; Zhang, 2008; Wang, 2011; Chen, 2012, among many others), many studies started to apply western motivation theories such as Gardner’s social psychological model (1985; see Gardner, this volume), using well known motivational constructs and survey instruments. For example, Fan’s (2015) review of some motivation studies in CFL in China states that for overseas students, instrumental, integrative, intrinsic and extrinsic motivations all come into play and influence learning in different ways: integrative motivation is closely linked to intrinsic motivation, which plays an important role in students’ early learning process. As their study deepens, extrinsic motivation relating to job prospects, further study, and a desire for increasing social status will also come into play. Shen’s study (2008) identified a further category—achievement motivation—while Guo (2009) found that for Indonesian students, there was also a ‘passivity’ factor, which refers to motivation coming from parental influence. That parents’ views have influenced students’ motivation for learning Chinese was also confirmed in another empirical study on South-East Asian learners of Chinese (Yuan, Shang, Yuan, & Yuan, 2008). Adapting Gardner’s Attitude and Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) (1985), their study identified seven important motivational factors: pedagogy factor, collaboration/competition factor, parent support factor, integrative factor, attitude towards foreign language and culture factor, study desire factor, and social responsibility factor.

Adopting the AMTB survey instrument, Yu’s (2010) study involved 215 learners of 25 nationalities at Beijing Language and Cultural University which has the largest CFL programs in China. The study investigated the interrelationships of affective variables and social and academic adaptation. The study points to a very positive and significant correlation between integrative motivation and social, cultural and academic adaptation. It also found that two important measures of integrative motivation, attitude towards the Chinese culture and interest in foreign language, are enhanced as an outcome of studying and also led to better language learning achievement. That motivation is a dynamic construct is echoed in Ding’s study (2015) which looks at what

impacts on the strengthening of learner motivation over time. The study revealed three motivational factors: the students' views on Chinese political, economic and language influence, their views on the bilateral relationship between their home country and China, and their interest in learning Chinese characters.

As CFL motivation study advances, Ding (2016) points out that CFL motivation research needs to employ more empirical methods in order to generate a more accurate picture of motivation types of learners of Chinese. She argues that this is because English and Chinese enjoy a different status in the world, so the types of motivation for learning English and learning Chinese must also be distinguished. Indeed, Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) hold the same view, suggesting that learner motivation for studying a language other than English (LOTE) is likely to be different from that of learning English. For example, LOTE learning may be more associated with highly specific and personalized reasons on the part of the learner. Departing from existing motivational constructs, Ding (2016) developed a questionnaire instrument from an initial open survey of 100 international students learning Chinese in a Chinese university in Beijing. The questionnaire had 30 statements and was administered to more than 620 students learning Chinese in the same university. A factor analysis identified five major factors of learning Chinese among the participants. These were, in order of importance:

1. Career (e.g., 'Chinese has to do with my work'; 'Major in Chinese')
2. Opportunities (e.g., 'Chinese political and economic influence', 'Learning Chinese brings new learning opportunities', 'Can find a good job')
3. Interest (e.g., 'Interested in characters', 'Want to challenge myself'; 'Like Chinese language and culture')
4. Learning Experience (e.g., 'The influence of Chinese friends, teachers'; 'Feels good when interacting with others in Chinese')
5. External influence (e.g., 'Family has Chinese heritage', 'My peers are learning Chinese'; 'Others suggest that I learn Chinese').

The study also showed that for students of Japanese and Korean backgrounds, their motivational orientation is more geared towards instrumental types such as career advancement, while students of English-speaking backgrounds are studying Chinese because of intrinsic motivation. This suggests that students of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, while studying the same target language, may possess different motivational characteristics. Furthermore, as will be shown in the next section, there is also a major contextual variable influencing students' learning motivation. That is, students

coming to China to study Chinese may possess different motivation than those who are studying Chinese in their home country where Chinese is often studied as an elective towards a university degree. As such, motivation related to academic achievement is not uncommon (e.g., Wen, 1997).

International Contexts

There is growing recognition that each international CFL teaching context demands local pedagogical adaptation and diversification, in order to align with local expectations, to stem the drop-out rate and to achieve sustained motivation in young learners (Xu & Moloney, 2015). Against this background, a community of scholars is leading research in CFL, driven also by new understandings of foreign language teaching in the era of globalization (Kramsch, 2014). We acknowledge as a sample, a series published by the Chinese Language Teachers Association in America, including, *Chinese Pedagogy: An Emerging field* (McGinnis, 1996), *Research among Learners of Chinese as a Foreign Language* (Everson & Shen, 2010), and the collections of studies in the volumes by Tsung and Cruickshank (2011), Everson and Xiao (2011), and Zhou et al. (2014). Recent CFL publications have also focused on a wider range of topics such as teacher beliefs, teacher identities, application of technology, intercultural learning, and task based learning, reflecting new developments in CFL (e.g., Du & Kirkebæk, 2012; Jin & Dervin, 2017; Moloney & Xu, 2012, 2015, 2016, 2018; Ruan, Duan, & Du, 2015; Wang et al., 2013; Xu & Moloney, 2011a, 2011b).

In the past decade or so, there has been a rapid growth in Chinese education in international contexts, partly due to a steady increase of learners from Chinese-speaking migrant families. Referred to as heritage language learners (HLLs) (see Xu & Moloney, 2014a, 2014b), their growing presence in Chinese-as-a-foreign-language classrooms has attracted researchers interested in identifying learner motivations for the HLLs and non-HLLs, instantiated by studies such as those carried out in the US (see Lu & Li, 2008; Wen, 1997, 2011; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Wen's early study (1997) investigates the motivational factors of CFL students of Asian and Asian-American backgrounds in two US universities. The study incorporates expectancy-value theories in investigating how the relative attractiveness of learning outcomes, expectancies of learning ability and probability of obtaining the outcomes can influence the motivation of the students. The results of the study show that intrinsic interest in Chinese culture and the desire to understand one's own cultural heritage are the initial motivation factor. Another motivating factor

identified is 'passivity' which relates to course requirements. However, this is different from the construct found by Guo (2009, see above), which described 'passivity' relating to parental pressure. Wen's study also shows that integrative motivation is not a significant factor for students to continue learning Chinese, rather, the best predictor of eventual language attainment is the expectation of achieving a successful outcome, which generates more effortful learning. In a later study, Wen (2011) focuses on HLLs and non-HLLs, with the aim of investigating similarities and differences between the different learner groups. Using a number of theoretical frameworks such as Gardner's social educational model (1985), the internal structure model of Csizér and Dörnyei (2005), and Weiner's attribution theory (1985), the study was conducted with more than 300 students at three US universities. What the results show is the consistency of instrumentality as a powerful motivation, especially for heritage language learners (p. 57). This was observed also in a comparative study between HLLs and non-HLLs of Chinese language in a US college (Lu & Li, 2008), though it also found that integrative motivation correlated more highly with both groups' overall language scores. Wong and Xiao (2010, p. 172), using Bourdieu's (1973) notion of 'cultural capital', have suggested that Chinese heritage language learners' motivation is not merely connected with their past, but also with looking ahead; they view their Chinese linguistic ability as about "accumulating cultural capital in the globalized Chinese communities for their future" (p. 72).

In other multicultural contexts with large Chinese community diasporas such as Canada and Australia, there also have emerged a few studies on Chinese learner motivation, such as Comanaru and Noels's study (2009) in the Canadian context and Xu and Moloney (2014a, 2014b) in Australia. Using the Self-Determination theoretical framework, Comanaru and Noels's study investigates the social-psychological differences and similarities between HLLs and non-HLLs of university Chinese classes as well as HLL subgroups, namely, those who speak Chinese as the mother tongue and those who speak English. Their findings indicated that there were no motivational differences between the two groups of HLLs, while HLL groups did differ from non-HLL groups. For the HLLs, Chinese study was related to identity and that they felt familial pressure to learn Chinese. This pressure, similar to the findings of Wen (1997) and Guo (2009) (see above), may come either from parents or be a self-imposed obligation (p. 151).

In the Australian context, the authors have conducted a number of case studies, over a number of years, to survey students' motivation for learning Chinese at their university, with the aim of finding out if HLLs and non-HLLs hold different motivational orientations and if, over time, there are changes in

these motivational orientations. The rest of this chapter provides an overview of these studies. We next describe the methodology, present key findings, and draw out some theoretical and pedagogical implications.

Motivation of Australian Undergraduate Learners of Chinese

Methodology

Three small case studies were conducted in 2010, 2013 and 2017, within the Chinese Program at the researchers' university. The participants were undergraduate students of Chinese between the ages of 18–25, most of whom are born in Australia and living with their parents, with a roughly even gender representation. While a small number of participants study Chinese as part of their major, most of them major in Commerce, Economics, Law, Education and International Studies, and choose Chinese as an elective. Motivation can be a key factor in choosing to continue to higher levels of Chinese studies.

While the three studies were carried out with different cohorts, they did share some common methodology. Each study featured a quantitative survey, which in addition to demographic information, elicited students' motivational orientations to learning Chinese and their self-rated efforts and motivational level, on different Likert scales.

Results

Case Study 22.1

Our first study was conducted in the context of a Beginner mixed class of heritage language learners (HLLs) and non-heritage language learners (non-HLLs). At the time of the project, CFL enrolment had seen a noticeable increase in HLLs compared to non-HLLs. However, as it was a new phenomenon, and due to constraint of resources, there was only a mixed class offered. 44 first-year students of Chinese took part in the quantitative survey, which was part of a large internal departmental (of Researcher 1) survey to assess first year language students' motivation and intention to continue into second year study. Some extra questions were added to the survey for Chinese learner participants to shed light on reasons for the rise of HLL enrolment. Of relevance to this chapter are three sections of the survey: students' social and

cultural background, reasons for studying Chinese, and self-reported motivational level. In terms of students' social and linguistic background, over 40% of the students reported that they were born in a Chinese background family and 50% of the students responded that Chinese was an ancestral language of theirs, even though only about 27% said that Chinese was a home language. What this indicates is that although Chinese is not a day-to-day language at home for many students, it is a language recognized as spoken by either their grandparents or great grandparents or even ancestors dating back several generations

Figure 22.1 below shows the mean level of students' responses to six statements about their motivation for studying Chinese. The statements have a Likert scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being Strongly Disagree and 5 being Strongly Agree. As can be seen, the most important reasons for both groups are 'career prospect' and 'like the language and culture'. 'Communicate with others' is reasonably important for both groups, more so for the HLLs who also rated family heritage and societal expectation above the medium. For all the students, parents' decision seemed the least important.

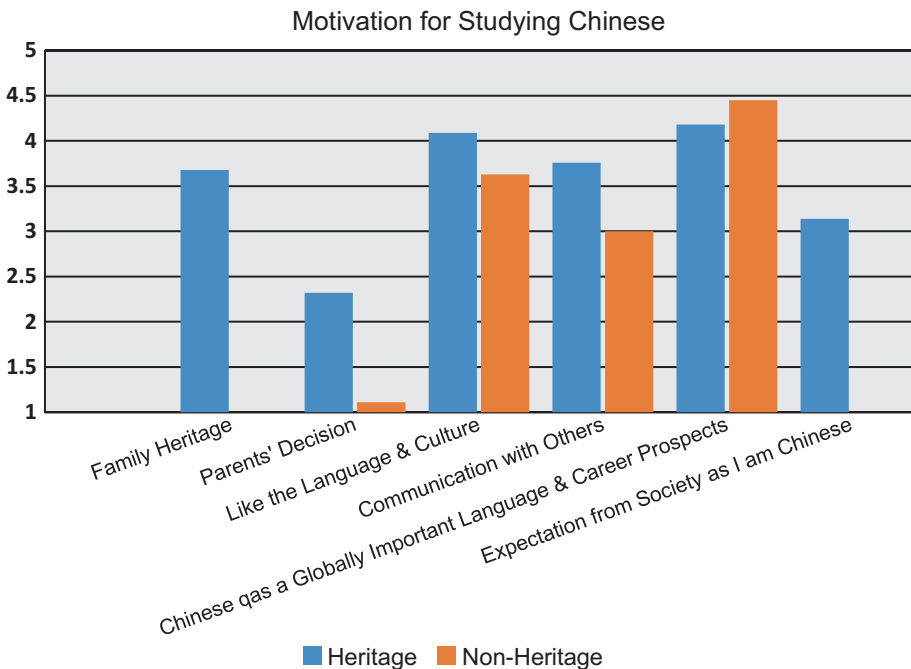


Fig. 22.1 Motivation orientations for Studying Chinese (Case Study 22.1, N = 44)

In terms of students' self-rated motivation level (5 represents 'extremely motivated', 4 'considerably motivated', 3 'somewhat motivated', 2 'not very much motivated', 1 'not at all motivated'), the responses indicate that the mean motivation intensity of both the HLLs and non-HLLs was about 3, representing a middle range motivational intensity.

Case Study 22.2

By 2013, the percentage of HLLs in the Chinese Program of the researchers' university had reached over 50% and more so in advanced level units, as more non-HLLs had dropped out (based on internal enrolment figures) due to reasons such as poorer performance or perceived disadvantage compared with the HLLs. Thus there was research interest in the motivation of the HLLs, and the second study was thus conducted with HLLs only, 44 students in all, including first, second and third year students. Our questionnaire had 14 statements covering a comprehensive range of motivation variables identified in existing literature, with Likert Scale responses (rated 1–5: 1 being Strongly Disagree and 5 being Strongly Agree). The results displayed in Fig. 22.2 show the mean ranking for each of the 14 statements

If we consider only the values of each of the means, we can see that the first four orientations, which are related to 'job prospects' and 'cultural heritage

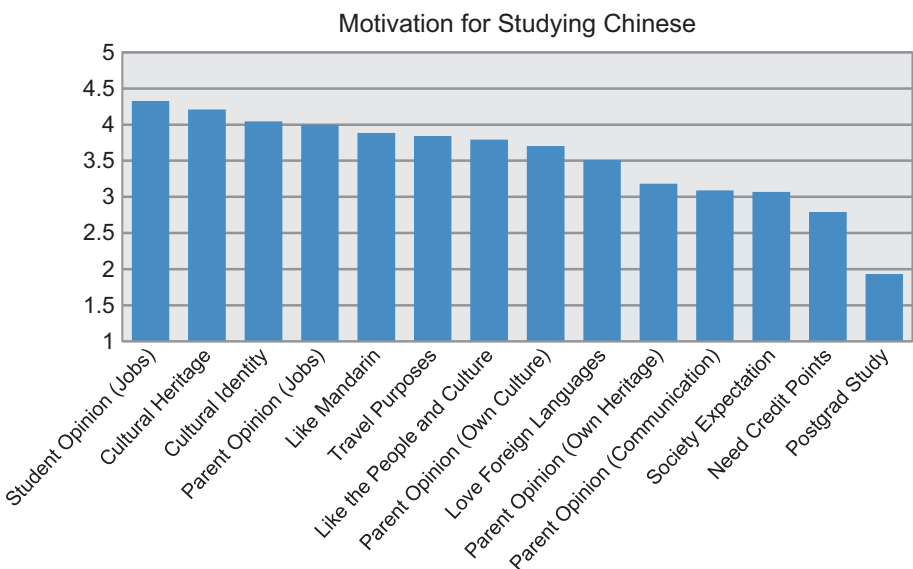


Fig. 22.2 Motivation orientations for Heritage Students Studying Chinese (Case Study 22.2, N = 44)

and identity', have the highest scores (mean = 4 and above) while the two related to 'study requirements' received the lowest scores. In the middle, we can find a range of other motivation orientations: intrinsic (e.g., love the language), extrinsic reasons (e.g., travel), 'social pressure' (e.g., parents' opinions, and external influence).

Factor Analysis was conducted to identify underlying influences that may contribute to the structure of motivation. The fourteen questions were exposed to a factor extraction and rotation process. Principal Axis factoring was used to extract factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0. Around 70% of the total variance was explained by four motivation factors, summarized in Table 22.1.

As 'effort' is an important component to show motivational intensity, we measured this by using two quantitative measurements: (a) whether students seek practice outside class, and (b) the number of hours spent practicing outside class. 86% of the students responded 'Yes' while 14% gave a negative response to question (a). The responses to question (b) showed that 46% of the students undertook between 1 and 3 hours, 26% of the students undertook 3–6 hours, 21% undertook between 1 and 3 hours, and only 7% spent 6 or more hours of outside study per week.

Another variable we measured was students' self-rated motivational level. The data (mean = 3.6; median = 4) show that about 7% of students rated their motivation in the bottom two levels, 1 and 2, while the rest rated themselves 3 and above. The overall result shows that students believe themselves to be a reasonably well motivated group. It should be pointed out that as the second study consists of second- and third-year students whose continuing to the

Table 22.1 Motivational factors (Case Study 22.2, N = 44)

	Factors	Components
1	Heritage language and culture	Like the people and culture Like Mandarin Love foreign languages Cultural heritage Cultural identity
2	External influence	Parents' opinion (own heritage) Parents' opinion (communication) Parents' opinion (own culture) Expected by society
3	Job prospects	Job prospects Parents' opinion (jobs)
4	Instrumentality	Travel Credit points

higher level can be a reflection of a higher motivational level, this may have elevated the motivational level of the entire cohort.

Case Study 22.3

The third case study was conducted in the first semester of 2017. Since 2013, due to increased HLL enrolment, a separate stream for HLLs has been set up at the Beginner level. In recent years, it was observed that the HLL group has become linguistically more diverse. A survey was conducted to help shed light on whether there were changes in the motivations for learning Chinese with a more diverse group. Of the total 24 students, as the survey was on a voluntary basis, only 18 returned the form, and of these, 6 were non-HLLs, but were Korean and Japanese students who had high prior Chinese proficiency due to previous study and were thus placed with the HLL stream. As these non-HLLs were too small in number to form a contrastive group and to produce any statistically significant result, they were removed from the data analysis, leaving the sample size for this study as 12. Although small in sample size, it was hoped that the data would still offer some indication of trends in students' motivation. We used the same questionnaire as the second case study for this third one

Students' demographic information confirms our observation that there are more diverse linguistic backgrounds in the student group, from previously mainly Cantonese to include Mandarin, Shanghainese, Southern Min, Hakka, and Fujian. It has showed a general increase of Mandarin speaking in the families, even though ancestors or grandparents might still speak other Chinese language varieties. Such a phenomenon is worth noting as it may have influenced students' motivational orientations, as shown below.

Figure 22.3 shows the means of the students' responses to the questionnaire about their motivation for studying Chinese. Ratings were from 1 for 'Strongly Disagree' to 5 for 'Strongly Agree'.

If we consider the value of each of the means, we can see some slight changes in the ranking of the statements in terms of importance from the second study. Here, 'cultural heritage', 'cultural identity', and 'parents' opinions on own culture' have the highest mean of 4.5 and above, while at the lower end are orientations to do with study, consistent with the second study. All the other orientations received mean scores in the middle range.

Again, a factor analysis was performed to identify underlying factors. The fourteen questions were exposed to a factor extraction and rotation process. Principal Components factoring was used to extract factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0. Just over 78% of the total variance were explained by four

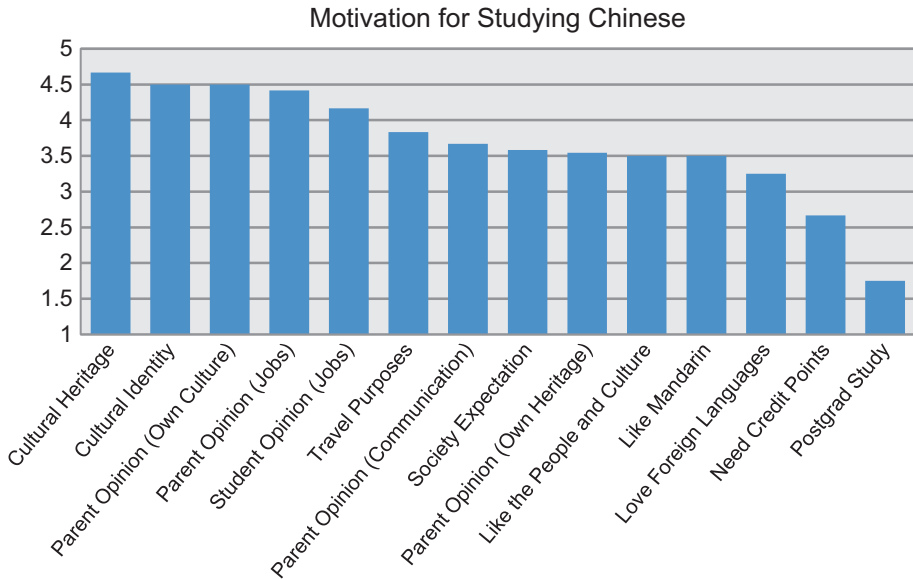


Fig. 22.3 Motivation orientations for Heritage Students Studying Chinese (Case Study 22.3, N = 12)

Table 22.2 Motivational factors (Case Study 22.3, N = 12)

Factors	Components
1 Language and culture	Like the people and culture Travel Cultural identity Like Mandarin Love foreign languages
2 Heritage and instrumentality	Postgraduate study Parents' opinion (jobs) Parents' opinion (own culture) Cultural heritage
3 External influence	Credit points Parents' opinion (own heritage) Expected by society.
4 Future prospects and communication	Job prospects Parents' opinion (communication)

motivation factors. As noted above, we acknowledge the small sample size, unlike the second case study which, statistically, is sufficiently large to extrapolate to a broader population (Table 22.2).

Regarding the number of hours spent studying Chinese, as an indicator of motivational intensity, over 65% of the students reported to undertake

between 1 and 3 hours, over 20% undertook 3–6 hours and less than 10% only undertook 1 hour of outside study per week. However, the result for self-rated motivation level shows that the students tend to rate their motivational level as high: the whole group rated themselves at least 3 out of 5 in terms of motivation level with half of these rated themselves 4 out of 5, but this is not reflected in their external study time. We discuss some reasons behind this in next section.

Discussion

The studies have revealed some interesting findings. Firstly, it was found that HLLs and Non-HLLs have some similar and some contrasting motivational orientations. This was shown in the study of the first mixed cohort. For both groups, the most important reason for taking up Chinese is future career prospects, more so for the non-HLLs. In the context of learning Chinese in 2010, this is understood as supported at that time by media and government policy discourse, as noted, and linked to external factors such as the political and economic influence of China and the perceived potential career advantages. This creates a favorable 'milieu' (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005) which views Chinese as a means to an end. Both groups also displayed integrative orientations reflected in interest in the target language and culture, in love of foreign languages, and in learning Chinese for the purpose of communication. This demonstrates the students' awareness of the need, in this increasingly globalized world, to be multilingual and multiculturally competent. However, given the importance of 'career' orientation to the students, to be able to communicate with others can also be interpreted as instrumental orientation, as it may indicate a desire to gain the language proficiency for job opportunities. With an expanding Chinese-speaking community in Australia, this also means the students wish to be able to speak Chinese in the work place and in social settings.

Secondly, the two studies that focused only on the HLLs show that studying Chinese for the benefit of future employment, be it the perception of the students themselves or their parents, continued to receive a very high rating, consistent with various studies reviewed above. While it is inappropriate to generalize with such a small sample, this is indicative of both the local and global perception of increasing opportunities arising in trade, tourism and cultural exchanges.

Thirdly, factor analysis of the last two studies shows some consistent underlying influences that may contribute to the structure of motivation of the two cohorts. Noticeably, both studies identified that heritage language culture and

identity interact positively with integrative orientation such as liking the language and people, intrinsic orientation such as loving foreign languages, as well as with instrumental orientations such as pursuing future study, travel, and future employment. The positive association among these components is not difficult to understand. For example, while postgraduate study was ranked at the lowest end in terms of mean rating, for the HLLs, a future plan to pursue postgraduate study may constitute part of their strong interest and effort in achieving high proficiency in their heritage language. As for learning the heritage language for the purpose of travel, as shown in study 3, we have noted that recent HLL cohorts are children of the new generations of Chinese speaking migrants, most of whom come from mainland China. It is expected that there will be more frequent visits to their parents' birthplaces and, as such, their interest in studying their heritage language naturally correlates with travel purpose. The two studies also confirm findings from studies conducted in China (see Ding, 2016; Yuan et al., 2008) that external influences, such as parental opinion, societal expectation and studying for credit points, play an important role in motivating HLLs' study choice. As they are mostly first generation immigrants in Australia, with strong ties to their birth country and strong desire to maintain the heritage language and culture, parents may also have exercised their influence on the students' decision and motivation for studying Chinese. Such a phenomenon was not as prevalent in the 2010 study.

The fourth finding shows that although engaged in such affective identity and strong career-related goals, the motivational level of both the HLLs and non-HLLs is middling, except the third cohort. It can be conjectured that as these students perceive Chinese as an advantage in the jobs market, and they do not wish to pursue postgraduate studies, an intermediate level will be adequate for functional communication, at work or within HLL families. The third study reveals a more complex picture: while rating themselves quite high on their motivational level, the effort they expended was less than the second cohort. Such a negative correlation can be for two reasons: the HLLs in the 2017 cohort are children of the new migrants who hold a very strong desire for their children to learn Mandarin Chinese, thus exerting much stronger influence on their children's learning desire. Secondly, as the new generation of migrants are mainly from Mainland China and from families who speak Mandarin, the children have been exposed to more Mandarin in the home environment and so do not feel a strong necessity to exert greater effort to study. Furthermore, in the third study, travelling and post-graduate studies were found to be correlated with heritage and cultural identity components in the factor analysis. This could be because, for this 2017 HLL cohort with

their parents' closer connection with China, travelling to China and gaining a deeper knowledge of the heritage language and culture are a more important part of their identity.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief review of international research into college students' motivation to learn Chinese as a foreign language. The expansion of the teaching of Chinese, in the global context of the economic rise of China and the global mobility of peoples, is a response to diverse motivations. These include, but are not limited to, possible employment opportunities, travel, and reclamation of heritage language and culture in diaspora community families.

In common with other multicultural nations, Australia's cities, homes and schools and university Chinese classes are diverse. Both non-HLLs and HLLs are valued by teachers and deserve equity of achievement. In the Chinese language classroom, teachers need understanding of all student needs and motivations, and how to maximize learning in the dual-level class. A data-informed understanding of motivation will assist teachers to design appropriate tasks and materials, stimulate enquiry, and actively support development in both the non-HLLs and HLLs.

In our work, following the first study, we have paid particular attention to HLL motivation, due to their increasing numbers in undergraduate classes. We would like to see more motivation research investigating the higher drop-out rate in non-HLLs. While government initiatives hope to create more young citizens with Chinese communicative abilities, regardless of background, it is the non-HLLs who particularly need encouragement to persevere in building their Chinese knowledge.

We have suggested, however, that both non-HLLs and HLLs have shifting profiles. Most are studying Chinese in the first instance for employment purposes, and opportunities both within and beyond Australia. However we note that both groups' love of the language and culture also has to do with their lives in multilingual cities such as Sydney. The non-HLLs are studying with peers of Chinese origins, and mix socially with Chinese speaking workmates, friends, neighbors, all of whom have a shaping influence in motivation orientations.

Our three studies confirm that HLLs have a particular set of HL-related motivation factors, similar to studies involving HLLs reviewed above, but we also found that these factors are fluid, and can change. The motivation factors

may be shaped by changes in immigration patterns and social and political discourse. We have noted the interplay between ‘heritage’ and ‘career’ motivation. We suggest that the career motivation may not be at odds with the family heritage motivation, but in some cases, congruent with it. Career choice and aspirations may be the focus of family encouragement, equally with family language communication issues. However, both of these two important motivational factors appear to operate in balance regardless of dialect, temporal distance from immigration, or degree of family linguistic abilities. We recall Wong and Xiao’s (2010) notion of heritage learners looking back and looking forward. This relationship was also evident in this study’s HL students. Their interest in their past linguistic and cultural heritage is balanced with a sense of their personal and professional future. For these students their motivation for Chinese study may be the connecting fulcrum between two areas of their life. Our findings also reinforce the view of Ding (2016), and Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) that learners’ motivation for studying a language other than English is, when freely chosen, associated with highly specific and personalized reasons. Our HLLs’ heritage-related motivational orientations are strong evidence.

We believe our study contributes questions, if not answers, to the emerging literature on CFL motivation. Australia is a CFL context which has explicitly supported Chinese study, has a well-developed pedagogy and resources, and the context relevance of a large Chinese diaspora. And yet it appears to still suffer from similar classroom motivation challenges as US, UK and European classrooms. The studies underline the need for differentiation in the body of motivation studies in Chinese language learning. If the growth of Chinese language study internationally is to be sustained, there is need for extensive future research studies in student motivation, how this may shift from context to context and over time, and the implications for pedagogy. Understanding this will be of ongoing importance to teachers, students and curriculum designers, in the global drive to strengthen the teaching and learning of Chinese.

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23

Motivation and Multilingualism in South Africa

Susan Coetzee-Van Rooy

This chapter focuses on motivation for the acquisition and learning of additional languages in multilingual urban South Africa. The first part contextualizes the phenomenon of multilingualism at a global, African and South African level. The next section introduces multilingualism and motivation. After that, the chapter presents data from two empirical projects—a larger scale language repertoire survey study and a small scale interview study—that investigated the relationships between motivation and multilingualism in the South African context. There follows a discussion of the empirical findings in relation to the existing motivation literature. The final part focuses on the implications, and avenues for future research.

The chapter argues for a change in vantage point for studies of motivation to learn, acquire and use multiple languages. Much previous research concentrated on the learning of languages in schools, or studying the exceptional adult in a naturalistic immigrant setting who “appears to have acquired native-like proficiency in an untutored learning context” (Ioup, Boustagui, El Tigi, & Moselle, 1994, p. 74) whom we categorise as someone who achieved “phenomenal success” (Ioup et al., 1994, p. 91). There remains a need for understanding “how multilingual acquisition has taken place for centuries outside formal schooling” (Canagarajah, 2007, p. 933) in contexts like Africa and

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India where the ordinary magic of deep individual and long-standing societal multilingualism is pervasive (Ditsele, 2017; Ditsele & Mann, 2014; Mesthrie, 2006, 2008). The chapter considers if insights from the multilingual urban South African situation could advance our understanding of the relationship between motivation and language learning, acquisition and use in an increasingly multilingual world.

Contemporary Global and South African Multilingualism

Contemporary global multilingualism is heralded as an important and novel sociolinguistic phenomenon. Aronin and Singleton (2012, p. 43) refer to the widespread prominence of individual and societal multilingualism as a “new linguistic dispensation”. Similarly, The Douglas Fir Group (2016, p. 19) highlight the force of new technologies, mobility and migration that propel multilingualism “to a new world order in the 21st century”.

In contrast to the claims about the novelty of contemporary global multilingualism made by scholars, the position of African multilingualism is unique in this context because historically, “African multilingualism has developed in its own particularities” (Aronin & Singleton, 2012, p. 18). One element that distinguishes African multilingualism from other forms of contemporary multilingualism, is that it is a long-standing condition. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to document the history of multilingualism in Africa but it is important to note that in the sub-Saharan context, Mufwene (2017) highlights that countries have been extensively multilingual because of the continuous contact among people using different vernaculars over long periods of time across loosely structured boundaries. Mufwene (2017, p. 5) argues that contact with Europeans during the colonial period “extended the range/repertoire of multilingualism in sub-Saharan Africa” as additional European languages were introduced in the already multilingual African environments. In contemporary post-colonial settings, the movement of people from rural to urban spaces and across national borders on the continent (and beyond) has extended even further the multilingualism in African cities (Dekoke, 2016; Prah, 2010; Vigouroux, 2008). These brief broad strokes of history portray the long-standing human condition of being multilingual in Africa that leads to its widespread occurrence at individual and societal level, as attested to by many scholars.

Within the broader context of Africa, South Africa is widely acknowledged as a deeply multilingual country at individual and societal level and multilingualism is seen as “a defining characteristic of being South African”

(Ndlangamandla, 2010, p. 61; see also Bornman, Álvarez-Mosquera, & Seti, 2018; Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2011; Deumert, 2010; Prah, 2010; Slabbert & Finlayson, 2000). The adoption of eleven official languages in South Africa post-1994 is an expression of the multilingual nature of this environment.

Against this background, Mufwene (2017, p. 9) rightfully asks: “What is new about the so-called ‘linguistic super-diversity’ observed in Western European cities since the 1990s?” The Douglas Fir Group (2016, p. 23) acknowledges that “multilingual communities have long existed in traditional cultures around the globe” and that “what globalization has accomplished is a heightened awareness of the reality of multilingualism in Western societies”. Despite the observation that African multilingualism is a long-standing and important phenomenon, scholars like Wolff (2000) and Hoff (2006) lament the lack of published literature on the topic from non-Western contexts like Africa (and one could add India, Indonesia and similar countries); and Canagarajah (2007, p. 924) states that the “local knowledge of these periphery communities [in this case precolonial and current multilingual India] has been ignored in linguistic scholarship”. Canagarajah (2007, p. 935) proposes that “insights from non-Western [multilingual] communities should inform the current efforts for alternate theory building” in the broad field of second language acquisition (SLA) research; also in the effort of re-thinking theories of motivation and language acquisition, learning and use, as argued in this chapter. Motivation to add languages to one’s repertoire in these contexts is related to social interaction that is reciprocal, rather than to individual language learning in schools; and we know too little about motivation and multilingualism from these intense and informal contexts.

Motivation and Multilingualism

There are very few motivation studies that focus on multilingual contexts in Africa, India and Southeast Asia where many languages are added to the repertoires of people via acquisition in the community. Motivation research mainly focuses on additional language learning in school; or acquisition of languages in immigrant contexts. It is conceptually problematic to apply theories or concepts from mainly monolingual settings where language learning is primarily done in schools; or settings where migrant people (often a vulnerable population) are under pressure to acquire and learn the dominant language of their new home country; to contexts where most of the languages in the repertoires of multilingual people are acquired in the community and where multilingual efforts are reciprocal in general. In other words, the affordance of acquiring bits of many languages (not only high status languages) is

shared by most people in the community and not by only one section of the community, for example migrant people or speakers of perceived minority languages. As an illustration of this problem, one could consider the idea of the L2 self in a school context as, for example, in Japan. In this context it makes sense to ask questions about the potential power of a future English-using self as motivation to learn English. In a context like urban multilingual South Africa, pre-school child multilingualism (Banda, 2009; Wolff, 2000) is a given and children arriving at school use community languages and school languages like English regularly. The motivational power of imagining oneself as a future English L2 user or a future multilingual self is probably untenable in this context.

Furthermore, Ellis (2008) points to distinctions between natural and educational settings, and language learning and acquisition; and assumes that language development in natural and education settings is very dissimilar in nature, a difference that relates to distinctions between implicit and explicit language learning. Language acquisition in natural contexts is associated with implicit and social strategies (e.g. Alptekin, 2007; Ellis, 2008) while language learning in educational settings is associated with explicit and conscious attention to language rules (Ellis, 2008). In their review of research about implicit and explicit language learning, Andringa and Rebuscat (Andringa & Rebuschat, 2015, p. 186) include understanding “how different learning contexts affect development” as one of the crucial factors that should receive research attention.

In the field of motivation and language learning and acquisition, there is a substantial body of work in different educational contexts (see for example the seminal work by Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, pp. 6–7 and their associates working in different educational contexts across the world). The notion of an “ideal multilingual self” who learns additional languages at school has recently received attention from motivation scholars like Ushioda (2017) and Henry and Thorsen (2018). Apart from Schumann’s (1978, 1986, 2013) work on motivation in natural contexts (where immigrants acquire and learn the language of the new home country) that acknowledges the importance of motivation in the form of acculturation (Barjesteh & Vaseghi, 2012) there is a limited body of work that describes the acquisition of languages in natural multilingual contexts (Canagarajah, 2007); including limited attention to the issue of motivation and language acquisition and learning outside classroom contexts. The Douglas Fir Group (2016, p. 39), for example, state that the broad project of rethinking a transdisciplinary framework for language learning and acquisition studies in a multilingual world would have to include a continued focus on “the local multilingual contexts” in which languages are learnt and acquired. This chapter approaches the issue of motivation to learn

and acquire languages from the specific context of urban multilingual South Africa, with a view to outlining a motivation research agenda emanating from, and designed for, contexts with similar characteristics.

Motivation and Multilingualism in Urban South Africa: Two Empirical Projects

To achieve the aims of the chapter, selected results are reported about the motivation of participants from two empirical projects: a larger scale language repertoire survey conducted in 2015 and a small scale interview study conducted in 2016. Both studies focused on the nature of multilingualism among urban South African students.

Methods: Participants, Instruments, Analysis

As part of the larger scale study, entering students at a university in the Vaal Triangle region in the Gauteng province in South Africa complete a Language Repertoire survey every five years (starting in 2010). The aim of the larger scale study is to track the multilingual repertoires of students in the Vaal Triangle region with a view to monitor the vitality of the repertoires and determine if their size and shape are stable, growing or shrinking over time. More detailed descriptions of the language repertoire survey study and findings about the vitality of the multilingual repertoires of the participants are reported elsewhere (e.g. Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2012, 2014, 2018). A specific question about motivation to add languages to one's repertoire was included for the first time in the 2015 survey. This question (and the options for motivation to learn and acquire languages) was formulated based on an analysis of open-ended answers in the 2010 survey, where it was determined that communication in different environments was the main motivation to become multilingual reported by the participants (see Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2016).

922 participants completed the 2015 survey of whom 245 (27%) self-identified as Southern Sotho home language speakers. In the 2011 South African Census data Statistics South Africa (2011) for home languages used in the Vaal Triangle region, Southern Sotho is the most prominent home language (422,198 out of 916,484 or 47%), followed by Zulu (144,299 or 16%) and Afrikaans (136,990 or 15%). Several other home languages with fewer than 50,000 speakers are also used in this region. The chapter focuses on the data of the Southern Sotho home language participants in the survey study to

ensure that the experiences of participants are comparable. There were 159 (65%) female and 82 (35%) male participants; 94% (230) of the participants were in the age range that is typical for university students (19–24); all the participants self-reported as belonging to the black African population group. The data analysis consists of an interpretation of the frequencies of the responses of the participants for the motivation question in the survey.

The interview study is based on data collected by Ngubeni (2016) at the same university in the same region where the larger scale language repertoire study is conducted, as part of her BA Honours in Language Practice mini-dissertation. The aim of Ngubeni's (2016) study was "to investigate the experiences of being multilingual in the present day youth in South Africa" (Ngubeni, 2016, p. 9) and the interviews unearthed valuable data related to the participants' motivation to add languages to their repertoires.

The interview participants were selected by Ngubeni (2016) to comply with the following criteria: they had to be multilingual students in the Vaal Triangle region and they had to be learners that exited the South African school system to enter university from former "model-C schools". A former "model-C school" in South Africa refers to schools where white, mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans or English were schooled in white suburbs at the start of the 1990s, before gradually becoming multiracial without changing their language policies (Sayed, 1999, p. 194). The language of teaching and learning at these schools was Afrikaans or English and African languages were rarely offered as subjects. Ngubeni (2016) conducted the interviews and transcribed the interview data. I used the transcriptions of the interviews by Ngubeni (2016) with her permission and I re-analysed the data with the view to document the themes related to the motivation of the participants to add languages to their multilingual repertoires. There were ten participants in the interview study: 6 were female and 4 were male and all were in the age range 18–24. The interview questions focused on the participants' experiences of multilingualism.

For analysis of the interview data, I used Atlas.ti Version 8 to help code the themes that relate to the motivation to add languages to one's repertoire. I defined each code and, after my first analysis, calculated the frequencies of the allocated codes, and ordered them from the most to the least frequent. In phase two of the analysis, I clustered the prominent codes from the frequency analysis into bigger themes that formed a thematic whole, which provided insight into the motivation to add languages to the multilingual repertoires of the participants. In the chapter, a narrative argument that summarises the participants' experiences related to their motivation to add languages to their repertoires is presented and supported with examples from the interview data. The findings from the two empirical projects are presented in the following section.

Language Repertoire Survey Findings

It emerged from previous analyses of the language repertoire survey data that there are two types of language repertoires among the speakers of African languages as home languages. Participants in Repertoire Type 1 regarded Southern Sotho as their home language and also perceived Southern Sotho as their strongest language and English as their second strongest language. Participants in Repertoire Type 2 regarded Southern Sotho as their home language, but regarded English as their strongest language and Southern Sotho as their second strongest language. In this chapter, the motivation for the acquisition and learning of languages in Repertoire Type 1 and Repertoire Type 2 were investigated separately to determine if the motivation of the participants is different.

79% (194) of the participants in the survey study belong to Repertoire Type 1 and 21% (51) belong to Repertoire Type 2. In Repertoire Type 1, 75% (146) of the participants know a third strongest language (Zulu); and 80% (41) of the participants in Repertoire Type 2 reported knowing a third language (Afrikaans). The prominence of Zulu as a third strongest language for participants in Repertoire Type 1 is not surprising. The linguistic diversity and the increasing importance of Zulu in the Gauteng province are reported by Masoke-Kadenge and Kadenge (2013) and Ngcobo (2014). The functional value of knowing a Sotho and an Nguni language as is the case for participants in Repertoire Type 1 is important, as access to a Sotho and Nguni language widens the potential to communicate with the majority of South Africans, since there is a degree of mutual intelligibility within these two branches of the Southern Bantu language family. The prominence of Afrikaans as third strongest language for Repertoire Type 2 participants is not an unexpected finding either as those participants typically attended former model-C high schools where they take Afrikaans as first additional language subject in school, alongside English at home language level. For participants of Repertoire Type 1, 38% (74) report knowledge of a fourth strongest language (Zulu or Tswana) and 20% (39) of a fifth strongest language (Xhosa, Tswana or Northern Sotho). For participants of Repertoire Type 2, 43% (22) report knowledge of a fourth strongest language (Zulu or Afrikaans) and 22% (11) of a fifth strongest language (Zulu, Afrikaans or Tswana). The participants' perceptions about the motivation that relate to the addition of the languages in their repertoires are presented in Table 23.1.

From Table 23.1, it is clear that there are considerable similarities between the motivation offered for the addition of languages to the repertoires of the

Table 23.1 Frequencies reported by Southern Sotho home language participants related to motivations to add the languages that they know to their repertoires

	I was born into a family that use the language	It was used as language of teaching and learning at school	I wanted to communicate with people in my community or close environment	I wanted to communicate with people in the broader South Africa	I wanted to communicate with people in the world or internationally	The language is important in the world of work	Other
Repertoire Type 1 [n = 194]							
Strongest language: Southern Sotho (n = 194)	179	5	5	0	0	0	5
Second strongest language: English (n = 192)	0	143	4	9	8	18	10
Third strongest language: African languages (n = 144)	15	28	84	6	2	0	9
Fourth strongest language: African languages (n = 73)	9	9	38	11	1	0	5
Fifth strongest language: African languages (n = 38)	1	4	16	9	2	1	5
Total	204	189	147	35	13	19	34
Repertoire Type 2 [n = 51]							
Strongest language: English (n = 51)	1	41	1	0	4	2	2
Second strongest language: Southern Sotho (n = 51)	46	0	4	0	0	0	1

(continued)

Table 23.1 (continued)

	I was born into a family that use the language	It was used as language of teaching and learning at school	I wanted to communicate with people in my community or close environment	I wanted to communicate with people in the broader South Africa	I wanted to communicate with people in the world or internationally	The language is important in the world of work	Other
Southern Sotho as home language	3	18	12	6	0	0	2
Third strongest language: Afrikaans (n = 41)	3	6	7	6	0	0	0
Fourth strongest languages: African languages (n = 22)	1	2	4	2	0	0	1
Fifth strongest languages: African languages (n = 10)	54	67	28	14	4	2	6
Total							

participants, irrespective of the type of language repertoire. In other words, the main motivation to add Southern Sotho to the repertoire of the participants is because they were born into a Southern Sotho family. This motivation is true for both the groups of participants in Repertoire Type 1 and Repertoire Type 2. Similarly, the main motivation to add English to the repertoires of the participants in both Repertoire Types is that English is used as a language of teaching and learning at school. The addition of African languages as third, fourth or fifth strongest language is mainly motivated by the desire to communicate with people of the community in the environments close to the participants for Repertoire Type 1 and 2. The only difference between the motivations to add languages in Repertoire Type 1 and 2, is the presence of Afrikaans as the main third strongest language in Repertoire Type 2, where participants indicated that Afrikaans is learnt because it is a language of teaching and learning at school (typical for former model-C schools) and to communicate with people in the close school community (the school in this case) which are typically multicultural.

The main inference that one can draw from the data presented here, is that there is a relationship between the environment in which the participants live and the motivation for the languages that they add to their repertoires. Irrespective of the perceptions of the participants as members of Repertoire Type 1 or 2, the family or home as domain drives the learning of Southern Sotho. Similarly, the motivation to add English to the repertoires of the participants remains the school environment—irrespective of whether English is perceived as strongest or second strongest language; and Afrikaans is also added as a school language. Multiple additional African languages are added to facilitate communication with communities in the close environment.

Interview Findings

From the interview data, it is clear that the multilingual repertoires of the participants (all members of Repertoire Type 2) develop under specific conditions. In the extracts from the interviews that follow, the underlining in the quotations from the interview data aims to make it easy for readers to see the link made in the analysis between the quotations and the codes. Due to space restrictions a limited number of quotations are chosen to illustrate the themes that emerged from the analysis. The main themes relate to the influence of language contact via migration on multilingualism, the communicative needs to accommodate people and foster relationships in a multilingual environment, the role of lingua francas, and the nature of different types of multilin-

gual proficiencies aimed at by the participants. These main themes will be presented in turn below.

The prominence of increased contact between different languages in the Vaal Triangle environment as a result of migration in and to South Africa emerged as an important theme from the interview data. Participant 1 expressed the awareness of increased language contact as a result of migration into the area where she went to school as follows:

[1] I went to primary school in an area where there were ... Where English would be the main language because we're all different, we're from different [places], uhm ya. Cause I went to primary school in (school name) and there was no room for any Zulu what, no there wasn't because we were mixed. There was white people, there was coloured people. Ah, the area was starting to become populated with ah African foreign, foreigners, ya so there was a whole lotta them speaking Portuguese and French. So we had to use the medium of, the communication had to be, the medium of instruction as well, was English. So uhm ya, I picked up English.

Excerpt 1 illustrates the awareness of the participant that language contact (and resultant linguistic diversity) intensified in the region as people migrated into it; and that in these complex diverse contexts, one needed to find a lingua franca (English in this case) to foster communication; and to use as shared medium of instruction at the school.

The main communicative need identified by the participants was to accommodate all people (the community) in their direct environment which required one to be multilingual. Participant 10 expressed the centrality of communication in linguistically diverse contexts in the following way:

[2] I'm totally for it. I think multilingualism is the way to go. I mean communication is the key to success for any relationship or interaction between human beings ... I think everyone should know at least two languages.

If one cannot communicate, one cannot foster relationships. Participants 2 and 8 expressed the notion that in these complex multilingual urban settings, people had to accommodate each other linguistically if they wanted to communicate well:

[3] But then I didn't stick to just those two languages (English and Afrikaans) throughout my entire life. I still had to accommodate all the other languages. [Participant 2]

[4] I use a lot of languages at home there's a lot of languages, people who speak a lot of languages around me. There's Zulu, there's Tswana, there's English ... I feel it is a must because when someone speaks to you in your home language, you feel comfortable. It's much more pleasant to speak to that person and all that. [Participant 8]

Participant 4 stated that even in the workplace where English was prominent it would be important to use African languages to accommodate one's colleagues:

[5] Only to get to the workplace and it's different and you don't actually speak English anymore, you'd rather speak other African languages to accommodate the people that you are working with.

One of the ways used to accommodate multilingual people in multilingual conversations was to search for a lingua franca or lingua francas. The well-known position of English being perceived as a "neutral" or "universal" lingua franca (with potential to unite people in a linguistically diverse setting) was reported by many of the interview participants (see for example excerpt 1 above and the selected excerpts that follow):

[6] I think that uhm it's getting very popular eh the use of English and uhm yeah I think it's a good thing because English after all [is] the universal language and so it's a good thing. [Participant 3]

[7] When it comes to English I think it's just a common language that we've all ... learned to adapt to since its just, it's like one voice né [not so], like we all know English [Participant 4]

Excerpts 1, 6 and 7 illustrate the interview participants' views that English was a useful lingua franca in the deeply multilingual contexts where they lived. These excerpts also illustrate the complexity within the multilingual repertoires. On the one hand the participants supported the view that English was a very useful lingua franca. At the same time, participants supported the notion that it was important to be multilingual in African languages as well (see excerpts 1 to 5 above). One participant expressed overtly ambivalent feelings towards the inclusion of English in the multilingual repertoire:

[8] Uhm in terms of English, sometimes a person tends to feel a bit oppressed because you know it's a white man's language but, for me I feel it's universal. There is nothing you can really do about it. Everybody speaks English; at least

one person in every country can speak English. It's a worldly language; there is nothing you can do about [Participant 6]

The data indicate that multilingualism that includes English and indigenous African languages were regarded as useful in this context, because it enabled the use of a variety of lingua francas when needed (see excerpts 6, 7, 9 and 10):

[9] Uhm someone who doesn't understand my mother tongue uhm basically, I'd probably speak English with them you know and then yeah take it from there. Basically ask which language they understand. Maybe there is a common ground after all, maybe they speak Zulu and I know Zulu you know, so yeah. But I'd probably start speaking to them in English. [Participant 3]

[10] Yoh speaking multiple languages? Uhm I find it okay cause if *ke bulela le wena ka Sepedi* [if I speak Sepedi to you] and you don't understand me then I have to *movela* [change] to another language or English. I think English would help. [Participant 9]

Overall, the participants were positive about adding more languages to their repertoires; they saw the advantages of being multilingual (see for example excerpt 2 above and excerpt 11):

[11] With regards to being multilingual, I think it's a good thing especially in today's society because if you only know one language people judge you for it and they probably think that uhm you might be biased for only knowing one language. I also think that being multilingual is also an advantage of some sort when it comes to, let's say a job interview or even asking for directions, for example. [Participant 4]

A multilingual “ought-to self” (akin to Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System, see Csizér this volume) emerges in excerpt 11 where participant 4 explains that a monolingual person in this context is “judged” by people in the environment. The “ought-to self” in this context is multilingual. The importance of accommodating addressees in conversations by using their preferred language in conversations (in contrast to the preferred language of the speaker, reported for other contexts by Wolff, 2000) emerged prominently in the excerpts presented above.

Finally, it is important to view the types of language proficiency that the interview participants describe for the languages that they know, because it enables one to see how the motivation for being multilingual among the participants drives the achievement of specific types of proficiency. Considering

the interview participants' perceptions of their language proficiencies, four important codes emerged from the data: (a) the acquisition of languages is viewed as the "picking up" of what is available at hand; (b) the languages that are "picked up" are "light" or "deep"; (c) a specific multilingual competence is needed to "meet people half way" in conversations; and (d) acquiring languages through interaction means that "school like" proficiency is not needed for many of the languages in the repertoires of the participants. These codes are illustrated below.

Participant 1 explained how she "picked up" languages when she drove around with her father in the mornings as a young child. She emphasised that the "picking up" of languages started "external" to the home, where Zulu was dominant:

[12] So then while running errands, they'd be music playing, I'd bump into people that he talks to. So I'd pick up languages, words, like that, but he used to play like a lot of R&B and obviously, like American soul and that's English. Your Keith Sweat, ya so, I can't say where I picked it up because there's a number of external factors. The nursery rhymes contributed, the music I listened to, at home the news, so everything contributed, but when I left home is where the contribution started. Cause at home it's just, it was Zulu then. My sister was the one who knew English cause she went to an English school, primary, uhm, from crèche, primary you know, so. Ya, my it picking up—external factors. [Participant 1]

Excerpt 12 also provides evidence from the interview data that the participant was unaware of exactly where (and how) she acquired many of the "bits of languages" that she "picked up" (2012, p. 11). Her "picking up" of languages could be regarded as "encounters with language" (2012, p. 11) or incidental language acquisition.

The participants' awareness of different varieties of the languages used in their environment was illustrated clearly in the interview data. Participant 4 described her language proficiencies in the standard and non-standard varieties of Tsonga as follows:

[13] When it comes to this deep and light kind of thing, I think the deep one is more of the older generation where they speak like the hard core mother tongue of mine and I think I speak the light version of it because I just know the basics of my language. I don't know like the raw Tsonga ya bona [you see]? So like with mine I feel that, I think maybe that's how my parents brought me up to know just the basics of Tsonga but when I go back home it's a bit deeper than what I'm used to. [Participant 4]

Participant 1 took this notion (“deep” and “light” varieties of the languages known) even further by referring to her form of city Zulu as “diluted Zulu” (which would relate to the light version of the language in her view):

[14] Uhm, first of all, my home language, which is Zulu, let’s call it diluted Zulu. It wasn’t, it was never like the dialect wasn’t, the fluency wasn’t, can never be compared to Zulu spoken in Kwa-Zulu Natal. It was, grew up in the township so the Zulu that was spoken there was very light, uhm, everyone and anyone got it. It wasn’t Zulu that was really, really Zulu, like if I spoke to a Zulu—certain words they wouldn’t get it because in the township there is a mixture of languages. [Participant 1]

The notion that a specific multilingual communicative competence was needed in this context was expressed as follows by participant 10:

[15] I meet them half way. I try to speak a language that they will understand or communicating in a way that is going to make things easier for them. [Participant 10]

[16] Yeah definitely like, I like people. You know when you go out and you meet different people and you’re actually like uhm. I definitely encourage multilingualism. When I come across someone, for instance someone from Venda, I make the effort to say something in Venda just to show them that I am trying. And when you make the initiative, the person feels like at least she is trying and they meet you half way. That’s how you bridge the gap and socialise with people. [Participant 10]

Participant 7 explained that adding African languages to the repertoire did not include typical “school like” activities like reading books but was focused on facilitating communication between people:

[17] It is important because you get to understand people better and you also, especially an African language, you also just get to, sometimes you don’t even have to sit down and read books or whatever. It’s just through interaction because you know our languages are very similar to one another.

The following statement by participant 3, when he reflected about his ability to use the standard form of the African languages that he knew, summarises the focus on communication and understanding between people as the main aim of language use:

[18] The deep or light I think that uhm it depends on basically where or the people around you, what they speak most but argh it doesn't really matter if you speak light or deep you know? Ai it doesn't really matter, as long as you understand you know. As long as that that understanding factor, I feel that it is fine. It doesn't really matter if it is the deep or light you know.

A focus on the interview participants' descriptions of their perceptions of the proficiencies that they hold in the languages that they know provides information about how and why they acquire languages and what types of proficiencies they aim at. The perception of proficiency data describe how the participants "picked up" different varieties of the languages that they know ("deep" and "light" versions) through interaction so that they are able to establish meaningful relationships with the multilingual people in their immediate environment. The emphasis on interaction and the reciprocal nature of multilingual communicative competence ("meeting people half way") emerged from this set of data. There is no evidence from the interview data that mastering a language or languages as a goal on its own motivated language acquisition and learning.

The main inference from the interview data is that the longstanding multilingual environment within which the participants live influences their language acquisition and learning behaviour in profound ways. In this context, the force of language contact is intensified via the migration of multilingual people into an already multilingual urban setting. The density of linguistic diversity gives rise to the need for all conversation partners to "meet each other half way" by acquiring, learning and using several languages that enable them to foster successful relationships with people in this context. The environment creates a context in which "light" and "deep" varieties of languages are "picked up" primarily in the community via interaction. The main proficiency that is aimed at is multilingual communicative competence. The main motivation to acquire, learn and use languages is the fostering of meaningful relationships via multilingual communication.

Discussion

The aim of this section is to discuss the main findings reported in the chapter. Before this, I need to acknowledge that I found it very difficult to situate the findings reported in this chapter into existing literature because there is a paucity of published research about motivation and language acquisition, learning and use in contexts that are similar to urban multilingual South

Africa (Canagarajah, 2007; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). This difficulty is to be expected, if we accept that language development is very different in school and naturalistic settings (Ellis, 2008) and that this difference makes the comparison of findings about motivation and language learning in school and immigrant contexts (represented well in the literature) with findings about motivation to acquire languages in naturalistic settings (an under-represented topic) problematic.

There is a growing body of important work on motivation and multilingualism in (mostly) Western education contexts (see the work by Henry, 2017; Siridetkoon & Dewaele, 2018; Ushioda, 2017). Henry and Thorsen's (2018) excellent work, for example, raised the important issue that the L2 self and the multilingual self are distinct constructs in the context of their study. This is a significant finding that would be very interesting to investigate in the urban multilingual South African context. However, due to the different contexts, using the same research instruments to enable comparison would be problematic. In the context of Henry and Thorsen's (2018) study, high school participants are learning an additional language at a school in Sweden where "motivation to learn LOTEs is generally low" (Henry & Thorsen, 2018, p. 353). The following questionnaire item related to views about the multilingual future self makes a lot of sense in this context: "Being able to speak several different languages other than Swedish and the language I speak with my parents will be a part of who I am in the future" (Henry & Thorsen, 2018, p. 354). Urban multilingual South African university students are already multilingual; they use four to five languages (mostly acquired in the community) daily in conversation; and therefore this questionnaire item is not logical in this context. The advancement of motivation theory building should include future comparative work in contexts where languages are learnt and acquired mainly in schools and/or immigration settings; and in multilingual communities to explore if constructs relevant to school and immigration contexts are at all useful in naturalistic settings.

Coming to the central point in this section, the most important overall finding is the undeniable influence of the social context on the motivation of the participants to acquire, learn and use languages as part of their multilingual repertoires (also reported for Indonesian society by Lamb, 2018). At its most basic level, this means that in this setting where intense language contact is present, most of the languages in the repertoires of the participants are acquired via social interaction with members of multilingual communities (Pavlenko, 2002). The contribution of this chapter is to relate this finding to the motivation of the participants to be multilingual.

There are three specific findings that deepen our understanding of the motivation to be multilingual in this context. First of all, the participants emphasised the importance of “meeting other people half way” when they participate in multilingual conversations. This orientation is a unique effect of African socialization, according to Wolff (2000), that could be attributed to the “Ubuntu” value system where “‘a human is a human because of others’ or ‘I am because you are; you are because we are’” (Makalela, 2016, p. 188). This approach to accommodate the language preferences of conversation partners is an important motivation to be multilingual in this setting.

The reciprocity of taking the language preferences of multilingual partners into account differs markedly from motivation studies conducted in immigrant contexts (see for example, Schumann, 1978, 1986, 2013). In immigrant contexts, the language preferences of the immigrant newcomers are rarely taken into consideration. In fact, the integration of immigrants into their new home country is measured by their willingness to communicate (and often pass language tests) in the new home country’s dominant language (Koning, 2011). In general, language shift to the new home country’s language is viewed as an important symbol of successful acculturation by immigrant people (Remennick, 2003). In immigrant contexts, intergroup communication is regarded as a problem (Schumann, 2013, p. 204) that is “overcome” by several strategies. In longstanding multilingual contexts in Africa, India and Southeast Asia, multilingualism is a way of life and acquiring and learning languages to accommodate multilingual conversation partners is a major motivation to be multilingual. To compare findings from this study with those done in immigrant contexts hides one of the most important motivation elements for multilingualism in the context of the study: the reciprocal nature of language acquisition and learning via social interaction which implies an investment in relationships that is supported by the addition of languages to the repertoire. In other words, the investment in relationships leads to language acquisition and learning; this is slightly different from Norton’s (2015) view of an investment in languages at the intersection of social identity. The findings in this chapter indicate that multilingualism is tied to an investment in the building of relationships with people; and not an investment in learning a language or languages per se.

Acquiring and learning sets of languages or varieties of languages to perform functions in specific domains is the second most important aspect related to the motivation to be multilingual in this setting. The participants in the survey study acquire Southern Sotho for use in the family; learn English (and to some extent Afrikaans) for use in educational contexts; and acquire

Zulu and Tswana for communication with members of the community close to them. Fishman (1964, p. 64) defined domain as the “institutional-role contexts within which habitual language use occurs in multilingual settings”. A domain therefore describes a specific sphere of influence in a speaker’s life and for language (Ng & Wigglesworth, 2007). Ng and Wigglesworth (2007) stress the importance of understanding the domains of language use in bi- (and multilingual) repertoires. The findings reported in this chapter confirm the important relationship between motivation to learn and acquire specific languages or sets of languages to use in specific domains.

Related to the appreciation that languages are acquired and learnt to use in specific domains, is the keen awareness displayed by the participants that different language proficiencies are useful for different domains of use. Most of the language acquisition and learning experiences described by the participants in this study could be categorised as “encounters with language” that Blommaert and Backus (Blommaert & Backus, 2012, p. 11) relate to “minimal modes of learning”. Blommaert and Backus (Blommaert & Backus, 2012, p. 14) point out that this type of language learning is:

usually not seen as ‘language learning’, either because of the extremely small amounts of language learned, or because no active competence in the language has been acquired. Yet in all of these cases, such bits of language are part of our repertoires; they document moments or periods in our lives when we encountered language(s).

The metaphor of “picking up” bits of languages in this context is misleading as the range of the communicative competence in all the languages included in the repertoires of the interview participants is extensive. The findings reported in the chapter provide additional evidence to highlight the importance of the notion of appropriate multilingual communicative competencies for specific environments.

The focus of this chapter on the motivation to learn and acquire languages in multilingual urban South Africa emphasised that current theories of motivation should take into account the nature of the sociolinguistic environments and communicative practices in which languages are added to repertoires of multilingual people. In linguistically complex settings where there is an emphasis on the reciprocity of communication in various languages that fosters relationships between people, motivation constructs should be related more strongly to communicative needs relevant to the environment and less strongly to individual learner needs.

Implications and Avenues for Future Research

The main implication of the findings in the chapter is the necessity of an alignment of current motivation constructs with the influence of the language acquisition and learning environment. Atkinson et al. (2007, p. 171) describe alignment as “the means by which human actors *dynamically adapt* to [...] the ever-changing mind-body-world environments” in which they exist. This point holds important implications for the conceptualization of motivation based on the known reality that there are differences between the learning and acquisition of languages in school, immigration and naturalistic contexts. The findings in this chapter emphasize the importance of not uncritically applying motivation theories developed for a specific context to dissimilar contexts. This also implies that systematic research should be done to determine which elements of motivation are indeed more “universal” across different contexts of language acquisition and learning.

In deeply multilingual contexts, for example, the motivation that drives the learning and acquisition and use of languages is better described as the alignment of the imperative to build appropriate social relationships with the development of resources in one’s multilingual repertoire (Canagarajah, 2007). In these environments, language acquisition and learning are important outcomes that result from the primary focus on building human relationships in linguistically complex settings. In these settings, language acquisition and/or learning is not a goal on its own; it is an important communicative act in service of human interaction.

In contexts where languages are learnt primarily in schools, the growing interest in the future multilingual self is important, as it holds the potential to simulate the conditions for language acquisition and learning in naturalistic multilingual urban contexts like South Africa and elsewhere. Findings from this study indicate that the aim of building human relationships in imagined future multilingual contexts should be prominent in this approach. This would require the overt development of a “world-minded” (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006) attitude in which the motivation for language learning is to build relationships with multilingual people in an imagined future. Along this line of thinking, the notion of investment is re-conceptualised as a primary investment in human relationships which is supported by appropriate multilingual resources that include appropriate multilingual competencies; and not a primary investment in language learning.

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24

The L2 Motivation of Learners with Special Educational Needs

Edit H. Kontra

Knowing a foreign language (FL) is, in our times, both an advantage and a necessity. It broadens the individual's career opportunities, opens up new possibilities for personal as well as professional communication, and adds to the *value* of the person in the eyes of the society in which they live (Stevens & Marsh, 2005). When deciding whether someone with special needs should or should not be involved in FL learning, the decision is in fact about whether or not they should be given an equal chance to experience and to enjoy these benefits.

For many people, the road to FL competence can be full of hardships, obstacles, and frustrations. It is probably due to these negative experiences that parents, educators, and policy makers often want to 'save' children and young people with disabilities and/or SEN from the difficulties of learning a FL (Stevens & Marsh, 2005), a view strongly prevailing among the general public as well. The SEN Report on The Teaching and Learning of Languages (from here on: SEN Report, European Commission, 2005) notes that this attitude "has sometimes resulted in exclusion—as in 'learning foreign languages is too difficult thus don't impose even more work on this learner, or this group of learners'" (p. 1).

Several scholars have also asked the question why we should teach FLs to those with some type of special needs, disabilities or difficulties, but have, however, responded with another question: Why not? (Cawthorn & Chambers, 1993; Crombie, 2000; McColl, 2006). After all, FLs are not only

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difficult for SEN learners, and the ability to use another tongue does not exclusively benefit those who have no SEN. Adults who were exempted from the FL requirement at school are often resentful at having been denied opportunities available to their non-SEN peers (Kontra, 2013; Sarkadi & Kormos, 2010). According to Schneider and Crombie (2003), for teachers who believe in equal rights and equal opportunities in education “the dilemma is not whether to include children with difficulties, but how to include them successfully through appropriate accommodations” (p. 1).

In the past two decades we have witnessed a definite increase in the accessibility of FL education for all learners, including those with some kind of disability. A great impetus was given to the process by initiatives such as the UN Convention (United Nations General Assembly, 2007), according to which state parties should take appropriate measures to ensure an inclusive, quality and free education system for children with disabilities at all levels “on an equal basis with others in the communities in which they live” (Article 24, p. 17). In several parts of Europe great strides have been taken to promote inclusive education and to enroll students with disabilities and/or SEN in mainstream education with access to the complete range of the curriculum, including FL classes.

A formal provision of access to FLs does not, however, guarantee success. Much depends on how legislation is implemented, and how policies are enacted. Instructional contexts interact with key individual variables such as cognitive, affective and motivational factors, and influence FL development (Kormos, 2017a). At the individual level, strong motivation is necessary for the learner to embark on the road of FL learning and to sustain the activity over an extended period of time, in spite of the difficulties that have to be overcome along the way. The two levels—educational and individual—are not independent of one-another; there is a dynamic interplay between them, and the teacher’s role is vital. As one teacher cited in Reese (2006) put it:

We all have to start with the attitude that the students can learn a foreign language. If we come in with the belief that they can do it, and instill that belief and confidence in them, they will do very well. (p. 35)

The goal of this chapter is to explore what has been discovered so far about the dynamic interplay between context and individual in previous research on the FL learning of learners with disabilities and/or SEN from the perspective of second or foreign language (L2) motivation. In order to do that, the key concept, *SEN*, as understood in this chapter, will first be defined. Next, research results concerning various factors that contribute to the L2 motivation of different SEN groups will be reviewed. Finally, future directions for work supporting SEN students FL motivation are mapped out.

Learners with SEN in Foreign Language Classes: Who Are They?

The decision to use the term *learners with SEN* to describe the target group of this chapter was the result of thorough consideration. There is a great variability in terms and their interpretations in both legal and educational documents, ranging from disabilities and impairments, to learning deficits/disorders/difficulties or differences, and a discussion of all of them would be beyond the scope of this chapter. The decision to use SEN learners as an overarching term was motivated by the arguments included in the *SEND Code of Practice* (Department for Education and Department of Health, 2014), which in Article xiii offers the following broad definition: “A child or young person has SEN if they have a learning difficulty or disability which calls for special educational provision to be made for him or her” (Department for Education and Department of Health, 2014, p. 16). The document also points out that there is a significant overlap between disabled young people and those with SEN. Accepting the reasoning behind this assertion, and also in line with the approach taken by the SEN Report (European Commission, 2005), in the context of this chapter SEN learners encompass those children and young people who have cognitive and learning differences (e.g., dyslexia, dyspraxia, dysgraphia), emotional, behavioral and social difficulties (e.g., ADHD), communication and interaction disorders (e.g., autism spectrum disorder (ASD) or Asperger syndrome), or sensory and physical impairments (e.g., blindness or hearing loss), or any combination of these.

Until quite recently the common procedure in a large part of the world was to educate SEN learners in segregated schools or classes that specialized in their particular disabilities and had teachers who were trained in special education. The introduction and spread of inclusive education has completely rewritten the scene (cf. Ainscow & César, 2006) and has had both a positive and a negative impact. The positive impact can be understood from a human rights perspective since inclusive education can serve as a means to overcoming discrimination and disadvantage. However, it has its downside in that mainstream schools frequently lack the preparedness and capability to provide high quality specialized care for a broad range of SEN learners (Ellis & Tod, 2012; European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education, 2013). Parents of children with more severe disabilities and/or with behavioral difficulties may consider special schools better equipped to meet their children’s needs and may also find the teachers’ attitudes, values and competence more favorable (European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education, 2013). However, since special schools are now losing a great deal of their

potential student intake to mainstream education, in order to sustain enrollment levels they too have to open their gates to a broader range of SEN children than they may be prepared to accommodate.

Although the literature on inclusive education and various learning difficulties and disabilities is abundant, only a small portion of the available sources includes research on FL learning, and in this work an even smaller fraction makes mention of the motivation of SEN language learners, or the role of the teacher in creating motivational learning conditions. There is quite an imbalance within the literature itself: in relative terms, dyslexia and related learning difficulties have attracted much more attention in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) (e.g., Kormos, 2017b; Nijakowska, 2010; Schneider & Crombie, 2003) than, for instance, physical disabilities (e.g., deafness, blindness or motor-developmental disabilities that hinder communication) on which, as Abrams (2008) remarks, the available literature is still extremely limited. This draws Abrams (2008) to conclude that “[i]dentifying how students with physical disabilities learn an L2 or how they can be accommodated effectively remains an open and urgent task” (p. 416). A comparative analysis of the limited number of sources is further made difficult by authors building their research on different conceptualizations of SLA and L2 motivation (cf. Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Dörnyei, 1994, 2009; Gardner, 2001; MacIntyre, 2002; Ushioda, 2013).

L2 Motivation in SEN

Exploring the relatively small amount of literature on the L2 learning situation of SEN children and young adults, a number of motivational factors appear as having an impact on learning behaviors. These factors are partly external and partly internal. Applying an ecological framework of the type recently proposed by The Douglas Fir Group (2016), *macro level* external factors, such as the wider socio-cultural environment, and *meso level* external factors such as milieu, instructional context, teachers, teaching methods and modalities can be identified. These factors interact with factors at the *micro level*, such as the learner’s internalized goals, self-image and self-efficacy, and foreign language anxiety. When taking a closer look at these factors, a particular aim is to identify areas where problems arise, and where the attention of SLA researchers or the intervention of policy makers and/or language teaching practitioners is called for.

Macro-Level Factors

As already hinted at in the introduction, SLA is today promoted at both national and international levels, and the overall climate in our globalized world is highly conducive to teaching and learning languages. The SEN Report (European Commission, 2005), however, reveals considerable variability in the provision for teaching languages to students with special needs, indicating that policy and practice often do not overlap. This is also evidenced in research in SLA.

Some of the Hungarian Deaf¹ and hard of hearing adults in Kontráné Hegybíró's (2010) interview study recall both the pleasure and satisfaction they felt when FLs were introduced into the curriculum of their special schools in the 1990s, and their resentment that the schools did not offer a free choice of languages to students. Being aware of the global spread of English and its overall usefulness, the students expressed a strong interest in learning English. However, the schools argued that this language would be too difficult for deaf students, and only offered them German, thus making German the compulsory FL, which had a strong demotivating effect. In interviews with dyslexic research participants aged 14–28, Csizér, Kormos, and Sarkadi (2010) found that the general positive climate surrounding the English language also had a motivating effect on several interviewees, who asserted that English today is a “must”, and that if you have no access to it you feel “left out.” Nevertheless, there were some who seriously disliked having English “forced” on them (pp. 476–477).

Meso-Level Factors

Institutional Policy

Even when access to FLs is provided in principle, it makes a huge difference whether the school provides appropriate accommodations for the SEN student to meet the curricular requirements, or whether it issues a waiver to allow the student “time for work on other areas of the curriculum” (Mole, McCall, & Vale, 2008, p. 30). Writing about the FL learning of those with ASD, Wire (2005) is critical of the widespread but erroneous view about these pupils that they cannot learn a language, and that the FL should be “the first subject to be discarded” from the curriculum (p. 127). This misbelief about SEN persons seems to hold universally. In a group case study of four Deaf

adults in Hungary (Kontra, 2013), one of the young men comments: “No. It did not even occur to the teachers that it might be possible to teach foreign languages to the Deaf...” (p. 101). Another young man in the same study recalls that in the mainstream high school he attended the school principal insisted that as a Deaf boy he should be given a waiver, even against his and his parents’ explicit request.

An unsolicited waiver can be just as disappointing and demotivating as rigid institutional policy that makes a SEN student take FL classes without appropriate accommodations in teaching or assessment. In Abrams’ (2008) case study a student with serious dysgraphia who had fulfilled all his other course requirements at an American university with hard work and determination, and had struggled his way through three semesters of German but was unable to pass the fourth, was not permitted to substitute it with an alternate culture course. His petition was rejected by the dean on the grounds of institutional policy, in spite of the official recommendation of the Services for Students with Disabilities. Abrams describes how this student felt “demoralized” and left school just one course short of graduation (p. 418). When he returned three and a half years later, he managed to gain individual support that took account of his special needs and he completed the missing course with a good grade.

Learning Context: Formal School Experience

Inclusive education is today the buzzword for dealing with special needs learners, and this again raises the question of how far policy and practice overlap. Inclusive education by definition puts the learner into the center and aims at meeting all learners’ needs (Ainscow & César, 2006). However, a learner is not truly included in the classroom, whether in a mainstream or in a segregated school, if they are “physically present but pedagogically sidelined” (European Commission, 2005, p. 5), which quite frequently seems to be the case (Csizér, 2010; Kontráné Hegybíró, 2010; Sarkadi & Kormos, 2010). Schneider and Crombie (2003) remind us that SEN students “may themselves opt out of involvement and develop negative attitudes” (p. 2) if the presentation of the learning material is inappropriate to their ways of learning.

Educational institutions should bear in mind that “inclusion is a value system not a place” (Marschark, Young, & Lukomski, 2002, p. 188). Teachers of dyslexic pupils in different types of Hungarian schools have suggested that the most important prerequisite for achieving success with SEN learners

involves a change in teachers' attitudes and ways of thinking (Kormos & Kontra, 2008). Internalizing values and changing attitudes on the part of teachers and staff takes time, while learning the practicalities of implementing inclusive education requires training. Arries (1999) cautions that inclusive education is more than just adding a few new techniques to previous teaching practices; rather, it means creating a new, inclusive curriculum with reasonable and successful accommodations for students with learning difficulties. However, this is a complicated process "for which FL faculty are not prepared" (p. 99).

Studies that explored learners' personal experiences with teachers and language courses either via written questionnaires or individual interviews have mainly been conducted among dyslexic and Deaf persons (Bedoin, 2011; Csizér et al., 2010; Kontra, 2013; Kontra & Csizér, 2013; Kontra, Csizér, & Piniel, 2015; Mandják, 2008). Without wanting to overgeneralize, these studies have brought to light a great deal of negative and highly demotivating experiences, ranging from some teachers humiliating dyslexic learners, to others ignoring Deaf students, leaving them to either sink or swim.

Methods and Materials

In order to provide a motivating L2 learning experience for their SEN learners, teachers need good methods and course books. Regardless of the nature of the special needs, research tells us that teachers painfully feel the lack of materials and methodological guidance (European Commission, 2005). This is especially true for the language teachers of Deaf and hard-of-hearing and visually impaired learners. For instance, Bedoin (2011) analyzed questionnaire data from 137 English teachers of Deaf pupils in mainstream schools in France and, complemented with data from 12 interviews, found that her participants' main concern was the lack of methodology and materials.

In the case of learners with a visual or hearing impairment, the delivery of the input in the FL classroom needs to be adjusted to the specific individual needs of the students (Fleming, 2008; Jedynak, 2012; PLLBPAE Project Consortium, 2010). Printed books are largely inaccessible for visually impaired learners, and although participants with sight loss are provided with appropriate technical aids, there is a lack of digitalized FL text books. Malinovská and Ludíková (2017) give a taste of the hardships of blind learners. One of their adult interview participants wanted to access a page from a popular English course book, and since the text on the page was printed in two columns, the scanner could not recognize it. The layout of the page also made it difficult to

find where the matching exercise was, and the software acted “funny” where there were pictures (p. 316). It is not difficult to imagine how much time and motivated effort it takes for a blind learner to overcome such obstacles.

Deaf adults in Kontráné Hegybíró's (2010) interview study complained about the lack of accessible self study books. For example, recorded texts form an integral part of all current course materials, thus making them unsuitable for Deaf learners. The SEN Report (European Commission, 2005) explains the situation by pointing out that:

[q]uantitatively, SEN pupils are in a minority, although there are indicators that this might be a larger minority than is recognized across Europe as of now. Minorities tend to be marginalized, by, for example, market forces. For instance, publishing companies may not be willing to invest in the development of low-volume SEN-specific foreign language learning materials. [...] Multi-media applications may be easier to tailor and render into different languages. (p. 4)

The benefits of *information and communication technology* (ICT) as a means of compensating for some of the difficulties of SEN learners, boosting their confidence and enhancing their motivation have already been realized by the language teaching profession. Meiring and Norman (2005) analyze in detail how modern technology can liberate pupils from physical barriers to learning and can support all SEN learners in their particular areas of difficulty. Pupils with dyspraxia, who have difficulties with handwriting skills, can produce written texts more quickly and efficiently with the help of a word processor. Similarly, a text-to-speech program can aid the reading comprehension of a dyslexic learner, while interactive tasks will motivate those with autism or emotional, behavioral and social disorder.

Modality

The question of methods and materials is further complicated by modality in the case of learners with a hearing impairment. Since no student will be motivated to take part in FL lessons that they cannot follow, the language of instruction is of crucial importance. Full inclusion presupposes barrier-free communication and information transfer, which for profoundly or severely deaf people is only possible with the involvement of sign language² (Dotter, 2008; Fleming, 2008; Machová, 2008). Foreign languages in most educational contexts are taught by hearing teachers, and in many places even special

schools may not have language teachers who are fluent users of the local sign language (cf. Csuhai, Henger, Mongyi, & Perlusz, 2009). If Deaf children are placed in mainstream education without support, the lack of a shared language between the teacher, the class and the Deaf student can be one of the factors that lead to “disaster” (Marschark et al., 2002, p. 188). A Deaf interview participant in Kontra’s (2013) multiple case study recalled his attempt at taking English at college with hearing fellow students, saying that when he entered the first class and saw that everybody was talking, he realized, there was nothing in it for him, so he “packed up and left” (p. 103) and could not get his degree for four years until the waiving of the FL requirement was finally made legally possible.

Some FL teachers of the Deaf use interpreters, which only works if the interpreter also has at least an intermediate knowledge of the L2 (Gulati, 2016; Janáková, 2008). Others rely on the students’ use of their residual hearing, hearing aids and/or lip-reading skills, thus risking the loss of 65–70% of the information even in the language of the local community (Mole et al., 2008). Lip-reading in a FL is even more difficult, if not impossible. When Deaf and hard-of-hearing students are taught FLs such as English, French or German, the emphasis is on the written modality, though there are some students who are also interested in learning speech. In some educational systems (e.g., Bayern/Germany, Norway) the students can actually choose to learn a foreign sign language to fulfill curricular requirements (Stoppok, n.d.; Pritchard, 2013). Pritchard (2013) explains that in Norway British Sign Language (BSL) was introduced in 1st and 2nd grade as part of the English syllabus in order to create a bridge to the teaching of written and spoken English. By first learning BSL, which as a visual language is easy for the children to acquire, they experience what learning a FL is like and their curiosity towards a different language and culture is enhanced. Of course, this approach presupposes that the English teachers know both the Norwegian Sign Language and BSL.

In Poland, Falkowska (2016) experimented with placing adult students in groups according to their preferred communication method, assuming that they would benefit from a teaching approach that took account of their language preferences. She found that the situation was more complex than dividing course participants into speaking versus signing groups, since the communication modalities represented by the participants constituted a continuum ranging from Polish Sign Language (PJM) use, through different degrees of speech and signing, up to the use of spoken communication in both Polish and English.

Research conducted in Hungary among both teenage and adult Deaf sign language users showed a preference for language teachers who could explain grammar and meaning in Hungarian Sign Language (HSL) (Csizér, Kontra, & Piniel, 2015; Kontra & Csizér, 2013). Deaf interview participants thought that intake, process and output were easier when information was conveyed through HSL (Kontra et al., 2015). These studies also tapped into the L2 Motivational Self System conceptualized by Dörnyei (2009) as comprising the Ideal L2 self, the Ought-to L2 self and L2 Learning Experience. A cluster analysis of data collected from a national sample of 331 Deaf and hard-of-hearing adults by Kontra and Csizér (2013) revealed a strong association between motivation to learn FLs and preference for the Deaf to use sign language at school and in real life as well. An analysis of the components of the L2 Motivational Self System (see Csizér, this volume) of the same sample showed a relatively high mean value of L2 Learning Experience ($M = 3.72$) in relation to the other variables, and was identified as the strongest predictor of motivated learning behavior (Csizér et al., 2015). This is not surprising since barrier-free communication in the classroom is a *sine qua non* of effective learning. The researchers concluded that for the Deaf and hard-of-hearing language learners in their national sample, the L2 learning experience constituted the most important component of the L2 Motivational Self System. This indicates that the quality of teaching carries an increased importance for some groups of special needs students.

Milieu

Csizér et al. (2010) assert that “general societal values are frequently mediated by the influence of the learner’s milieu (i.e., the learner’s friends, acquaintances, and family)” (p. 476; see also Gardner, Masgoret, & Tremblay, 1999). If parents, close relatives or friends speak a FL, or are in the process of studying one, not only can they serve as role models, but they can also provide support, encouragement and even practical help. In a mixed methods study on the FL situation of Deaf and hard-of-hearing students at Hungarian schools for the hearing impaired, interview data with 31 participants gave information about the role of the milieu both as a positive and as a negative influence (Csizér et al., 2015). Quite a few students had a parent or a relative working abroad, which increased their own motivation and effort to learn the language. On the other hand, there were also students who had no family member with any FL knowledge, and who did not think that they needed FLs either. In the same project, the results of a written survey of 105 Deaf and hard-of-hearing

participants revealed that their ought-to L2 self had a significant but not particularly strong effect on their motivated learning behavior. For one possible explanation the researchers suggest that the participating Deaf and hard-of-hearing students may not have been quite clear about what expectations of their immediate environment they should meet.

A mixed methods study on Hungarian dyslexic language learners by Csizér et al. (2010) produced conflicting results regarding the role of the students' immediate environment. The participants purposefully selected for interviews reported having an extremely supportive family background which played a decisive role in their FL achievements (see also Mandják, 2008). The more generalizable results of a survey of 184 dyslexic and 998 non-dyslexic learners of English or German in the 8th grade of a variety of mainstream schools, however, revealed that the dyslexic pupils received much less support from their immediate environment than their non-dyslexic classmates, perhaps because the families themselves had internalized the widespread popular belief that individuals with dyslexia are incapable of learning FLs.

Micro-Level Factors

Besides macro- and meso-level factors—and in complex interaction with them—micro-level variables exert a strong influence on language learners' motivated learning behavior. The effort and persistence of a student is likely to change dynamically in response to the positive or negative reactions and feedback they gain from their environment (Dörnyei, 2005). Not only the language learning experience, but also the student's immediate milieu and the wider socio-educational context have an influence on what SEN learners see themselves as capable of. Moreover, the ease with which they get involved in language learning activities and the amount of pleasure they take from them affect whether and how learners internalize language learning goals, or put another way, how their ideal L2 self (cf. Dörnyei, 2009) is shaped.

Goals and the Ideal L2 Self

Although the amount of empirical research specifically tapping into the L2 motivation of SEN learners is quite limited, there seems to be a general consensus among researchers that SEN language learners have the same language learning goals as their non-special needs peers: access to higher education (e.g., Fleming, 2008), employment (e.g., Malinovská & Ludíková, 2017),

travel, international contact, entertainment (e.g., PLLBPAE Project Consortium, 2010) and intrinsic interest in languages (e.g., Kontra, 2013).

There is little information from empirical research, however, on the strength of SEN language learners' motivation, or on the effect of their internalized goals on motivated learning behavior. In one such study using the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009) Csizér and her colleagues (2015) surveyed 105 Deaf and hard-of-hearing pupils aged 14–19 enrolled in special schools in Hungary. When the results of the Deaf and hard-of-hearing students were compared to the results of other teenage groups in the researchers' previous investigations, it was found that for the ideal L2 self the Deaf and hard-of-hearing sample scored lower than any other, non-special needs group, and as similarly low as dyslexic learners in another study (Kormos & Csizér, 2010). This led Csizér and her colleagues to argue that “many of these Deaf and severely hard-of-hearing teenagers do not have future visions of themselves as language learners and this lack of their ideal L2 selves might hinder the learning process” (p. 238).

In a study of dyslexic interview participants by Csizér et al. (2010) results revealed that many had negative language learning experiences and could not foresee that they would ever become successful users of an L2, there being a very large discrepancy between their actual and their ideal L2 selves. Such findings underscore the importance of differentiation and of setting smaller, more easily attainable goals for SEN learners that also allow them to experience the use of the FL for real life purposes.

Foreign Language Anxiety

The language learning difficulties of SEN learners can often lead to poor performance, poor grades, and negative feedback from the teacher (Abrams, 2008; Kormos & Kontra, 2008; Sarkadi & Kormos, 2010). This frequent experience of failure among SEN learners is also one of the common causes of foreign language anxiety (FLA), which is defined as a feeling of tension and nervousness that manifests itself in the FL classroom in fear of negative evaluation, communication apprehension, and test anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; for a detailed review see Kormos, 2017b). FLA is negatively correlated with motivation, meaning that high levels of anxiety decrease motivation; however, high levels of motivation can reduce FLA (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993).

In a survey of FL learners with and without learning difficulties (LD), Javorsky, Sparks, and Ganschow (1992) found that those with LD felt higher

levels of FLA than their non-LD peers. Piechurska-Kuciel (2008) conducted a longitudinal study among dyslexic and non-dyslexic secondary school students in Poland. Not only did she register higher levels of anxiety in dyslexic than her non-dyslexic participants, but she also found that the anxiety level of students who had dyslexia remained permanently high in the output stage of language processing over the three years of the study.

Reducing anxiety is no easy task. Negative classroom experiences such as teasing, ridicule and bad grades induce in the learner a fear of negative evaluation (Kormos & Kontra, 2008; Sarkadi & Kormos, 2010), which can lead to withdrawal either in the form of remaining silent during activities, or skipping class altogether. Less practice results in poor performance, which provokes further negative feedback, thus creating a downward negative spiral. Schneider and Crombie (2003) argue convincingly that the best thing a teacher can do to prevent unnecessary anxiety is to foresee problems and plan to avoid them. Differentiation and accommodations that SEN students are entitled to can serve this purpose. For example, teachers can give spelling allowances to dyslexic learners in order not to frustrate them by returning written assignments with red marks all over the page. Giving SEN students more time to work on tasks or tests also reduces panic and can often lead to better performance.

Self-efficacy

In the SLA literature, various overlapping constructs related to the self such as self-concept, self-esteem, self-efficacy or self-confidence have been recognized as key elements of successful language learning (Mercer, 2011). Self-efficacy, which Dörnyei (2005) describes as a measure with “demonstrated motivational impact” (p. 213), refers to a person’s beliefs in their own capabilities to reach a desired language learning goal or to carry out certain specific tasks. SEN language learners’ self-efficacy beliefs, together with other self-related features represent a very broad scale from very low to high levels.

In Nijakowska’s (2000) research, although most of the dyslexic students were persistent and hard-working, there were also some with low self-efficacy beliefs who could not come to terms with the challenges created by dyslexia, and who “gave up hope” (p. 256) of achieving any success with English. The results of a survey by Kormos & Csizér (2010) also showed that children with dyslexia had a negative self-concept in the domain of language learning. Mandják (2008) cites mothers who in recounting their dyslexic children’s frustrations, describe the feeling of a complete lack of self-worth caused by

negative experiences in the FL classroom. As one mother put it, “I call dyslexia a curse that reduces his self-esteem not to zero but to the minus range. It occurred to him around the age of 10 [that he asked], ‘Why do I live, I am stupid, I know nothing, I cannot even read’” (pp. 36–37).

At the positive end of the scale we can find individuals who are fully confident in their abilities such as the Deaf adult interview participants in Kontráné Hegybíró’s (2010) investigation. When asked about what appealed to him in learning Latin as a schoolboy, one young man said: “Strange as it may sound, what I liked about it was that it was difficult” (p. 79). A female participant was also inspired by the challenge entailed in learning FLs and thought that taking a language proficiency exam could not only contribute to her feeling of self-worth and self esteem, but was also a means of showing to the world “what Deaf people are capable of” (p. 80).

Conclusion and Looking Forward

The picture we gain from research about the FL learning motivation of SEN students can be called *uneven* at best, which indicates the need for further, much more detailed research in this area of SLA. Examples from a variety of special needs domains illustrate how important the educational and the wider social environment are when it comes to language learning opportunities for SEN learners. The currently available research allows us to state with confidence that those SEN learners who have the support of family and friends, as well as of schools and teachers, are more likely to develop and sustain motivation to learn FLs than those students who are left to sink or swim by themselves.

Including SEN learners in mainstream education requires not only new teaching methods, but also the implementation of appropriate assessment systems (Stevens & Marsh, 2005). Regular positive reinforcement from the teacher can not only reduce anxiety, but can also increase the learners’ belief that they are capable of performing a language learning task. An important characteristic of a language learner’s self-concept is its dynamic nature (Mercer, 2011). It is therefore important for teachers to support SEN students’ self-esteem and boost their self-efficacy beliefs by setting achievable interim goals, and praising them for even the smallest successes. A helpful solution is involving SEN students in international projects (Urdarević, 2016), exchange visits or immersion programs (Nabiałek, 2016) since this enables them to experience the usefulness of even limited FL skills, and thus to internalize language learning goals.

Notes

1. Observing the preference of the international Deaf community, Deaf is spelled with a capital-D in order to distinguish the members of the Deaf linguistic and cultural minority from those hearing-impaired individuals who do not use sign language and identify themselves with the hearing society.
2. The topicality and relevance of this issue is indicated by the fact that the World Federation of the Deaf chose “Full inclusion with sign language” for the main theme of its 3rd International Conference in 2017.

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25

Motivation of Young Learners of Foreign Languages

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This chapter focuses on young learners' (YLS') motivation for language learning as a specific phenomenon. First, we define the concept of the YL and then demonstrate why YLS' motivation is a distinct concept and focus of research. Then, we present major findings from research into YLS' motivation to date and trace its dynamic and complex nature. The last section presents a new framework for researching YLS' motivation that we believe would lead to deeper and more comprehensive insights.

Although early foreign language (FL) learning has by now established itself as a subfield of SLA as well as language teaching, the concept of the YL is still loosely defined. In most cases it comprises learners up to the end of primary education, which in many contexts ends around age 15. FL learners at the pre-school age are referred to as 'very young learners'. In this chapter the focus is on learners who learn a FL in instructed settings in their elementary education (usually starting around 6–7 years of age) up to the middle of high school (or secondary school in some contexts) when learners are 14–15 years old.

The importance of motivation in early FL learning has been stressed by many authors (e.g., Blondin et al., 1998; Edelenbos, Johnstone, & Kubanek, 2006). Research into early FL learning in instructed contexts has generally focused on YLS' language development, despite the fact that it is the affective

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aims, such as initiating, developing and maintaining children's motivation for learning FLs, which are often stressed in international educational documents (e.g., Council of Europe, 2007) as well as in national curricula, for example in Switzerland (Heinzmann, 2013), Croatia (Croatian National Framework Curriculum, 2011), and Japan (Oga-Baldwin, Nakata, Parker, & Ryan, 2017). This discrepancy is reflected also in the YLs' assessment field, where quite a few assessment instruments have been developed for measuring language outcomes of early FL learning, whereas there are hardly any instruments for assessing how well the affective and other aims are achieved (but see Nikolov, 2016; Şad & Gürbüz Türk, 2015).

YLs' Motivation as a Specific Phenomenon

Studies on YLs' motivation are scarce compared to those on more mature learners. This has been acknowledged in recent overviews of research on language learning motivation (e.g., Lamb, 2017). Reasons reflect still existing common beliefs, e.g., that all children are motivated FL learners, or that YLs' motivation is not yet well developed anyway. Genesee (1978), for example, suggested that YLs approach FL learning without any negative baggage because they possess some sort of 'affective purity'. It is also possible that the cause of the scarcity is that research on YLs' motivation is quite difficult to carry out: it may be more complex and changeable than that of more mature learners because children go through cognitive, emotional and language development in parallel, and typical survey methods are challenging or impossible to apply. Also, there are certain strict ethical issues researchers need to bear in mind when they design studies on YLs. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, YLs' motivation is a specific phenomenon in itself due to its sources and dimensions, as well as to the complex and dynamic interactions it enters into with other language learning variables. Also, its research requires age-appropriate approaches which may be quite different from the ones used with more mature learners. Another important distinction at hand is that what happens in the classroom tends to impact YLs' motivation more than in the case of adults. Older learners have other sources of motivation, whereas YLs' motivation is shaped by how intrinsically motivating classroom activities are, and what feedback their teachers and peers offer them. Early negative experiences may demotivate them in the long run (Nikolov, 2001). Hence, Ushioda's (2016) proposal for a research agenda through a small lens is particularly pertinent in researching YLs' motivation.

Due to the key role of the teacher in early FL learning, research foci in motivational studies need to include the teacher and classroom teaching and learning processes, and lead to insights which are meaningful to FL teachers, whose own motivation impacts YLs' motivation (Nikolov, 1999). YLs' motivation is malleable and can be easily changed if necessary before it may be completely lost, or before it may turn into demotivation. Thus, research should focus on the current, moment-by-moment aspect of motivation to offer insights into the specifics.

Recent findings on FL development of YLs have offered evidence that it proceeds at a much slower pace than in the case of adolescents or adults (e.g., Nikolov & Mihaljević Djigunović, 2011; Pfenninger & Singleton, 2017). Maintaining the individual learner's as well as the group's motivation over years by using varied age-appropriate and cognitively challenging tasks tuned to learners' levels and needs may pose challenges to teachers. Bad practice can result in frustration and loss of motivation both for YLs and their teachers. It is notable that most published research discusses successful projects, and mostly on English as a target language. Studies that identify and characterize poor teaching practice, or which focus on less motivated or unsuccessful young language learners are scarce (Nikolov, 2001).

YLs' motivation for FL learning has generally been treated as one of several factors which might possibly explain variation in language achievements and age-related differences in early FL programs. Until recently, how YLs are motivated and how their motivation changes over time was rarely the focus of in-depth investigations.

Following an overview of research into YLs' motivation and variables that interact with it, the final section of this chapter proposes a framework for studying YLs' and their teacher's motivation based on the findings. By doing so we would like to encourage teachers of YLs to conduct research on their classrooms with their learners in order to boost and to maintain their learners' as well as their own motivation, and to scaffold YLs' development in the target language while also bearing in mind other individual difference variables (for example, attitudes, anxiety, aptitude). In the next sections we explore what kinds of age-appropriate data collection instruments have been applied and what studies have revealed in this growing field of enquiry. Although the number of studies on YLs is small in contrast to research on older language learners, certain emerging trends have been identified and are discussed below. As is shown, how data are collected has been tuned to YLs' needs and research methods, in line with recent trends in language pedagogy and applied linguistics, have become more complex.

Trends in Researching YLs' Motivation

Broadening the scope of research into YLs' motivated behavior and how it interacts with the immediate learning environment has led to the development of instruments cued to YLs' cognitive level and to increased use of triangulation, mixed-methods and longitudinal approach thus offering important new insights. In this section we discuss sources and types of YLs' motivation, its dynamic nature and complexity.

Sources and Types of YLs' Motivation

Most studies on YLs point to the significance of factors functioning at the classroom level. The teacher appears to have the paramount role, particularly during the first few years of learning. Although instrumental motives emerge around age eleven, the motivational power of intrinsically motivating tasks is sustained until the end of primary education (e.g., Mihaljević Djigunović & Vilke, 2000; Nikolov, 1999) making tasks the key source of motivation.

Task motivation. A dynamic relationship between what happens in the classroom, what tasks YLs do and how they impact their motivation, self-confidence, self-concept, anxiety and mastery of the FL on the actual tasks and over time are currently key research foci. Task motivation, a component at the learning situation level, is either missing from existing motivation models, or its conceptualizations (e.g., Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998) are difficult to apply to YLs' classrooms (though see Kormos & Wilby, this volume). It concerns certain qualities inherent in the task and how children perceive it (interesting or boring, challenging or easy, worth trying or scary).

An additional aspect of YLs' motivation relates to mastery. Some tasks are done for their intrinsic value and the great feeling children gain by mastering the task (similarly to computer games). In such tasks the reward is in doing the task itself, no external reward is necessary. YLs tend to be motivated to learn new things; however, they may lose their enthusiasm if tasks prove to be too difficult, or too easy or boring. Intrinsic and mastery motives are keys to understanding how YLs develop.

Positive relationships have been established between class achievements and motivated learning behavior (attitudes, attention, interest, engagement) when YLs are doing meaning-focused tasks (Harris, 2009; Nikolov, 2008). Tasks feature high in retrospective accounts of adults describing their early FL learning: unsuccessful adult learners who had all participated in early language programs attributed their lack of success to un-motivating classroom

practices in their early years (Nikolov, 2001). Evidence from some contexts shows that tasks that YLs find most motivating (role play, watching videos, free conversation, games) are all meaning focused but unfortunately also happen to be the least frequent; the most frequent ones (translation, oral reading, grammar drills and written tests) are the most disliked ones, thus, the most demotivating (Nikolov, 2003). The motivating power of tasks can vary among YLs: more challenging tasks are appreciated by better performers, who tend to dislike very easy ones (Fenyvesi, 2018; Nikolov, 2017).

Other types of YLs' motivation. Instrumental and integrative motivation have both been detected in YLs but they tend to appear during later years of FL learning (Kim, 2011; Lamb, 2007; Nikolov, 1999). Research on YLs' motivation along the L2 Motivational Self System theory (Dörnyei, 2005; Csizér, this volume) has not yet proven very fruitful. Due to a lack of research it is still not evident at what age YLs become able to form their future L2 selves. Findings to date suggest that YLs from favorable backgrounds are more likely to develop their ideal L2 self, whereas those from less advantaged backgrounds tend to develop only strong ought-to L2 selves, which may not stop the process of demotivation caused by their negative language learning experience (Lamb, 2007). Similar patterns have emerged in the Scandinavian context, but related to gender differences. Boys who game a lot in English experience how to use the target language and have more positive future L2 selves than girls. However, they are less motivated in English classes, since they experience a mismatch between what they know and what is taught. Girls, in contrast, tend to rely more on their parents and teachers as motivators than boys (Fenyvesi, 2018). These findings indicate that girls are more emotionally and socially focused, whereas boys are more task-oriented and autonomous in contexts where they use English in intrinsically motivating video games.

Motivation to learn and motivation to use FL. Some studies suggest that it might be useful to distinguish YLs' motivation to learn the FL from their motivation to use it out of school in real-life situations. Being able to use the FL in direct communication with foreigners (not necessarily native speakers) has been shown to be highly motivating (Marschollek, 2002). Thus, similarly to the example in the Scandinavian context, extracurricular opportunities to practice the FL can motivate YLs. However, some YLs perceive out-of-class FL use not as an extension or verification of their classroom learning but as something unconnected to it (Aro, 2009; Mihaljević Djigunović, 2015). Significant differences between the two may be detrimental to classroom learning motivation (e.g., Henry, 2013).

Variability of YLs' Motivation

Though findings are not totally unanimous, there is ample evidence that YLs' motivation is an unstable phenomenon (e.g., Chambers, 2000; Nikolov, 1999; but see also Heinzmann, 2013). The trends point to several types of changes. Besides overall decrease over time in all types of FL learning motivation in many YLs (e.g., Carreira, 2012), decline in some types can be followed by increase in other types (e.g., Lamb, 2007), and yet in others the same type of motivation may go up and down during the primary years showing its non-linear nature (e.g., Mihaljević Djigunović, 2015).

Motivational dynamics can be observed at different levels. Depending on the interplay of many variables, YLs' motivation can change from one activity to the next, from lesson to lesson, from grade to grade as well as between different school levels, where a curvilinear shape of motivational dynamics has been observed (e.g., Zhang & Kim, 2013). Major motivational peaks and drops among YLs can be connected with contextual factors, such as introduction of new subjects in the curriculum, assessment approaches, and changes in teaching methodology (e.g., Nikolov, 2016).

Complexity and Interactions

Recent research suggests that YLs' motivation is highly complex: both contextual and individual language learning factors interact with and impact motivation thus turning it into a multidimensional phenomenon.

Contextual impacts. Contextualising motivation in the broader social setting, the immediate learning environment as well as out-of-school factors have been quite revealing about motivational processes. Three main issues have been studied: (1) how valued others (parents, teachers, and peers) impact YLs' motivation, (2) how motivation interacts with other individual differences, and (3) how gaming and other activities offering comprehensible input interact with motivation and FL learning.

Parents' interest in and care about what is done in their children's FL classes has been found to impact their YLs' self-concept and motivation for learning as well as language achievements (Szpotowicz & Lindgren, 2011). The role of socio-economic (SES) background is discussed in recent studies on YLs (see April 2018 special issue of *System*). As English is seen by higher SES parents as a commodity offering long-term academic and social opportunities, early English is increasingly associated with a way of ensuring better proficiency (Nikolov, 2016; Rixon, 2016). SES has been shown to mediate between motivation and learning outcomes. It proves to be important in explaining

differences found in the children's developmental trajectories (Butler, 2017). YLs' SES and their achievements have been shown to be connected through better educated parents making sure their children learn English as the more desirable FL and not, for example, German (Csapó & Nikolov, 2009).

As YLs get older the role parents play tends to decline. Around age 11 or so, YLs start to rely on peers for their motivational support (e.g., Butler, 2017; Nikolov, 1999), or build up their motivation based on exposure to the FL out-of-school and using it in real life communication (e.g., Fenyvesi, 2018; Mihaljević Djigunović, 2017). However, YLs may be demotivated if what they can already do in the FL is not taken into account in the classroom.

The teacher's motivational role has several important dimensions. One relates to the teacher being a source of motivation. When YLs like their teacher as a person, they also like learning the FL because of their teacher (e.g., Nikolov, 1999). The second dimension is evident in the teacher's ability to raise and maintain YLs' motivation through meaningful, interesting and challenging classroom activities (e.g., Nikolov, 1999, 2008). As for the negative impact of teachers, as most studies focus on successful projects, few findings are published (Nikolov, 2001, 2008). Although no systematic research exists about the relationship between YLs' and their teachers' motivational behavior, rare studies (e.g., Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012; Tragant Mestre & Lundberg, 2011) offer firm evidence that teachers' motivational practices can positively impact learners' motivation, confirming that motivated teachers tend to be better at motivating their learners than teachers who are less motivated. This reciprocal relationship (Fig. 25.1) between teachers' and their students' moti-



Fig. 25.1 A visual representation of how teacher and YL motivation are intertwined

vation could offer some important new insights into how motivation works in the classroom. We propose thinking about these two aspects as part of an integrated entity in which young learners' motivated language learning behavior (or the lack of it) impacts their teacher's motivated teaching behavior in complex ways.

Peers are important in YLs' social networks. Having friends with high academic values emerges as a good predictor of a learner's academic motivation (Goodenow & Grady, 1993). YLs' motivational changes are considered to reflect processes connected with their peers. Learners may engage in modeling by observing and assessing peers' motivation, become aware of their peers' motivational states and 'may gravitate to the group norm' (Pfenninger & Singleton, 2017, p. 49). During transition from elementary to junior high school, peers' role in terms of instrumental, informational and emotional support increases, especially in the case of girls (e.g., Cantin & Boivin, 2004; Fenyvesi, 2018), who tend to rely on valued others as motivators more than boys. This is considered to be very important because the transition period is often associated with the lowering of academic motivation and of self-perceived academic competences.

Interactions with other individual learner factors. Recent studies have revealed interactions of YLs' motivation with other individual difference variables, such as age, gender, self-concept and anxiety.

Generally, findings suggest that girls are more motivated (e.g., Julkunen & Borzova, 1997; Sung & Padilla, 1998). Major differences have been found particularly in terms of intensity of motivation but not in orientations. More recent studies (e.g., Fenyvesi, 2018; Henry, 2013), however, suggest that in contexts with intensive out-of-school exposure to the FL (e.g., to English in Scandinavian countries) boys pick up English quickly through playing video games, develop a sense of FL usefulness and instrumental motivation sooner than girls. Having a strong pre-knowledge of the FL, boys soon begin to dislike their FL classes because they are being taught what they already know.

YLs' self-concept as FL learners has been found to impact motivation and to be a good predictor of motivation (Mihaljević Djigunović, 2015). YLs with a more positive self-perception seem to take greater pride in L2 learning, to be more eager to learn the FL, to enjoy using it out of school more, and to share school FL learning experiences with family members. Also, earlier (age 6/7) and later (age 9/10) starters displayed different trajectories in FL self-concept development, experiencing ups and downs at different points. Interestingly, some young learners were found to develop different self-concepts as FL learners in class and as FL users outside school. Such studies suggest that YLs' self-concept and motivation interact in intricate ways.

Although it is commonly thought that YLs do not feel anxious, studies indicate that anxiety is present among YLs too. Typical sources of FL anxiety among YLs include low self-confidence, excessive testing, pressure from teachers, parents and peers, fear of negative feedback, and even competitive games. Findings indicate that anxiety increases with age (e.g., Nikolov, 1999) and can negatively impact motivation (e.g. Nikolov, 2001). Anxiety emerges even in contexts where no assessment is used at all (e.g., Fenyvesi, 2018).

Individual differences interact with motivation directly as well as indirectly. Thus, for example, the relationship between anxiety and motivation may be mediated by learning outcomes or learner beliefs about language learning or peer pressure, as qualitative research often suggests (e.g., Mihaljević Djigunović, 2015).

Motivated Learning Behavior

Motivated learning behavior (MLB), a key indicator of motivation, is defined in different ways by different authors. It is seen as a combination of desire, effort and attitudes (Gardner, 2001) or as effort and intended choice of learning the language (Dörnyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006).

YLs' MLB can be predicted by linguistic self-confidence, integrative motivation and frequency of intercultural contact; interestingly, the FL itself does not seem to affect the variability of MLB, but important differences have been found between YLs with different levels of motivational intensity (Csizér & Kormos, 2008). Observation studies of YLs' classroom behavior investigating their interest, attention and engagement, indicate that during the early years YLs' interest and attention do not necessarily result in engagement (Mihaljević Djigunović, 2009). This suggests that origins of MLB are quite complex. The teacher's role emerges as an important factor. When teachers use intrinsically motivating tasks which are age- and language level-appropriate, MLB is typical. In cases when teachers see their job of teaching YLs as extremely demanding, find it hard to maintain learners' attention and often use mostly demotivating activities (e.g., grammar drills or translation tasks), their learners can hardly engage in MLB (Nikolov, 2008).

Demotivation

A range of negative experiences can result in demotivation for FL learning (see Thorner & Kikuchi, this volume). The most frequent causes identified include disliking the target language as such (language is mandatory or

unpopular), difficulties in learning it (achievement targets are not age appropriate), uninspiring teaching, and unfavorable learning conditions (e.g., Mihaljević Djigunović & Letica Krevelj, 2010; Nikolov, 2001, 2008). In contexts where many YLs get extra FL exposure through private instruction, their considerably higher proficiency causes demotivation in low-achieving classmates who learn the FL only in regular school lessons (Kim & Seo, 2012). On the other hand, consistent decrease identified in studies of Korean YLs' motivation for learning English has been attributed to a lack of internalization of knowledge of English as part of their possible selves, that is developing 'personal sense of the importance and meaning of English learning' (Kim, 2011, p. 9). Further research is necessary to understand why such internalization happens with YLs in some contexts and not in others (cf. Indonesian YLs in Lamb's, 2007 study and Korean YLs in Kim's, 2011 study).

Insights from classroom studies offer suggestions which should be tested in future research: many tasks and activities may be motivating at first but with time they become less motivating (childish, too difficult or not challenging enough or similar to activities in other school subjects). Recycling the same topics over years can also cause demotivation in YLs who need more sophisticated challenges to sustain their motivation, although emphasis on literacy skills and assessment may lead to less success and demotivation (Nikolov, 2001, 2008). One way out could be teaching content from other subject curricula, as is increasingly the case in many contexts (see Lasagabaster, this volume).

Remotivation

Recovering YLs' motivation after a period of its decrease or complete loss is not only a highly important practical teaching problem but also a key research topic considering the widely established motivational fluctuations in early FL learning. Beginners and less-proficient learners seem to cope less effectively with demotivating experiences than their more successful peers, who have higher resilience (Falout, Elwood, & Hood, 2009).

Both internal factors (e.g., relating the FL to future goals through enhanced awareness of its usefulness) and external factors (e.g., through adequate changes in teaching practice) may be important for YL remotivation in FL learning (Song & Kim, 2017).

A Framework for Researching YLs' Motivation for FL Learning

Based on our review of research into YLs' motivation for FL learning, it is evident that it is indeed a complex phenomenon. Insights gained in the studies make it impossible to fit them fully into any theories or models because they are based on more mature FL learners. In our view, the elements comprising the existing models are also present in YLs' motivation, but their roles, relevance, salience, interactions with other variables as well as developmental dynamics are different.

We propose a pedagogically oriented framework for analyzing how YLs' motivation works in the actual classroom context: how it interacts with MLB and motivation of valued others as well as with other factors internal and external to learners and the classroom, so that one child's as well as a group's motivated behavior can be conceptualized. In fact, as not all YLs are equally motivated, and many more may be unmotivated than publications on research projects would allow us to believe (see e.g., Henry, 2013; Nikolov, 2001, 2008), it would be useful to think in terms of a continuum of motivated/unmotivated behavior.

The framework is meant for teachers and non-participant observers (researchers) to apply, test and modify when working with YLs, as they critically reflect on how classroom tasks, feedback on task performance, discipline and other events work with individual YLs and groups, and why.

The framework (see Fig. 25.2) integrates four main perspectives: (1) roughly defined pedagogically framed developmental stages (ovals); (2) who plays a role in whose motivation/demotivation along these stages (triangles); (3) how tasks and other classroom events mediate the impact during the teaching/learning process; and (4) how all of these are impacted by being embedded in the larger curricular, school and social context (squares).

Developmental Stages

As studies overviewed in the chapter unanimously point to important differences in age groups included in the inquiries, as a first perspective, we propose three overlapping stages (at the level of a group of YLs) to describe and model who and what shape motivation, in what ways, and how they bring about dynamic changes.

The first stage involves the youngest age group in the first year(s) in FL classes (ages 6–7/8): this is the period when YLs get used to how school works

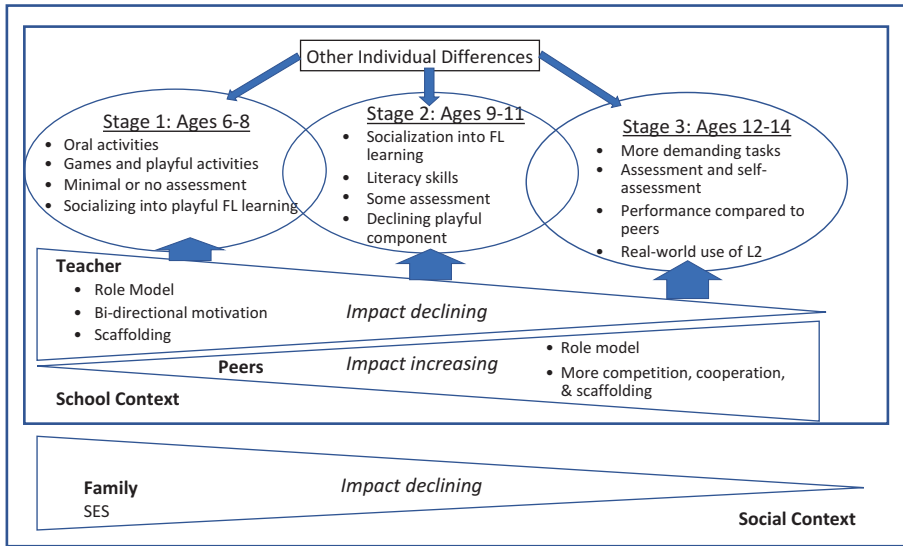


Fig. 25.2 Visual representation of the framework

and how FL classes are similar to and different from other classes. During this stage FL learning may mean games, playful total physical response activities, oral tasks only (e.g., role play, stories) and no assessment.

The second stage comprises ages 7/8 to 11/12 (depending on starting point): during this stage YLs are socialized into language learning, their performances tend to be evaluated in line with other subjects and their curricula include literacy activities, thus making FL similarly demanding to other subjects, but often maintaining some fun element characterizing earlier FL classes.

The third stage covers the first years of puberty (12–14/15 years) indicating important shifts in most YLs' cognitive, emotional and social development. FL classes are more about learning than having fun. During this stage YLs may become more aware of their strengths and weaknesses, how they compare to their peers, as well as the presence, availability and real world uses of the target language outside the classroom.

Shifts in Roles of Valued Others

At the core of the framework of YLs' motivation are valued others, whose roles and impact shift along the three stages as they interact with one another. It is important to distinguish the perspective of the individual YL and the group of YLs, since they may be differently impacted.

Valued others include three larger groups: family members, including e.g., parents, siblings, who play no direct role in what happens in the classroom at any of the three stages, but impact YLs' motivation in multiple ways indirectly. The second key player is the teacher (who may change over the years and change YLs' motivation) and the third group comprises peers. These two directly impact the individual YL and the group of YLs in important ways and their influence changes over time. Figure 25.2 shows how YLs' FL learning motivation is impacted by valued others and other IDs at three stages of development embedded in the school and social context.

At stage one, the most important direct motivator is the teacher: she influences how motivated YLs are and how their motivation and MLB fluctuate during FL classes over the weeks, months and years of FL learning. This is, in fact, a bidirectional relationship: the teacher is rewarded and motivated by YLs' interest, enthusiastic motivated behavior, engagement in the activities, signs of progress in the FL, etc. We suggest that this dynamic back and forth should be integrated into research on YLs' motivation, since the YLs and the group's MLB is entangled with their teacher's motivation. It may also happen that the teacher is demotivated by the children's lack of interest, misbehavior, slow development, etc., similarly to YLs who may find the activities not motivating enough to pay attention to, they may be too tired or distracted to focus or engage in activities. This is a mutually complementary cycle in which the teacher and her YLs motivate/demotivate and are motivated/demotivated by one another's actions (including the tasks and activities, unexpected misbehavior), emotions, beliefs, etc.

At stage one, as has been found in a number of studies, it is overwhelmingly the teacher who is the role model in charge of implicitly and explicitly motivating YLs; peers play a minor but increasingly important role. Children are keen to please the teacher and follow her as a role model.

At the second stage, peers gain importance in how motivated the YL and the group are. YLs may influence each other by competing or cooperating with one another, they may increasingly establish themselves as role models (as they do tasks or misbehave), but the teacher's role is still central.

At the third stage, the teacher's impact tends to decrease, whereas the peers' role gains importance. The interactions between the impact of valued others are of similar importance; the main change is that peers gain ground in how the YLs, the group's and the teacher's motivation is shaped. These shifts concern who impacts whom and how over time, with the teacher losing, the peers gaining control. These relationships need to be studied in different cultural contexts and may vary in important ways in Asian contexts.

How Tasks Work: A Task-Based Feedback-for-Learning Approach

Our second concern is how the teacher's, YLs and the group's motivation interact as they work together in the classroom (not visualized in Fig. 25.2). We propose a task-based approach integrated with feedback for learning, where the construct of "assessment for learning" is widened to comprise feedback that is unlike current assessment approaches in early FL learning. The unit of inquiry could be fine-tuned to the actual task (activity) the teacher sets, how the task is implemented, how YLs comprehend and do the task, how motivating the task is for the individual and the group, how the teacher offers implicit and explicit feedback on individual and group performance on the task, how feedback impacts MLB, and how the next task builds on what YLs can and cannot do. An additional line concerns how YLs offer feedback to one another. Negative comments may induce anxiety, lower YLs' self-confidence and willingness to communicate, and may result in discipline problems.

Scaffolding learning can be studied from the teacher's and the individual learner's as well as all learners' perspectives to tap into the fine-grained nuances of learning taking place (how teacher and peers scaffold one another's learning, including how the teacher finds out more about her YLs' development, motivation, how the tasks work or fail).

All these would be conducted at the level of task, which could be analyzed from finer perspectives discussed in the literature: (1) along a time scale as the task is implemented at the pre-actional, actional, and post-actional phases; (2) how the task is presented and perceived, in what ways it is motivating or demotivating (e.g., intrinsic and mastery motives, rewards, competition, teacher's and peers' feedback), how learners and the teacher evaluate outcomes, etc.; (3) An additional approach to exploring the process and outcome of doing tasks could integrate how interest, attention, engagement and learning are related in the case of the individual YL and the group.

As for what types of tasks tend to be used in the classroom at the three stages, at stage one, playful, intrinsically motivating tasks are typically focused on meaning, and tasks for positive feedback or small rewards, etc. tend to work well. At stage two, besides extrinsic motives mastery and achievement motives may emerge, depending on the curriculum and the assessment system used in schools. In what ways rewards are conducive to learning or how they work against learner autonomy (mastery motivation) are further issues to explore. Competition, comparison with peers' achievements can be both motivating and demotivating (see findings on decline in motivation); the impact of these may strengthen at stages two and three when school grades

and extrinsic, utilitarian reasons, etc. may get more emphasis and cognitively demanding literacy skills may make the curriculum more difficult.

Embedded in Educational Context

Finally all the above aspects are embedded in the larger school, curricular and social context; thus, designing research projects and interpreting data must take into consideration the larger picture. Teaching and learning a FL in a small group (typical in published studies) of motivated, high or average SES YLs may impact YLs' and their teacher's motivation in different ways from, for example, a larger group of low SES pupils, or really large groups of over 50 YLs, or cases where attitudes to the target language are negative. How proficient and self-confident the teacher is in the FL and the YL classroom methodology, how motivated she is to teach YLs, her knowledge and beliefs about how children learn, etc. may also impact her and her learners' MLB.

Teaching and learning a FL at a school where stakeholders promote and appreciate cooperation, nurture a growth mindset, support teacher and learner autonomy may interact with teachers' and YLs' motivated behavior differently from a more autocratic context where the curriculum prescribes what may and may not happen in the classroom, teachers are expected to follow a coursebook at the same pace in all their groups, assess them at prescribed intervals, and achievements on FL tests may impact their future. If FL classes are different from other classes, this may be a special motivational aspect. If early FL curricula are integrated with other subjects over time, new content may contribute to maintaining YLs' motivation, yet another avenue to explore. Also, as so many studies have documented, if transition and continuity are issues, they may demotivate all stakeholders, including YLs and their teachers. Finally, other individual difference variables need to be taken into account and seen in interaction with motivation along the above perspectives.

This framework is meant to provoke further thinking about researching YLs' and their teachers' MLB in interaction with one another. We hope these ideas can be applied in multiple ways. It could trigger further research involving teachers and their YLs in their own FL teaching and learning process. For instance, they can be used when teachers design small-scale exploratory studies focusing on how certain tasks work and why, how children's performances and the feedback they offer them impact YLs' and their own motivation. They can also serve as a starting point for designing larger-scale evaluation projects to examine the role of YLs' and their teachers' motivation in interaction with one another and other variables.

Conclusions

This chapter looked into YLs' motivation as a distinct phenomenon. It showed that most studies tend to follow research methods used with older FL learners, although a few longitudinal observation studies have resulted in new meaningful results. The majority of projects were implemented in a few European countries though studies on YLs are increasingly popular in Asian countries. The target language is almost exclusively English. Interestingly, no recent national inquiry has looked into how curricular changes introducing early FL programs impact FL motivation and proficiency over time, despite the fact that 'the younger the better' slogan has overwhelmingly resulted in early FL programs around the globe. The majority of studies discuss good practice, although demotivation has also been researched. Therefore, we encourage teachers and researchers to inquire into YLs' and their teachers' motivation in a wider range of practices.

The last part of the chapter proposes a framework for researching what we found important and missing from most recent studies. YLs' and their teacher's motivation should be studied in an integrated fashion through a small lens (Ushioda, 2016): a task-based feedback-for-learning approach may allow new insights into how both teachers' and YLs' MLB changes over the years.

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Part IV

Shifting Horizons in L2 Motivation



26

Language Mindsets, Meaning-Making, and Motivation

Nigel Mantou Lou and Kimberly A. Noels

“Mindset” is an influential psychological concept that has had a wide impact on the motivation research in the past thirty years, as well as on the recent reform of educational practices (Dweck, 1999, 2006; Dweck & Yeager, 2019; Yeager et al., 2019). Mindsets, also termed as lay/implicit theories, refer to beliefs about whether a person’s characteristics, such as personality and intellectual abilities, are mutable (i.e., a growth mindset/incremental theory) or immutable (i.e., a fixed mindset/entity theory). These beliefs, which are often taken for granted and seldom reflected upon in a systematic manner, orient people’s thoughts and actions towards relevant activities. Despite pervasive lay beliefs about natural talent and biological constraints (especially age) in foreign language learning, it is not until recently that researchers in second language acquisition (SLA) have addressed how mindsets play a role in motivational processes (Lou & Noels, 2016, 2017; Mercer & Ryan, 2010; Ryan & Mercer, 2012).

Given increasing interest in mindsets in SLA, this chapter provides an overview of research and theories addressing the value of studying language mindsets, particularly in understanding how learners sustain motivation during second/foreign language (L2) development. We first discuss our theoretical conceptualization of language mindsets by reviewing relation to and distinctiveness from mindsets in other domains. We then synthesize relevant research with a proposed model regarding how language mindsets are linked

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to two different meaning-making systems that underlie language learning motivation. Third, we elaborate language mindsets as part of a dynamic and contextualized motivational system (cf. Csizér, this volume; Hiver & Papi, this volume). Finally, we discuss current research limitations and provide suggestions for the development of L2 motivation theory and research using the lens of language mindsets.

What Is Language Mindset?

How much do you believe these three statements are true? “People either have a knack for languages or they do not; the ability to learn foreign languages is mostly innate and immutable; adults do not have the capacity to learn a new language like children do.” For decades, scientists have attempted to address these questions with different theories and come up with different conclusions. Like scientists, lay people also have their own theories explaining how human psychology functions, and they often assume that some people have a certain psychological capacity that makes them better than others at learning an L2. This analogy of “lay theory” offers a useful way of studying how people think and make sense of language learning.

Although people rarely explicitly and systematically test their lay theories, they use them in their everyday life to simplify complicated information and to make sense of their experience (Molden & Dweck, 2006; Ross & Nisbett, 2011). For example, using a theory that language intelligence and foreign language aptitude are genetically based can create a cognitive frame that helps people to explain individual differences in proficiency levels and to make sense of diverse learning situations. With such a theory to guide them, people can reasonably attribute past failures and current struggles to their lack of talent, and thus predict any future difficulty to be unmanageable or only attainable through luck or extraordinary circumstances. Those who subscribe to a belief that the capability to acquire a new language is biologically determined by age (akin to the critical period hypothesis) can use this belief to understand and explain to themselves and others why adults seem to have difficulty learning new languages. Simply put, lay theories are information-processing paradigms that help people to form, revise, transform, and even change their everyday experience into a meaningful system of beliefs (Kelley & Michela, 1980; Oyserman & Yan, *in press*; Ross, 1977). Studying these lay theories thus yields important insights into how language learners make sense of their learning experiences, which is fundamental to motivational processes and to the sense of self.

Recognizing this long tradition of research on lay theories, Dweck (2006) suggested that the fixed and growth mindsets are fundamental to motivation

because they can guide people in how to think, feel, and act across different domains, including learning and education and interpersonal relationships (e.g., Lou & Li, 2017; Molden & Dweck, 2006). For example, in educational settings, students who hold growth mindsets (i.e., beliefs that their intellectual abilities can be improved) are *motivated to develop competence* through hard work because they believe that intelligence is attributable to changeable factors (e.g., stimulating environment and effort). Accordingly, they seek out challenging experiences that enable them to develop skills and acquire new knowledge. Conversely, learners who hold fixed mindsets (i.e., beliefs that intelligence is immutable) are *motivated to validate competence* because they believe that intellectual abilities are attributable to fixed personal factors (e.g., genes). Consequently, they develop the tendency to avoid challenging situations, because potential failures may invalidate their innate ability (Hong, Chiu, Dweck, Lin, & Wan, 1999). Many studies found that learners with growth (versus fixed) mindsets are more motivated, adaptive, and successful (Burnette, O’Boyle, VanEpps, Pollack, & Finkel, 2013).

It is important to note that the terms—mindsets, lay theories/beliefs, and implicit theories/beliefs—are used interchangeably in the literature. However, the notion of “implicit” can create confusion, because in cognitive psychology, implicit often refers to unconscious attitudes and beliefs that people are unable to articulate (e.g., Nosek & Banaji, 2002; see also Al-Hoorie, this volume). Research on mindsets runs counter to this idea because most people are aware of and able to report their beliefs, although they might seldom have a reason to explicate them and might rarely realize that they use these “theories” when explaining phenomena. Mindsets are argued to be “learned knowledge systems” accessible to most people upon reflection (Poon & Koehler, 2006). Therefore, although implicit theories are used often in academic literature, to avoid this confusion we use the term “mindsets”.

Dimensions and Measurement of Language Mindsets

In earlier work, mindsets were described using a dichotomous framework, such that individuals hold either a growth mindset or a fixed mindset. Some incautious educators may adopt this oversimplified framework and even differentiate students as either a fixed-mindset learner or a growth-mindset learner (see a recent response to this issue from Dweck, 2015). This dichotomous formulation of mindsets has received little support in research. For example, an interview study reported that language learners are able to express a clear opinion about fixed and growth language mindsets in various degrees, and

many learners have a mix of both mindsets (Mercer & Ryan, 2010). This finding suggests that fixed and growth mindsets are commonly endorsed among language learners, and the dichotomy of fixed-vs-growth fails to reflect what learners actually think (Mercer, Ryan, & Williams, 2012). From a methodological perspective, dividing language mindsets into two categories may simplify measurement and research designs, but it can also lessen measurement reliability and validity, minimize individual variations, and bias effect sizes and statistical significance (MacCallum, Zhang, Preacher, & Rucker, 2002).

The content of both fixed and growth language mindsets is comprised of at least three prevalent themes: General-language-intelligence beliefs, L2-aptitude beliefs, and age-sensitivity beliefs. These three themes resemble three lines of academic debates in SLA that are also common in public discussion. Firstly, general-language-intelligence beliefs concern the concept of linguistic/verbal intelligence that are central to multi-componential intelligence theories (e.g., Gardner, 2011). Some researchers maintain that there is a fixed linguistic/verbal intelligence that determines ability in language-related tasks, including L2 learning. Some may believe the ability to become a successful writer, orator, and/or translator is wired into the brain; you either have it or you do not. Secondly, L2-aptitude beliefs parallel scholarly debate about whether the aptitude to learn an L2 (distinct from native language/general language ability) is fixed and has a genetic basis or is changeable through training and effort (Wen, 2011). Lastly, age-sensitivity beliefs correspond with arguments around the critical/sensitive period hypothesis. Some scientists strongly argue that the capacity for SLA is malleable up to a younger age, and then drops thereafter due to neurobiological changes (DeKeyser, 2000). This claim is in line with the popular belief that adults cannot “fully” acquire native-like proficiency in a new language as well or as quickly as young children can. However, others argue that age does not biologically constrain the capability to learn (Abello-Contesse, 2009). They may further maintain that age differences mainly reflect adults’ lack of time and motivation due to social constraints and stereotypes (Marinova-Todd, Marshall, & Snow, 2000).

This operationalization of language mindsets emphasizes that these beliefs are neither a categorical nor a unidimensional construct. Based on these propositions, we developed and validated the Language Mindsets Inventory (LMI) (Table 26.1) with learners of a variety of foreign languages and students who use English as their L2 (Lou & Noels, 2017, in press; Lou & Noels, 2018a). We found that the LMI confirmed the underlying theoretical framework; learners endorse different degrees of entity and incremental theories regarding general-language-intelligence, L2-aptitude, and age-sensitivity beliefs. These different beliefs can be further reduced into two hierarchical structures reflect-

Table 26.1 A revised version of language mindsets inventory (LMI)

Instructions: Please rate how much you personally agree or disagree with these statements. There is no right or wrong answer.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

1. General language Intelligence

Below are statements about **language intelligence**, the capacity to use spoken and written languages to express what's on your mind and to understand other people. People with high language intelligence are typically good at reading, writing, telling stories.

To be honest, you can't really change your language intelligence.

Your language intelligence is something about you that you can't change very much.

You have a certain amount of language intelligence, and you can't really do much to change it.

^aYou can always improve your language intelligence substantially.

^aNo matter who you are, you can significantly improve your language intelligence level.

^aNo matter how much language intelligence you have, you can always improve it quite a bit.

2. Second Language Aptitude

Below are statements about one's **ability to learn new languages**. People who are high in such ability are typically good at acquiring new sounds, grammatical structures, and vocabularies from new languages.

You can't change how capable you are at learning new languages.

To be honest, you can't really change your basic ability to learn and use new languages.

To a large extent, your ability to learn new languages is innate and you can't change much.

^aYou can always improve how good you are at learning new languages.

^aNo matter who you are, you can always improve your basic ability to learn new languages.

^aNo matter how much ability you have in learning new languages, you can improve it considerably.

3. Critical/Sensitive Period Hypothesis

Below are statements about the **ability to learn new languages in relation to age**.

After a certain young age, you have very limited ability to learn new languages.

You don't really have the ability to learn new languages after a certain young age.

Your ability to learn new languages is restricted after a certain young age, and you can't really change it.

^aNo matter how old you are, you can always improve your ability to learn new languages.

(continued)

Table 26.1 (continued)

^aRegardless of age, you can significantly improve how good you are at learning new languages.

^aEven after a certain young age, you can substantially improve your ability to learn new languages.

^aIndicates growth mindsets items

This revision is based on feedback from the field. One change is to specify the direction of improvement rather than a general notion of change for the items about growth mindsets (cf. Lou et al., 2017)

Another change is to modify three items in the theme of L2B by emphasizing the word of ability is about the ability to learn (aptitude) not competence (learning outcomes), such that the three items are consistent with other items in the same theme

This adapted version of LMI was found to be reliable and predicted effort beliefs (Lou & Noels, 2018a, 2018b), but more psychometric research is needed

It is also important to note that researchers do not need to always use all of the subscales and which subscales should be used depends on the objectives of a study (Lou & Noels, 2017)

ing fixed and growth mindsets (Lou & Noels, 2017). Moreover, although fixed and growth mindsets are negatively correlated, factor analyses did not support that they were a single construct. This finding indicates that many people can be flexible and dialectical thinkers who ascribe to seemingly contradictory concepts if they are not forced to choose one concept or the other, and thus endorsing both entity and growth theories (Kruglanski, 1989). Therefore, treating language mindsets as a single bipolar factor may obfuscate the nuances of language mindsets, although such reduction may be practical and warranted depending on a study's objectives (Lou & Noels, 2017).

The construct of language mindsets is related to but distinct from other mindsets. Language mindsets were only weakly correlated with mindsets about general intelligence and other specific abilities such as athletics and math (Lou & Noels, 2017). These findings support the domain-specific nature of mindsets (Dweck, Chiu, & Hong, 1995). As such, it is possible that people can hold, for example, a weak growth language mindset but a strong growth mindset in other intellectual domains (Ryan & Mercer, 2012). More importantly, learners' motivation is context-specific and thus corresponds better with mindsets when both constructs are assessed within the same domain. For example, compared to general intelligence mindsets, language mindsets are a more direct and stronger predictor of language motivation (Lou & Noels, 2017). Therefore, to understand language motivation, it is more appropriate to assess learners' language mindsets rather than their intelligence mindsets.

Language Mindsets and Motivation

To illustrate how language mindsets contribute to language learning motivation, we conceptualized the Language-Mindset Meaning System (LMMS). This framework highlights the central role of mindsets among different language beliefs identified to be important in language motivation (e.g., Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Henry, 2014; Horwitz, 2007; Kalaja, Barcelos, & Aro, 2018; Yashima, Nishida, & Mizumoto, 2017). We argue that language mindsets are a corner stone for meaning-making that helps people to make sense of their L2 experiences. Specifically, the LMMS comprises the growth-oriented and fixed-oriented meaning subsystems. Each subsystem includes a parallel constellation of allied cognitive and affective factors that together produce systematic differences in a range of fundamental motivational processes that affect how people think, feel, and act (Molden & Dweck, 2006).

In the following discussion, we focus on mindset-driven motivational processes particularly in challenging situations, which are inherent to the long-term language learning process (e.g., rejection by interlocutors, making mistakes in communication, criticism from teachers and peers, and performing badly in language tasks). We suggest that language mindsets can frame learner's construals of these situations and guide them to develop different affective and behavioural coping strategies. Specifically, the LMMS synthesizes a set of descriptive and prescriptive functions for meaning-making (e.g., "What do effort and failure mean?"; "What are the reasons I can't speak the language well?"; "Should I continue learning?"), which are different from evaluative meaning-making structures (e.g., attitudes and values) (Plaks, Levy, & Dweck, 2009). Table 26.2 presents how fixed and growth mindsets are systematically linked to different motivational beliefs and self-regulatory processes: effort beliefs, attributions, achievement goals, failure mindsets, self-regulatory tendencies, and competence-based emotional tendencies. Although many of these concepts and connections have been addressed in the SLA literature, some have not, and thus the following discussion of LMMS includes research published in educational psychology literature.

Effort Beliefs: Believing in the Utility of Purposeful Effort

Learners' language mindsets are tied to their perceptions about what effort can do (Lou & Noels, 2017). For learners who believe their ability can be developed, effort is an *effective* way to become more competent. They believe the harder they strive, the better they will become at language learning (e.g.,

Table 26.2 Language-mindset meaning system

Effort beliefs: What does effort mean?	Fixed-oriented subsystem Negative: effort is futile, and exertion of effort reflects one's lack of natural talent	Growth-oriented subsystem Positive: effort is the key to improvement and a means to become talented
Attribution: What causes different learning outcomes?	Uncontrollable: interpret successes to one's own talent and failures to the lack of natural ability	Controllable: interpret success to hard work and challenges/mistakes to the insufficient effort
Achievement goals: What are your goals for your learning activities?	Performance goals: aim to out-perform others and validate ability (when perceived competence is high) or avoid being seen as incompetent (when perceived competence is low)	Mastery goals: aim to develop and improve language competence; focus on the learning process
Failure/mistake mindsets: What does failure mean?	Failure as debilitating: Failure or making mistakes inhibits one's learning and debilitates one's performance; one should avoid failure or making mistakes in order to learn and perform well	Failure as enhancing: failure or making mistakes provides opportunity to understand what is needed and to facilitate improvement; one should take advantage of failure to learn and grow
Self-regulatory tendency: What do you tend to do when dealing with setbacks?	Self-defensive strategies: avoid similar situations to protect self-esteem	Self-improvement strategies: seek for better learning strategies and feedback to improve
Competence-based emotional tendency: How do you tend to feel about your language ability in challenging tasks?	Anxiety: afraid of challenges and failure; anxious to use the target language and fear of being judged/rejected	Confidence: enjoy difficult tasks; confidence to use the language and to develop competence

Note. It is important to note that the description of fixed- and growth-oriented systems are extremes of two independent but correlated continuums; it does not suggest that learners hold only one or the other system. It is likely that learners have a mix of both systems.

“Effort is the key to improvement”). However, for learners who believe language ability is fixed, effort may reflect one's lack of natural ability. They believe that effort is *ineffective* in language success, and showing others that they are hardworking can also make them feel less talented (e.g., “Those who try hard obviously don't have the talent”). Because effort expenditure is one of the most powerful predictors of language achievement, positive effort beliefs

are considered a key motivational factor to the pathway of language success (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005).

Attribution: Interpret Successes and Failures

Learners who endorse fixed mindsets also explain their performance with different rationales from those who endorse growth mindsets. Those with entity beliefs tend to attribute achievement and challenges to one's talent and/or lack thereof – success validates their natural ability and failures indicate their incapability to learn. This *uncontrollable* attribution tendency undermines learners' sense of autonomy and intrinsic motivation. In contrast, learners with incremental beliefs attribute performances to their own efforts – success indicates their effort has paid off and making mistakes signals more effort is needed. This *controllable* attribution tendency is important in sustaining motivation for future learning tasks (Kelley & Michela, 1980; Weiner, 2014; Thorner & Kikuchi, this volume). These different attributions of performance, derived from different mindsets, can in turn guide how learners feel and act differently in learning situations.

Achievement Goals Orientations: Goal of Mastering the Language or Presenting a Positive Self-image

Language mindsets are also linked to the learner's purpose for becoming competent in language learning and/or succeeding in the language class. Learners strive for language success for various reasons (Woodrow, 2006): to master the language and improve their competence (i.e., *mastery, or learning, goals*); to prove their ability and outperform other students (i.e., *performance-approach goals*); and to hide their lack of competence and to avoid performing worse than the others (i.e., *performance-avoidance goals*). Mastery goals concern self-development and competence per se; they are linked to stronger effort and motivational intensity, persistence, and better oral test performance. On the other hand, the two performance goals concern normative achievement relative to others. Performance-approach goals are associated with stronger language anxiety, and performance-avoidance goals are related to stronger language anxiety and poorer oral test performance (Woodrow, 2006). This pattern possibly arises because people with performance goals are easily distracted from learning by the need to validate their performance through social comparison.

Based on Dweck and Leggett's work (Dweck & Leggett, 1988), we argue that learners' goal setting relies on both their mindsets and evaluations of their language competence. Learners with growth mindsets set mastery goals to "learn as much as possible from their language class" (Lou & Noels, 2017). Holding growth mindsets provides learners with a sense of control over their own ability, and thus orients them towards the learning process itself rather than towards performance (Dweck & Leggett, 1988). Accordingly, these learners are more likely to develop learner autonomy, to take responsibility, and to engage in activities that enable them to grow (Lou & Noels, 2016). Conversely, fixed mindsets predict performance-approach goals, particularly when learners think that they have high language competence. These learners are more likely to engage in activities that portray them in a positive light. However, we did not find that learners' mindsets predict performance-avoidance goals. It is possibly because the effects of language mindsets on avoidance goals are more salient when learners are facing actual challenges, for example, receiving negative feedback and experiencing language-based rejection in intercultural contact (Sisk, Burgoyne, Sun, Butler, & Macnamara, 2018).

Failure Mindsets: Are Failures Debilitating or Enhancing?

Fixed and growth mindsets also guide people to construe failure in different ways, above and beyond controllable versus uncontrollable attributions. When performance is unsatisfactory, learners with growth mindsets are more likely to positively reappraise their setbacks, to reflect on their mistakes, and to look for ways to improve. For example, they are more likely to think, "This misunderstanding makes me realize that I should improve my pronunciation" and "Even though I used the wrong word, I learned the right word in the process; I learned something new because of my mistake." They see failures as a means to facilitate learning and growth. Conversely, learners with fixed mindsets tend to regard failure as debilitating; they assume the failure is lasting and uncontrollable. They may say that, "If I can't communicate well in my target language, it means I really am not a language person" and "I won't talk because I don't know how to say it perfectly." Research in general education shows that failure-is-enhancing and failure-is-debilitating mindsets are only moderately related to (thus distinct from) intelligence mindsets (Haimovitz & Dweck, 2016).

Self-regulatory Tendencies: Implications for Resilience

Language mindsets also impact learners' tendencies to engage in self-regulation or to resign from goal pursuit (Burnette et al., 2013; Molden & Dweck, 2006). When their goals are not met, learners with growth mindsets intend to take remedial actions. They adopt a self-improvement orientation that prompts them to take control over their own learning, such as actively seeking help to improve their learning (Heine et al., 2001; Waller & Papi, 2017). Conversely, people with fixed mindsets aim to prevent failures from hurting their self-esteem. They are more likely to avoid future learning opportunities when criticism is possible; they are also more concerned about negative judgments from teachers as they construe corrective feedback and help-seeking as an exhibition of "being dumb." Instead, they utilize self-defensive strategies, such as avoidance and self-handicapping, for example by avoiding effort and creating obstacles that allow them to justify possible failures (Nussbaum & Dweck, 2008). As a result, compared to learners with incremental beliefs, learners with entity beliefs are more likely to give up studying foreign languages (Lou & Noels, 2017).

Competence-Based Emotional Tendencies: Confidence and Anxiety

During and after learning activities, learners' emotional responses will be activated based on their existing emotional tendencies developed through their reactions to previous similar situations (Barrett, 2017; MacIntyre, Ross & Clément, this volume). By constantly guiding learners' emotional reactions to achievement situations, learners' mindsets can facilitate the development of different competence-based emotional tendencies (Robins & Pals, 2002). Fixed mindsets are linked to maladaptive emotional tendencies, including language anxiety, fear of failure, and concerns over being rejected by interlocutors (Lou & Noels, 2019b). In line with resilience perspectives, learners with growth mindsets reported a less language anxiety (Lou & Noels, 2017, 2018a, 2018b), possibly because they tend to reappraise and regulate their emotions by seeing the positive in failure situations (e.g., think that obstacles can be overcome if they work harder) (Chaffee, Lou, & Noels, 2018). Given that language confidence is comprised of a positive self-perception of competence and low anxiety (Sampasivam & Clément, 2014), it is not difficult to imagine the link between mindsets and language confidence. We found that

learners with growth mindsets have more positive emotions and confidence to use the target language and have more positive expectations about interacting with native speakers (Lou & Noels, 2018a). Furthermore, the effect of language mindsets on language anxiety is found to go beyond what goal orientations and perceived language competence predict, suggesting that language mindsets play a unique role in emotional experiences (Lou & Noels, in press).

A Complex Dynamic Perspective on LMMS

So far, we have described language mindsets and related concepts as relatively stable beliefs (i.e., a relatively enduring, trait-like individual factor). However, language mindsets, like other motivational constructs, are also situated in particular social contexts. Because most people have at least some knowledge and experience that supports both entity and incremental theories (Poon & Koehler, 2006), either mindset can be readily activated depending on situational cues. For example, experimental research shows that people's language mindsets can be primed or induced, at least in the short-term, through persuasive articles that support either entity or incremental theories about language learning (e.g., Lou & Noels, 2016). Studying whether and how mindsets change not only provides an avenue to examine theoretical questions about the impact of mindsets on motivation and achievement, but also provides practical insights for how to improve learners' subjective experience in language development.

The eco-dynamic systems perspective considers that motivation exists not only within the individual, but also as an interaction with socio-cultural contexts. Similarly, meaning making is a contextualized and dynamic process rather than a decontextualized and stable trait (Oyserman & Yan, in press). The fact that mindsets can be activated by different experimental procedures underscores the dynamic of language mindset-based meaning-making systems (Molden & Dweck, 2006; Wilson & English, 2017). Rather than holding only one mindset system consistently across all contexts, learners shift their beliefs and goals to *adapt* to different social situations. For example, in situations where performance goals are promoted, learners need to outperform others to get a good grade, and so they may be more likely to endorse fixed mindsets (Leith et al., 2014). On the other hand, helping learners to interpret their challenges as opportunities to learn can foster the adoption of growth mindsets (Haimovitz & Dweck, 2016). In turn, activating one mindset can increase the accessibility of other related concepts or schemas (e.g.,

effort beliefs and affective response) that guide them in how to think, feel, and act in those situations. In summary, the LMMS conceives language motivation as a dynamic and contextualized meaning-making system that changes depending on the situation.

Research Agenda

As research on language mindsets is still in its early stages, more research is needed to understand the content and construct of language mindsets, their influences, and the dynamic processes of the LMMS (see also Lou & Noels, 2019a). Below, we highlight four potential research areas that we believe are imperative to the understanding of how and why language mindsets affect language development.

Testing the LMMS Model

The constructs that we argue are predicated on mindsets (i.e., effort beliefs, attribution, achievement goals, failure mindsets, self-regulatory tendency, and competence-based emotional tendency) have also been found to be linked to educational achievement and language success independently of mindsets (Lamb, 2017; Mercer et al., 2012). However, instead of viewing the impacts of these different constructs on language development separately, the LMMS suggests that integrating them into a system can better describe learners' motivation.

To explain one way of how these factors can link together, in a recent study (Lou & Noels, 2017), we chose the components of goal orientation, self-regulatory tendency, and emotional responses and conceptualized a testable path model (termed “Mindset-Goal-Response Model”). The results showed that mindsets directly predict effort beliefs and goal orientation, and, through goal orientation, indirectly predict emotional and behavioural responses to failure. Namely, learners who believe their language ability is fixed despite their efforts are more likely to explain failures as a reflection of lack of ability, to approach or avoid performance, to feel helpless and anxious, and to avoid trying the next time. There are other possibilities of how the LMMS components connect to each other, and understanding the theoretical connections and under what situations they arise can broaden understanding of the motivational processes more holistically. In addition to understanding how different variables in the LMMS are connected, more experimental and longitudinal methods should be implemented to test the dynamic of the LMMS.

Nuances and Different Aspects of Language Mindsets

Although we have proposed three aspects of language mindsets (i.e., general-language-intelligence, L2-apptitude, and age-sensitivity beliefs), little research has differentiated them with regard to their predictive power on different outcomes. For example, it is conceivable that adult learners' age-related beliefs are more fixed than younger learners. Such beliefs may be influenced by a range of socio-cultural factors (e.g., cultural stereotypes about older learners) and have a stronger influence on older adults' motivation. Understanding how the three aspects of language mindsets predict different motivational outcomes in different populations may provide insight into the nuances of why and for whom language mindset matters. Furthermore, we can revise the current understanding of language mindsets from at least two perspectives: the construct of mindsets and the domain-specificity of language learning.

Regarding the construct of mindsets, researchers recently argued that mindsets include not only entity and incremental dimensions, but also a decremental dimension (i.e., beliefs about negative change, such that ability can be decreased) (Lou, Masuda, & Li, 2017). In the general intelligence domain, decremental beliefs are found to be independent of entity and incremental beliefs, and have a unique contribution in predicting prevention-oriented motivation (Lou et al., 2017). In terms of language learning, many people acquire the beliefs through their informal and implicit observation that people's ability to learn a language declines with age and that "if you don't use it, you'll lose it." Accordingly, learners who endorse decremental mindsets might feel motivated to prevent the potential loss of their language ability. These "use-it-or-lose-it" beliefs reflect more closely to "decremental" rather than "incremental" beliefs. Thus, incorporating decremental beliefs into the construct of language mindsets can enrich our understanding of the language-mindset meaning system and language motivation.

Regarding domain-specificity, it is important to examine the extent to which people hold different mindsets about different aspects of linguistic skills (e.g., writing, communication, pronunciation, and grammar). For example, some learners may hold growth mindsets about learning grammar, but fixed mindsets about pronunciation (Mercer & Ryan, 2010). Unpacking these nuances can contribute to the understanding of the domain-specificity of language mindsets as well as motivational processes across different language abilities. If researchers are interested in a specific outcome (e.g., writing), it is best to assess learners' mindsets in the same domain (e.g., mindsets about writing) rather than on a more general level (c.f. Waller & Papi, 2017).

Although mindsets in different domains can operate relatively independently of each other, little is known about how much overlap there is among different aspects of language learning. Future research should pay more attention to less well-studied aspects of L2 mindsets (e.g., pronunciation and grammar learning) to understand the uniqueness of different language-skill mindsets and their connections with general language intelligence beliefs.

Links and Integrations with Other L2 Motivational Components

We acknowledge that additional motivational constructs can potentially enrich this mindset-based meaning system. Given that ideal selves reflect growth beliefs about one's future L2 abilities, it is not difficult to see the link between mindsets and the construct of ideal selves (Dörnyei, 2009; Yashima et al., 2017). According to the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) (Csizér, this volume), L2 motivation can be generated by a positive image of ideal L2 self (i.e., who you want to become) (Dörnyei, 2009). We argue that learners with fixed mindsets, especially those who think they don't have the aptitude to learn, may not be able to envision themselves becoming effective in using the target language. Conversely, growth mindsets can facilitate envisioning a more positive ideal self (Dörnyei, 2009). Because learners with growth mindsets strive to improve their L2 ability, they are more likely to see a clearer image of their ideal self and take action to approach their ideal L2 self. More importantly, envisioning how they can overcome obstacles and gradually improve to reach their ideal self can better sustain learners' motivation along the journey of L2 development, compared to simply envisioning an ideal self.

Another important motivational framework that can be linked to the mindset meaning system is self-determination theory (SDT) (Deci & Ryan, 2004), which emphasizes the importance of personal autonomy, effectance, and interpersonal connectedness for sustaining intrinsic interest and/or self-determined motivation (Noels, Chaffee, Lou, & Dincer, 2016; Noels et al., this volume; Lou & Noels, 2018b). We propose that holding growth mindsets and mastery goals can facilitate internalization of regulation into the self by fostering positive perceptions of challenging learning tasks and lessening the anxiety that arises when dealing with those tasks. In contrast, fixed mindsets and performance goals hinder the internalization processes by engendering external pressure, and creating performance anxiety (Deci & Ryan, 2004).

Both L2MSS and SDT are frameworks that promote growth values and orientations. Understanding their connections with language mindsets can

potentially further integrate different theoretical perspectives in language development. Therefore, more research is needed to understand how these processes together influence language motivation.

Effects on Improvement and Competence

People often assume more learning experience is related to better competence. However, how learning shapes competence depends, in part, on the extent to which learners expect their learning opportunities can shape competence, and these expectancies depend, in part, on language mindsets. Although cross-sectional data supports the view that mindsets are linked to learners' grades in the foreign language course through the connection of effort beliefs and goal setting, no study has examined the causal link of mindsets on long-term language success in and outside of the classroom (Chaffee et al., 2018). Research in mindsets can inspire pedagogical strategies for cultivating growth mindsets in general educational contexts (e.g., Yeager & Dweck, 2012).

Outside of a language class, many language learners hold a goal of intercultural contact with target communities (Gardner & Lambert, 1959). However, some intercultural interactions can result in negative outcomes. Learners also rely on their meaning-making systems to make sense of their experience with L2 communication. Endorsing growth mindsets might help a person to perceive L2 communication in a more optimistic way, such that even awkward, negative encounters can be simultaneously construed as an opportunity for learning and growth (Lou & Noels, *in press*). Thus, a growth mindset may help learners develop confidence, willingness to communicate, and eventually competence.

Because learners use their meaning-systems to understand their language experience, changes in their contact experience and competence are likely to revise the way they understand language learning. For example, seeing their own improvement in language learning compared to the past may change learners' ideas that language learning ability is malleable (Lou & Noels, 2018a). Longitudinal and idiodynamic approach are needed to understand how mindset-system changes follow from different learning and communication experiences.

Socio-cultural Influences on LMMS

Learners internalize different cultural meaning systems about language learning through social learning within the socio-cultural environment (see Lou &

Noels, 2017 for a discussion of mindsets in different levels of ecological systems). For example, research has shown that growth mindsets and external attributions are more prevalent in collectivistic cultures (e.g., Asian countries) than individualistic cultures (e.g., Western European and North American countries; Heine et al., 2001). Similarly, research has reported that Japanese show more growth language mindsets whereas Austrians demonstrated more fixed mindsets (Ryan & Mercer, 2012). This difference could be due to differences in cultural values: Confucian-influenced societies emphasize effort and persistence, as well as maintaining social harmony with authority and external social environment, whereas Western cultures encourage internal ability and autonomy in learning (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; Noels, Chaffee, Michalyk, & McEown, 2014). Accordingly, research shows that in challenging situations, East Asian students show more self-improvement strategies that prioritize persistence, while North American students show more self-enhancing/protecting tendencies that emphasize individual self-esteem (Heine et al., 2001).

Although research demonstrates that intelligence mindsets predict Asian students' motivation in a similar way as the results found in North America (e.g., Hong et al., 1999), little is known about whether the results of language mindsets studies are generalizable outside of Western countries. In addition to comparing the mean levels of language mindsets and their functional relations with other variables across different socio-educational contexts, future cross-cultural research should also systematically examine the construct of language mindset itself (most likely through qualitative methods initially), as well as the lay understanding of the conceptual aspects (e.g., the three aspects of language mindsets: general-language-intelligence, L2-apptitude, and age-sensitivity beliefs) and their combination as a general construct might also be influenced by the socio-cultural contexts.

Conclusions

We started this chapter by discussing the consensus that language mindsets should be conceived as a more complex construct than a dichotomous categorical or a bipolar unidimensional formulation implies, based on both qualitative and quantitative research (Lou & Noels, 2017; Mercer & Ryan, 2010). With this assumption, we operationalized language mindsets as the crux of two meaning-making subsystems by positing a growth-oriented subsystem and a fixed-oriented subsystem (Molden & Dweck, 2006). This approach aims to understand how conceptually similar language motivational

constructs, including effort beliefs, attributions, and achievement goals, work together and give rise to how learners think, feel and act (Lou & Noels, 2016). The fixed-oriented system includes negative effort beliefs, uncontrollable attributions, performance goals, failure-is-debilitating mindsets, self-defensive strategies, and language anxiety, which are assumed to be maladaptive. In contrast, the growth-oriented system includes positive effort beliefs, controllable attributions, mastery goals, failure-is-enhancing mindsets, self-improvement strategies, and self-confidence. We maintain that a growth-oriented system can serve as a personal resource, or a form of motivational capital, which buffers the negative effects of competence threats on motivation by guiding people to proactively cope with failure situations (Nussbaum & Dweck, 2008; Yeager & Dweck, 2012). Moreover, this motivational capital can be increased with backing from the socio-cultural learning environment, and in turn supports the long-term investment in language learning (Darvin, this volume).

Readers must be mindful that these two subsystems are not mutually exclusive and that most people likely possess both mindset-systems to a different extent, which can change depending on domains, social contexts, and time. The two mindset-based subsystems are considered two complex dynamic systems – learners' *meaning-making processes* are not stable across time and situation but rather fluctuate, not only due to powerful contextual influences but also as a result of learners' personal agency. Different mindset-related tendencies can also co-occur depending on learning situations and they operate together to predict language development and intercultural communication. Therefore, we conclude that language motivation can be conceived of as embedded in a dynamic meaning-making system.

Research on language mindsets also sheds light on language pedagogy regarding how to motivate language learners to strive for developing competence and to persist in language learning. Many large-scale mindset-related interventions and workshops have been implemented across the world (e.g., Yeager & Dweck, 2012). However, before considering such interventions in language classrooms, more evidence-based research is needed to identify what intervention strategies work best, under what circumstances the interventions are effective, and who benefits most from the interventions (Sisk et al., 2018). Simply endorsing growth mindsets is not enough to lead to positive learning outcomes; integrating important elements in the LMMS is likely to be necessary (e.g., encouraging learners to make mistakes and helping them to correct mistakes). Importantly, growth mindsets also need to pair with a supportive learning environment that allows them to take root. Thus, more

research is needed to empower language teachers to undertake actions to support learners' development of growth orientations.

As an interdisciplinary subject with clear applied interests, language motivation often draws upon theories and methods from social and educational psychology to understand language learners' beliefs, emotions, and learning behaviours, as well as how learners develop the tendency to think, feel, and behave in specific ways (e.g., Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Noels et al., 2016; Williams, Mercer, & Ryan, 2016). When borrowing theories and terms, researchers have to be mindful of the construct in relation to some unique aspects of SLA research. For example, conceptualizing and assessing language mindsets should not simply change a few wordings from the general mindset scale, given that language mindsets are conceptualized and found to be more complex regarding the content and dimensionality. After incorporating theoretical and qualitative work specific to SLA, we need to thoroughly validate new measurements as findings in one domain or setting may not translate directly to others. This validation process requires a collective effort from researchers with a wide range of theoretical or methodological perspectives. In turn, this collaborative process can provide valuable theoretical contributions into the psychology of language learning and pedagogical implications for language education.

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27

Motivation and the Unconscious

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In 2001, Zoltán Dörnyei predicted that, “[a]lthough such unconscious motives do not feature strongly in current motivational thinking, it seems clear that they play a significant role in our lives and therefore they are likely to be ‘rediscovered’ before long” (p. 7). This prediction has patently been confirmed. Historically, in anticipation of the cognitive revolution, Gordon Allport (1937) argued that there are two primary sources for human motivation: primitive (unconscious) drives for infants, but for adults motivation is guided only by more sophisticated (conscious) motives such as interests and attitudes. After the cognitive revolution, many motivation researchers took for granted the idea that human motivation is a function of conscious, rational thought. They assumed “an agentic, conscious self at the controls, making decisions about courses of action to take and then guiding behavior along those lines” (Bargh, Gollwitzer, & Oettingen, 2010, p. 288; see also Al-Hoorie, 2015).

Many twentieth-century motivation theories have therefore tended to revolve around two basic aspects, the *desirability* of the outcome and its *feasibility*, along with additional features that are idiosyncratic to each particular theory. For example, expectancy–value theory (Atkinson, 1957, 1964) with its contemporary versions (e.g., Wigfield & Eccles, 2000) views the individual as engaging in a balancing act comparing the perceived likelihood of success in a given endeavour with its perceived value. Two similar aspects are also proposed in the theory of planned behaviour (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010) called

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attitudes and perceived behavioural control, respectively. Many other motivation theories have also elaborated on feasibility and/or desirability. In terms of feasibility, some theories have emphasized backward evaluations (attributions; Weiner, 1986, 1992), forward evaluations (self-efficacy; Bandura, 1997, 2007), ability conceptualizations (incremental vs. entity; Dweck, 2000; Dweck & Molden, 2005), and feasibility enhancement techniques (goal characteristics; Locke & Latham, 1990, 2002). In terms of desirability, some theories have emphasized whether the activity is valued for its own sake (intrinsic motivation; Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2002), whether the outcome would be instrumental to the attainment of further positive consequences (valence; Vroom, 1964), or whether the future would be bright in general (dispositional optimism; Scheier & Carver, 1987).

In the second language (L2) field, desirability has also been a central concept (Al-Hoorie, 2018). This includes the motivation to learn a language for the purpose of affiliating with another linguistic community (integrativeness; Gardner, 1985, 2010, this volume) as well as its cognitive reinterpretation focusing on visualization (the ideal L2 self; Dörnyei, 2005, 2009; see also Csizér, this volume). Despite the broad range of these theories and their divergent perspectives, they still share at least one common feature: The role of unconscious motivation has not been studied systematically, and so people are assumed to “weight the incentive value of the desired outcome with the expectancy that it would actually occur” (Bargh et al., 2010, p. 268).

More recently, the view that motivation is the result of conscious-only processes is falling out of fashion. Instead, more interest has been directed toward a more balanced, *dual-process* view (e.g., Chaiken & Trope, 1999; Evans & Frankish, 2009; Sherman, Gawronski, & Trope, 2014), according to which both conscious and unconscious motives play a role in human motivation. This chapter first offers a background of unconscious attitudes from mainstream psychology. It then moves to consider its applicability to L2 learning.

Background on Unconscious Attitudes

Sometimes, we develop preferences not based on much rational thought but based on values and conceptions adopted from our social environment. We may for example like, dislike, or even feel strongly disgusted with certain foods, clothes, behaviours or even abstract views (e.g., religious, political) simply because of the influence of cultural socialization processes. We may even come up with (post hoc) rationalizations to justify a position we have, though somebody from another cultural background might also come up with alternative rationalizations to justify a contradictory position.

Psychologists have documented attitudes and preferences that, at various stages in life, do not form on the basis of rational, conscious deliberation. For example, in-group members generally tend to be favoured over out-group members. As for infants, research shows that they prefer to look at an individual who speaks their language—over someone who speaks a foreign language—and accept toys from them (Kinzler, Dupoux, & Spelke, 2007). As for young children, they demonstrate selective trust in native-accented over foreign-accented speakers. This effect persists even when neither speaker's message is meaningful (Kinzler, Corriveau, & Harris, 2011). Gender also seems an important factor in forming attitudes and preferences. In one experiment, Shutts, Banaji, and Spelke (2010) showed young boys and girls a video showing novel objects. In one scene, a boy said, "My name is Kevin. I love playing with blicket. Blicket is my favourite thing to play with" while a girl said, "My name is Mary. I love playing with spoodle. Spoodle is my favourite thing to play with." In line with the gender of the child in the video, the boys preferred the blicket while the girls preferred the spoodle—though little further information was available to help make this decision. When asked to explain their preferences, the children did not report awareness of the effect of gender on their choice. These results suggest that apparently free choices seem to be actually influenced by the social categories one belongs to.

The effect of "us" versus "them" does not disappear with maturity. Adults are also influenced to a large extent by their perceptions of in-groups and out-groups, again without conscious awareness. An illustration of this tendency comes from the minimal group paradigm by Henri Tajfel and associates (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971; see also Bourhis, Sachdev, & Gagnon, 1994). A series of studies in this paradigm have demonstrated that individuals tend to favour in-group members when allocating valuable resources. In fact, this pattern persists even when

1. all in-group and out-group members are anonymous,
2. the distinction between the two groups is trivial, and
3. allocating more resources to one's in-group primarily serves to distinguish it from the out-group at the expense of maximizing the total gain of one's in-group—thus making it self-defeating.

The human mind therefore seems to be more complex than a conscious, straightforward comparison between value and expected outcome. Human rationality appears more limited than what we might intuitively believe.

In light of the above, attitudes have been classified into two types: explicit or reflective attitudes, and implicit or automatic attitudes (Sherman et al.,

2014). While explicit attitudes are formed through the individual's rational thinking, implicit attitudes develop through repeated exposure, a process sometimes called *cultural osmosis* (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013; Greenwald & Nosek, 2009). When explicit and implicit attitudes are not in agreement (e.g., proclaiming an egalitarian attitude explicitly, but favouring in-group members implicitly) *dissociation* takes place. An individual may not be aware of the existence of such explicit–implicit dissociation, though this may still affect behaviour unconsciously, especially spontaneous behaviour (Fazio, 2001; Strack & Deutsch, 2004).

Implicit attitudes toward certain groups may lead to real-world consequences. For example, in their report documenting discipline disparities at schools, Carter, Fine, and Russell (2014) show that school discipline and suspension was disproportionately distributed among students, and was related to race and sexual orientation. Minorities were sometimes three times more likely to be disciplined for the same level of misbehaviour as their majority peers. These disciplinary procedures can lead to lower school commitment and academic engagement, physical and mental health disorders, higher rates of school dropout, and increased contacts with the criminal justice system—an effect called the *school-to-prison pipeline* (e.g., Hoffman, 2014). The argument here is that it is unlikely that schoolteachers and administrators are intentionally singling out minorities for harsher disciplinary procedures.

In a more direct investigation of this effect, van den Bergh, Denessen, Hornstra, Voeten, and Holland (2010) examined the relationship between teacher's implicit prejudice (measured with the Implicit Association Test; see Appendix) and the achievement of minority students. Their results showed that, indeed, the higher the implicit prejudice of the teacher, the lower the achievement of his/her minority students (and sometimes the *higher* the achievement of majority students). On the other hand, explicit measures of prejudice failed to exhibit any of these associations.

In higher education, a similar picture emerges. Milkman, Akinola, and Chugh (2012) conducted a field experiment on professors from top U.S. universities to examine racial and gender discrimination. The researchers selected over 6500 professors and sent each an email purporting to be from a prospective student requesting a ten-minute meeting to discuss research opportunities. The researchers varied the name of this fictitious student in order to represent different races and genders. The results showed that when the name signalled a Caucasian male (compared with names of minorities and females), the meeting request was granted by faculty members 26% more often. Caucasians also received more and faster responses. Again, it is unlikely that these professors were deliberately engaging in discriminatory practices against

women or minorities; instead, this is more likely because of an unconscious rather than intentional bias.

In the past few decades, interest in the implicit aspect of human cognition has grown exponentially in psychology. For example, Payne and Gawronski (2010) explain that “virtually every intellectual question in social psychology, and many outside of it, has been shaped by the theories and methods of implicit social cognition” (p. 1). In the *Oxford Handbook of Human Motivation*, Ryan and Legate (2012) similarly point out that the notion that the human mind contains two distinct processes that can have a differential effect on motivation is currently by far the single most widely cited area to hold potential for future motivation research. In fact, the authors argue that this is where the present-day ‘buzz’ is.

Unconscious Attitudes in L2 Learning

Early Research

In the history of language attitudes research, some scholars recognized that publicly expressed attitudes might not tell the whole story about an individual’s underlying feelings and beliefs. In a seminal study, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum (1960) introduced the matched-guise technique (MGT) in the hope of uncovering ‘private attitudes’ concerning cross-cultural dispositions. In the standard MGT, participants listen to audio-recordings of speakers reading the same, neutral passage in two or more languages (or accents). The participants are then asked to act as judges of the personality of each speaker, a procedure akin to how people routinely try to form impressions of a person they listen to on the phone or on the radio. Unbeknownst to the participants, however, the ‘different speakers’ in the MGT are actually one speaker who is fluent in the languages in question. If a participant evaluates the personality of the speaker differently when they speak in a different language, this differential evaluation is presumed to reflect stereotyped characteristics of the respective language group.

Some interesting results emerged from the early wave of the MGT research. For example, in the initial study by Lambert et al. (1960), the correlation between responses to the (indirect) MGT and responses to (direct) attitudinal questionnaire related to English Canadians versus French Canadians were low and non-significant, a finding the researchers attributed to the independence of the two constructs. Subsequent research showed some intriguing results. For example, research on French Canadians documented developmental

changes, where French-Canadian children start off evaluating their own group more favourably but by the age of 12 this pattern reverses (Anisfeld & Lambert, 1964; Lambert, Frankle, & Tucker, 1966). In addition, research on sex differences showed that French-Canadian males favour models from the English community, but French-Canadian females prefer men from their own group as if, as Lambert (1967) put it, they are guardians of their culture. Extending this research to the United Kingdom, Giles (1971) found that speakers of the Received Pronunciation—a standard accent in England—were rated as more prestigious (e.g., intelligent, ambitious), while speakers of Welsh English as more socially attractive (e.g., humorous, good-natured). These results suggest that language and accent might factor in how one's personality is judged by others. In fact, “even a single vowel or consonant sound, contrasting with others or with our expectations, can have evaluative repercussions on its utterer” (Giles & Coupland, 1991, p. 32).

Nevertheless, interest in the MGT after this early wave has fluctuated, and this may be attributed to two primary reasons (see Garrett, 2010; Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003; Giles & Coupland, 1991). On the one hand, critics started to point out potentially problematic aspects of the MGT. For example, some questioned the comparability of ‘reading’ a passage to the typical spontaneous conversation people engage in everyday practice, while others doubted the value of the artificially contrived ‘neutral’ content that the MGT requires by design. On the other hand, although researchers conducted “a very considerable number of studies” (Garrett et al., 2003, p. 57) which amounted to an “empirical avalanche” (Giles & Coupland, 1991, p. 37), the results were sometimes disappointing. In Garrett et al.'s (2003) words, the results “have not, arguably, led to the emergence of the cumulative body of knowledge one might have anticipated. Overall, the results have been inconclusive” (p. 67). In addition, the general climate since the cognitive revolution in psychology may have been unfavourable to further research into unconscious processes. Consequently, in the 1990s and the early 2000s, the MGT lost its popularity (Garrett, 2010), though the past few years have witnessed a renewed interest in indirect measurement of attitudes (Giles & Rakić, 2014). Kircher (2016) offers a reader-friendly introduction to how to conduct an MGT experiment and the considerations that the researcher needs to keep in mind.

Relevance to Current L2 Motivation Theories

Adopting an unconscious stand on human motivation does not have to be at odds with the current frameworks in the field (Al-Hoorie, 2017). For exam-

ple, neither possible selves theory nor self-discrepancy theory would preclude the operation of unconscious processes. In terms of possible selves theory, Markus and Nurius (1986) discuss the possibility of the unconscious activation of both positive and negative possible selves (see p. 961). In describing the effects of unconscious activation of possible selves, Oyserman (2013) similarly asserts that “these effects are automatic and do not require that people make a conscious choice as to how to think about themselves” (p. 185; see also Oyserman, 2015, p. 44). In a special issue marking the centennial of the publication of William James’s (1890) *The Principles of Psychology*, Markus (1990) contributed with a paper titled ‘On splitting the universe’, in which she endorsed James’s distinction between the conscious and unconscious aspects of motivation and stressed its relevance today.

Self-discrepancy theory also accommodates unconscious processes: “self-discrepancy theory does not assume that people are aware of either the availability or the accessibility of their self-discrepancies. It is clear that the availability and accessibility of stored social constructs can influence social information processing automatically and without awareness” (Higgins, 1987, p. 324). Neither do the behavioural consequences have to be conscious (Higgins, 1989, p. 98). In fact, self-discrepancy theory does not assume that a future self-guide is a stable individual difference variable (Higgins, 1998, p. 19), but that situational variability can unconsciously induce the motivational effect *independently* from the nature of the learner’s self-guides. In one study, for example, Higgins, Roney, Crowe, and Hymes (1994) used an ostensibly unrelated task to activate either the ideal or ought selves of their participants. Although the participants were not aware that their ideal or ought selves were activated, this activation was still successful in unconsciously shaping their performance on a subsequent free recall task. In another study (Higgins, 1998), the promotion function of the ideal self or the prevention function of the ought self was activated by simply asking the participants to put in their mouths a sweet or bitter cotton ball, respectively. The results showed that this procedure also activated the relevant self-guide and successfully shaped their performance in the subsequent task unconsciously. If something as simple as the taste of cotton can activate self-guides, then it is likely that real-life classroom situations offer a more diverse stimulus repertoire that can activate self-guides similarly unconsciously. Finally, Gardner’s integrative motivation also allows for such unconscious conceptualizations (Gardner, this volume). In Gardner’s (2010) words, integrativeness “is not a conscious decision on the part of the individual and... individuals may not be aware of it... The rationale underlying integrative motivation is that emotional factors can influence behavior, sometimes in ways that are not even perceived by the individual concerned” (pp. 223–224).

Recent Research

Drawing from self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2002), Henry and Thorsen (2018) suggest that satisfaction of the need for relatedness is important in order to become motivated to learn the language and to generate engagement in learning activities. A conducive classroom social climate, involving mutual respect and teacher's academic and emotional support, facilitates satisfaction of basic psychological needs and consequently higher willingness to communicate (Joe, Hiver, & Al-Hoorie, 2017).

Extending this line of research to unconscious motivation, Henry and Thorsen (2018) compared the moments of contact in emerging and in mature student–teacher relationships. They report that, while contact has an immediate effect on student motivation and engagement in emerging relationships, the effect in mature relationships is less pronounced and involves unconscious motivational processes. During a moment of contact in mature relationships, they argue, a process of co-adaptation takes place influenced by the individual's representation of the relationship and its goals. Interpersonal goals become activated, and they subsequently influence one's motivation to achieve these goals both consciously and unconsciously (Fitzsimons & Bargh, 2003). For example, in the context of the essay writing activity investigated by Henry and Thorsen, they explain that while the activity may initially represent an extrinsic motive, during a moment of contact perceptions of relatedness are triggered, thus activating internalization processes and unconscious self-regulation.

On a somewhat longer time-scale, unconscious processes have been argued to play a central role in directed motivational currents (Dörnyei, Henry, & Muir, 2016; Henry, this volume). A directed motivational current (DMC) refers to an intense motivational drive sustained over a period of time. The characteristic feature of this phenomenon is that it is over and above the normal level of one's motivation. As Dörnyei et al. (2016) explain, a DMC derives its energy in part from behavioural routines that, over time, become so automated and efficient that the individual does not need to make a conscious decision to perform them. This is similar to how one brushes their teeth before going to bed every night without giving it much thought. Dörnyei et al. (2016) further explain that such unconscious self-regulation allows the individual to automatically prepare for goal-directed action and to steer away from distractors. Obviously, this can be highly useful for an activity like L2 learning (Ibrahim & Al-Hoorie, 2019). “That is, one gets down to learning not because of any conscious decision to do so, but because these routines become a smooth, self-evident, and unreflected-upon part of the process” (Dörnyei et al., 2016, p. 83).

On a much longer time-scale, the learner's attitude toward speakers of the target language has always been considered an important factor in motivation (Gardner, 1985, 2010). As Dörnyei (2009) puts it, "it is difficult to imagine that we can have a vivid and attractive ideal L2 self if the L2 is spoken by a community that we despise" (p. 28). However, investigations into the role of attitudes toward L2 speakers have primarily relied on conscious self-reports, such as questionnaires and interviews (Ushioda, 2013). It is possible that an individual might express positive attitudes explicitly, but at the same time harbour negative attitudes implicitly (Greenwald & Nosek, 2009).

In a first attempt to investigate the nature of L2 learners' implicit attitudes using the Implicit Association Test (IAT, Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; see Appendix), Al-Hoorie (2016a) conducted a preliminary study on Arab learners of English in the UK. He found that L2 learners who had stronger implicit preference for L2 speakers also expressed stronger affiliation with the L2 group as well as less fear of assimilation and ethnocentric concerns. These results suggest that implicit attitudes are related to other attitudinal/motivational factors.

Building on this study, Al-Hoorie (2016b) conducted a replication study. The replication study had the following features:

1. Unlike the initial study, the replication study was conducted in a foreign language context on a sample of learners most of whom had never visited an English-speaking country. This would show whether implicit attitudes still operate without direct contact with target language speakers.
2. The implicit test did not target English speakers of a specific country. It was left open for the participants to resort to their own interpretations of the ideal 'L2 speaker', as this could be different from what the researchers have in mind. Even if the learner's understanding of L2 speakers is unrealistic, it might still constitute a *subjective reality* influencing their motivation.
3. The replication study additionally included a measure of L2 academic achievement. This was intended to find out whether the results extend to actual achievement or are limited to self-report measures.
4. The replication study used the ST-IAT, which promises a more direct measure of implicit attitudes than does the IAT (Wigboldus, Holland, & van Knippenberg, 2004). This would show whether the results are limited to one implicit measure or could be obtained using other measures as well.
5. It included another implicit test (related to the L2 course) as an implicit control.
6. It also included social desirability as an explicit control.

After implementing these features and safeguards, the results showed that learners with favourable implicit attitudes toward L2 speakers indeed express more openness to the L2 community as well as achieving significantly higher grades in their English class. The two studies were also meta-analysed using Bayes factors, with the results showing substantial support for these findings.

These results suggest that implicit attitudes—and not just explicit attitudes—toward L2 speakers may be relevant to language learning and motivation. They also offer preliminary evidence for the construct validity of implicit attitudes. More specifically, implicit attitudes toward L2 speakers were associated with questionnaire scales related to openness to the L2 community, but implicit attitudes toward the L2 course did not. This pattern is consistent with the idea that implicit attitudes toward L2 speakers uniquely tap into group-related feelings. This in turn suggests that this line of research may hold promise for future research on language learning motivation.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of the role of the unconscious dimension in human attitudes and motivation. It first highlighted the increasing importance of this area of investigation in mainstream psychology. It then moved to the L2 field to show how unconscious processes are relevant to attitudes and motivation in L2 learning more specifically. It seems likely that this area of investigation has the potential to shed interesting light on the unconscious side of language learning motivation. For example, unconscious processes could plausibly play a factor in some controversial issues relevant to everyday learning and teaching. As an illustration, there is conflicting evidence as to whether students prefer native-speaking versus non-native-speaking teachers (Richardson, 2016). It is possible that a learner's implicit attitudes toward nativeness might play a role in their satisfaction with their L2 teacher, or with certain varieties of English (as opposed to English as a *lingua franca*). In fact, some research shows some trivial factors, such as body weight, can play a role in preferences—even if the individual explicitly declares that such factors are irrelevant to their attitudes and preferences (Caruso, Rahnev, & Banaji, 2009).

More generally, expanding language motivation research to include implicit processes would enrich the field and open up numerous potential pathways. Motivational psychologists have examined the implicit dimension of many well-known constructs. Examples include implicit attitudes (Petty, Fazio, & Briñol, 2009), implicit prejudice and stereotypes (Levinson & Smith, 2012),

implicit motives (Schultheiss & Brunstein, 2010), implicit self-concept (Briñol, Petty, & Wheeler, 2006), implicit self-determination (Keatley, Clarke, Ferguson, & Hagger, 2014), and implicit self-regulation (Koole, McCullough, Kuhl, & Roelofsma, 2010). It is clear that language motivation researchers would similarly benefit from exploring ‘the other side’ of their constructs as well.

When investigating unconscious phenomena, researchers would inevitably need to utilize appropriate methodologies, since self-report questionnaires and interviews that are currently predominant in the L2 motivation field may not be very informative (Henry & Thorsen, 2018; Ushioda, 2013). The risk in relying on self-report measures does not lie in the possibility that informants may not be aware of their motives, and consequently reply with “I don’t know”. Instead, the risk is that they may come up with explanations that seem plausible, but that are actually misleading rationalizations of the actual motives. Research shows that participants tend to misattribute their motives to salient and plausible factors in the environment (e.g., Bar-Anan, Wilson, & Hassin, 2010; Bargh, 1994; Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). To circumvent this difficulty, psychologists have devised a number of indirect instruments that L2 researchers could use to shed light on unconscious processes (Nosek, Hawkins, & Frazier, 2011; Petty et al., 2009).

At the same time, we should heed Hulstijn’s (2015) caution that dividing processes in a conscious–unconscious dichotomy might be too simplistic to do justice to the complexity of the human mind. Therefore, “the way forward for psychological theory is to stop pitting conscious against unconscious and instead figure out how the two work together” (Baumeister, Vohs, & Masicampo, 2014, p. 20; see also Nordgren, Bos, & Dijksterhuis, 2011).

Appendix: The Implicit Association Test

An important consideration is how to measure an individual’s implicit attitudes if s/he is unaware of them and consequently cannot self-report them. One possible way is to use the Implicit Association Test (IAT, Greenwald et al., 1998), which is at present the most widely used measure of implicit attitudes. The IAT is a computerized reaction-time measure that simply requires classifying a series of words to the right or left as fast as possible. As an illustration of how this test works, Fig. 27.1 gives an example of the Flower–Insect IAT. This test measures how strongly the participant associates flowers and insects with good and bad. In the first part of the test (Fig. 27.1A), a stimulus appears in the middle of the screen (e.g., *Roses*) and the participant has to decide which box this stimulus belongs to and then press one of two

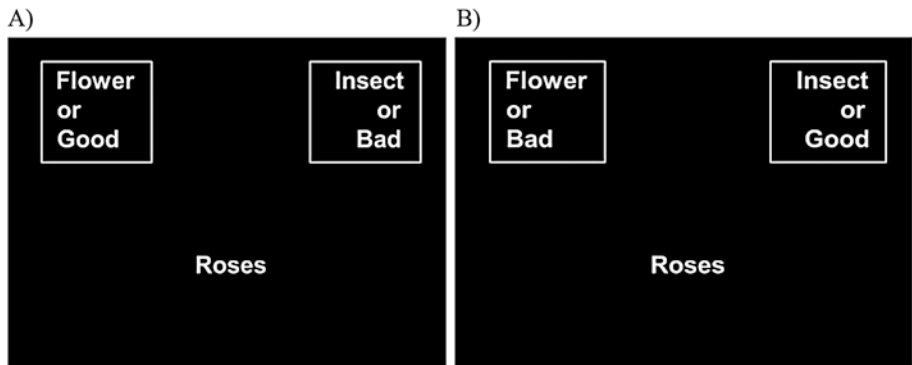


Fig. 27.1 An illustration of the Flower–Insect IAT. Panel A displays the ‘compatible’ task which most participants find easier to perform; Panel B displays the ‘incompatible’ task which most participants find harder.

designated buttons on the keyboard. In Fig. 27.1A, *Roses* belongs to *Flower*, and so the correct answer is the left box. Afterward, another stimulus appears (say, *Cockroaches*) and, again, the participant has to decide which of the four categories the stimulus belongs to in order to classify it to the correct box. The stimuli may belong to *Flower* (e.g., roses, orchids, tulips), *Insect* (e.g., cockroaches, mosquitoes, wasps), *Good* (e.g., smart, friendly, clean), or to *Bad* (e.g., dumb, enemy, dirty).

Note that this is not an attitude test per se. The stimuli are shown to the participant in advance with their correct categorization and, if they misclassify a stimulus, they get an error message immediately. The participant’s task is not to guess (or express their attitude about) the correct response, but to simply perform the test as fast as possible. Most participants therefore find the configuration in Fig. 27.1A very easy to perform and breeze through it.

In the second part of the test (Fig. 27.1B), *Flower* is paired with *Bad* while *Insect* with *Good*. This part suddenly feels considerably harder. This is because, in the first part, *Flower* and *Good* form one higher category (e.g., pleasant things), and *Insect* and *Bad* form another category (e.g., unpleasant things). Therefore, the participant in effect classifies the stimuli into only two—rather than four—categories (i.e., simply move all pleasant things to the left and unpleasant things to the right). In the second part, however, the participant has to sort the stimuli into the four categories (neither of the two pairs readily merges into one intuitive category), and so the task requires substantially more cognitive resources, resulting in slower performance.

This is why the two parts of the test (as in Fig. 27.1) are conventionally described as ‘compatible’ and ‘incompatible’, respectively. Compatible tasks are those that the researchers expect most participants to find easier (e.g.,

Flower–Good), while incompatible tasks are those that participants may find harder (e.g., Flower–Bad). This description also hints at why it is called the Implicit Association Test: *implicit* because participants find it hard to anticipate which configuration would be more difficult and are usually surprised by their own results, *association* because it measures the strength of the association of the categories in each pair, and *test* because it is a test of the participant's performance speed. To the extent that categories of interest are paired with evaluative adjectives (e.g., good, bad), implicit attitudes are inferred from the response speed in the two parts of the test. The IAT is also flexible and can be easily adapted to measure implicit associations about various social objects, such as racial prejudice (e.g., White–Good, Black–Bad) and gender stereotypes (e.g., Male–Work, Female–Home). Further procedural details about the IAT are found in Lane, Banaji, Nosek, and Greenwald (2007). Readers can also try out demonstrations of the IAT at www.implicit.harvard.edu.

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28

Motivation and Flow

Katalin Piniel and Ágnes Albert

My concentration is like breathing. ... I never think of it. I am really quite oblivious to my surroundings after I really get going. I think that the phone could ring, and the doorbell could ring, or the house burn down or something like that. ... When I start, I really do shut out the whole world. Once I stop I can let it back in again. (Csíkszentmihályi, 2014, pp. 216-217)

The above quote describes flow, a special quality of experience. Flow has been found to be relevant to various activities in a variety of contexts, and it has been investigated in connection with learning experiences in educational contexts, as well. Despite its popularity in numerous different fields, the concept of flow appears to be under-researched with regard to work on language learners' motivation. We argue that discussing the language learning experience from a phenomenological perspective might be a fruitful approach, as it could shed light on previously neglected aspects that play a role in language learning motivation.

In this chapter we would like to make a case for expanding the language learning motivation research agenda by including the investigation of flow experiences. First, to provide grounding for our proposal, we will present an overview of flow theory. Then, we will argue that since flow has been found to be a relevant phenomenon in motivation research in mainstream education, it should also be investigated in the L2 context. We also identify potential paths

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for SLA motivation research on flow by following up on some of the issues raised in mainstream education research. These include, for example, elaborating on general links between flow and motivation, investigating collective experiences of flow, and conducting research on flow in classrooms. Finally, we will present a separate section on research focusing specifically on flow and language learning. As a follow-up to these studies, and based on existing theories and research frameworks within SLA, we make suggestions for conducting research on flow in the language learning context.

Definition of the Flow Concept and Description of Flow Components

The birth of the concept of flow can be linked to research on creativity starting in the 1950s in the United States (Guilford, 1950), where the focus of studies was on the creative process itself and the individual's subjective experience while being involved in it (Getzels & Csikszentmihalyi, 1976). The scope of investigation later broadened to include all kinds of intrinsically motivated, so-called autotelic activities, where the main goal was to describe the subjective, phenomenological aspects of such activities and processes. The term *flow* was coined to describe “a subjective state that people report when they are completely involved in something to the point of forgetting time, fatigue, and everything else but the activity itself” (Csikszentmihályi, Abuhamdeh, & Nakamura, 2005, p. 600).

According to Nakamura and Csikszentmihályi (2002), there are a number of features that characterize the state of flow, which, fundamentally, is manifested as a multifaceted experience (Engeser & Schiepe-Tiska, 2012). When in flow, people are intensely focused and concentrated on what they are doing at that particular moment; they feel in control of their actions, and they are confident that they can cope with whatever comes next. This intense concentration on the current activity also brings about a merging of action and awareness, in the sense that the individuals' reflective self-consciousness is lost; that is, people are completely immersed in the activity, and are no longer aware of themselves and their actions. Distortions in perceptions of time are also characteristic of this state; when in flow, time tends to pass faster than normal. Moreover, these subjective experiences are linked to an activity that the person perceives as intrinsically rewarding, so much so that the end-product, that is the result of the actions, becomes irrelevant (Nakamura & Csikszentmihályi, 2002).

There are a number of conditions that have to be met in order to experience flow (Csíkszentmihályi et al., 2005). Probably the most important of these is that there has to be a balance between *perceived skills* and *perceived challenges*. If this balance is upset and challenges exceed skills, the individual is likely to become anxious. Equally, if superior skills are not met by adequate challenges, the person first relaxes, then becomes bored. Another condition which enhances the likelihood of flow is the presence of a clear set of *goals* which provide direction and purpose for behavior. Here the importance lies in channeling the attention of the individual and structuring the experience. The final condition is closely linked to the previous one; individuals need to have clear and immediate *feedback* about their actions, which themselves appear easier to achieve relative to clearly set goals. The feedback does not necessarily have to be exclusively positive, so long as it serves its purpose and assists the individual in maintaining the balance between challenges and skills. Keller and Landhäußer (2012) argue that not only are the clear setting of goals and feedback dependent upon each other, but since the balance between skills and challenges cannot be interpreted without clear goals and immediate feedback, these two antecedents can be said to be superfluous.

Although flow was initially investigated using interviews and questionnaires (Csíkszentmihályi, [1975] 2000), the desire to capture actual instances of flow led to the development of a novel measurement technique, the so-called experience sampling method (ESM) (Csíkszentmihályi, Larson, & Prescott, 1977). The ESM attempts to capture a random sample of subjective experiences over an extended time period. Respondents are equipped with electronic devices like pagers or cell phones that they are required to carry. During this time, self-reports are gathered daily at random time intervals. When the participants are signaled, they are invited to answer questions regarding their momentary experiences. In this way, the activity the person was engaged in, as well as the intensity of a range of subjective feelings at the time of the signal can be reconstructed. Over the years, and in different cultural contexts, data has been gathered about family life, work and education (for an overview see Hektner, Schmidt, & Csíkszentmihályi, 2007).

Having sketched out the flow phenomenon, we will turn to presenting research results on the link between motivation and optimal experiences in education. Here, from the perspective of the importance of investigating flow experiences, our intention is to draw a parallel between mainstream and second language education.

Flow and Motivation Research in Education

Sherhoff and Csíkszentmihályi (2009) claim that “[t]he theory of flow is inherently related to learning” (p. 132). Indeed, whether learning takes place in an instructional setting or outside the school, it ultimately involves acquiring new skills by completing tasks that in some way exceed the person’s current abilities, that prompt the person’s focus, and provide opportunities to meet challenges.

Engeser and Rheinberg (2008) suggest that the likelihood of experiencing flow is specifically linked to the individual’s willingness to take on challenges, which is more related to hope of success (i.e. an *achievement motive*) as opposed to the avoidance of failure (an *avoidance motive*) (see Expectancy value theory (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000)). This predisposition towards achievement seems, however, to vary from individual to individual, making some learners more prone to flow experiences in the classroom than others. More precisely, in the context of university students studying statistics, Engeser and Rheinberg (2008) found the achievement motive to be a moderator between the balance of skills and challenge, and flow experiences.

In educational psychology, further exploration of achievement motivation has led to the differentiation of *achievement mastery* and *achievement performance* goals. Mustafa, Elias, Roslan, and Noah (2011) provide empirical evidence that flow is significantly linked to *mastery goals* as opposed to *performance goals*. According to Rheinberg (2008), mastery goal or learning goal orientations mean that “learners (...) study because they want to know and understand more about a topic. Their goal is to acquire knowledge and skills”. On the other hand, a performance goal orientation means that “learners (...) study in order to demonstrate their competence. Their aim is to show that they are more knowledgeable and skillful than others” (p. 329). Mustafa et al. (2011) investigated these two types of learning goals in a Malaysian high school context. Their quantitative study included 94 adolescent learners, who were asked to fill out two instruments: one focusing on flow experiences in the classroom, and the other on learning goals. The authors found that although both the urge to acquire new skills (i.e. *mastery goals*) and the urge to perform well (i.e. *performance goals*) were linked to focusing on the material, becoming engaged with the learning task and enjoying it were more closely linked to *mastery goals* and flow experiences.

These components of goal orientation theories have also appeared as the object of studies in language learning. Focusing on the dimensions of achieve-

ment goals (performance and mastery goals) in a Peruvian high school language learning context, Matos, Lens, and Vansteenkiste (2007) found that mastery goals were positively associated with academic achievement in language courses. More recently, MacIntyre and Serroul (2015) investigated the dynamic interplay between performance approach and performance avoidance dimensions. Not many language learning motivation studies have an explicit focus on the components of goal orientation theories. Thus, following from educational psychology research, it may be worthwhile to link the types of achievement goals to flow experiences in the language learning context.

Another link between flow and motivation has been established on theoretical, rather than on more empirical grounds. According to Csikszentmihályi et al. (2005), flow also fosters *emergent motivation*. That is to say, while the individual may not initially be motivated to complete a particular task, as they become engaged in the activity, and due to the quality of the experience, motivation subsequently develops. As they explain, “*emergent motivation* means that we can *come to* experience a new or previously unengaging activity as intrinsically rewarding, if we find flow in it” (Csikszentmihályi et al., 2005, p. 603, original emphasis). This is also supported by the notion that the state of flow involves positive moment-to-moment appraisals of functioning during a task, which serve to enhance the learner’s performance and enable motivation to complete the task to emerge.

Such dynamism has scarcely been tapped into by SLA researchers. However, the notion of emergence as a key feature of dynamic systems has recently appeared in language learning motivation research. Researchers recognizing the changing nature of learners’ motivation have begun exploring these changes using approaches based on complex dynamic systems theory (CDST) (see e.g., Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015; Hiver & Papi, this volume). The link between flow experiences and emergent motivation seems to be a promising topic for motivational studies in the CDST vein as emergence, change, and instability or temporary stability are key characteristics of dynamic systems (de Bot & Larsen-Freeman, 2011; de Bot, Lowie, & Verspoor, 2007).

In the above section, we have looked at some of the work on flow in mainstream education. More specifically, we have found that as educational researchers have linked achievement motivation, mastery goals, and emergent motivation with optimal experiences, the same links could provide interesting objects for research on flow in language learning.

Flow in Groups

Interestingly, it seems that flow experiences not only appear on an individual level. As some researchers suggest, they can also be relevant at the group level. Although in flow research the learning process and taking part in activities have so far primarily been studied from an individual perspective, it is important to recognize that in many classrooms, students working in pairs or groups can experience flow as a *collective* phenomenon. Therefore, apart from investigating individual students' experiences during pair or group-work, some researchers have begun to focus on collective or shared optimal experiences.

One of the first researchers to realize the importance of this collective state of mind was Sawyer (2015). He primarily based his idea of group flow on his personal experience when taking part in improvisation jazz sessions, which has been supplemented by his research of jazz ensembles. Sawyer has come to call "the spontaneous collaboration of group creativity and improvisation actions" as *group flow* (p. 29), a collective state in which groups have been observed to perform at their best abilities. An important part of Sawyer's (2015) work is that it lists ten, clearly described conditions that must be met for groups to perform at such an optimal level of ability during an activity and experience *group flow*: clear goals for the task (whether problem-solving or problem-finding cum solving); complete concentration on the group itself; relaxed communication between group members; the acceptance of failure as a natural part of the learning process; being in control as a group; close listening characterized by spontaneously responding to the environment; blending egos, where the individuals act as one; equal participation in the task with group members being on relatively same skill levels; familiarity among group members in terms of having established a common understanding; and keeping the activity moving forward.

A related term coined by van den Hout, Davis, and Walrave (2016) is *team flow*, a collective experience "when *all* team members are experiencing flow concomitant with pursuing the team's common purpose" (p. 234, original emphasis). These authors differentiate between the various *precursors* of team flow (very similar to the first four elements of group flow mentioned by Sawyer (2015) but supplement these with *aligned personal goals* and *high skill integration*, and the factors that actually *constitute* the phenomenon (a collective ambition, a holistic focus, a sense of unity, trust, and a sense of joint progress). In both *group* and *team flow*, the prerequisite is for all members to individually experience flow in the context of working together as a group,

where interaction and interpersonal dynamics play a key role in the ultimate outcome of the team's performance (Sawyer, 2015; van den Hout et al., 2016). These authors also hypothesize that the individual is prompted by the team flow experience to seek further opportunities to work and continue to perform with the same group.

Similar concepts to *group* and *team flow* include the *crossover* of optimal experiences, *social flow*, *networked flow* and *flow synchronization*. *Crossover* is a term Bakker (2005) uses to describe flow transfer from one person to another, as well as to draw a parallel between the crossover of flow and crossover of emotions from one person to another. More specifically, Bakker (2005) has investigated the notion of flow experiences *crossing over* from teacher to student and the other way around during a lesson. *Social flow* is a term Walker (2010) used when investigating teachers' positive experiences of engaging in conversation with students during lessons, and how such interactions could stretch beyond the classroom. His results also showed that *social flow* was perceived as more rewarding than individual optimal experiences. What is happening in these groups is essentially what Magyaródi and Oláh (2015) call a process of *synchronization*, where participants' actions and thoughts are synchronized while performing a task, which leads to group optimal experiences. This is very similar to *crossover* described above and what Hatfield, Cacioppo, and Rapson (1994) call *emotional contagion* (see also Henry, Davydenko, & Dörnyei, 2015 on *emotional contagion* with reference to directed motivational currents in SLA).

Although physical closeness is one of the prerequisites of *group flow*, in network learning environments, where there is little or no face-to-face contact among group members (e.g. blended and online courses), such collective experience among group members has been termed *networked flow* (Gaggioli, Milani, Mazzoni, & Riva, 2011). Heutte, Fenouillet, Kaplan, Martin-Krumm, and Bachelet (2016) investigated the relationship of elements conducive to flow experiences in education during a Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) in project management which involved the participation of over 1800 students. Testing a path model, the researchers found that *autotelic experience* (i.e., enjoyment) directly depends on learners' experiences of *time transformation* (i.e. loss of sense of time), *loss of self-consciousness* and *cognitive absorption*, with this last element also having an indirect effect. The data also clearly showed that participants experienced flow during the MOOC. Moreover, as the course advanced, so did the optimal experiences of the learners.

Observing how flow experiences appear in groups in educational contexts seems to be a rather new line of investigation. As such, the collective optimal

experiences of language learners would also be fertile ground for investigation for L2 motivation research.

Flow Experiences in the Classroom

One of the main lines of investigation concerning flow in education derives from the need to improve classroom learning experiences and to address issues such as students' lack of motivation and feelings of apathy and boredom (also called anti-flow experiences). According to the results of research using the experience sampling method (ESM), a technique that attempts to capture experiences over an extended period of time, adolescents do not generally find learning in school motivating or engaging; rather they report having negative emotional experiences and low motivational levels (Csíkszentmihályi & Larson, 1984). In an overview of extant research, Csíkszentmihályi and Wong (2014) further claim that similar tendencies appear across varying cultural contexts around the world. In this section, we summarize some of the studies on classroom flow experiences and suggest how they can be relevant to language classroom research.

In terms of what can be particularly conducive to flow experiences in the classroom, a range of factors have emerged from a wide variety of studies. First and foremost, the teacher and the immediate instructional context seem to play a key role in creating adequate conditions for flow. In their synthesis of studies on the topic, Shernoff and Csíkszentmihályi (2009) suggest that in the case of more academic subjects (e.g., science, mathematics), the level of challenge and relevance incites learners' interest and makes them more attentive to the task (i.e. displaying *academic intensity*) thus promoting concentration and experiences of flow. Whereas in the context of pedagogies and subjects emphasizing enjoyment (e.g., arts, music), learners' skills, control of the learning context, and higher activity levels tend to enhance positive mood, enjoyment, and high esteem (collectively termed as *positive emotional response*). This also promotes flow and *engagement* (Philp & Duchesne, 2016). *Engagement* is defined by Shernoff (2013) as "heightened, simultaneous experience of concentration, interest, and enjoyment in the task at hand" (p. 12), and is a key constituent of flow. Although *academic intensity* and *positive emotional response* are qualitatively different, both have been strongly associated with higher levels of *engagement* (thus, flow) in the classroom. It would be worthwhile to see which group of school subjects foreign languages belong to; that is to say, whether in L2 learning it is *academic intensity* or the *positive emotional response* that is more conducive to the generation of optimal experiences.

In listing 21 classroom-related features that researchers have found to promote flow experiences, Shernoff and Csíkszentmihályi (2009) identify three main categories: (1) control, in the form of democracy in the classroom, promoting learner independence and fostering learner autonomy; (2) cooperation, learner interaction, and a sense of group community; (3) method of instruction, integration, flexibility, and use of a variety of methods (e.g., mixing academic topics with sports activities, targeting multiple intelligences).

Other issues that have been investigated in relation to optimal experiences and the instructional environment include the notion of individual and group work, as well as the teacher's role. In their study, Shernoff, Tonks, and Anderson (2014) concluded that instructional characteristics are more important than the format of instruction. In other words, the specific goals, rules, and the quality of the learning environment seem to be more influential factors than whether instruction is teacher or learner centered. Potentially, both individual and group work may require high levels of attention on the part of the learner and can generate high positive mood, and high intrinsic motivation. Consequently, both can be conducive to the triggering of flow experiences. As for the teacher's role, Shernoff et al. (2016) claim that besides the element of challenge, adequate support from the environment (often from the teacher) is necessary to promote higher levels of *engagement*, that is intense focus, interest and enjoyment experienced during a task. These authors refer to these phenomena as *environmental challenge* and *environmental support* respectively. Together they comprise what they call *environmental complexity*. With the notion of environmental complexity and its importance for learner *engagement*, Shernoff and colleagues highlight the role of the teacher in creating a learning environment where students can become immersed in the task, and where challenge and emotional support work together to enhance flow experiences (see also Shernoff, 2013).

Besides the above classroom factors, task features have also been found instrumental in facilitating learners' *engagement*. Specifically, Shernoff, Csíkszentmihályi, Schneider and Shernoff (2003) not only found that there needs to be an adequate balance between the learners' skills and the challenge of the task, but for a higher likelihood of flow to emerge in both individual and group work, the task should be experienced as relevant and meaningful, and the learner should feel in control. On the other hand, passive activities such as listening and watching videos were more linked to enjoyment rather than feelings of control, and did not bring about flow experiences to a similar extent. Hence, optimal experiences are most likely to be characterized by meaningfulness and control, as well as enjoyment.

Some of the key notions of flow research in classrooms appearing within the boundaries of general education need to be investigated in language classrooms. More precisely, looking at some of the key elements of optimal levels of *engagement*, such as the characteristics of instruction and the teacher's role (providing environmental support), as well as meaningfulness and control in tasks, could provide important directions for future research.

Flow in Language Learning

Despite the numerous potential links between conceptualizations of flow deriving from mainstream educational research and understanding of language learners' motivation, only few studies have so far explored the role that optimal experiences can play in SLA. Pioneering studies exploring flow while learning English as a foreign language in Asian and Middle-East contexts include those of Schmidt and Savage (1992) and Schmidt, Boraie, and Kassabgy (1996). While Schmidt and Savage (1992) used the ESM technique and failed to confirm many aspects of the flow model (Csíkszentmihályi & Larson, 1984) among their Thai learners of English, Schmidt et al. (1996) used questionnaires and found some support for flow experiences playing a role in the intrinsically motivated language learning behavior of their Egyptian participants. Despite differences in their data collection instruments, both studies were designed to shed light on general tendencies without focusing on specific activities or tasks involved in language learning.

A similar orientation, focusing on general tendencies, can be witnessed in Piniel and Albert's (2017) questionnaire study, where the authors investigated language learners' flow and anti-flow experiences, and how these related to individual differences such as the participants' motivated language learning behavior and self-efficacy beliefs about learning English as a foreign language. Structural equation modeling was used to analyze the data from 214 Hungarian high school students. The results suggest a cyclical relationship among the constructs: lower levels of motivation induce higher levels of apathy, which in turn result in a decreased level of self-efficacy, which has the effect of reducing motivation. On the other hand, the higher the level of motivation, the more likely learners are to experience flow. This proneness to optimal experiences enhances self-efficacy and further boosts motivation.

However, in a path-breaking paper on flow in language learning, Egbert (2003) adopted a different approach and focused on specific tasks which might enable learners to experience flow. With the intention of encouraging further studies on optimal learning experiences in language classrooms, Egbert

tested the applicability of flow theory to language learning tasks. Focused on secondary school learners of Spanish, she found that students do experience flow in the Spanish as a foreign language classroom, especially during tasks where the task challenge and learners' skills were in balance, where the task itself was interesting, and where the learners had some control over the task.

Inspired by Egbert's (2003) study, Czimmermann and Piniel (2016) looked at task-specific flow. However, in contrast to Egbert, they also studied anti-flow experiences (boredom, apathy, and anxiety) of their advanced-level language learners. Participants were asked to take part in an oral narrative task in either individual, pair or group modes. Then their experiences were assessed retrospectively using a questionnaire measuring classroom flow (based on Oláh, 2005), task-specific flow (based on Egbert, 2003) and state anxiety (Spielberger, 1983). Results showed that the majority of the 85 participants experienced both classroom and task-specific flow. Moreover, negative links were found between flow and anti-flow experiences, and positive links between particular task and situational characteristics (such as learner engagement, relevant content, the opportunity for learner control, and high challenge matching learners' high skills). However, no effects were found for individual, pair or group task modes.

Taking a task-based perspective, Aubrey (2017a, 2017b) studied learner's flow-related experiences on a sequence of five separate dialogue-based tasks, the aim being to shed light on how inter-cultural contact influences first-year Japanese EFL learners' experiences of flow. His findings suggest that, compared to an intra-cultural context, an inter-cultural context is associated with a higher level of flow experiences in some of the tasks (Aubrey, 2017a). However, there was also a significant positive relationship between the number of turns and flow experiences in the intra-cultural group, as well. When analyzing the diaries of these learners, Aubrey (2017b) used content analysis to retrospectively identify flow-enhancing and flow-inhibiting experiences during task performance. In this study, learners mentioned the sense of accomplishment most often in connection with flow in the inter-cultural group. In terms of inhibiting flow, the lack of control and the lack of a sense of accomplishment appeared as of key importance.

Although the studies focusing on flow at the task level (Aubrey, 2017a, 2017b; Czimmermann & Piniel, 2016; Egbert, 2003) used somewhat different methods of data collection and analysis, their research instruments suggest that their conceptualization of flow is quite similar. Since the *balance between skills and challenges* appears to be the most important precondition for experiencing flow, it should not come as a surprise that it appears in all these flow measures (Aubrey, 2017a; Czimmermann & Piniel, 2016; Egbert, 2003).

Although other preconditions, such as clear goals and immediate feedback are not included, some authors (Keller & Landhäußer, 2012) regard these as superfluous since they contribute towards the skill/challenge balance only. As regards the other three subscales, *interest* probably taps into intrinsic motivation and attempts to establish the autotelic nature of the task, while focused *attention* on the activity and the feeling of *control* are considered commonly characteristic of flow.

Besides the characteristics listed above, other features are also assumed to be important flow characteristics (Nakamura & Csíkszentmihályi, 2002), such as the *merging of action and awareness* (loss of self-consciousness) and an *altered perception of time*. These and other aspects, such as the dynamic nature of flow or the role of the teacher, are yet to be addressed by SLA researchers. Some of these potential research agendas will be outlined in the next section.

Broadening the Scope of Motivational Research in SLA

As regards avenues for future research, generally we can suggest building on well-established theoretical models and frameworks in SLA motivational studies and broadening their scope by including a link to optimal experiences. Besides this, conducting empirical research in applied linguistics on novel phenomena related to the study of flow, group flow, networked flow and flow in virtual learning environments, would also be meaningful and could lead to new insights concerning SLA processes.

On a theoretical level, an obvious path to take would be to compare and contrast the concept of flow with current motivational theories. Self-determination theory in SLA research has generated many studies focusing on the role of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in language learning. Flow, as a special kind of experience, one which because of its autotelic nature is inherently linked to intrinsic motivation, appears to be obviously relevant here. Uncovering the role of *interest* (as part of the motivational construct, see for example Dörnyei, 1994, 1998) and the autotelic nature of flow-inducing language learning activities, could help in creating intrinsically rewarding language learning environments. Furthermore, theories of L2 motivation have consistently emphasized the importance of the language learning context or situation. In his L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) model (see Csizér, this volume) Dörnyei (2009) identifies the Language Learning Experience as an important determinant of language learning motivation. In this model, the

language learning experience comprises motivational elements in the immediate environment, including “the positive impact of success or the enjoyable quality of a language course” (Dörnyei, 2014, p. 521). Essentially, these include cognitive and emotional elements related to the previously mentioned *environmental complexity* component of flow (see Shernoff et al., 2014). To deepen our understanding of the third component in Dörnyei’s L2MSS model, further investigation of this motivational construct and its link with flow would be of value.

In SLA research, future orientations have also appeared as key components of motivation, one form of which are coherent motivational superstructures, such as directed motivational currents (DMCs) (Henry, this volume). In a DMC the focus is on attaining a relatively distant language learning related goal. DMCs can be defined as “periods of intense and enduring motivation in pursuit of a particular goal or vision” (Henry et al., 2015, p. 329). Similarly to flow, they involve total absorption into or engagement with the activity. However, high-level engagement is triggered because the activity is concordant with and contributes towards an important personal goal. It is in this sense that flow and DMCs differ; while activities during which people experience flow are autotelic, that is the activity itself has an intrinsically motivating force and the outcome is generally irrelevant, in a DMC motivation is generated even in activities that may be intrinsically unappealing, due to the driving force provided by the learner’s long-term goal. This also means that the balance of skills and challenges, which is believed to be a crucial prerequisite for experiencing flow, is not centrally implicated in DMCs, even if at the phenomenological level certain overlaps exist (Henry, this volume).

Besides relating the concept of flow to motivational theories, as suggested by the studies reviewed in the previous sections of this chapter, another possibility for applied linguists would be to investigate language learners’ flow experiences by using other frameworks and approaches that have been applied in SLA studies. Here the advances being made by positive psychology are of particular importance (Gregersen, this volume; see also MacIntyre & Mercer, 2014; MacIntyre, Gregersen, & Mercer, 2016; Gabryś-Barker and Gałajda, 2016). Within positive psychology, the concept of flow can be linked to the engagement element of Seligman’s (2011) PERMA model (Gregersen, this volume). PERMA, (Seligman, 2011), which is an acronym for Positive emotions, Engagement, Relationship, Meaning and Accomplishments, describes the five elements of well-being. Within this framework *engagement* refers to the state of being absorbed in an activity. When describing optimal *engagement* Seligman seems to equate and use this term interchangeably with flow: “thought and feeling are usually absent during the *flow state*, and only in ret-

respect do we say, ‘That was fun’ or ‘That was wonderful’. While the subjective state for the pleasures is in the present, the subjective state for *engagement* is only retrospective” (p. 17, emphasis added). It should be noted, however, that for other authors (e.g., Henry et al., 2015; Philp & Duchesne, 2016; Shernoff, 2013) *engagement* is not the equivalent of flow (see above). Using this relatively newly adapted framework to investigate the role of flow in the language classroom could also provide more insight into the constellation of factors that enhance well-being in language learning contexts, and which thus promote learning.

Another, already widely used approach that can include the study of flow is provided by research into Task-Based Language Teaching. Since optimal experiences are temporary and are likely to be evoked by particular tasks during a language lesson, the flow-enhancing features of these activities could be explored as part of a task-based approach (Aubrey, 2017a, 2017b; Egbert, 2003). Besides flow, there seems to be a growing interest in learner engagement in the task-based literature (Lambert, Philp, & Nakamura, 2017; Philp & Duchesne, 2016). With flow represents the highest level of engagement, according to Philp and Duchesne, pursuing this direction might also offer interesting insights in future research.

Finally, an increasingly widely applied perspective in SLA research that can be used at the classroom as well as the task level, is complex dynamic systems theory (CDST). The focus of studies conducted in the CDST vein is generally on nonlinear changing states of a system over time. Since flow is not a permanent state – and indeed rather a fragile one – looking at the changing flow and anti-flow states of language learners over time, be it during a task or during a lesson, CDST provides a basis for interpreting these changes. Similarly to the dynamics of motivation, flow could be studied using a variety of methods (for a detailed list see Dörnyei et al., 2015), including the idiodynamic method (see MacIntyre & Serroul, 2015) or even the ESM technique complemented by video recordings as carried out in other classroom studies (Shernoff, 2013).

As another line of suggestions for research on flow, we would like to highlight the importance of looking into relatively new phenomena, like the social aspects of flow, which have already featured in some studies (Czimmermann & Piniel, 2016; Egbert, 2003). However, in these studies social aspects were regarded as contextual elements, rather than forming the main focus of research. It is quite likely that our understanding of language learning motivation could benefit greatly from studying group (Sawyer, 2015) or team (van den Hout et al., 2016) flow in the classroom, and the flow synchronization processes of students working together (Magyaródi & Oláh, 2015).

Manifestations of social flow appearing both in student-teacher and peer relationships could also be studied, as well as how group and team flow, and the process of flow synchronization can be exploited for the benefit of language learning success in instructed contexts.

Aspects of social flow (Walker, 2010) could even be investigated in virtual learning environments with use of the concept of networked flow (Gaggioli et al., 2011). Indeed, with the development of new technologies and with their integration in instructional contexts, studying flow experiences in virtual learning environments has become increasingly important (Shernoff & Csíkszentmihályi, 2009) not the least because, as Collier and Shernoff (2009) report, more effective forms of learning appear to take place through engagement with digital technologies, compared to work done with textbooks (see also Henry & Lamb, this volume).

This is all the more relevant to SLA research since Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) and a variety of its forms, such as game-based learning (Prensky, 2005), mobile assisted language learning (Gimeno, Levy, Blin, & Barr, 2016), and a wide a range of learning management systems (e.g. Moodle) have proliferated in language learning contexts in recent years. An important source of the motivational potential associated with virtual environments are the adaptations to learners' individual needs that can be made, the possibilities for immediate feedback, and the facilitation of collaborative learning. Therefore, if designed well, virtual environments can meet many of the prerequisites of flow experiences by enhancing engagement, increasing interest, garnering attention and promoting positive emotions among collaborators (Henry & Lamb, this volume; Kukulska-Hulme & Viberg, 2018). The array of new language learning platforms suggests that investigation of flow in virtual language learning environments may be particularly timely.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we presented an overview of the concept of flow and have argued for its relevance in motivational research in the language learning context. After providing a brief theoretical background on individual as well as collective flow experiences, we summarized research on flow in education and in the classroom, and indicated how insights generated may be relevant when conducting research on optimal experiences in SLA. Some of the work already available on flow experiences and language classrooms was also presented, along with several suggestions as to how L2 motivation research can be expanded by broadening the research agenda to include investigations of

experiences of optimal functioning. We hope that the chapter will generate further work on flow in contexts of language learning that can benefit both learners and teachers and which, ultimately, can make the language learning process more rewarding for everyone involved.

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29

L2 Motivation and Digital Technologies

Alastair Henry and Martin Lamb

Digital technologies are transforming interpersonal communication. Creating new purposes for interaction and new mediums within which exchanges take place, they are expanding people's opportunities to learn and to use additional languages (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). In a digital age, educators face the challenges of exploiting the affordances of technologies in their teaching, and beyond the classroom supporting students in ways that promote learning in networked environments. Language professionals have not shied away from these challenges, the growth of publications on Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) over the past 20 years documenting the varying ways in which teachers have created learning opportunities constructed around technology use.

Unsurprisingly, learners often respond positively to opportunities to develop language skills through the use of digital tools (Macaro, Handley, & Walter, 2012). Digital technologies can be highly engaging; it is easy to become immersed in media flows and intensely involved in online interactions such as gaming. This is not simply because content can be captivating. Navigating within streams of digital information, technologies can provide unparalleled opportunities for creativity and personalized decision-making.

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People can become highly skilled in using particular technologies in everyday communication, meaning that interactions with others can take place in innovative, personalized and meaningful ways (Chapelle & Sauro, 2017; Thorne & May, 2017).

For people of all ages, but particularly younger generations, engagement with digital media can be inherently enjoyable. In empirical work stretching back long before the digital revolution, research employing the theory of self-determination (SDT) (Deci & Ryan, 1985) has shown how behaviours pursued for their own sake, and activities carried out because they generate inner satisfaction can foster sustained engagement. Activities that are inherently enjoyable—and we argue that this applies to much of the interpersonal communication and leisure pursuits that take place in networked environments—have qualities that respond to basic needs of human beings to experience *autonomy* (volition and personal agency), *competence* (the sense of self-efficacy) and *relatedness* (being socially connected to others). The satisfaction of these basic psychological needs has a positive influence not only for motivation, but also for a person's well-being (Deci & Ryan, 1985; see also Noels et al. this volume; Gregersen, this volume).

The SDT framework provides the means to develop a holistic and unified understanding of the ways in which technology use can support the satisfaction of basic psychological needs, and thereby influence motivation and future behaviour (Peters, Calvo, & Ryan, 2018). Using the SDT framework, in this chapter we review the findings of research in CALL and related fields that describe motivational influences in the context of activities involving digital technologies. First we focus on reports of language developing activities found to be intrinsically motivating. Then we identify studies reporting on interactions with digital technologies, where findings show how the satisfaction of one or more of SDT's three basic psychological needs appear to stimulate interest and generate sustained activity. Thereafter, we introduce three motivational phenomena that, while associated with need fulfilment, can provide additional insights into students' engagement when language learning involves technology use. These are, respectively, the possibilities of digital technology to enable learners to develop a *vision* of future L2 use, the effects that appraisals of the *verisimilitude* of a digital application or practice can have in generating experiences of acting authentically in L2 interactions, and, finally, the influence that *validation seeking* has on engagement when L2 communication takes place in online environments. We begin by outlining the basic tenets of SDT and, in the context of technology use, explain more fully the function of needs satisfaction.

Application of the SDT Framework

Self-determination theory differentiates between two broad categories of motivation; intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic motivation is generated through the enjoyment experienced when performing an activity that is interesting and meaningful. It can be contrasted with extrinsic motivation, which involves energy unrelated to any sense of enjoyment, and which is driven by other means (e.g. a desire to succeed) (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Noels et al., this volume). *Autonomy*, *relatedness* and *competence* are the three basic psychological needs that support positive action, and which underpin intrinsic forms of motivation. In the context of interactions in and with digital media, they are usefully understood as “psychological nourishments” that are present in engaging activities (Przybylski, Rigby, & Ryan, 2010; Rigby & Ryan, 2017).

Findings from empirical research spanning some 20 years provide support for associations between the satisfaction of basic psychological needs, and engagement in L2 learning. The increased satisfaction of autonomy, competence, and relatedness is associated with intrinsic and self-determined forms of motivation, which in turn are correlated with motivational intensity, effort and self-regulation (Noels et al., this volume). Beyond our field, SDT has been used extensively to investigate and explain people’s engagement with digital media. Findings show how intrinsic motivation is generated through interactions with technologies (e.g. Przybylski, Weinstein, Ryan, & Rigby, 2009), and how people are able to derive strong psychological need satisfactions in experiences generated in media use (Przybylski et al., 2010; Rigby & Ryan, 2017).

Enhancement of learner motivation is one of the frequently stated aims of innovations which introduce new technologies into the language classroom. Recent authoritative reviews (e.g. Golonka, Bowles, Frank, Richardson, & Freynik, 2014; Kukulka-Hulme & Viberg, 2018; Macaro et al., 2012) indicate that technology use often appears a success in this regard. Equally, research into the ‘online informal learning of English’ (OILE) (Sockett, 2014) has begun to examine what L2 learners are motivated to do online.

Generating Intrinsic Motivation

The use of video, computer games and other digital technologies in language classrooms can generate intrinsic motivation, where learners feel increased interest and engagement in learning tasks. In a meta-analysis of studies reporting digital game-based vocabulary learning, Chen, Tseng, and Hsiao (2018)

found for instance that sometimes learner engagement even reached a state of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997; see also Piniel & Albert, this volume), with “adventure-based games” being especially motivating. These games, they argue, can be “more stimulating, interesting and motivating than non-adventure-based games because they require higher mind functioning such as critical thinking, problem solving and task engagement” (p. 73). Well-designed pedagogic tasks using smart, touchscreen devices can have much of the same appeal as leisure-time use of similar devices (Pellerin, 2014). Cruaud (2016) describes the introduction of a digital game into Norwegian school French classrooms, using a mobile app that deliberately mimicked the kinds of games that pupils enjoyed playing at home. Classroom video analysis and post-hoc interviews confirmed that the pupils found the games motivating, and increased their involvement in French lessons. In trying out digital games with young Japanese learners of English, Butler, Someya, and Fukuhara (2014) found four qualities of online games which promoted engagement in classroom language learning: “optimal cognitive demand (challenge), elements that evoke their curiosity (mystery), ... elements that give learners control over outcome and lead to autonomy [and having multiple players]” (p. 273). Other researchers (e.g. Cornillie, Clarebout, & Desmet, 2017) have found the immediate feedback provided in digital games to be particularly appealing.

There is also evidence that the use of digital technologies can be motivational in relation to topic areas that might not normally be motivating. From a range of English classrooms in Sweden, Henry, Sundqvist, and Thorsen (2019) provide examples of how technology use can generate motivation, for example in work with poetry and through flipped classroom approaches in teaching grammar. In a survey of reading skills among Norwegian youth, Brevik and Hellekjaer (2018) found “outliers” (all boys) who were better at L2 than L1 reading; this they attributed to regular and intensive practices of reading online texts in English while playing digital games, and which transferred into a heightened willingness to read English language texts in school.

Enhancing Autonomy

Another theme in the CALL literature is the belief that technology use can enhance long-term L2 motivation through promoting *autonomy* and individualization. As Cruaud (2016, p. 11) explains, “the structure of digital games gives players agency and control over which task they want to work with: this is an important part of why players keep on playing the game”.

McCrocklin (2016) demonstrates how just 3 weeks' use of automatic speech recognition software, which made learners more aware of their own pronunciation errors, led to significant improvements in university students' autonomy beliefs, and their reported autonomous learning behaviour. Macrory, Chretien, and Luis Ortega-Martin (2012) reported that primary school language learners engaging in synchronous video chats were "on the one hand, ... appreciative of having their teachers on hand to support, advise and clarify, on the other, they were developing a desire for independence" (p. 441).

A benefit claimed for the "flipped classroom" approach, where learners independently access course content outside the classroom, and then engage in interactive activities to process new knowledge during formal lessons, is that it encourages learners to take responsibility for their learning, as long as it is managed carefully (Chen Hsieh, Wu, & Marek, 2017; Lee & Wallace, 2017; Moranski & Henery, 2017). Proponents of technology-enabled project work (see Muir, this volume) have similarly argued that it promotes long-term learner autonomy. For example, Hafner and Miller (2011) show how a digital-based video project enabled "English for Science" students in Hong Kong to take control over different aspects of their learning: "practising and using English in the preparation of their videos, independently exploring the Internet when searching for information, working as a team to monitor each other's learning, eliciting and providing peer support for issues of language and content, [and] utilizing the course Weblog as an online space for reflection on learning" (p. 81).

Reinders and White (2011) argue that where once learner autonomy and educational technology were both considered optional "add-ons" to the main business of formal language teaching, they are now central concerns and intricately linked in novel and complex ways. Undoubtedly, tech-savvy teachers can exploit new technologies to help develop learner autonomy. However, teachers are increasingly recognizing a need to respond to the everyday technologies that learners are autonomously using in their own lives, and through which they are developing new literacy practices, which may or may not align with those prescribed in the formal curriculum (Toffoli & Sockett, 2015).

Promoting Relatedness

The research literature suggests that CALL can enhance L2 motivation indirectly by providing increased opportunities for collaboration and social interaction. Much of young people's technology use is intensely social, and many educational technologies also demand cooperation in ways that traditional

classroom activities do not. Several blended learning activities have been shown to promote learner cooperation, for example through the joint writing of blogs or wikis (e.g. Kessler, Bikowski, & Boggs, 2012). Similarly, the use of social media (e.g. Facebook or WeChat) or more elaborate virtual environments (see Cai & Zhu, 2012) to create online learning communities can boost motivation by providing practical and emotional support for participants on academic courses. Of course, there is always the possibility that the technology leads to conflict rather than social harmony, but this appears to be a much less common outcome.

Certain technologies directly promote oral interaction in the L2, which in some teaching contexts can be motivating in itself. Reinders and Wattana (2014) describe how Thai students, unused to speaking English in their daily lives, reported greater willingness to communicate in English and felt more confident about their oral ability after participating in six 90-minute lessons of an online role-playing game. Telecollaboration and video-conferencing have frequently been reported to enhance participant motivation through providing rich opportunities for social interaction, most often with older learners in tertiary institutions (e.g., Jauregi, de Graaff, van den Bergh, & Kriz, 2012). However, as Macrory et al. (2012) show, it can also work well with younger learners, these researchers reporting how their 8–11 year old British, French and Spanish primary school pupils enjoyed videoconferencing both because it was fun to use the L2 to communicate, and because it gave them the opportunity to make friends with other children.

While the vast majority of CALL research is centred on English or other global languages, Henry, Carroll, Cunliffe, and Kop (2018) report a study which used an online web meeting platform to provide opportunities for authentic speaking practice for adult learners of Welsh. The social media element of the course was, for some participants, a “magic hook of motivation” (p. 440), stimulating in itself, but also providing mutual encouragement for them to continue with the more conventional offline element of the course.

Increasing a Sense of TL Competence

Studies describing CALL used for speaking practice often emphasise the need for participants to overcome initial nerves about communicating with new partners in an L2, to gradually build confidence, and to gain a sense of progress. Wu, Yen, and Marek (2011), for instance, show how over a year of regular videoconferences with a native-speaker, Taiwanese non-English major undergraduates benefitted from a positive feedback loop wherein their speak-

ing ability improved, their confidence grew, and their motivation to participate in oral activities increased. Gains in linguistic self-confidence are a theme in reports on other pedagogic uses of CALL. For example, Liu and Chu (2010) compared learner experience in two oral English conditions in a Taiwanese high school, one using computer games and the other traditional pen-and-paper methods. Here the CALL environment learners reported feeling more confident about their listening and speaking ability after participating in the activities. Focusing on one very specific aspect of language learning, Cho and Castañeda (2019) evaluated the use of a mobile app to help undergraduate students of Spanish conjugate verbs over an 8-week period, in four consecutive semesters. Along with improvements in accuracy, they reported significant increases in student confidence, which they attributed to the constant progress checks that the app allowed, the regular feedback they received from peers, and the social interaction that the semi-competitive games involved.

There is also evidence that out-of-class technology use can enhance language learners' overall confidence and enjoyment, especially when it complements the kind of learning experience offered in the classroom. Lai, Zhu, and Gong (2015) found that diversity of technology use among Hong Kong middle school students predicted self-efficacy scores. Specifically, when students engaged not just in supplementary online grammar or vocabulary quizzes, but also meaning-oriented activities like reading for pleasure and watching videos in English, they felt more confident about learning the language successfully and had more positive attitudes towards the language. Variety was thus regarded as more important than frequency of technology use.

An Interdisciplinary Perspective

Because it provides a holistic framework with which to identify and examine the motivational affordances of digital technologies, an SDT perspective has proved to be particularly useful in reviewing these findings on technology use in language learning. Equally, work currently being carried out by Richard Ryan and his associates on the effects of technology use on motivation and well-being is also providing important insights upon which future L2 motivation research can be based (see especially Peters et al., 2018; Rigby & Ryan, 2017).

At the same time, understandings of people's engagement in L2 activities can be enhanced by the integration of varying theoretical perspectives (Ushioda, 2009). Emerging issues, such as engagement with digital technologies, need to be "informed by a range of perspectives", and should not be dominated "by any single disciplinary outlook" (Mercer & Ryan, 2016, p. 2).

In the sections of the chapter that follow, we introduce three concepts that can offer additional layers of insight into motivation that arises when language learning involves technology use. First, we consider the role played by *vision* in engagement with digital media. Then, we explore the motivational influences associated with appraisals of the *verisimilitude* of digital artefacts and interactions that take place in digital spaces. Finally we evaluate the influences that *validation seeking* has on engagement and motivation in the production of online media.

Vision

Prominent writers have drawn attention to the ways in which digital technologies can support learners in constructing L2 identities. Kramsch (2010), for example, argues that operating in cyberspace greatly expands the scope for adopting new subjectivities. Time is “suspended” in the sense that individuals can prepare utterances in advance, re-read exchanges at leisure, and even erase what has been written. Further, the anonymity of online spaces encourages play and subversion. Finally, participation in digital networks means that the person has control over the when, where and how of self-presentation, with the effect of expanding perceptions of agency. As Ushioda (2011) explains, in many online environments second language learners “can [try] out new and alternative identities and modes of self-presentation ... without posing a threat to [their] real-world identities and private selves” (p. 207). Not surprisingly, identity construction and negotiation has been the focus of several studies reporting on the use of digital media in L2 classrooms (see Thorne, Sauro, & Smith, 2015 for a recent overview).

Of particular interest for L2 motivation research is a study carried out by Przybylski, Weinstein, Murayama, Lynch, and Ryan (2012), who investigated the role and effects of the ideal self in digital game-playing. It was found that when playing video games, ideal aspects of the self could be triggered, and that the activation of an ideal identity was associated with more intense forms of engagement. As Przybylski and colleagues report, the closer that an in-game avatar was in representing attributes associated with a player’s ideal self (compared to the player’s actual self), the more likely they were to persevere with the game and to experience it as engaging and immersive. Similarly focusing on how, in a digital context, the triggering of an ideal self can influence motivation, Adolphs et al. (2018) carried out a study investigating the use of technology to create digital representations of an ideal L2 self, and how

a language learner's encounter with digital images of a desired identity could trigger processes of visualization.

This study was based on the recognition that a learner's visualization of successful L2 use and interpersonal interaction in L2 contexts is of importance in generating and sustaining motivation. The ability to visualize future language use is a key precondition for an ideal L2 self to be effective (see Csizér, this volume). In the theory of L2 vision, Dörnyei and Kubanyiova (2014) describe how the triggering of mental imagery is effective in enhancing motivation, while Dörnyei, Henry, and Muir (2016) explain how a guiding vision of L2 success is a central characteristic of the high-intensity and self-sustaining motivation of a directed motivational current (Henry, this volume). Drawing on these advances in understanding the role played by vision in L2 motivation, Adolphs and colleagues (2018) show how state-of-the-art technologies involving 3D animation and facial overlay can be used to generate motivationally invigorating digital images of the self-engaged-in-TL-communication. As they explain, "a highly realistic representation of being *engaged* in the desired target activity—such as seeing oneself successfully interacting in the L2—is likely to have a high degree of motivational relevance, and therefore substantial motivational power" (p. 176, original emphasis).

The central idea in the work by Adolphs and colleagues is that advancements in digital technologies now make it feasible to produce bespoke digital images that represent the different aspects of a learner's ideal L2 self, and that being able to see and to hear a virtual self engaged in TL-interaction can impact on motivation. While it is clear that digital images involving TL-use are likely to be effective in priming an ideal L2 self, certain questions remain. Is a tailor-made image of the "self-in-TL-interaction" likely to be motivationally more effective than an image of another (similar) individual, and does an on-screen image depicting the individual involved in TL-use conjure similar images in the learner's mind? In the current context, the important point emerging from this study is not so much the digital sophistication of the image, the degree of perceived authenticity, or the relative efficacy of different types of image. Rather, it is the recognition of effects that digital representations of TL-use can have on the learner's self-image.

Particularly so in the case of English, and in highly-networked western societies, for learners who spend time in online environments the TL is likely to be encountered through a multitude of modalities, and in a myriad of forms. Online environments provide phenomenologically rich sources for identity creation. Thus an important direction for future research involves understanding the ways in which contact with the TL in digital spaces can function to generate idealized images of the self engaged in TL-use. Research

could also usefully investigate the role such images can play in the formation of learners' ideal L2 selves, and the possibly varying effects that ideal selves generated in different online domains and in different digital practices (e.g. gaming, blogging or fanfiction writing) can have on effort directed to language learning. In their valuable critique of the CALL motivation literature, Bodnar, Cucchiarini, Strik, and van Hout (2016) call for greater use of Dörnyei's (2009) L2 Motivational Self System as a framework for research, and we certainly concur that the ideal L2 self is a highly relevant construct, for which there are now well-established measurement tools (see Csizér, this volume).

Verisimilitude

Beyond the satisfaction of basic psychological needs, another way in which it may be possible to understand motivation that arises through engagement with technology is through the effects generated by the perceived "realness" of a digitally mediated interaction, practice, or event. When learning activities provide opportunities for interaction in digital networks or other online spaces, an experience of acting within an environment that is "objectively real" can be conveyed. When an environment is perceived as "real", the learner can experience a sense of acting in a manner congruent with modes of participation characteristic of online interactions integral to contemporary life.

To more closely understand how, as a part of instructed language learning, the perception of doing something that is "real" can increase engagement, research has begun to explore the motivational influences of authenticity (Henry & Cliffordson, 2017; Henry & Thorsen, 2018, advance access). Authenticity is a concept with bearing for a multitude of social practices, ranging from the purchase and appreciation of consumer goods, to the conduct of interpersonal interactions. It is of interest across an array of academic disciplines, including psychology, sociology and philosophy. Authenticity can take various forms, and has been conceptualized in varying ways. One important distinction involves whether an appraisal of authenticity is made in response to an *object* (an external reference), or to an assessment of the *self* (an internal reference) (Newman & Smith, 2016). In L2 motivation research, authenticity has been identified as a catalyst for directed energy, both in interactions with learning materials (i.e. in relation to an external reference) (see e.g. Gilmore, 2007; Pinner, 2016), and in relation to the self-appraisal of current behaviours (an internal reference) (see e.g. Dörnyei et al., 2016).

In terms of the response to an object, the use of authentic materials is recognised as an important teacher motivational strategy (see Lamb, this volume).

In relation to self-appraisals, Henry (2013) has suggested that perceptions of self-authenticity can arise when a connection between an activity currently being carried out, and the person's inner or "core" sense of self is experienced. For students for whom out-of-school social practices involve rich, frequent and personally meaningful interactions in TL-mediated environments online, experiences in the classroom can sometimes appear sterile and inauthentic. In their study of the ways in which metropolitan youth in Indonesia use English online, and how this relates to motivation and classroom attitudes, Lamb and Arisandy (2019, advance access) describe how one of the students they interviewed spoke of having had extensive and highly enjoyable interactions in English in online environments, playing the online game SIMS and reading and writing fanfiction, but found English classes to be unengaging and monotonous. For learners with similar experiences, Lamb and Arisandy point to the problem of an "authenticity gap", and the need for teachers to adapt their classroom practice in ways that can accommodate students' "online informal learning of English". While the effects of self-authenticity appraisals on motivation have been recognised in relation to students who are highly invested in creative and TL-intense activities such as digital gaming (Henry, 2013) and fanfiction writing (Lamb & Arisandy, 2019, advance access), interactions in digital spaces beyond the classroom may impact more generally on the way that students engage in learning activities.

Perceptions of authenticity influence how people reason about themselves, about other people, and about the experiences of daily life. They also influence how people relate to material artefacts. In this respect, it is important to differentiate between *self-authenticity* and *iconic authenticity*. While the former relates to the situated evaluation of one's own actions, the latter encompasses the degree to which the medium within which an activity or practice is undertaken accords with perceptions about how it should be. As Newman and Smith (2016) explain, iconic authenticity involves appraisals of "whether or not an item fits with an observer's expectations about how the item should appear" (p. 611).

In various branches of applied psychology, iconic authenticity is used "synonymously with the term verisimilitude" (Newman & Smith, 2016, p. 611). Value judgements with a focus on verisimilitude involve the sense in which an object or medium constitutes an accurate replication or credible reproduction. To illustrate this idea, Newman and Smith (2016) provide the instructive example of the practice of historical reenactment:

A historical reenactment of Civil War battle may be perceived as authentic if the uniforms and props match observers' expectations about how items from that

time period *should* appear. Thus, iconic authenticity is not concerned with a specific spatiotemporal fact, but rather with the degree to which the item satisfies one's prior expectations about how something *ought* to be. (p. 611, emphasis added)

In language learning, as in other aspects of human action, judgements about the authenticity of a practice, event or activity take place on a continuum that parallels engagement. For activities that are experienced as inauthentic, engagement is unlikely to be as intense as in those that are experienced to be authentic (Henry, 2013; Vannini & Burgess, 2009). For a language developing activity carried out in a networked environment, or undertaken with the use of digital technologies, an important factor influencing engagement will be the degree of verisimilitude; that is, the extent to which it is experienced to be an authentic replication of the type of social practice normally associated with the environment or the technology. If the environment or the practice that is anticipated is experienced as lacking verisimilitude, learners may not engage as fully in the interaction, compared to an activity where the environment and the practice undertaken better accord with expectations of how things “should be”.

To develop these ideas further, it is instructive to look to other areas of education research where verisimilitude has been found to be important for students' participation. In research assessing the educational effectiveness of digital simulation and gaming, verisimilitude has been shown to strongly influence engagement (Chin, Dukes, & Gamson, 2009). In this field, verisimilitude has been conceptualized as encompassing two central elements: the degree to which a digital environment is perceived to be “real”, and the extent to which the balance of agency and structure afforded by the digital simulation matches that of the environment or the experience which it is designed to replicate (Chin et al., 2009; Gamson, 2013).

Indications of the importance of verisimilitude for engagement in language classrooms can be found in a study of motivational activities by Henry, Korp, Sundqvist, and Thorsen (2018). Surveying activities that teachers of English in Sweden reported as being motivational, a sizeable proportion were found to involve the use of everyday digital technologies in ways that replicated familiar modes of use. These included, for example, making and distributing videos and podcasts, using social media platforms as a means of communication and for the display of aesthetic products, creating blogs, and writing forum posts about real and imaginary activities. In speculating about the motivational properties associated with these technologies, Henry and colleagues (2018) argue that students can experience “a closer fit between the

social and communicative practices in classroom and leisure-time discourse arenas”, and that the use of mobile devices can open up a “performative space” that enables students to experience flexibility, immediacy, and autonomy (p. 267). When students are able to use digital technologies in familiar ways, expectations about the authenticity of the activity are confirmed. Assessments of verisimilitude, and the experience of acting in a self-authentic manner, can function to stimulate motivation and enhance engagement. So far, these ideas have not been investigated in a systematic manner. Thus an important area for future research would be to explore the influences that appraisals of the verisimilitude of digital infrastructures can have on engagement, and how perceptions of acting authentically in digitally mediated practices can influence motivation.

Validation Seeking

The final way in which insights into motivation arising through interactions with digital technologies can be gained is through an understanding of how the creation and distribution of digital media is driven by desires for visibility, recognition and validation from social contacts and wider publics. Social media and technologies that enable the sharing of information within networks of peers have the motivational pull of connectivity and rapid communication, thus affording extensive opportunities for experiencing relatedness (Rigby & Ryan, 2017). In ground-breaking ethnographic work, and with the objective to “fill out the picture of the range of environments in which youth learn with new media and [to] prioritize those social contexts that youth find most meaningful and motivational” (p. 12), Ito et al. (2010) explored the motivations underpinning young people’s media practices, and the ways in which their use of digital media is shaped by social agendas.

For young people growing up in many contemporary societies, the creation of an online presence is an important undertaking. Appraisal by other media users is an overriding concern. This not only makes demands on technical skills; it also requires sensibility to the aesthetics of self-presentation, and sensitivity to social positioning and self-disclosure. Whether media creation is a part of the everyday practices of social networking, or whether it takes place in niched, interest-driven communities (e.g. in gaming or fandom), peer-validation is a constant driver of refinement and innovation. As Ito et al. (2010) explain, the validation provided by other media creators provides recognition that fuels continued effort in producing media that can garner appeal

within the genre. The seeking of validation within peer and social networks thus has a central role in the generation of motivation:

The desire for sharing, visibility, and reputation is a powerful driver for creative production in the online world. While fellow creators provide the feedback that improves the craft, audiences provide the recognition and validation of the work that is highly motivational. (p. 280)

As Blake (2016) makes clear, and as became evident in the review of the literature in the first part of this chapter, in many contemporary language classrooms students can become highly engaged when involved in the creation of digital media. Whether digital artefacts are shared among fellow members of the class, or whether they are dispersed among wider publics (such as, e.g., when students contribute to an online discussion forum, post on a blog, create a wiki, or upload a video on a video-sharing site), their work has the potential to come to the attention of other internet users. This means that when media production is part of the learning process, desire for validation can have a similar motivational function as in genres of participation outside of school.

In an ethnographic study examining the working processes in a seventh grade class in Sweden where students created blogs about imaginary journeys to English-speaking countries, Henry (2019) identified validation seeking as an important source of motivation. While for most of the groups in his study, validation was sought primarily within the classroom peer group, for one group of students engagement in media creation was driven by the desire to produce an artefact that, in aesthetic presentation and adherence to discourse conventions, was representative of the genre of lifestyle blogging. For these students, motivation was intense and enduring. This group's high-intensity engagement in the production of digital media can be understood as a form of legitimate peripheral participation in the practice of lifestyle blogging (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The evaluative standards generating these students' engagement with the activity differed from those influencing the working practices of the other students; for this group of learners, validation seeking had a wider ambit. As Henry argues, it is this extended form of validation that generated the affinity and passion characteristic of the students' classroom working practices, and which effected a transition into a sphere of more serious media production.

Whether limited to local networks of peers and people with whom the language learner has connections through social networking, or whether it involves the wider anonymous publics of a particular media practice (e.g.

lifestyle bloggers and vloggers, people who produce and watch *e-sport* streams, or the readers and creators of fanfiction), validation seeking is likely to be an important motivational factor when L2 production takes place in networked spaces. As language teachers make increasing use of the affordances for TL interaction provided by the Internet, an important task for L2 motivation research will be to explore engagement in the production of digital media, and, in a spirit of interdisciplinarity (Mercer & Ryan, 2016; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016; Ushioda, 2009), to continue the work of conceptualizing the motivational influences associated with particular technologies and particular online practices.

Conclusion

In their introduction to the *Handbook of Technology and Second Language Teaching and Learning*, Chapelle and Sauro (2017) describe how technology “has become integral to the ways that most language learners in the world today access materials in their second and foreign language, interact with others, learn in and out of the classroom, and take many language tests” (p 1). Sounding a corresponding note in his introduction to a volume on *Language, Education and Technology*, Thorne (2017) describes how technology has “altered the daily practices of students and teachers”, how it has “created new forms of social connection and relationship maintenance”, and how it can “propel language learners beyond the confines of the institutional identity of student” (p. xix).

In the ecologies of language learning that have been reconfigured as a consequence of technological advances, it would be expected that learner motivation would be of primary interest. It would also be reasonable to assume that motivation research would have played a key role in mapping the affordances associated with digital technologies, and in the conceptualization of learner responses to these innovations. However, this has not been the case. In neither of the above-cited state-of-the-art volumes is there a chapter on motivation, or for that matter learner psychology. Indeed, motivation emerges as a topic of substantive interest only in chapters on gaming (Cornillie, 2017; Reinders, 2017; Reinhardt, 2017a) and social networking (Reinhardt, 2017b).

It profits little to dwell on the reasons why motivation research has not played any significant role in the exploration of interrelations between language learning and technology use, or why motivation researchers have shied away from empirical investigations when scholars in other areas of SLA have long been alert to the importance of these relationships (see e.g. Darwin

(2017) on the ways in which digitally mediated practices shape the representation of meanings and identities). Adopting a forward-looking stance, in this chapter we have argued that self-determination theory can provide an important foundation for understandings of learner motivation that arises through interactions with technology. Taking an interdisciplinary position (Mercer & Ryan, 2016), we have suggested that in addition to intrinsic motivation and the “psychological nourishments” of autonomy, relatedness and competence that are implicated in technology use (Rigby & Ryan, 2017), there is need for broader conceptualizations of motivational influences, and for understandings that are associated with particular forms of technology use. In this respect we have identified the development of *L2 vision* through learners’ engagement with digital media, the motivational influences that stem from appraisals of *verisimilitude* when digital technologies form a part of learning, and the motivational effects of *validation seeking* in the context of media creation in networked environments as being of particular importance.

While we should not lose sight of the possible negative influences attaching to technology use—for example communication apprehension, cross-cultural misunderstandings, imbalances in the competence levels of interactants (Kern, 2014; White, Direnzo, & Bortolotto, 2016), the lack of appropriate technical skills (Lee, Nakamura, & Sadler, 2018), unwanted intrusions into students’ social spaces (Henry, 2013; Stockwell, 2013), and *unhealthy* psychological nourishments (Rigby & Ryan, 2017)—it is clear that the digitalization of learning can have positive effects on motivation. For L2 motivation research, the task is to offer adequate conceptualizations of motivational processes, and to present these in ways that enable learners and teachers to optimally profit from the affordances that technology provides.

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30

Aligning Positive Psychology With Language Learning Motivation

Tammy Gregersen

When people want something badly enough, most are moved *to act*. Motivation in language learning has been deemed one of the most important factors affecting learners' success or failure, and the bifurcated categorization—of motivation acting as both the initial impetus for wanting to learn a target language, as well as the means by which learners stay engaged with it—has survived over three decades of scrutiny. Keller (1983) characterized motivation as the options individuals elect concerning the activities and aims they approach or avoid, and the level of determination they employ to that end. Similarly, Williams and Burden (1997) introduced a temporal dimension that discerned the initiation of motivation from its upkeep, and insisted that the reasons a learner embarks on a specific activity should not be confused with how he or she endures over the long haul. Likewise, Dörnyei and Ryan (2015, p. 72) opened their chapter on language learner motivation in *The Psychology of the Language Learner Revisited* by suggesting that motivation “provides the primary impetus to initiate L2 learning and later the driving force to sustain the long, often tedious learning process; indeed, all the other factors involved in SLA presuppose motivation to some extent.” As we move forward in considering future directions in motivation, we are left with the same two pressing questions: (1) why do we desire one thing over another in the first place? (the “why” question); and (2) how can we facilitate and/or strengthen the actions that one takes in pursuit of gaining that “wanted some-

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thing”? (the “how” question). This chapter demonstrates that when L2 motivation is considered from a positive psychology perspective, “the study of what makes life most worth living” (Peterson, 2006, p. 4), we encounter even more powerful answers to the “why” and “how” questions in L2 motivation, and for that reason, positive psychology (PP) deserves a place on applied linguists’ motivation research agenda and in language teachers’ lesson plans.

To this end, I begin by exploring the forays that have already been made into using PP as a lens through which to view applied linguistics. Once I have shown the unique perspective that PP brings to the established SLA research agenda, I explore the ways in which PP in general, and Seligman’s (2011) PERMA model specifically, add insight into ways we can encourage learners’ efforts to initiate L2 learning and sustain the driving force necessary to become proficient. PP uses another lens to answer the “why” and “how” questions of L2 motivation, and the chapter will lay out possible future directions for PP in the study of L2 motivation.

Weaving PP Into Established SLA and L2 Motivation Research

Simply speaking, PP is “the scientific study of what goes right in life, from birth to death and at all stops in between” (Peterson, 2006, p. 4). PP takes a novel approach within psychology in that rather than focusing on human dysfunction, it explores those aspects of life that make it most worth living. Positive psychologists do not suggest that we turn a blind eye to human suffering and dysfunction, but rather that we begin to take a more balanced approach, offsetting the myopic tendency of mainstream psychology to focus on the debilities and distress of people, and understanding that along with neurosis, psychosis, and a host of other ills, life also has an abundance of positives.

Readers unfamiliar with the rampant growth of PP across a host of diverse disciplines may be surprised to discover that it has already taken hold among researchers interested in the psychology and emotion of language learning and teaching. Historically speaking, PP perspectives can be found as early as the 1970s when researchers began exploring positive attitudes and the important role that the social context plays (Gardner & Lambert, 1972); the positive features of language learners’ success (Naiman, 1978; Rubin, 1975; Stern, 1975) and humanistic tendencies that emphasize the intrinsic drive towards realizing and expressing one’s own creativity and abilities via self-actualization

(Lozanov, 1979; Moskowitz, 1978). Later, in the 1980s, Krashen (1985) developed his affective filter hypothesis with its focus on the influence of learners' emotions. This same preoccupation with emotion comes to play later in PP emotion theory (Fredrickson, 2004). Finally, the ideal L2 self paradigm (Dörnyei, 2005) encouraged learners to eye the future with optimism and with a developing sense of competence. Although not deemed as elements of PP in their origins, all of these notions are aligned with the goals of PP today.

At present, a growing number of publications and presentations connect SLA research to specific PP ideas and constructs, many of which are explored in this handbook, including growth mindsets (see Lou & Noels, this volume), flow (see Piniel & Albert, this volume), self-determination (see Noels et al., this volume), positive emotion (see MacIntyre, this volume), and character strengths, among others.

An expanding body of research provides a solid grounding upon which PP will continue to grow. For example, in terms of the theoretical constructs of PP, MacIntyre and Mercer (2014) provide an exhaustive introduction of how PP fits within the discipline of applied linguistics by defining it, examining its roots, and revisiting familiar SLA ideas that demonstrate its alignment with language learning and teaching. Oxford (2016) uses Seligman's PERMA model of well-being as a foundation for the creation of her EMPATHICS approach for empowering language learners and teachers. Conceptualizing empathy in the context of SLA, Mercer (2016) explores how it nurtures an appreciation and awareness of dissimilar cultures, offers a foundation for positive group interaction, and facilitates learner-centeredness.

Empirical work has also been pursued in examining PP in SLA. A quantitative case in point is Lake (2016), whose data on self-related theories provides pedagogical implications for teachers to consider that include facilitating positive L2 learner identities to stimulate personal growth, and which may contribute to a "flourishing self". Likewise, Czimmerman and Piniel (2016) generate numerical data suggesting that flow experiences in the language classroom are created by a combination of optimal degrees of task difficulty and focused engagement, which results in a sense of adequate control on the part of L2 learners.

Still empirical, but taking on a more qualitative perspective is Ibrahim (2016) who investigated positive emotionality and motivational engagement. Also with a qualitative focus, Gregersen, MacIntyre, Hein, Talbot, and Claman (2014) gathered evidence concerning how emotional intelligence functions in language learning via well-documented PP interventions ("three good things", savoring, and learned optimism). Furthermore, Murphey

(2014, 2016) used music as his medium to highlight the development of well-being as a process rather than an end-state and describes how learners-as-teachers provide an avenue for L2 learners to thrive as purveyors of positivity.

Taking a mixed-methods approach to PP in SLA, Gregersen, MacIntyre, and Meza (2016) investigated the efficacy of several PP interventions, including music, pet, and laughter therapy, exercise, altruism and gratitude, discovering that the most important feature of interventions is their individualization. Another example of a mixed methodology is Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014) who unveil a new measure of foreign language enjoyment that focuses on positive emotion. They later expand their ideas in Dewaele and MacIntyre (2016) in their juxtaposition of foreign language enjoyment and anxiety. As a final example of mixed methods PP in SLA research, Hiver (2016) focuses on the language teacher and reveals evidence that indicates that hope and hardiness dynamically intermingle to impart positivity to novice teachers which prepares them for the ups and downs that are certain to appear in their careers.

This brief overview of the recent history of PP in language learning and teaching may have stimulated readers familiar with the established agenda in L2 motivation to begin making their own connections. A sampling of concepts that immediately surface in their association with L2 motivation are the role of L2 self theories, flow, enjoyment, hope, emotion and empathy, among others. Much of the research cited contains pedagogical implications that speak to the original impetus to begin the language learning process, but even more so, it provides data-driven responses concerning the learner's quest for greater language proficiency. In the next section of this chapter, I address the initiating and sustaining facets of L2 motivation using Seligman's (2011) five-pronged PERMA model, and apply this paradigm to potential future directions in L2 motivation.

PP's Input on the "Why" Question of L2 Motivation: Initiating Action

In his PERMA conceptualization, Seligman proposed that the five measurable elements that promote overall well-being are pursued for their own sake, and can be separately distinguished and assessed. To make these connections, however, I revise the order of the model somewhat, so that PERMA becomes RMPEA, this because Relationships and Meaning speak most poignantly to initial motivation, while Positive emotion, Engagement, and Accomplishment highlight insights into sustaining the drive once learning has commenced.

R: Relationships

Relationships inspire convictions of feeling loved, esteemed and valued. Social support has been acknowledged as one of the most significant universal contributing factors to an individual's well-being — irrespective of age or culture (Reis & Gable, 2003). According to the PERMA model, positive relationships involve feeling socially integrated, cared about and supported by others, and satisfied with one's social relations (Seligman, 2011). Social and interpersonal influences are indeed more closely associated with one's well-being than any other contributing factors. Peterson (2006) describes the correlates that bring people into contact with each other including friendship and marriage as the “more-robust determinants of happiness” (p. 93). Diener and Seligman (2002) likewise examined happiness, and in a sample that consisted of people who were extremely happy (rather than on-the-average happy), they found that they all had close relationships with others.

Furthermore, probably nowhere in the SLA literature on motivation is a closer theoretical connection to relationships established than in Gardner's (1985) explanation of the role of integrative motivation in a learner's initial desires and willingness to persist in the pursuit of target language proficiency (See Gardner, this volume). An integrative orientation encourages language learners to associate and interact with people who speak the target language—establish relationships, if you will—and to adopt their desirable qualities, including the language with which they communicate. Relationship building with members of another language group is the principal premise of integrative motivation, the undergirding motive being to establish authentic communication connections with diverse others (Gardner, 2001).

Both Clement (1980) and Schumann (1978) also targeted the importance of creating social relationships as a motive for initiating language learning. Clement (1980) coined the concept of linguistic self-confidence—the socially determined result of an individual interacting in a situation with more than one ethnicity. Learners exert effort to create relationships via learning and using the language of the other speech community. Similarly, Schumann (1978) in his acculturation theory argued that the social and psychological distance between the second language learner and the target language community is a major factor in determining the degree to which the language learner will acquire the target language. Again, in both these theories, being relationally connected with the other group was the key motivational element in moving an individual to initiate language learning.

More recently, Yashima (2009) expanded her notion of international posture, which incorporated one's foreign language learner identity and referred to a complex system of traits that includes among its various facets a willingness to interact inter-culturally with dissimilar individuals, and to do so with a non-ethnocentric attitude. Essentially, it refers to one's desire to interact and establish a relationship with an international community.

Furthermore, with more socially informed approaches in SLA research, researchers are recognizing that to appreciate the dynamics of language learning and motivation, a firmer grasp on "situatedness" is imperative. Mercer (2015) argues that context is not an external variable in a linear process but rather an integral part of one's self-system, including the relationships that one fosters. She makes the important point that language learning is fundamentally relational and that when taking into account the socially situated contextualized networks that one fosters, there is a recognition of the interconnectedness of individuals in both formal and informal social structures. Ushioda (2009) also brings individuals and contexts together to address the limitations of linear cause-effect approaches in her person-in-context relational view in which she takes into account the dynamic interactions between the individual and the milieu in which s/he is inserted. According to Ushioda (2009), what is needed is:

a focus on the agency of the individual person as a thinking feeling human being, with identity, a personality, a unique history and background, a person with goals, motives and intentions; A focus on the interaction between this self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro –contexts in which the person is embedded, moves and is inherently part of. My argument is that we need to take a relational...view of these multiple contextual elements, and view motivation as an organic process that emerges through this complex system of interrelations (p. 220).

In support of the role of relationships in L2 motivation, Ushioda (2009) contends that second language learners are real people who are positioned in particular cultural contexts and their motivations shape and are shaped by these contexts and the relationships found therein. In her person-in-context relational view, each learner is a unique, one-of-a-kind individual who is motivated by the relationships and other contextual elements of the social environment in which he or she lives and emotes. In fact, recent ethnographic research by Henry and Thorsen (2018) acted upon this notion when they considered the ways in which positive relationships with teachers impact students'

L2 motivation. Their evidence indicates that the nature of the teacher–student relationship, whether “emerging” or “mature”, influences motivational processes. Whereas immediate motivational influence was wielded in emerging relationships, mature relationships may produce less pronounced outcomes that are more unconscious. The important take-away for the task at hand is that positive relationships influence motivation.

This connection between positive relationships and L2 motivation was made clearly in the PP research of Gregersen et al. (2016) in their sample of learners in a one-on-one tutoring program. They suggested that the successful PP interventions that they examined (music, exercise, animals, laughter, gratitude and altruism) were contingent of the building of “social capital”. That is to say, it was in the context of a network of relationships that were nurtured throughout the study that language learners experienced the most growth.

M: Meaning

Philosophers throughout time have characterized *Meaning* in various ways: as life’s transcendental worth as seen from the experiencing individual’s perspective (Crumbaugh & Maholick, 1964) or simply as a response to the question, “What does my life mean?” For Seligman (2011), when we find meaning in our efforts, this discovery generates feelings of belonging and connectedness and produces a sense that we serve something greater than ourselves. Thus, according to the PERMA model, knowing that our actions have purpose and meaning is important to living a life of happiness and fulfillment. Understanding the greater impact of our efforts and why we choose to pursue them makes tasks more enjoyable and provides greater gratification. Often such meaning is encountered through establishing deep and intimate relationships.

Although philosophers and theorists might not agree entirely on different elements concerning what *meaning* means, on one thing they all concur: Meaning is highly personal. In language learning, meaning can be subjective in that finding one’s meaning or purpose is most likely to be encountered internally; that is to say, it originates within the learner and is linked to his or her sense of well-being. Therefore, hypothetically a language learner might assert, “That was the most meaningful lesson I ever participated in!” This person’s internal voice cannot be wrong about his or her own characterization of what is and is not meaningful. However, according to Seligman, meaning is not only a subjective state. The “dispassionate and more objective judgment of history, logic, and coherence can contradict a subjective judgment”

(Seligman, 2011, p. 17). So, for the learner exemplified above, that “meaningful lesson” must be measured against the meaningfulness of lessons that have come before and meet a litmus test of reasonableness.

The highly personal nature of meaning also underlies the possible selves paradigm of Markus and Nurius (1986) that inspired Dörnyei’s L2 Motivation Self System model—particularly in terms of the construction of one’s own ideal L2 self (as opposed to the ought-to L2 self which contains others’ expectations—see Csizér, this volume). Possible selves are unambiguous images of one’s future self present in the imagination of the beholder. If, however, there is no meaning or purpose to be found in an iteration of a possible self, then one would be hard pressed to idealize it. Extrapolated future states implicate thoughts, images, and senses and represent personal goals and aspirations. Meaningfulness is at the very heart of their existence.

Higgins’s (1987) self-discrepancy theory provides the motivational push to action. If the ideal self represents the meaningful qualities that an individual desires to have, the underlying assumption is that he or she would be motivated to achieve a state where actuality matches the personally meaningful future image. For a language learner, his or her ideal L2 self embodies a desired image that the beholder wants to be in the future, so if an L2 learner perceives a discrepancy between the meaningful future state and his or her present one, motivation to initiate learning a new language or to develop further proficiency in one already in progress may follow (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015). In the words of Dörnyei and Ryan (2015):

The new framework presented the motivation to learn an L2 as part of an individual’s identity formation and need for self-actualization, and this offered the potential for a richer, more complete model of language learner motivation. (p. 93)

Lake (2016) also drew upon the construction of learners’ L2 self-related identities and their meaningfulness in his overtly PP-related research. He argued that the specificity of self-related constructs must be further broken down and hence he advocated for a global level of consideration in which a positive self-concept alludes to the whole person; a domain-specific level that situates positive L2 self-references within the L2 realm, and still greater specificity in notions of L2 self-efficacy and proficiency. Through these self-references, Lake (2016) suggests that learners may be better able to develop more positive identities for personal growth thus contributing to a “flourishing self.”

To live a life of happiness and fulfillment, positive psychologists insist that our actions must have purpose and meaning, and what, pray tell, has more purpose and meaning than the pursuit of self-actualization?

Seligman's (2011) words wrap up the connections between PP's notions of pursuing meaning with reasons why a person would initially take up the gauntlet of language learning:

Meaningful Life consists in belonging to and serving something that you believe is bigger than the self, and humanity creates all the positive institutions to allow this: religion, political party, being Green, the Boy Scouts, or the family. (p. 13)

To this, applied linguists might add "...the meaningful pursuit of learning another language."

PP's Input on the "How" Question of L2 Motivation: Sustaining the Drive

Positive Emotions, Engagement and Accomplishment

The second part of our definition of motivation moves beyond the original desires to learn a target language to learners' persistence. In other words, once learners are "hooked," how do they stay engaged? PP, and in particular the PERMA Model, addresses this facet of motivation through various themes: Positive Emotion, Engagement and Accomplishment.

P: Positive Emotions

Positive emotions do much more than merely producing a smile. (See MacIntyre, this volume, for a complete treatment of emotion). According to Seligman's (2011) PERMA model, positive emotions refer to happiness and life satisfaction as subjective measures (e.g. feeling joyful, content, and cheerful) which inspire people to be more creative, take more chances, and think with more optimism and positivity. This brand of happiness means "maximizing pleasure and minimizing pain" (Peterson, 2006, p. 78). The positive emotion of enjoyment, for example, comes from intellectual stimulation and creativity, as when a language learner writes a semantically complex sentence that requires concentration and, upon completion, feels a great sense of satisfaction and positivity.

Fredrickson's (2006) broaden and build theory proposes that positive emotions need to be looked at in their own right and, because they spur individuals to different kinds of action, apart from negative emotion. For example, positive emotions: (1) dispose people toward a broadening of attention and thinking, resulting in exploration, play, and creativity; (2) mitigate the enduring negativity caused by emotional upheaval; (3) promote resilience by prompting constructive responses to stressful situations; (4) build personal resources, like social bonds; and (5) create an upward spiral toward greater well-being in the future. Positive emotions are more than the nonexistence of negativity—they generate health and well-being. Negative emotions, on the other hand, alert individuals to danger but also narrow their response options so that action is taken to quickly avoid whatever is that incited the emotion (Fredrickson, 2001). In the case of language learners, positive emotions incite them to sustain their initial desire to communicate in a new language, and to confront challenges that arise by invoking resourceful and alternate solutions.

One of the most recent developments in L2 motivation that likewise taps into the benefit of the positive emotion mentioned by Fredrickson and other positive psychologists is the research and resultant pedagogical implications that arise from the study of directed motivational currents (DMCs). According to Henry, Davydenko and Dörnyei (2015), DMCs are swells of motivational vitality that are distinctively dissimilar from other forms of highly motivated performance or engagement that exist in the learning process, and are a cohesive component of an overarching motivational system. In their interview-based study, they identified sustained motivated behavior in three female migrant language learners that established the existence of a relevant facilitative framework, the stimulation of positive emotion, and motivated behavior that propelled these learners toward long-term identity investment goals. In describing the motivation found in their participants, Henry et al. (2015) state that:

In a DMC, positive emotions are experienced in the sense of well-being attaching to the actualization of one's potential in the pursuit of a highly self-concordant ultimate goal. The co-relatedness of these different forms of eudaimonic pleasure is frequently in evidence when the women describe the emotions connected with learning processes and desired end goals. (p. 330)

In fact, one of their learners ("Bina"), while reflecting on her university learning experience, mentioned the positivity of feeling powerfully self-fulfilled as well as intensely alive. In response to the emotionality experienced by their participants, Henry et al. (2015) propose:

...being caught up in a DMC overrides tiredness, generates recurring experiences of deep-seated satisfaction, and permeates the learning process with experiences of positive emotions. (p. 340)

To sum up the arguments for the important role of positive emotion in sustaining the language learning process over time, applied linguists interested in motivational processes need to tap into the growing awareness that emotion often overrides cognition, therefore necessitating the implementation of a multi-level model of motivation that goes beyond merely cognitive factors to account for learners' emotional states (Williams, Mercer, & Ryan, 2015; see also MacIntyre, this volume.)

E: Engagement

According to Svalberg (2009, p. 243), *engagement with language* is “a cognitive, and/or affective and/or social state and process in which the learner is the agent and language is the object.” As a rule, the idea of engagement is based on the notion that learning advances when students feel curiosity, interest, or inspiration, and that it diminishes when students experience boredom, detachment, or alienation.

This definition reinforces the *engagement* element of Seligman's (2011) PERMA model that also provides insight into a learner's continued investment in a target language. To experience well-being, it is important that the individual discovers activities in life that demand full engagement, for it is engagement in such activities that rouses people to greater learning and growth, and which nurtures personal happiness. For Seligman (2011), engagement refers to experiencing a psychological connection to activities or organizations where one feels absorbed, interested, and engaged in life.

In its most absorbed state, engagement is referred to as flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996), or as having the all-encompassing sensation of being in one's zone—so completely connected to the task that there is no sense of time flying by, and in which the possibility of forgetting to eat or take a break is more than viable. If a language learner were to experience flow, it would result from having clear goals and intrinsic interest in the task at hand. However, flow cannot be experienced with just any task—it must pose challenges to the learner that align with his or her level of expertise and language proficiency and provide direct and immediate feedback. Engaged language learners experiencing flow maintain a sense of personal control over the activity where action and awareness merge—essentially

becoming completely immersed in the task (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; see also Piniel & Albert, this volume).

Taking into account Csikszentmihalyi's research, Czimmerman and Piniel (2016) investigated language learners' flow and "anti-flow" experiences (boredom, apathy, anxiety) in both classroom and task-specific iterations. They examined learners' classroom experiences, both on general and task-specific levels to discover the characteristics of tasks that are linked to the positive experience of flow. Engagement was a key variable in that those learners whose attention was not captured by the language task were more likely to feel bored, and those who found the tasks too challenging were more prone to greater anxiety.

Closely related to flow, but differing in temporal scope, are directed motivational currents (DMCs) which refer to a language learner's extended engagement in a sequence of meaningful and fulfilling activities propelling the individual towards a prized goal (Dörnyei et al., 2015). That is to say, while flow is produced through engrossment in a particular inherently meaningful task, DMCs elicit positive emotions, not from the specific activity itself, but rather from the cognizance that one's goal is becoming increasingly within reach. Absorbing DMC engagement—alternately described as a series of flow experiences—is driven by learners' future-directed visions and carries the potential of both initiating and sustaining the enduring behaviors necessary for learning a target language (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Henry, this volume).

The motivational idea of sustained learner engagement over time is also tightly linked with the PP themes of resilience and perseverance. Researchers have found that resilient people use strengths such as humor, creative exploration, relaxation, and optimistic thinking as coping mechanisms that both reduce levels of stress and promote faster recovery from difficulties (MacIntyre & Gregersen, 2012). For Hiver and Dörnyei (2015), resilience develops from the accumulated practice of managing the conflicts and difficulties found in demanding situations. They discuss the concept of resilience in the context of language teaching, framing it as "immunity". They propose that it operates as an essential defensive protection that helps language teachers overcome the inevitable difficulties that arise in the classroom. Hiver (2015), using the term resilience, claims that to be maximally effective this immunity must also be robust. Citing Newman (2009) and Strogatz (1994), Hiver defines resilience as a condition in which disruptions cannot act as perturbations and that this stabilization persists over a prolonged expanse of time.

Seligman suggests that engagement is necessary for human well-being and happiness, something that L2 motivational experts have been touting for quite a long time. Indeed, engagement (in its educational psychology guise) is

becoming of increasing interest to L2 motivation scholars; a case in point is a full-volume treatment of it in a manuscript currently in preparation by Mercer and Dörnyei. Whether engagement takes the form of single-task absorption found in flow, or the extended goal-directed commitment of DMCs, few would argue that the often long, arduous and sometimes tedious process of learning another language demands motivational persistence and resiliency.

A: Accomplishments

Having goals and ambitions motivate language learners to achieve their aims and provide a sense of *accomplishment*. Setting realistic goals and exerting the effort necessary to attaining them offers learners a sense of satisfaction and pride. Having accomplishments in life is important for individuals to push themselves to thrive and flourish. According to Seligman (2011), accomplishment, the last of his PERMA elements, involves making progress toward goals and feeling capable of doing the daily activities necessary to achieve them. Accomplishment can be defined in terms of success or mastery at the highest level possible within a particular domain (Ericsson, 2002). For advocates of self-determinism as a driving force for proactive human behavior in general and language learning in particular, the sense that one is capable or accomplished is one of three core psychological needs (the others being autonomy and relatedness) (Deci & Ryan, 2002; see Noels, this volume). Likewise, proponents of attribution theory as applied to language learning similarly extol the relevance of accomplishment and the ways in which learners assign the causes of it. For example, Ushioda (2001) proposes that positive motivational thinking implicates attributing L2 accomplishment to personal capacities and attributing L2 failures to transitory surmountable inadequacies. That is to say, learners link their past experiences and their future efforts to accomplish a goal with causal attributions mediating their decisions.

Furthermore, SLA researchers interested in DMCs insist that positive emotions stem not from the intrinsic enjoyment of engaging with the TL, but from a sense of accomplishment that is derived from setting and achieving goals (see Henry, this volume). In sum, language learners remain engaged in the process because each victory takes them closer to a prized result.

In some domains accomplishment is measured through agreed-upon standards, such as honors and awards (e.g., winning the only scholarship in a prestigious language program), or scholastic achievement (e.g., a high TOEFL score), or reaching a particular level (e.g., being promoted to Professor). At an individual level, accomplishment can be defined in terms of reaching a desired

state or improvement toward clear goals (Heckhausen, Wrosch, & Schulz, 2010; Negru, 2008). For language learners, this might mean achieving the proficiency level that aligns with their purpose for undertaking the learning of their target language.

Future Directions for PP in the Study and Practice of L2 Motivation

The underlying principles of PP in general and the notions of Seligman's (2011) PERMA model specifically, align impeccably with the direction that L2 motivation research is currently headed. Broadly speaking, the idea of focusing on what goes right with language learners and what motivates them—as opposed to an exaggerated focus on their dysfunction—is an appealing balance to strike. This is not to say that researching motivational processes that go amuck will produce worthless results, but rather that by creating a research philosophy that focuses on what goes right in language learning, we will garner evidence that an unbalanced emphasis on what goes wrong cannot provide. Important to keep in mind is that Seligman's PERMA model is only a small fraction of the work being done in PP and that even though I outline several future directions in this section pertaining to PERMA, researchers in L2 motivation have a multitude of other PP options from which to choose. With this in mind, I suggest a few ideas on how motivation researchers might capitalize on principles and previous research in PP, specifically focusing on the notions of building relationships, discovering meaning, optimizing positive emotions, heightening engagement and celebrating accomplishments.

Through research in PP, we understand that social support is a universal contributing factor to an individual's well-being. That is, the need to relate with others transcends cultural boundaries (Reis & Gable, 2003). We also understand that whether we harken back to “contact theory”, the “integrative orientation”, “linguistic self-confidence”, “acculturation theory”, or “international posture”, among other theories, the same idea rings true: previous L2 motivation research indicates that people are motivated to learn another language in order to establish a relationships with others (c.f. Mercer, 2015). This necessarily adds a cultural component into the relational mix. However, the idea that social support is a compulsory precursor to happiness does not automatically imply that the qualities of such relationships are the same. Future L2 motivation research might observe the ways human intercultural

relationships change and influence human well-being with the different values that cultures embrace.

PP research also suggests that recognizing that one's actions have purpose and meaning lends happiness and fulfillment to life, and that understanding why we pursue a course of action makes tasks more pleasurable and provides greater satisfaction. Because such recognition of meaning and purpose is highly personal, so too will be the factors that motivate learners. According to Williams, Mercer and Ryan (2015, p. 118), "no event is inherently motivating in itself; learners are primarily motivated by their own interpretations of an experience." This makes meaning-making doubly complex: not only is meaning highly personal, but so is one's interpretation of the actions that sparked it. Looking into the future, those motivation researchers who are interested in the ways in which learning another language provides meaning in the lives of those who engage in it will need to consider the highly personal nature of meaning-making, and the subjective interpretive lens through which learners view the experience.

In the emotional/affective realm, PP has much to offer L2 motivation research, particularly as concerns the role of positive emotions in combatting demotivation (see Thorner & Kikuchi, this volume.) In describing the relative dearth of recent research in de-motivation, Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) suggest that to rejuvenate it what is necessary is to redirect attention from causal antecedents to exploring the interaction of causes and the personal and contextual variables of individual learners to better understand why demotivation occurs in some but not all, and why some learners are more resilient after demotivating episodes. Investigating the role of positive emotions in the ability to bounce back from negative occurrences may be an effective starting point. The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions (Fredrickson, 2001) can be used as a framework for appreciating psychological resilience. In short, this theory postulates that resilient people draw on positive emotions to recover from negative circumstances, and discover positive meaning in them via efficient emotional regulation. Basing their work on that of Fredrickson (2001), MacIntyre and Gregersen (2012), present an outline for balancing the positive-broadening and negative-narrowing emotions that are experienced in the process of learning another language. Future research in de-motivation might consider how positive emotions help learners find positive meaning in negative circumstances that can enable them to build resilience and remain engaged in language learning.

For future research in L2 motivation, Seligman's notion of engagement is best utilized in connection to the L2 learning experience. Although some research in applied linguistics has already focused on flow (Egbert, 2004; see

also Piniel & Albert, this volume) and directed motivational currents (Henry, this volume), many questions still remain; what conditions, both inside the classroom and in naturalistic environments, can best trigger experiences of flow? We know that in order for flow to be experienced, the task must be challenging (yet not overwhelming) and immediate feedback must be provided. How can teachers accommodate for the variety of proficiency levels and interests that they will surely find in their classrooms and have the resources necessary to provide prompt feedback? As concerns directed motivational currents, what forms of scaffolding and feedback are likely to be optimal in maintaining students' focus on the highly valued end results that they are working towards?

Finally, future research that acknowledges Seligman's (2011) notion of accomplishment as a means to generate L2 motivation would be best served by tying it to language goals. Applied linguists have already been focusing on PP in second language acquisition, as evidenced by a 2014 special issue of *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching*, a special issue of *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, two edited collections dedicated to PP in SLA (Gabryś-Barker & Gałajda, 2016; MacIntyre et al., 2016) and symposia, workshops, and a dedicated conference (at Szczyrk, Poland in 2015), among other means of dissemination. Although their research has linked applied linguistics to specific PP concepts and theories, very few of these researchers have tied their findings directly to gains in language learning. Future L2 motivation researchers are well positioned to take up this gauntlet—to use accomplishment as a path to well-being and then determine whether gains in language proficiency result.

Final Words

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to show how elements of PP research—specifically, Seligman's (2011) PERMA model that includes the notions of meaning, relationships, positive emotion, engagement and accomplishment—are intricately involved in both initiating and maintaining L2 motivation. While the motives to initiate language learning may be found in a quest for meaning or in the potential of developing new and/or deeper intercultural relationships, the sustainability of effort is best garnered through tapping into positive emotions, maintaining engagement through flow and directed motivational currents, and by feelings of accomplishment as a learner moves towards proficiency goals. As we ponder future directions in L2 motivation, it behooves us to consider the role that PP might play. It offers

pathways that could potentially move language learners' answers to the question "what are you doing?" from "conjugating verbs" to "building linguistic bridges among people".

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31

Motivation for Formal Learning of Multiple Languages

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Taking into consideration all language learning experiences of an individual is imperative to fully understand the process. The field of Applied Linguistics has increasingly encouraged multilingual perspectives in recent years (e.g. May, 2014), in a drive to overcome what Ortega (2014) refers to as the monolingual bias, i.e. when language scholars take monolingualism as the default norm in studying language acquisition. In a move towards a multilingual perspective in the field, authors, such as the Douglas Fir Group, have theorized about the pertinence of situating multilingualism at the forefront of the field of Applied Linguistics. In an overview article presenting a transdisciplinary framework to multilingualism, the Douglas Fir Group (2016) provides ten fundamental themes of how to explore multilingualism and language learning, one of which is the dynamicity involved in language acquisition when more than one language is involved. As is similarly discussed in Herdina and Jessner (2002) and Cook (2016), the Douglas Fir Group indicates that multilinguals are more than the sum of their individual languages. Additionally, different perceptions of what is considered to be a language also affect individuals' concepts of multilingualism: "Other language users may imagine themselves to remain steadfastly monolingual, discounting their multilectal and multiregister competences" (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 26). Illustrating this point, a Jamaican student that I had in a graduate seminar one summer was a native speaker of both Patois (Jamaican Creole) and standard English;

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however, she never considered herself to be anything other than monolingual because of the status of Patois in the global sphere.

Relatedly, Ushioda (2017) problematizes the effect of the status of English as a global language on the motivation to learn languages other than English (LOTEs), with the “motivation for learning English becom[ing] increasingly associated with factors such as necessity, utility, advantage, social capital, power, advancement, mobility, migration, and cosmopolitanism” (p. 471). In this publication, Ushioda also suggests that language learning experiences of an individual should not be examined in isolation; instead, the interactions of these experiences add more to the process than do the individual language learning experiences alone, illustrating the old adage, “the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.” Keeping in mind the attitude of my former student, as well as the wisdom of authors such as Ortega, May, the Douglas Fir Group, Ushioda, and others, more closely examining the intricacies of motivation and multilingualism will deepen our understanding of the language learning process, broadly construed.

In order to encapsulate a more accurate reality of the majority of the world’s inhabitants, all aspects of Applied Linguistics research must consider the multilingual perspective, including research on language learning motivation. Understanding how multilingual users conceptualize their different language systems has been a recent point of inquiry, particularly within the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS, Dörnyei, 2009) framework. With a particular interest in the formation of the *ideal self* aspect of this framework, mitigating factors in the creation of a person’s ideal selves in different languages have been a focus of analysis. This chapter examines recent research regarding motivation and multilingualism, specifically focusing on the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) as a motivational framework (Dörnyei, 2009), and taking into consideration the recent multilingual turn in the field. Reviewing some key research advances in the area, as well as focusing on specific conceptualizations of multilingualism and selves, the chapter concludes with suggestions for further research on how to more fully understand language learners who have formally learned more than one language and their complex motivational profiles. In this chapter, *multilingualism* is operationalized as having experience with at least three languages (including the L1), regardless of the level of proficiency. Similarly, *bilingualism* is operationalized as have experience with two languages (including the L1), regardless of the level of proficiency. Because of the comparative nature of a portion of the research, some of the studies included in the discussion compare bilinguals and multilinguals, and in some cases, monolinguals, although the focus of this chapter is the motivation and multilingualism, specifically. Additionally, this chapter focuses on multilingualism as a result of classroom instruction, as opposed to multilingualism in inherently multilingual settings (i.e. naturalistic language

learning – for more on motivation in such settings, see Coetzee-Van Rooy, this volume).

The L2MSS is described in detail in other chapters in this volume (e.g. Csizér, this volume); thus, although a short overview is necessary for contextualization, a full description is beyond the scope of the current chapter. Briefly, the L2MSS draws on Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins, 1987) and the concept of possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986). It can be regarded as a two-part theory (Thompson, 2017b): part one conceptualizing the concept of self (ideal and ought-to), and part two the learning experience (or context). With a promotion focus and utilizing visualization and imagery, learners with a strong ideal self are able to conceptualize who they would like to become in the future in terms of target language use. This visualization is motivation for learners to develop linguistically to reach their ideal future selves. Juxtaposed is the ought-to self – with a prevention focus, this self is an embodiment of the external pressures or influences that the learner feels with regards to target language use. The second part of the L2MSS, the learning experience, addresses the effect of context on the formation and development of the selves. All experiences are considered – in and external to the classroom, positive and negative interactions with a variety of interlocutors, and interactions with animate beings (i.e. humans) or with inanimate cultural artifacts (i.e. music or literature), to name a few. More recently, additional selves have been theorized in accordance with the L2MSS. Among these, the *anti-ought-to self*, first conceived by Thompson and Vásquez (2015), is a further development of the part one (the concept of self) aspect of the L2MSS and is a conceptualization of a self that is motivated by the desire to go against expectations and/or that responds positively to challenges. Several researchers have also made a connection to a specific kind of ideal self, such as an ideal teacher self (e.g. Gao & Xu, 2014; also see Kubanyiova, this volume), with the pedagogical applications of the L2MSS having potential for further development.

Setting the Stage: Motivation for Formal Learning of Multiple Languages

Motivation in Multiple Languages and Cultural Interest

Several recent studies involving motivation in multiple languages show a link between motivation and cultural interest. For example, Huang, Hsu, and Chen (2015), authors of a quantitative study that takes place in a Taiwanese

context, examine learners with English as an L2 and either French, German, Japanese, or Korean as an L3. In the regression models presented, the ideal self and cultural interest were the strongest predictors of intended learning effort for French and the weakest predictors for English. Although not stated in the article, it would seem as if these participants were required to learn English from an early age, not having chosen the language because of cultural interest. Additionally, the utilitarian nature of English could have decreased their desire to form a cogent ideal self for this language. The connection of motivation and cultural interest was also discussed in Thompson (2017b), although it was not the focus of the study, as well as in MacIntyre, Baker, and Sparling (2017). In Thompson (2017b), some of the L1 English bilingual and multilingual undergraduate participants formally studying one or more than one language specifically mentioned that they were motivated to study a specific language because of an affinity for the target culture. One participant stated that he “enjoyed the culture” of the Japanese language, another stated that for Portuguese, “I love everything regarding their culture and way of speaking.” As was explained in the discussion, “[m]any of the participants had similar responses regarding an attraction to a particular culture, even when there were no specific family members connected to that culture” (p. 497), although there were some participants who also chose to study a specific language because of a family connection. It was also the case that the language/cultural interest connection for some of the participants was for their third language of study. Similarly, MacIntyre et al. (2017) describe what they are labeling the *rooted L2 self*, which is a “heritage-oriented concept defined by strong feelings of connection to speakers of the language, which can be tied to specific individuals (such as one’s grandmother) but more generally a defined community (Gaelic speakers, in our case)” (p. 512). With many participants, there were examples of motivation to learn Gaelic because of culturally-embedded music and dance traditions in Cape Breton, directly tying the *rooted L2 self concept* to Ushioda’s (2009) *person-in-context* concept. As both French and English classes are required in the in Canadian school system, the motivation to learn Gaelic as an L3 was motivated by the cultural connection.

Motivation in Multiple Languages and Order of Acquisition

In terms of multilingualism and the order of acquisition, in Hungary, Csizér and Lukacs (2010) examined the motivation of learners of English as an L2 and German as an L3, and the inverse (German as an L2 and English as an

L3), making it one of the only studies to date to investigate multilingualism and the order of acquisition with the same two languages involved. As in Csizér and Dörnyei (2005), these authors found that not following the students' preference in terms of the order of languages studied had a negative effect on motivation and attitudes towards language learning. In this case, the order in which the languages were studied affected if and how studying one language influenced the other: "For students who started with English, this supporting role of the learning efforts towards German is non-existent, while for students in the German-L2 group, for both English and German, the motivated learning behaviour towards German and English, respectively, plays a positive role in the learning behavior" (p. 11). Digging deeper into the role of English in learning other languages, Henry (2010) found that an "English self-concept" was activated in his participants in Sweden studying LOTEs after having studied English; Henry (2011) reported similar findings of English influence on the L3 learning process, and in many instances, having studied English had a detrimental motivational effect on the subsequent study of LOTEs.

On a similar note, Busse (2017) found that within her 4312 participants from Bulgaria, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain, "only a tiny percentage of students felt that another language or other languages were particularly important or more important than English" (p. 572). Given the status of English as a global language, it is vital to examine the reasons that some students (albeit a small number) gave for not having the desire to study English, despite the high status. Of particular concern was that the focus on English seemed to de-prioritize the minority language: "I fear that introducing English into our educational and social systems endangers our minority language [Euskera][...] English generates the loss of our individual identity and creates globalisation, a phenomenon which converts us into indistinguishable citizens [...] We are people, and we have an identity! English is NOT my language, and I have neither necessity nor obligation to use it" (p. 573). Similar concerns regarding the de-prioritization of the minority language were addressed in Lasagabaster's (2017) study: "This increasing presence of English has led some voices to warn against its purportedly negative effects on language competence and attitudes toward the minority language, while Spanish is believed to remain impervious due to its majority language status" (p. 590).

Motivation in Multiple Languages and Number of Selves

Another important question in motivation research involving multiple target languages is if the 'self' aspects of motivation are language specific (Markus &

Nurius, 1986) or if each person has only one composite self for each of the proposed self guides, regardless of the number of languages involved (Higgins, 1987). Two aforementioned studies, Csizér and Lukács (2010) and Henry (2010), include this point of inquiry, and three studies have examined the topic using Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA): Dörnyei and Chan (2013), Thompson (2017b), and Thompson and Liu (2018). Two of these EFA studies examined English plus an additional language (Mandarin for Dörnyei & Chan, 2013, and Japanese in Thompson & Liu, 2018), and one study, Thompson (2017b), examined selves in multiple LOTEs. Regardless of the languages in question, the results were similar, although not identical, across these three studies. Overall, the ideal selves of the two languages in question clearly emerged as separate selves, as indicated by the separate factors in the EFAs. For the selves that are formed based more strongly on external influences, the ought-to and anti-ought-to selves, there were no clear divisions in the EFAs based on the target language. Interestingly, this was the case not only with LOTEs, as in Thompson (2017b), but also when one of the languages analyzed was English, as in Thompson and Liu (2018) and Dörnyei and Chan (2013). As will be discussed in a later section, many learners see positive connections between languages studied (Perceived Positive Language Interaction, or PPLI); thus, those learners with multiple language learning experiences have the tools needed to be motivated to continue with language study.

Motivation in Inherently Multilingual Contexts

The majority of the work on motivation using the L2MSS framework has focused on language learning in classroom settings. In some cases, societal languages have a majority/minority status, such as in the work of Lasagabaster in the Basque region of Spain. In this context, Basque (minority status) and Spanish (majority status) are the L1(s) and/or L2(s), and English is a language of instruction. As illustrated in a previous section, Lasagabaster indicates that learning English might have a negative influence on the minority language (Basque), with Spanish not being as affected because of its status as a majority language.

Furthermore, there has been almost no work on language learning motivation in inherently multilingual contexts in which members of society need to be multilingual in order to survive. An exception to this is the work of Coetzee-Van Rooy (2014, this volume) with her research in South Africa. In the 2014 study, her southern Sotho and Zulu participants knew up to 10 languages with the majority of them knowing and using three to five lan-

guages on a regular basis. Hers is the first indication in the literature of the existence of a type of *multilingual self* in terms of language use:

I want to argue that, linked to the ‘sociolinguistic language mode’ of an environment, the language learning self can be conceptualised as a multilingual language learning self. In the minds of people living in these types of environments there is an expectation that members learn many languages as part of their ordinary behaviour as integrated citizens that belong to the society... The ‘ought to language self’ in a multilingual language mode society directs people to believe that if they are not multilingual in this society, they do not ‘fit in’, because well-integrated citizens in this society are multilingual. This idea finds support from Bangbose (1994, p. 34), who argues that a person who speaks several languages is to be regarded as a better integrated citizen than one who is only proficient in one language in African contexts” (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2014, p. 124).

In the context that Coetzee-Van Rooy describes, a dissimilar situation to most L1-English speaking contexts, not being multilingual puts one at risk of not being a fully functioning member of society. The different languages in question have different uses in terms of communicating with whom and when, as Student Q indicates: “And Sotho I learned at home with my grandparents, cos I stay with my grandparents ... And then Zulu I learned as I visited my mother and my father in Soweto. Cos they stay in Soweto ... And Xhosa. Cos my mother’s family, my mother’s side of the family is Xhosa, my father’s side is Zulu. So when I visited them [mother and father’s family], that’s how I learned those different languages [Xhosa and Zulu]” (p. 133).

Of course, in these multilingual contexts, as with anyone who uses different languages for specific purposes, the functionality of the languages will be distinct. Blommaert (2010) describes linguistic repertoires in terms of the skills that one might have in a specific language, emphasizing that “[n]o one knows *all* of a language” (p. 103). This idea is especially prevalent in a multilingual society like South Africa in which different languages are used for different purposes. Like Blommaert’s (2010) description of his competencies in Dutch (L1), French (L2), German (L3), and English (L4), Student Q in Coetzee-Van Rooy (2014) describes her language competencies as follows: “English, I can read, write and speak ... Afrikaans - read, write and speak ... Sotho, I can read, write and speak ... Xhosa I can only speak. I’ve never ever written in Xhosa ... And Zulu I can only speak too. Never ever had training or practice of writing in Zulu” (p. 133). Thus far, the motivation research in inherently multilingual contexts is primarily descriptive – what language is used when and why. Future research could explore *if/how* participants in mul-

tilingual contexts see the connections between the languages they use in their daily lives, as well as other aspects.

Multilingualism and Pedagogy

Language pedagogy in any context is shaped by the ideals of said context. For example, despite the increasingly multilingual and multicultural landscape of the USA, many believe English monolingualism to be the “defining characteristic of American citizenship” and linguistic diversity to be an “inevitable, even regrettable result of immigration” (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 34), with the result being the lack of official and/or popular support for language maintenance for many groups of people. Although the U.S. does not have an official language, the ideologies “function to create unfavorable social, academic, cognitive, and personal evaluations of multilingual speakers as well as of speakers of minority varieties” and pose “serious validity threats for the study of bilingual development over the lifespan” (Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 34). The attitudes towards languages other than English in certain Anglophone contexts differ from other parts of the world, such as non-English speaking Europe and much of Africa.

In examining appropriate language teaching methods, the context needs to be carefully considered. In settings where students are more likely to have limited use of a LOTE outside of the classroom, such as in many parts of the United States, policies enforcing target language instruction are likely needed to increase the amount of oral input to which the students are exposed (e.g. Gass, Behney, & Plonsky, 2013). However, the picture is quite different in contexts where multilingual interactions are commonplace in many facets of society. As Heugh (2015) states, “Beneath this is an emerging recognition that multilingualism, particularly in education, means different things in different contexts. What is understood of multilingual education in South Africa, for example, is quite different from how this is understood in northern settings” (p. 280). With settings such as parts of the U.S. and other Anglophone countries at one extreme and parts of Europe in the middle of the multilingual continuum, multilingualism in much of Africa is much more fluid in nature. In contexts such as multilingual Africa, techniques such as *translanguaging* could be useful to “facilitate an educational bridging of epistemological access between the everyday world of local contexts and the scientific knowledge of the school curriculum” (Heugh, 2015, p. 281). Although the term itself is relatively new (e.g. García, 2009), the fluidity of switching between language codes has been practiced by multilin-

gual speakers for a long time and could be a useful pedagogical tool in some contexts.

As Gorter (2015) suggests, raising multilingual awareness in the classrooms and using “activities that enable teaching about language diversity and literacy practices” (p. 95) in order to increase the preservation of minority languages is also an important aspect of language pedagogy. Gorter was specifically talking about Basque and Frisian; however, the sentiment resonates for any context that has speakers of minority languages. Whatever the context may be, we need to be careful not to adopt policies and methods incongruently; what is effective pedagogy in one context is not necessarily effective in another.

New Directions: PPLI and the Ideal Multilingual Self

Overview of the Two Concepts

In this section, an overview of PPLI and the ideal multilingual self is provided. These two concepts are potential new directions of multilingual research that can be used in a variety of settings. These two multilingualism frameworks used in conjunction with motivation research that further explore the cognitive representation of learners’ language systems are as follows: Thompson’s theory of *Perceived Positive Language Interaction* (PPLI) and Henry’s concept of the *Ideal Multilingual Self*. The Dynamic Model of Multilingualism (DMM; Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Jessner, 2006, 2008) crucially informs both PPLI and the ideal multilingual self. In the DMM, “Interdependent language systems [form] part of an overall multicomponential psycholinguistic system” (Herdina & Jessner, 2002, p. 86) with the following formula to illustrate the mental representations of a multilingual user: $LS_1 + LS_2 + LS_3 + LS_n + CLIN + M = MP$ (Jessner, 2006, p. 33; LS = language system; CLIN = crosslinguistic interaction; M = multilingualism factor; MP = multilingual proficiency). The M-factor “expresses an essential difference between multilingual and monolingual speakers” (Herdina & Jessner, 2002, p. 130), conveying the intangible advantage that multilingual speakers have over monolingual speakers that comes with acquiring more than one language system. The authors indicate that such skills in “language learning, language management and language maintenance” (p. 131) are part of this multilingual advantage. A fundamental aspect of the DMM is the interconnectivity of the language systems, resulting in a symbiotic relationship between the system

parts. Both Thompson with PPLI and Henry with the ideal multilingual self use the DMM as a premise to indicate the fluid nature of these constructs as additional language learning experiences are added to the system over time. Aspects of the DMM are comparable to Cook's concept of multi-competence, in which the first premise "concerns the total system for all languages (L1, L2, Ln) in a single mind or community and their inter-relationships (Cook, 2016, p. 7). Indeed, multi-competence would have implications for both PPLI and the ideal multilingual self.

PPLI

Whereas Henry's ideal multilingual self applies only to motivation, PPLI is a theory of multilingualism that is applicable to a variety of variables, including motivation. First conceived in Thompson (2009) and elaborated in Thompson (2016) as a mechanism to explore the language learning backgrounds of participants in a multifaceted study involving several IDs, it has been used to conceptualize multilingualism when exploring language aptitude (e.g. Thompson, 2013), anxiety (e.g. Thompson & Khawaja, 2016), beliefs (e.g. Thompson & Aslan, 2015), attitudes towards pronunciation (Thompson & Huensch, 2017), and, of course, language learning motivation (e.g. Thompson, 2017b; Thompson & Erdil-Moody, 2016). Regarding PPLI and motivation, in the Turkish context (Thompson & Erdil-Moody, 2016), those participants who perceived positive interactions among languages (PPLI) had formed significantly stronger ideal selves, with a large effect size ($p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.194$). There was not a significant difference between the two groups of participants with the ought-to self. Comparable results were found for learners of LOTEs in the American context in Thompson (2017b); those learners who perceived positive interactions between languages studied (PPLI) had significantly stronger ideal selves. As ideal self strength in PPLI versus NPPLI learners has been found in language learners in very different contexts, there is potentially a connection between the ability to conceptualize positive interactions between languages studied and the ability to visualize an ideal self. Further research on this topic would help clarify this connection.

In terms of the theoretical underpinnings of PPLI, in addition to the relationship to the DMM, as described above, PPLI also draws from several other theories, such as Kellerman's (1979) concept of *perceived language distance* and Odlin's (1989, updated in 2008) theory of *interlingual identification*. Perceived language distance (Kellerman, 1979) indicates the connectivity of the learner's perception of language distances and the possibility of transfer: "transfer

... goes hand in hand with the learner's perception of NL-TL 'distance,' or to put it another way, the typological relationship between the two languages" (pp. 38–39). In other words, the transferability of a feature from one language to another primarily relies on the perception of closeness of the particular learner who will engage in the transfer. Additionally, Odlin (1989, updated in 2008) suggested the term interlingual identification, or the action of using a previously known language for subsequent language acquisition, emphasizing the point that many learners "recognize at least the possibility of making an interlingual identification, whether or not they actually choose to do so" (p. 444). Thus, in addition to the dynamic nature of multilingualism as conceptualized in the DMM, PPLI is also influenced by the premise that learner judgments in terms of language relatedness are crucial to the language learning process, "are by definition subjective" (2008, p. 443), and that these learner perceptions have an effect on subsequent language learning processes. Also, as De Angelis (2007) indicates, a relatively small amount of language exposure can affect subsequent acquisition. All of the aforementioned concepts inform the theoretical framework of PPLI, a construct that is an innovative way to operationalize multilingualism.

In the PPLI framework, participants are placed into groups based on their answers to the open-ended question: "If you have studied other languages in the past, do you think that this has helped or hindered your ability to learn subsequent languages? Please provide specific examples where appropriate." The open-ended answers allow for content analysis and description, but for quantitative analysis purposes, learners are placed into PPLI and NPPLI (No Perceived Positive Language Interaction) groups. An example of an answer that would place a learner into the PPLI group is as follows:

"I see positive interactions having studied more than one language ... When taking French, I had just started but did very well at grammar, reading and writing thanks to all the connections and new found knowledge from my experience with Spanish. ... With Japanese, I received the benefit of understanding what 'conjugations' and 'verb stems' were thanks to my previous experience."

An example of an answer that would place a learner in the NPPLI group is as follows:

"Hindered, sometimes I catch myself thinking German words instead of the correct Italian ones."

Regarding coding, Thompson (2016) provides additional useful tips and examples for coding these open-ended comments using the PPLI construct. The con-

struct itself can be used to understand multilinguals and their language learning experience as related to a variety of variables, including motivation.

The Ideal Multilingual Self

Henry (2010) first introduces Markus and Nurius' (1986) idea of the working self concept to explore the overarching self that multilingual language learners might have in conjunction with their separate ideal selves constructed for a specific language. The example that Henry (2010, p. 154) gives from Markus and Nurius ties a current self concept (i.e. "I am poorly paid") to a positive future possible self ("fabulously rich") as well as to a negative future possible self ("destitute"). Both the positive and negative possible selves act to interpret and evaluate the current self. Henry expands this concept to theorize the impact of Global English on the acquisition of an additional LOTE. The idea of English affecting a LOTE was inspired by previous research in Hungary indicating that students' motivation to learn German can be negatively affected by their experience in learning English (i.e. Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006). The negative effect was particularly salient when the desired order of learning was not adhered to, such as being asked to learn German first, when English would have been preferred (Csizér & Lukács, 2010). Henry (2011) provides further, qualitative evidence that learning English could have a negative effect on learning LOTEs; however, not all learners are affected in the same way. The languages in question are also of great importance when considering the motivation of multilingual learners: "In settings where the L2 is socially attractive and proficiency highly valued [such as English], working actively to provide students with the resources for developing and maintaining ideal L3-speaking selves will be of particular importance" (Henry, 2014, p. 14).

Henry (2017) introduces the *ideal multilingual self*, expanding on his 2015 publication. He proposes that "the motivational systems of the learner's different languages need to be conceptualized as interrelated systems that are simultaneously constituents within a higher-level multilingual motivational system" (p. 549). Influenced by the DMM and Aronin's (2016) concept of *multilinguality*, Henry proposes the *Multilingual Motivational Self System*, which contains various multilingual self guides. Two of these self guides in the multilingual motivational self system are the ideal multilingual self and the contentedly bilingual self. The contentedly bilingual self and the ideal multilingual self can both emerge in contexts of multilingual learning: "While the *contentedly bilingual self* can have the effect of further weakening the power of

the ideal Ly self, the *ideal multilingual self* can have the opposite effect, enhancing the strength of the ideal Ly self” (p. 554). In future research, it could be intriguing to further explore the relationship of PPLI and the ideal multilingual self in terms of language learning motivation, specifically looking at the existence of PPLI in conjunction with an ideal multilingual self.

Directions for Future Research

Researchers other than Henry have also discussed a multilingual self or a similar concept with slightly different terms. For example, Busse (2017) found that relatively few (9%) of the total number of her participants seemed capable of conceptualizing a more general multilingual self. Busse proposed that “these aspiring plurilinguals may be guided by an overarching plurilingual ideal *Bildungs-Selbst* [educational self]” (p. 578), which is similar to Henry’s idea of the ideal multilingual self. In the same vein, Ushioda (2017) suggests “placing value on the development of ideal multilingual selves, rather than ideal L2-specific selves” (p. 480) and Lasagabaster (2017) suggests that “Students’ future self-image should be in harmony not only with other parts of their self-concept (i.e., the ideal and ought-to selves), as indicated in Dörnyei and Kubanyiova (2014), but also with all the languages encompassed in their multilingual self (i.e., L1, L2, and L3)” (p. 592). As illustrated in a previous section, Coetzee-Van Rooy has also used this term to describe her participants in South Africa (and see Coetzee-Van Rooy, this volume).

Thus, it is evident that a number of researchers in several different contexts have observed the possibility of the existence of a non-language-specific ideal self (i.e. an overarching ideal multilingual self). Several questions remain, however. What percentage of language learners are capable of developing a self in such abstraction and without the vivid imagery that is an integral part of ideal self development? Of those who are capable of developing an ideal multilingual self, what are the parameters and contexts that would allow them to do so? How would the developmental process be similar and/or different for those acquiring languages naturalistically versus in an instructed setting? Would those who develop an ideal multilingual self necessarily have the capacity to see positive interactions between languages and vice versa? Both qualitative and quantitative data could be collected to begin to answer these questions. The specific type of data would depend on the design and creativity of the researcher; however, both classroom-based and naturalistic data should be considered. Observational data in classrooms or elsewhere, data from online resources such as corpuses, chat logs, and online interactional programs, as

well as the more typical narrative-based inquiry and survey types of data collection could be used to further the research on motivation and multilingualism.

It is the case that most studies discussing motivation and multilingualism involve English as one of the target languages, as Ushioda (2017) points out, the recent work of Thompson (2017b) being an exception. The inclusion of English as a target language is to be expected, due to the prevalence of English language learners around the world. The question remains, however, of whether or not the theoretical constructs applied to English language learners would be equally as relevant to LOTE learners. Would individuals learning LOTE in Anglophone contexts be able to conceptualize an ideal multilingual self? Looking at the PPLI learners of different target languages in Thompson (2017b) indicates that perceiving positive interactions between languages (i.e. being PPLI learners) could be related to the target language studied. However, more work needs to be done with L1-English speaking learners to further explore this point, and as Ushioda (2017) argues, to re-conceptualize motivation in terms of multi-competence, rather than from a comparative perspective.

For future research, there would be value in refining the discussion of the psychological aspects of self in the L2MSS. For example, as previously noted, Thompson and Vásquez (2015) have proposed a new aspect of self: the anti-ought-to self. Examining reactions to external pressures from a different perspective and integrating the idea of psychological reactance (Brehm, 1966) as an explanatory framework, the anti-ought-to self is a conceptualization of a self that is motivated by the desire to do the opposite of what is expected and/or a positive motivational response to challenging situations in the environment (see Thompson, 2017a, for further details of the theory development). Other quantitative research found the anti-ought-to self to be salient in the contexts of American (Thompson, 2017b) and Chinese (Liu & Thompson, 2017) university language learners as well. Other than the influence of psychological reactance, the anti-ought-to self was theorized based on the lack of the “own” and “other” aspects inherent to Self-Discrepancy Theory in the ideal and ought-to selves of the L2MSS: the ideal self = “own” and the ought-to self = “other.” In the anti-ought-to self, the external influences are central (as in the ought-to self); however, someone with a strong anti-ought-to self has a strong sense of agency, and potentially a visualization of who they would like to become as a language learner (as in the ideal self). Thus, rather than being swayed by the demands of the context, the anti-ought-to self pushes against expectations to create a satisfactory future language using self. Supporting the idea of the anti-ought-to self, Lanvers (2016, 2017) describes this concept of bucking expectations as a “rebellious” self, a self that she and her colleagues see

in their Anglophone learners in the UK. Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) suggest that the desire to focus efforts on LOTEs in non-L1-English contexts could be related to the “special, and highly intriguing” (p. 461) *anti-ought-to self* aspect of the possible selves theory. Even in a context where English is the norm to study, someone with a strong anti-ought-to self might choose to focus on/gain a high proficiency in one or more LOTE: “an intriguing self-guide in this respect may actually work in favor of LOTEs: Individuals high in psychological reactance might choose to study an L2 exactly because it goes against the grain of social expectations” (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 465), which raises the possibility of a connection between the anti-ought-to-self and the aspiration to learn multiple languages. A desire to balk societal expectations embodied as the anti-ought-to self could also at least partially explain the desire of a small percentage of Busse’s (2017) participants to focus their efforts on studying languages other than English and Lasagabaster’s (2017) participants’ desire to keep the Spanish minority languages of Basque, Catalan, and Galician alive (i.e. rebelling against Spanish national societal expectations). Certainly, there is more work to be done in this area.

Finally, supporting Ushioda’s (2009) concept of person-in-context, the setting in which the language learning takes place is highly significant. The ideal multilingual self was first elaborated with Henry’s Swedish participants. As most people in Sweden are multilingual, this could potentially affect the likelihood of creating an ideal multilingual self. For example, in recent data collected in Sweden (i.e. Sylvén & Thompson, 2015), out of 287 secondary school participants, only 14 were not multilingual. Compare this to a context such as Saudi Arabia; in a recently collected unpublished data set, I found that out of 204 participants, only 23 were multilingual, which could affect the capabilities of creating an ideal multilingual self in this setting. Even in a context in which learning multiple languages is possible, such as in Busse (2017), few participants (9%) “judged plurilingualism to be an important educational aim” (p. 578). As such, there seems to be a paradox in the opportunity to learn multiple languages in certain contexts and the attitude towards actually doing so, perhaps because of the prevalence of English in global exchanges: “[O]nly a tiny percentage of students felt that another language or other languages were particularly important or more important than English” (Busse, 2017, p. 572). Given this paradox, could a concept such as an ideal multilingual self develop in contexts (such as the U.S.) in which multilingualism is not encouraged, and is, in fact, discouraged (e.g. Thompson, 2017b). For an ideal multilingual self to develop in a context such as the U.S., would this require a stronger anti-ought-to self, as Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) suggest, perhaps in conjunction with PPLI? The potential

existence of the ideal multilingual self in multiple contexts would need to be explored further.

The field of Applied Linguistics is at the dawn of investigations into the various multilingual characteristics and learning experiences of individuals' language learning motivation, particularly considering the recent multilingual turn in the field. With the prevalence of English used globally for work, study, and communication among a variety of L1 speakers, re-thinking how motivation for multiple languages is embedded in the mind a single language user is of utmost importance. As Ushioda (2017) states, the main idea behind linguistic multi-competence "is not so much to explain or measure people's varying levels of competence in additional languages, but rather explore and understand their practices and experiences as they engage with two or more languages in particular social contexts" (p. 476). Examining learners in a variety of contexts, using innovative frameworks of multilingualism, such as PPLI and the ideal multilingual self, we can further understand multilingual language learners' experiences as a whole, rather than as the sum of two or more parts. Through continued efforts of motivation scholars, and using both quantitative and qualitative data, we will continue to unpack these complex relationships, learning more about language learning motivation as a whole.

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32

Researching L2 Motivation: Past, Present and Future

Emu Ushioda

Purpose and Scope

This chapter addresses methodological perspectives in researching motivation for language learning. From the outset, it is important to state that the chapter is not intended as a “how to” guide for designing and conducting research on L2 motivation. Nor does it aim to provide descriptive summaries of studies illustrating particular methods or tools of inquiry. Readers looking for more practical guidance or overviews may wish to explore the wide range of methodology textbooks and manuals available for researchers in applied linguistics (e.g., Mackey & Gass, 2012; Paltridge & Phakiti, 2015), or the social sciences more broadly (e.g., Bryman, 2016; Denscombe, 2014), or to refer to Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) for field-specific methodological overviews, synopses of representative studies, and sample instruments. In addition, guidance on designing research relating to particular theoretical or pedagogical perspectives is, of course, contained within individual chapters of this handbook and will not be reproduced here.

Instead, the purpose of this chapter is to offer a concluding general synthesis of L2 motivation research from the perspective of the approaches to empirical inquiry characterizing this field. Adopting a broadly historical narrative, the chapter will trace how these investigative approaches have evolved and diversified over the years in interaction with theoretical developments as well

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as larger research trends and advances in technology. The chapter will undertake a critical analysis of strengths, constraints and challenges associated with particular methods of inquiry, and discuss their contributions to knowledge advancement in the field. It will highlight recent methodological innovations and trends, examine current research challenges and issues, and conclude by looking forward to key considerations for researching language learning motivation in the future.

L2 Motivation: Core Issues Shaping Research Inquiry

As any research methods textbook will tell us, how we go about investigating a complex phenomenon such as motivation will necessarily depend on how we conceptualize it. From the extensive array of chapters in this comprehensive handbook, it seems evident that motivation for language learning has been conceptualized in many ways, and in relation to many different theoretical issues and frameworks, pedagogical perspectives, and contexts of analysis. Yet, while the rich diversity of this field of inquiry should certainly not be denied, at a fundamental level there are a few core aspects of language learning motivation that would seem to hold remarkable sway, and that, in turn, have had a significant bearing on how research has been conducted in this field.

Essentially, these core aspects concern how motivation for language learning is conceptualized as a psychological and behavioural phenomenon that varies across individuals as well as within individuals across time, and that is implicated in whether and how successfully people learn a second or foreign language. Throughout most of its research history, this variable of L2 motivation has been classified as an individual difference (ID) characteristic, distinguished from other ID characteristics such as language aptitude or language anxiety (see Ryan, this volume). In recent years, with the influence of complexity thinking perspectives in applied linguistics (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008), the emphasis has shifted more towards viewing motivation as part of a complex dynamic system of learner characteristics that is in constant interaction with contextual-environmental factors (see Dörnyei, 2009; see also Hiver & Papi, this volume).

Nevertheless, whether viewed as an ID characteristic, process, or part of a dynamic system, motivation has been of interest to researchers primarily because it is implicated in *why* individuals engage (or do not engage) in L2 learning, and *how successfully* they acquire the L2. These two core concerns have strongly shaped our approaches to researching L2 motivation, which

have essentially revolved around identifying types of goals or reasons for learning the language, determining respondents' levels of motivation (and possible changes over time and in interaction with L2 learning experience), and examining associations with criterion variables such as L2 achievement, persistence, or intended learning effort. While our research field has evolved significantly over the decades in pursuit of more powerful or more contextually appropriate explanatory frameworks and concepts (see Dörnyei, this volume), this focus on types and levels of motivation and associations with L2 learning success has remained a very consistent thread.

This central preoccupation contributes to explaining why quantitative tools and methods of analysis to measure the role of motivation in L2 learning have been a strong feature of empirical inquiry, reflecting well-established psychometric traditions in the broader fields of social psychology and motivational psychology. In recent decades, these quantitative approaches to researching L2 motivation have become increasingly complemented by qualitative approaches and mixed methods designs, though as Boo, Dörnyei, and Ryan's (2015) systematic literature survey has shown, quantitative studies continue to predominate. This chapter will begin by examining this quantitative research tradition that has been so significant in shaping our field of inquiry, and analysing its strengths, developments, and limitations.

The Quantitative Research Legacy

A significant challenge in researching motivation is that it is not directly observable and is therefore difficult to measure objectively (unlike, for example, constructs such as accuracy of L2 output or vocabulary size). To tap into language learners' motivations, researchers have necessarily relied on self-report instruments. These usually comprise scales of items asking respondents to rate their agreement with certain statements such as "Studying English will help me to get a good job" (Ryan, 2009a, p. 140), with the content of these multi-item scales designed to operationalize hypothetical motivational constructs such as (in this example) instrumentality. Clearly, the quality (e.g., construct validity, reliability) of these instruments is critically important in determining research quality. In this respect, a hallmark of the long-established quantitative tradition in L2 motivation research has been its preoccupation with developing valid and reliable measurement tools with robust psychometric properties. With their pioneering work in the 1970s and 1980s, Gardner and his colleagues set rigorous standards for construct development and operationalization, instrument design, piloting and validation (see Gardner, this

volume). Their establishment of a standardized Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) (Gardner, 1985) enabled a consistent and systematic approach to data-gathering and analysis that could be adapted to different learner groups and settings, and that could also facilitate data combining and comparison across studies, as in the meta-analysis of 75 independent samples conducted by Masgoret and Gardner (2003).

As the L2 motivation research field has evolved, the AMTB's psychometric design principles have been applied to the development of new motivation measures and instruments, reflecting expanding theoretical frameworks and paradigm shifts in thinking (see, for example, MacIntyre, Mackinnon, & Clément, 2009, on developing a scale to measure possible L2 selves). A strength of this continuing methodological tradition is that it enables researchers to compare new motivation constructs with existing constructs, to determine their relative explanatory power and relevance across different contexts (e.g., Taguchi, Magid, & Ryan, 2009), and to integrate multiple theoretical models and concepts in the analysis of motivation (e.g., Sugita McEown, Sawaki, & Harada, 2017). Thus, while the continued popularity of quantitative inquiry in our field might lead one to imagine a largely unchanging orthodoxy, this methodological tradition has in fact contributed to the dynamism of the field by facilitating critical interrogation of established theoretical perspectives and empirical validation of new constructs and frameworks.

While contributing to theoretical dynamism, this psychometric tradition has of course sustained a consistent methodological approach to measuring motivation (however defined and operationalized) and its associations with other variables. By generating statistical evidence of patterns and relationships across large datasets, this tradition of inquiry has yielded insights into commonalities and divergences in motivation across groups of learners or in relation to different learning contexts, teaching approaches, or target languages, typically using *t* tests or ANOVA to compare groups (e.g., You & Dörnyei, 2016). Quantitative research has also shed light on the multifaceted nature of motivation and its constituent components, often using exploratory factor analysis (e.g., Thompson & Erdil-Moody, 2016), and (less commonly) on varieties of language learner motivational types, using cluster analysis (e.g., Papi & Teimouri, 2014). Above all, perhaps, quantitative inquiry has generated statistical evidence of associations among certain components of motivation, contextual factors (e.g., teacher variables, parental influence), and criterion variables (e.g., L2 achievement), typically using correlational analysis, regression analysis, or more sophisticated structural equation modelling (SEM) techniques (e.g., Kormos & Csizér, 2014). Constituting a set of statistical methods for fitting a hypothesized network of constructs to empirical

data, SEM yields both a measurement model showing which observable variables (i.e., questionnaire items) offer good measures of unobservable constructs (i.e., latent variables such as ideal L2 self), and a structural model showing causal pathways linking these constructs, with estimates of their strength and direction of association. Altogether, such statistically generated insights from quantitative research are helpful in enabling us to generalize likely motivational patterns and tendencies across given L2 learner populations, and thus to validate our theoretical models of motivation and L2 learning.

However, in relying on the statistical principles of averaging and probability, quantitative research cannot of course shed light on individual motivational perspectives or experiences, or offer detailed insights into how these evolve in dynamic interaction with surrounding social-environmental factors. While longitudinal designs with repeated administration of motivation measures may be able to capture general patterns of change or stability over time within a learner sample (e.g. Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant, & Mihic, 2004) or across successive population samples (e.g., Dörnyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006), quantitative inquiry is limited in what it can tell us about how particular learners experience motivation or respond to its ups and downs (notwithstanding recent advances in measuring intra-individual processes of change, such as the idiodynamic method discussed later in this chapter). With the theoretical expansion towards more situated and process-oriented accounts of L2 motivation through the 1990s and turn of the century (see Dörnyei, this volume), it is perhaps not surprising that qualitative methods of inquiry, such as open and semi-structured interviews, began to enter the field as a way of offering deeper and more fine-grained analyses of individual learners' motivational perspectives and experiences (e.g., Nikolov, 2001; Ushioda, 1994, 2001). More recently, the limitations of quantitative methods in dealing with the so-called 'dynamic turn' (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015a) and complexity thinking in SLA research more broadly have also become increasingly apparent (de Bot & Larsen-Freeman, 2011; Larsen-Freeman, 2016). In essence, the conceptual principles of linear modelling, cause-effect relations and statistical probability on which much quantitative research is founded do not sit well with complex dynamic systems theory (CDST), with its focus on processes of organic systemic change that are non-linear, adaptive and unpredictable. This has led to experimentation with alternative statistical procedures such as latent growth curve modelling, in order to examine nonlinear patterns of change in motivation (e.g., Piniel & Csizér, 2015; see also Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016). As Boo et al. (2015) surmise, this conceptual shift away from linear modelling of motivation and L2 learning processes may partly

explain why the field has not seen as much rapid growth in SEM studies as might have been predicted.

Yet the challenges posed by CDST for empirical inquiry in the L2 motivation field are not confined to the quantitative domain. They extend also across the spectrum of research methodologies including qualitative and mixed methods approaches. It is to an evaluation of these approaches that we now turn.

The Paradigm Shift to Qualitative and Mixed Methods Research

Boo et al.'s (2015) ten-year survey of the L2 motivation field (from 2005 to 2014) highlights the growing popularity of qualitative methods of inquiry, whether used independently or in combination with a quantitative component in mixed methods research designs. Indeed, they characterize this significant growth in qualitative inquiry as “a major research paradigm shift” (p. 153) over this period, though they do not engage in speculating about the possible origins of this shift, beyond pointing back to repeated calls in the first decade of this century for more qualitative studies on motivation (e.g., Dörnyei, 2001; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). The qualitative research paradigm shift may well reflect a concerted response to such calls from influential voices in the field, including (I must acknowledge) my own voice as someone who has long advocated qualitative approaches to researching L2 motivation.

It is also the case that this notable growth in qualitative inquiry coincides with a period of significant theoretical reframing of L2 motivation in relation to concepts of self and identity, as well as complex dynamic systems theory. As I have previously discussed (Ushioda & Chen, 2011), qualitative methods of inquiry may have a particularly valuable role to play during the theory building phase of a new framework when constructs are under development. This is because open-ended qualitative methods enable researchers to explore and understand such constructs in a grounded manner in relation to local individual realities and perspectives, and then to use this understanding to refine construct definition. As I argued then (p. 47), qualitative exploratory approaches would seem especially pertinent when the empirical focus is on people's own perceptions of how they see themselves now and how they imagine themselves in the future (their possible selves). The highly personal and subjective nature of these self-perceptions would seem rather more difficult to capture through a set of predefined response options than, for instance, the traditional categories of instrumental and integrative orientation. For example, L2 learners who are classified as integratively oriented share (by definition) a

positive disposition towards the target language culture and community that underpins their motivation to learn this language. However, L2 learners who are classified as motivated by an ideal L2 self will have uniquely individual visions of their future possible selves, and these personal visions cannot be defined in a generic way in the manner that an integrative orientation can. In this sense, it seems understandable why the L2 motivation field has seen a marked paradigm shift towards more qualitative research during a period when personal self-and-identity visions and pathways (rather than readily classifiable goals or reasons for learning) have come under major theoretical attention.

In this respect, a key strength of qualitative inquiry is that it enables a detailed focus on individual L2 learners and their motivations, experiences and personal realities, rather than a focus on generalized types of learners defined by certain motivational traits and tendencies. Qualitative research has contributed significantly to shaping theoretical developments during this period by capturing insights into self-related motivational visions and trajectories from the perspective of L2 learners' own subjective experiences. The most commonly featured tools in qualitative studies of L2 motivation continue to be open and semi-structured interviews, which offer a flexible approach to exploring students' subjective accounts of their self-and-identity strivings. However, the theoretical and empirical focus on the motivational experiences, influences and learning histories shaping students' identity development and their aspirations for the future is marked by a notable *narrative emphasis* in this qualitative research. This emphasis may feature in the form of narrative interviewing or narrative analysis of interview data (Wengraf, 2001), the use of longitudinal research designs with successive interview phases to explore evolving motivations and transformational episodes, or the use of other qualitative tools such as language learning journals or autobiographies to capture learners' motivation-related stories and experiences (e.g., Chik & Breidbach, 2011; Harvey, 2017; Kim, 2009; Lamb, 2009; Miyahara, 2014; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2017). More broadly, this emphasis reflects what Pavlenko (2007, p. 164) has characterized as a "narrative or discursive turn" across the field of applied linguistics, which is evidenced in widespread interest in narrative and autobiographical research approaches (see, for example, Barkhuizen, 2013). Through narrative forms of inquiry, qualitative research on L2 motivation thus facilitates a holistic perspective on the lived experience of language learners as people located in specific socio-historical as well as cultural and physical contexts, who have complex social and personal histories contributing to their current motivations and aspirations for the future. This perspective contrasts sharply with the abstract concept of a "unitary, fixed and ahistorical

language learner” (Norton, 2000, p. 10) associated with much quantitative research on L2 motivation.

While each language learner’s history of personal experiences is of course unique, the social and cultural context of these experiences and associated motivations is shared across individuals. In this respect, the rich potential for qualitative inquiry to illuminate the socially distributed and contextually-situated nature of motivation has recently been illustrated by MacIntyre, Baker, and Sparling (2017). Their interview-based study of Gaelic language learners and folk musicians in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, points to a locally grounded community-based concept of a “rooted L2 self” that is associated with shared linguistic, cultural, and musical heritage and practices (roots), as well as a sense of collective responsibility to preserve these for future generations of the community.

In essence, as this study shows, qualitative inquiry facilitates a much richer, deeper and nuanced analysis of “context” (see Yim, Clément & MacIntyre, this volume) and its dynamic interactions with individual motivation than in quantitative studies, where “context” is typically treated as a stable independent background variable and possible determinant of motivation. In quantitative research, this background contextual variable is often synonymous with educational or cultural setting, which assumes a normative or prescriptive view of culture or context defined in advance of the research (Holliday, 1999), and in terms of which individual motivation or behaviour is explained (such as the impact of Chinese Confucian culture on L2 motivation, as reported in Chen, Warden, & Chang, 2005). In contrast, qualitative research allows for the possibility of understanding people’s motivations and behaviours as these emerge in dynamic interaction with local social and contextual processes, and (importantly) as people engage with and shape these evolving contextual and relational processes through their own reflexivity and agency (Ushioda, 2009, 2015). For example, as Sampson (2016) has demonstrated using a CDST analytical framework, qualitative research in the form of cycles of practitioner inquiry may be helpful in capturing the relational dynamics through which motivation evolves and emerges organically in the complex social system of a particular classroom. Alternatively, where there is an analytical focus on power structures or ideologies embedded in contextual and relational processes, qualitative research on L2 motivation may take a critically-oriented approach, drawing on methods from, for example, critical ethnography or critical discourse analysis to examine how motivation becomes constructed through the interaction between the individual and the social (e.g., Coffey, 2016; Gu, 2009; Gu & Qu, 2017).

Of course, the locally grounded nature of qualitative research on L2 motivation may be perceived as a strength but also (from some perspectives) a limitation, since it can be argued that the findings of such research may not be readily transferable to other contexts. In addition, other commonly cited criticisms of qualitative inquiry may be relevant, such as its focus on typically small sample sizes, its time-consuming nature, data complexity, researcher subjectivity and bias, and the pivotal importance of the researcher's analytical and interpretative skills. It is not my purpose here to discuss the general limitations and challenges of qualitative research, since extensive critical accounts can be found in most good research methods textbooks (e.g., Dörnyei, 2007; Punch, 2014). Rather, in relation to how the study of L2 motivation has evolved, an important point to be made here is that the qualitative paradigm shift highlighted by Boo et al. (2015) has been characterized also by a significant rise in *mixed methods research*, which perhaps signals an effort to integrate the strengths and offset the limitations of both quantitative and qualitative methods of inquiry.

As key resource texts on mixed methods research emphasize (e.g., Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), there are various ways of combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a study, reflecting different research priorities and objectives as well as researcher expertise and preferences. However, within the L2 motivation field, mixed methods research typically entails a combination of questionnaires and interviews, usually in an explanatory sequential design comprising a questionnaire survey with follow-up interviews to develop deeper qualitative insights into the quantitative findings (e.g., Lamb, 2004; Ryan, 2009b; Sasaki, Kozaki, & Ross, 2017; You & Chan, 2015). Indeed, the “questionnaire + interviews” structure has become almost a standard research design in our field, not least perhaps because it offers a potential balance between scope and depth of analysis, where the limitations of one method of inquiry are mitigated by the strengths of the other. Of course, with mixed methods designs, the limitations of the researcher may be implicated, since we are rarely skilled and experienced to the same degree in both quantitative and qualitative methods of inquiry. Yet, for student researchers and early career academic researchers, this may also provide a good argument for designing and conducting mixed methods studies – in effect, for the purpose of developing and refining one's skills in both quantitative and qualitative research. Perhaps this contributes to explaining the seeming popularity of mixed methods designs among postgraduate student researchers who investigate motivation for language learning.

However, among more seasoned researchers and commentators in the field, there is perhaps also a growing sense in which the tried and tested mixed methods model of “questionnaire + interviews” can produce research that is well-executed but that somehow does not excite interest or offer fresh perspectives on L2 motivation (see Ushioda, 2016). Moreover, questionnaires and interviews as research tools may have limited capacity to address some contemporary empirical challenges facing our field of inquiry. In the next sections, I will turn to consider some of these current challenges and possible innovations in researching motivation for language learning.

Researching L2 Motivation: Current Challenges

As highlighted earlier, one of the key challenges in researching motivation is that it is not directly observable and therefore difficult to measure objectively, and that consequently we rely almost exclusively on self-report data, typically elicited through questionnaires and interviews or other self-report tools such as language learner journals. The use of self-report data clearly brings with it concerns about reliability, such as possible social desirability bias in how participants respond to items about their motivation, attitudes or behaviours. In addition, whether we use quantitative self-report tools or qualitative introspective methods, a limitation is that such tools and methods cannot shed light on motivation-related processes, events or contextual factors that are below the level of reflexive awareness – that is, implicit or unconscious attitudes, influences and motivational drives (see Al-Hoorie, this volume).

In relation to consciousness and reflexivity, an associated issue is whether the process of responding to a motivation questionnaire or participating in a research interview about motivation may in itself have an impact on participants’ awareness of motivational issues relating to language learning, and may indeed contribute to shaping their motivational relationship with the language. In other words, the object of research (i.e., participants’ motivation for language learning or their experiences of factors influencing it) may become qualitatively transformed by their involvement in the research, particularly if this involvement is sustained over an extensive period, as is typical in longitudinal investigations. Of course, positive growth and developments in participants’ motivation may well be a desirable research outcome in pedagogical intervention studies (e.g., Magid, 2014; Magid & Chan, 2012) and practitioner studies of L2 motivation (e.g., Banegas, 2013; Sampson, 2016). However, much research in the L2 motivation field is not explicitly pedagogically-driven or interventionist in orientation, and is usually conducted by researchers who

are external to the classrooms and language learning settings under focus (for further discussion, see Ushioda, 2016). If researchers and the research process have an unintended shaping influence on what is being researched, this raises questions not only about how to analyse and interpret the emerging data but also about the “ethics in practice” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) of researcher engagement with participants, particularly when the unintended influence is negative. This ethical concern may apply particularly when involving child or adolescent research participants who are at an impressionable stage of their lives and who may view the adult researcher as a figure of power and authority (see Pinter, 2013). As Lamb (2016) reports in an illuminating paper, the experience of being selected to take part in a motivation research study and of engaging in interactions with a researcher during their formative years may have a significant influence on participants’ motivational relationship with the L2, the educational choices they pursue, and the course of their life trajectory. When the nature of this influence is somewhat equivocal or clearly negative, this raises difficult ethical questions for the researcher.

A further constraining feature of our perpetual reliance on self-report data is that the gathering of data typically happens at some temporal remove, and often at some physical remove, from the contexts, activities or experiences under focus. For example, we may conduct interviews or administer a questionnaire before a course of study (e.g., to elicit students’ motivational goals and expectations), or at the end of a course of study (e.g., to elicit evaluative reflections, or to examine changes in motivation over time; see, for example, Gardner et al., 2004). We may gather self-report data on motivation after a particular lesson or series of lessons, perhaps through stimulated recall interviews, or written entries in a reflective journal or learner log (e.g., Murphy, 2011). Alternatively, we may undertake in depth narrative interviews with participants inviting them to talk retrospectively about their language learning histories or about how their motivation has evolved in response to particular events or experiences (e.g., Harvey, 2017). In other words, most of the data we rely on stems from data collection points that fall outside the actual temporal, physical and social contexts interacting with participants’ motivation, which may be a significant limitation if we wish to understand the situated dynamics of how motivation develops and evolves among “persons-in-contexts” (Ushioda, 2009). In effect, our participants are usually removed from these focal contexts when we gather their self-report accounts. What is rather uncommon in motivation research is the capturing of real-time data in situ, as teaching and learning activities unfold in a classroom, and as interactional, motivational and relational processes play out among students and

teacher, or play out among L2 users and other interlocutors in particular social settings.

Furthermore, in relation to the situated dynamics of L2 motivation, a more general research challenge already highlighted is how to design studies that successfully apply complex dynamic systems principles to the analysis of motivation. As noted earlier, traditional quantitative research approaches are founded on conceptual principles of linear modelling, cause-effect relations and statistical probability. These principles are difficult to apply to the modelling of nonlinear growth and change (where statistical prediction is impossible), particularly when the focus is at the level of a whole system (e.g., a language learner's motivational system) and the dynamic interactions among its various elements as well as with other internal and external interacting systems (e.g., emotion and anxiety sub-systems, social system of the classroom). Despite extensive theorizing and debate around CDST in the L2 motivation field in recent years, it seems that these discussions have not yet translated into a solid programme of empirical research. This is likely to be due to the methodological challenges of researching dynamic systems and the absence of established design templates and tools of inquiry (though for detailed discussion on a methodological template for CDST research more broadly, see Hiver & Al-Hoorie, 2016). Indeed, this lack of empirical work even led to a concerted mission to explore the researchability of dynamic systems in the L2 motivation field, resulting in a collected volume of empirical studies as well as conceptual papers addressing methodological issues (Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015b). However, at this stage, it seems too early to say whether this collection will generate sufficient momentum for a sustained programme of empirical research on motivation applying CDST principles.

Researching L2 Motivation: New Approaches and Innovations

Nevertheless, in response to these various empirical challenges in researching motivation, there have been some interesting and innovative attempts to diversify the research designs and methods of inquiry in recent years. In particular, advances in technology and easier access to specialist software have enabled motivation researchers to experiment with alternative technical tools to access and analyse motivation-related L2 learner processes, such as willingness to communicate (Yashima, this volume) or implicit attitudes (Al-Hoorie, this volume). For example, MacIntyre (MacIntyre, 2012; also MacIntyre &

Legatto, 2011) has experimented with a novel *idiodynamic method* to capture dynamic fluctuations in participants' affective states during L2 communication tasks. Using specially designed software, the method combines video-recorded L2 communication samples with self-report ratings (in relation to relevant affective variables) at around one-second intervals, to generate a continuous graph of dynamic fluctuations in these variables. This process is followed by stimulated recall interviews with participants inviting them to comment on the fluctuations recorded and experienced, while others can also be invited to provide ratings and commentary from an external observer perspective to triangulate the analysis. As MacIntyre (2012) discusses, the idiodynamic method can offer a way of accessing and examining the interplay of various dynamic systems *in real time*, which (as noted earlier) is quite rare in research on L2 motivation. Another interesting example of harnessing technology to access motivation in innovative ways is the use of computerized reaction times to measure implicit attitudes towards L2 speakers. Associations can then be examined with explicit attitudes (elicited through standard self-report measures) and L2 motivation variables, as an approach to exploring the role of unconscious motivational processes in L2 learning (Al-Hoorie, 2016a, 2016b; see also Al-Hoorie, this volume).

Aside from technological innovations in capturing motivation processes, there has also been experimentation with some novel research designs and methods of inquiry, particularly with a view to addressing the challenges posed by CDST perspectives in this field. For example, Dörnyei (2014) introduced the idea of *retrodictive qualitative modelling*, a special form of qualitative system modelling designed to understand how a dynamic system (e.g., a language classroom) has reached a certain end state. Unlike traditional linear modelling where the focus is on predicting outcomes and effects, retrodictive qualitative modelling works backwards from the observable outcomes of the system to trace why certain system components (e.g., individual learners) ended up with particular outcome options rather than others (e.g., motivated, unmotivated, laid back, passive). As Chan, Dörnyei, and Henry (2015) illustrate in a study of L2 motivation in a Hong Kong secondary school, a possible research design entails firstly conducting focus group discussions with teachers to characterize salient learner archetypes, such as “a highly competitive and motivated student, with some negative emotions” (p. 243). Next, sample students representing each archetype are interviewed in depth to explore their motivational histories and trajectories, and the emerging data are then used to capture the signature motivational dynamics associated with the archetypes and finally construct a dynamic overview of the whole system or classroom environment.

An alternative novel approach to capturing motivational dynamics from a complexity perspective is offered by *Q methodology* (Watts & Stenner, 2012), which provides a systematic means of investigating individual subjective viewpoints in relation to certain complex phenomena, such as motivation for language learning. Though used quite extensively in some areas of psychology, social sciences and marketing research, Q methodology has begun to feature only recently in applied linguistics research, through the work of Pemberton and Cooker (2012), and Irie (2014). In simple terms, Q methodology entails inviting participants to sort and rank a number of statements (Q set) associated with the phenomenon under focus, according to how much they agree with, disagree with or feel indifferent about each statement. This activity can be conducted manually (with statements written on cards that participants sort into piles) or using a computer application. The resulting datasets (Q sorts) are then analysed using dedicated software and a form of inverted factor analysis to extract factors that represent groups of participants sharing similar viewpoints. As Irie and Ryan (2015) illustrate, if Q sorts are elicited at different time points (e.g., before, during and after study abroad), this method of inquiry can shed light on dynamic context-related changes in an individual's motivation, such as a shift from "naïve optimist" before study abroad to "shell-shocked doubter" after five months overseas (p. 356).

In addition to the use of innovative methods, technologies and tools of inquiry to address current research challenges, a notable feature of contemporary approaches to investigating motivation is the adoption of complex research designs utilizing multiple methods and data types. In effect, research that employs a longitudinal design integrating multiple data points and sources of data may be especially well suited to capturing the evolving nature of motivation from a CDST perspective (see, for example, the combination of successive interview and observation data in Henry, 2015). Alternatively, research designs that integrate multilevel nested timescales (e.g., from the micro level of seconds to the macro level of a semester) may help capture insights into the complex dynamics of change and stability in the motivational self, as illustrated by Mercer (2015). Such designs do not necessarily constitute a form of mixed methods research, which, as discussed earlier, entails combining quantitative and qualitative tools of inquiry, such as (typically) questionnaires and interviews. Rather, the emphasis here is on a *multi-method approach* (Brewer & Hunter, 2006), where the researcher integrates multiple tools and data sources in an effort to capture a holistic and richly grounded analysis of motivational processes from a variety of perspectives. These tools and data sources may or may not be all qualitative, and in the context of a classroom might include, for example, student interviews and

focus group discussions, language learning journals or written reflections, teacher journals, observer fieldnotes, audio or video recordings of lessons with stimulated recall interviews with teacher or student participants, task-related worksheets, samples of student work. For a detailed account of a multimethod approach to classroom research on motivation, see Sampson (2016).

Concluding Thoughts on Research Approaches: Looking to the Future

Since we could characterize the evolving field of L2 motivation research as a complex dynamic system itself, it would seem ironic to offer any predictions about future directions of travel and growth. In drawing this final chapter of the handbook to a close, I do not intend to make predictions or outline an agenda for how researching L2 motivation will develop in the future. Rather, in light of this analysis of past and current research approaches and associated issues, I would like to conclude by highlighting three key research considerations that may merit greater attention in the future.

Firstly, a key consideration is the possible desirability of *sharpening our empirical focus* when researching L2 motivation. With reference to what has become the standard mixed methods model of research in our field combining questionnaires and interviews, the extent to which this model can offer illuminating or genuinely interesting insights seems limited, particularly when in the hands of student or novice researchers conducting studies that are relatively small in scale. Part of the problem is that studies of this kind, even if grounded in specific classroom settings, tend to adopt a fairly broad empirical focus on motivation for learning an L2 (typically English) in association with language learning experiences and outcomes in a general sense. The findings of such research may then tend to be somewhat superficial and predictable, and the research design does not often enable a deep level of engagement with interesting critical issues. As I have discussed elsewhere (Ushioda, 2016), we may wish to encourage our student researchers (and other researchers) to think instead of sharpening the empirical focus and designing studies that take what I call a “small lens approach”. This might entail, for example, focusing on just one aspect of motivation (e.g., short-term goal-setting) and its associations with specific features of the learning context (e.g., teacher feedback on performance). Alternatively, the research lens might be focused on critical episodes in a classroom where language learners’ motivation to engage in the lesson is affected or implicated. By sharpening the empirical focus in

this way and keeping the scope of the study narrow, we are in a better position to develop richly nuanced insights into a locally grounded research issue that may make a meaningful contribution to knowledge, even within the limits of a relatively small-scale project.

A second key consideration is the desirability of *looking beyond self-report data* where possible, in order to capture alternative perspectives on motivation that are not filtered through language learners' own subjective perceptions and verbalizations. As Henry (2015) has shown, integrating ethnographic observation data with self-report data may offer a useful approach in this regard, while Al-Hoorie (2016a, 2016b) has illustrated the potential of using indirect approaches (i.e., measures of reaction time) to gauge learners' implicit attitudes to L2 speakers. Another approach that would seem to have valuable potential is to analyse real-time discourse data where L2 learners or users are engaged in interactions, such as interactions with the teacher or with one another in a classroom (e.g., Henry & Thorsen, 2018), or interactions in online social communities (e.g., Gao, 2013). A possible analytical focus might be, for example, how teachers use talk to scaffold learner regulation of motivation (see, for example, Vauras, Kinnunen, Kajamies, & Lehtinen, 2013). The analysis of classroom talk has a rich and long history in educational research as well as classroom research in language education, with several well-established and sophisticated analytical frameworks such as conversation analysis (e.g., Seedhouse, 2004) and sociocultural discourse analysis (e.g., Mercer, 2004). However, the potential for drawing on such analytical frameworks to explore how individual and collective motivations are played out in real-time in classroom talk seems, as yet, largely untapped (though see Preston, 2009).

Thirdly and finally, an important consideration that may merit more critical attention in the future is the *ethical and social purpose* of researching motivation for language learning. As demonstrated by the richness and variety of perspectives in this handbook, the L2 motivation research field is a truly vibrant one and attracts an ever-growing body of scholars actively researching, publishing, and contributing to advancing knowledge in our academic community. Clearly, much of this research also carries insights or implications for the professional community of teachers, educators and education policy makers. Indeed, some of this research is focused on particular classroom or educational settings, and a small proportion is conducted by teacher-researchers pursuing forms of practitioner inquiry in relation to their own learners and classrooms. Yet, as with much academic research in the field of language education, the extent to which the research we do on L2 motivation is genuinely designed to engage with the people who might benefit from our work seems, on the whole, somewhat limited. (For a recent critical analysis of this issue in

relation to language education research more broadly, see Marsden & Kasprówicz, 2017.) With reference to the field of instructed SLA, Ortega (2005) argued for “an ethical lens that interrogates our ends and purposes when generating research on second language learning and teaching” (p. 427). She offered the ethical principle that the value of research in our field should be judged not simply by measures of academic rigour and significance, but “ultimately on the basis of its potential for positive impact on societal and educational problems” (p. 430). Since motivation fundamentally concerns the psychology of personal agency, our field of inquiry would seem to have a particular ethical imperative to reflect carefully on how our research and research approaches may affect (positively or negatively) the agency of the people who are directly involved in our research, and that of others whom our research is intended to benefit.

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Index¹

A

- Acculturation, 319, 474, 488, 625
Acculturation theory, 634
Achievement, 6, 12, 21, 22, 25–27,
30–32, 34, 45, 53, 85, 86, 100,
140–142, 148, 151, 168, 170,
171, 206, 247, 268–270, 272,
289, 294, 331, 333, 337, 338,
348, 354, 376, 401, 452, 454,
464, 483, 505, 518, 521, 524,
528, 529, 545, 547–549, 564,
569, 582, 583, 633, 664
goal orientation, 108
goals, 123, 125, 268–269, 543,
545–546, 549, 554, 582–583
language, 26, 34, 184, 235, 294,
517, 520, 544
motivation, 167, 269, 452, 582, 583
motives, 528, 582
Activity Theory, 411
Acts of imagination, 390, 394,
398–401
Actual self, 73, 84, 606
Affective filter, 623
Affinity space, 317
Affordance, 8, 119, 146, 148, 252,
255, 258, 291, 340, 400, 473,
605, 613, 614
African languages, 476, 477, 480, 482,
483, 485
African multilingualism, 472, 473
Agency, 8, 55, 120, 129, 248, 249,
254–256, 258, 293, 298, 336,
339, 369, 399, 417, 554, 600,
602, 606, 610, 626, 654, 668,
677
Age-sensitivity beliefs, 540, 550
Alignment, 7, 150, 490, 623
Amotivation, 98, 105, 274, 368, 376,
383
Anglophone countries, 301, 433, 437,
442, 648
ANOVA, 314, 664
Anticipation, 145, 152, 183, 561
Anti-ought-to self, 48, 437, 643, 654,
655
Anxiety, *see* Language anxiety
Appraisal theory, 186

¹Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

- Aptitude, 22, 23, 51, 167, 169, 171, 228, 258, 419, 517, 538, 540, 542, 551, 650, 662
- Asia, 5, 348, 450
- Assessment, 2, 83, 105, 109, 211, 279, 298, 332, 337–338, 355, 433, 435, 500, 508, 516, 520, 523, 524, 526, 528, 608, 611
- Assessment for learning, 528
- Attachment theory, 97
- Attitude and Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), 23–28, 30, 34, 40, 170, 191, 452, 664
- Attitudes, 11, 13, 23, 39, 44, 46, 55, 72, 73, 78, 101, 151, 176, 184, 188, 191, 204, 206, 208, 217, 228, 231–233, 235–237, 247, 277, 278, 293–295, 313, 318, 351, 353, 356, 357, 370, 372, 435, 438, 439, 441, 442, 452, 490, 495–497, 500, 501, 517, 518, 523, 529, 539, 543, 561–565, 570–573, 605, 609, 622, 626, 642, 645, 648, 650, 655, 670, 672, 673, 676
- Attitudes, towards the learning situation, 24–26, 29–32, 34, 191, 204, 228
- Attractor states, 82, 124, 378
- Attributions, 13, 45, 46, 289, 376, 377, 382, 421, 455, 543, 546, 549, 553, 554, 562, 633
- Australia, 210, 214, 450, 455, 456, 462–465
- Authenticity, 151, 607–611
- Authenticity gap, 609
- Autoethnography, 315, 317
collaborative, 315, 317
- Autonomy, 14, 45, 97, 100, 103, 105, 106, 108, 235, 239, 312, 330, 374, 375, 381, 382, 430, 545, 551, 553, 600–603, 611, 614, 633
- Autonomy-supportive teaching, 109
- Autotelic activities, 580
- Autotelic behaviour, 145
- Avatar, 606
- B**
- Background variables, 357, 668
- Basque country, 356, 357, 646, 649, 655
- Behavioural routine, 146–148, 154, 568
- Behaviourism, 183
- Belgium, 207
- Beliefs, 13, 25, 39, 43, 45, 47, 58, 123, 125, 147, 151, 168, 171, 206, 208, 214, 216, 226, 228, 232, 268, 270, 271, 276, 282, 289–292, 298–300, 302, 311, 313, 316, 333, 334, 347, 350, 354–356, 368, 374, 376, 391, 393, 398, 420, 421, 423, 454, 496, 505, 507, 508, 516, 523, 527, 529, 537–540, 542–545, 547–552, 554, 555, 565, 588, 602, 603, 650
- Bicultural excursions, 25, 26
- Bilingualism, 22, 102, 107, 229, 431, 642
- Blogs, 604, 610, 612
- Brazil, 24, 30, 32, 391
- Broaden-and-build theory, 188, 630, 635
- C**
- California, 250
- Canada, 3, 21, 23, 48, 72, 102, 206, 207, 209, 231, 246, 251, 257, 455
- Capital, psychological, 106, 109
- Careers, 5, 11, 43, 99, 215, 295, 312, 353, 375, 381, 399, 417,

- 419–421, 453, 462, 465, 495,
624, 669
- Chile, 50, 298
- China, 207, 251, 337, 370, 373, 396,
412, 414, 423n1, 449–454,
462–464
- Chinese as a foreign language (CFL),
449–456, 464, 465
- Chinese language varieties, 460
- Christian missionaries, 413
- Classroom behaviour, 27, 60, 293, 297,
354
- Classroom discourse, 213, 399, 400
- Classroom Oral Participation Scheme
(COPS), 316
- Classroom social climate, 312, 568
- Co-adaptation, 568
- Code-switching, 229, 233–235, 238,
648
- Cognition, 51, 52, 73, 141, 146, 151,
153, 183, 188, 189, 195, 268,
309, 312, 336, 353, 359,
376–377, 381–383, 391–393,
402, 565, 631
- Cognitive Experiential Self Theory
(CEST), 187
- Cognitive theories, 45–46, 167, 175,
247
- Collaborative autoethnography, *see*
Autoethnography
- Collaborative learning, 318, 328, 593
- Collectivistic cultures, *see*
Individualistic cultures
- Communicative competence, 101,
206–209, 236, 332, 413, 485,
486, 489
- Communicative language skills, 4
- Communicative language teaching, 4
- Community languages, 474
- Community of practice (CoP), 319
- Community schools, 450
- Competence, 4, 14, 95, 97, 100, 101,
103, 105, 106, 108, 140, 187,
192, 204, 206–209, 213, 214,
216, 218, 236, 237, 269, 289,
298, 312, 318, 321, 332, 348,
359, 370, 374, 375, 378, 381,
383, 413, 417, 419, 421, 429,
433, 484, 489, 495, 497, 522,
539, 542, 545–548, 552, 554,
582, 600, 601, 604–605, 614,
623, 641, 645, 656
- Competitive motivation, 413–416,
419–420, 422, 423
- Complex dynamic systems, 49, 51, 56,
59, 108, 153, 259, 377–379,
554, 662, 672, 675
- Complex Dynamic Systems Theory
(CDST), 51–52, 82–84, 86,
118, 194, 206, 211, 218,
583, 592, 665, 666, 668,
672–674
See also Dynamic Systems Theory
- Complexity, 6–8, 32, 59, 76, 84, 87,
117–132, 144, 145, 178, 216,
235, 239, 246, 259, 275–277,
280, 294, 297, 310, 314, 360,
390, 392, 394–396, 401, 402,
482, 518, 520–523, 587, 662,
665, 669, 674
- Complexity theory, 6, 7, 117–132
- Complex systems, 47, 119–125, 395,
626
- Computer assisted language learning
(CALL), 14, 593, 599, 600,
602–605, 608
- Confucian, 208, 214, 215, 292, 414,
668
- Confucian cultures, 668
- Confucius Institute, 450
- Conscious motives, *see* Unconscious
motives
- Contact moments, 568
- Content and Language Integrated
Learning (CLIL), 10, 347–362,
433, 434, 437

- Context, contextual, 2, 25, 42,
72, 97, 119, 140, 164,
193, 204, 226–227,
247, 273, 288, 308, 327, 348,
370, 390, 411, 430, 450, 473,
496, 515, 548, 568, 579, 600,
622, 643, 662
- Context-in-person, 47, 237, 248, 644,
655
- Continuing professional development
(CPD), 393
- Control, 26, 27, 99, 146–148,
193, 217, 254, 258,
259, 272, 274, 275, 280,
281, 294–296, 314,
359, 369, 372, 376, 380,
527, 546, 547, 561, 562,
569, 580, 584, 586–589, 602,
603, 606, 631
- Conversation analysis, 108, 676
- Cooperative learning (CL), 318, 319,
336
- Creativity, 120, 156, 188, 276, 278,
334, 580, 584, 599, 622, 629,
630, 653
- Critical discourse analysis, 668
- Critical episodes, 675
- Critical incident analysis, 360
- Croatia, 24, 30, 32, 516
- Cultural differences, 33, 103
- Cultural osmosis, 564
- Cultural stereotypes, 550
- Culture, 11, 28, 34, 95, 102,
103, 189, 204, 215,
231, 282, 290–292, 296, 313,
331, 336, 351, 403, 422, 423,
432, 436, 437, 440, 452–454,
457, 460, 462–464,
473, 500, 503, 553,
566, 623, 625, 635, 644,
667, 668
- Current L2 self, 54, 84
See also Actual self
- D**
- Deaf language learners, 501, 502, 504
- Demotivation/demotivational, 10,
41–43, 119, 196, 298,
301, 337, 359, 361, 367–383,
418–421, 424n3, 435, 436,
440, 441, 517, 519, 523–525,
530, 635
external demotivators, 382, 421
internal demotivators, 371
- Demotivators
external, 382, 421
internal, 371
- Denmark, 450
- Digital game-playing, 606
- Digital games, 602
- Digital media, 14, 600, 601, 606,
611–614
- Digital simulation, 610
- Digital technologies, 14, 251, 288,
593, 599–614
- Directed Motivational Currents
(DMCs), 7, 39–61, 79,
139–157, 259, 332,
339, 568, 585, 591, 607,
630–633, 636
- Direct Method, 413
- Discrepancy, 48, 73, 76, 84, 86, 87,
184, 291, 338, 506, 516, 628
- Discursive turn, 667
- Dispositional optimism, 562
- Drop out, 26, 34, 451, 454, 464
- Dual-process approach, 13
- Dynamic (perspective), 7, 40, 47,
50–51, 56–57, 128, 174, 189,
194, 548–549
- Dynamic change, 121–122, 127, 128,
131, 525
- Dynamic Model of Multilingualism
(DMM), 15, 649–652
- Dynamic systems, 47, 53, 56, 59, 82,
195, 238, 583, 662, 672, 673,
675

- Dynamic systems theory (DST), 56, 227, 297, 395
See also Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST)
- Dynamic turn, 59, 117, 174, 176, 665
- Dyslexic language learners, 505
- E**
- Ecological framework (The Douglas Fir Group?), 498
- Ecological systems perspective, 226
- Educational credentialism, 412
- Educational psychology, 13, 101, 167, 175, 177, 226, 227, 247, 267–272, 282, 300, 543, 555, 582
- Educational shift, 44, 47
- Elementary schools, 375, 411, 416–419
- Emergence, 8, 71–72, 123–125, 149–150, 177, 195, 218, 338, 339, 378, 419–420, 451, 566, 583
- Emergent motivation, 583
- Emotions/emotional, 8, 14, 52–54, 75, 79, 95, 96, 99, 101, 125, 141, 145, 150–152, 157, 183–196, 210, 234, 238, 260, 268, 274, 279, 280, 289, 300, 308, 312, 334, 336, 339, 371, 374–378, 380–383, 391, 393, 396, 402, 497, 502, 516, 522, 526, 527, 543, 547–549, 555, 567, 568, 585–587, 591, 593, 604, 622–624, 629–636, 672, 673
- contagion, 336
- intelligence, 623
- schema, 188, 189, 191
- Empathy, 623, 624
- Engagement, 14, 60, 61, 86, 95–109, 120, 122, 125, 140, 151, 152, 157, 193, 195, 196, 216, 251, 259, 268, 270, 271, 274–279, 281, 282, 313, 317, 319, 334, 350, 354, 360, 395, 400, 431, 435, 437, 438, 518, 523, 527, 528, 564, 568, 589, 591–593, 600–602, 605, 606, 608, 610–614, 623, 624, 629–636, 671, 675
- language, 14, 95–109, 602, 610, 631
- motivational engagement, 282, 606
- English as a global language, 25, 30, 642, 645
- English as a global lingua franca, 349
- English as a lingua franca, 429–431, 570
- English as cultural capital (economic, social), 430
- English as gate-keeping device, 415
- English Baccalaureate (EBacc), 431
- Enjoyment, 78, 82, 101, 185, 187, 191, 193, 195, 196, 269, 271, 273, 275, 279, 280, 293, 294, 440, 585–587, 601, 605, 624, 629, 633
- Entitativity, 308
- Entity beliefs, 545, 547, 550
See also Incremental beliefs
- Ethics, 671
- Ethnography, 15, 213, 317, 402, 611, 612, 626, 668, 676
- Ethnolinguistic vitality, 102, 107, 108, 232, 239
- Eudaimonia, 96, 150–151
- Eudaimonic identity theory, 151
- Eurobarometer survey, 429, 430
- Europe, 207, 215, 347, 430, 432, 434, 442, 450, 496, 502, 648
- Excitement, 163, 210
- Expectancy-value, 167, 270–271
- Expectancy-value theory (EVT), 270, 274, 454, 561

- Experience sampling method (ESM),
581, 586, 588, 592
- Experiential learning, 328
- Experimental studies, 76, 107
- Explicit (reflective) attitudes, 563, 564,
570
- External motivation, *see* Internal
motivation
- Extracurricular learning, 41
- Extracurricular learning activity
(‘out-of-class’ L2 learning/use),
257, 519
- Extrinsic motivation, 98–99, 103, 105,
106, 109, 268, 271–272, 274,
282, 300, 351, 374, 379, 381,
417, 418, 423, 436–438, 452,
453, 545, 562, 587, 590,
601–602, 614
See also Intrinsic motivation
- F**
- Facial overlay, 607
- Familial influence, 455
- Fanfiction, 608, 609, 613
- Fear of assimilation, 206, 569
- Feedback, 8, 12, 123–125, 146, 149,
272, 282, 289, 294, 300, 330,
332, 337–338, 378–380, 382,
435, 505–507, 516, 523, 525,
528, 529, 542, 546, 547, 581,
590, 593, 602, 605, 612, 631,
636, 675
- Feedback loops, 108, 125, 378, 604
- Figured worlds, 390, 394, 396–398,
400, 401
- Fixed mindset, 377, 537, 539,
546–548, 550, 551, 553
- Flipped classroom, 602, 603
- Flow, 13, 25, 52, 61, 98, 130, 140,
144–146, 150, 152–154, 156,
157, 185, 216, 268, 271–272,
282, 315, 337, 339, 396,
579–594, 599, 602, 623, 624,
631–633, 635, 636
- group, 14, 156, 157, 331, 339,
584–586, 590, 593
- networked, 14, 585, 590, 593
- social, 585, 593
- team, 584, 585, 593
- Foreign language anxiety (FLA), 372,
375, 376, 382, 498, 506–507
- Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety
scale (FLCAS), 192, 194
- Foreign language diversity, 439
- Foreign language enjoyment (FLE),
189, 192–194, 624
- Foreign language monolingualism, 430,
439
- Formative feedback, 338
See also Summative feedback
- French, 7, 21–24, 26, 27, 34, 72, 81,
206, 207, 210, 252, 256, 275,
280, 423n1, 430–432, 438, 441,
481, 503, 602, 604, 644, 647,
651
- Future selves, 76, 83, 84, 87, 143, 153,
184, 259, 399, 487, 628, 643
- G**
- GCSE, 431, 436
- GCSE exams, 431
- Gender, 74, 81, 102, 193, 206, 207,
248, 250, 351, 436, 456, 519,
522, 563, 564, 573
- General-language-intelligence, 540
- Genres of participation, 612
- German, 49, 81, 103, 212, 234, 274,
300, 423n1, 429, 431, 432, 434,
435, 437–442, 499, 500, 503,
505, 521, 644, 645, 647, 651,
652
- Germany, 11, 301, 350, 352, 353, 370,
429–442, 503, 645
- Goal attributes, 276, 332

- Goal-directed, 14, 140, 142–144, 146, 148–150, 153, 186, 339, 568, 633
- Goal-setting theory, 149, 332
- Grammar-translation methods, 208, 371, 373
- Group cohesion, 311, 312
- Group cohesiveness, 43, 318, 337, 339
- Group dynamics, 9, 43, 279, 280, 282, 288, 307–321, 336, 361, 378
- Group flow, 156, 157, 331, 339, 584, 585, 590
- Group norms, 43, 310–312, 522
- Growth mindset, 529, 538–540, 542, 543, 546–548, 550–554, 623
- H**
- Habitus, 254, 255
- Heritage language learners (HLL), 454–458, 460, 462–465
- Hong Kong, 54, 234, 235, 251, 296, 414, 603, 605, 673
- Hungary, 42, 48, 71, 72, 81, 353, 370, 500, 504, 506, 644, 652
- I**
- Iconic authenticity, 609, 610
- Ideal L2 self, 3, 48, 73–77, 79–84, 86, 87, 108, 217, 339, 353, 357, 358, 412, 417, 504–506, 519, 551, 562, 569, 606–608, 623, 628, 665, 667
- Ideal multilingual self, 48, 82, 357, 474, 649–656
- Ideal self, 47, 73, 75, 76, 78, 80, 551, 567, 606, 628, 643, 644, 650, 653, 654
- Identity, 3, 10, 14, 15, 21, 22, 24, 34, 40, 52, 53, 72, 73, 80, 81, 84, 100, 102, 106, 108, 140, 147, 151, 189, 192, 227, 239, 245–256, 258, 259, 294–296, 298, 308, 310, 317, 318, 321, 333, 334, 349, 350, 354, 356, 357, 362, 370, 372, 373, 375, 380, 382, 391, 392, 396–398, 454, 455, 459, 460, 463, 464, 517, 579, 587, 589, 590, 600, 605–607, 613, 614, 623, 626, 628, 630, 645, 666, 667
- Ideologies, 5, 8, 47, 225–240, 253, 254, 258, 259, 398, 648, 668
- Idiodynamic
 approach, 237, 552
 method, 127, 195, 211, 227, 237–239, 592, 665, 673
- Imagery, 42, 54, 58, 75, 79, 84, 140, 143, 259, 268, 339, 607, 643, 653
- Imagined community, 108, 217, 249–251, 357
- Immersion, 206, 207, 209, 210, 236, 251, 256, 397, 508
- Immunity, 632
- Implicit Association Test (IAT), 564, 569, 571–573
- Implicit attitudes, 55, 564, 569–571, 573, 672, 676
- Implicit (automatic) attitudes, 13, 55, 563, 564, 569–571, 573, 670, 672, 676
- Implicit language learning, 570
- Implicit motives, 571
- Implicit prejudice, 564, 570
- Implicit self-concept, 571
- Implicit self-determination, 571
- Implicit self-regulation, 571
- Implicit theories, 13, 125, 539
- Inclusive education, 496–498, 500, 501
- Incremental ability conceptualizations, 562, 650
- Incremental beliefs, *see* Entity beliefs
- Indexicality, 253, 255

- Individual differences (ID), 46, 57, 86,
163–178, 184, 186, 258, 308,
321, 339, 441, 517, 520, 522,
523, 529, 538, 567, 588, 662
- Individualistic cultures, 553
See also Collectivistic cultures
- Indonesia, 290, 291, 473, 609
- Initial conditions, 121
- Institutional (in-house) tests, 2, 418
- Instrumentality-promotion, 417
- Instrumental motivation, 27, 247, 351,
417, 421, 423, 436, 522
See also Integrative motivation
- Instrumental orientation, 103, 247,
351, 419, 462, 463
- Integrative motivation, 27, 28, 30,
39–61, 191, 247, 351, 417, 421,
423, 436, 452, 455, 519, 522,
523, 567, 625
integrativeness, 26, 29
See also Instrumental motivation
- Integrativeness, 24–26, 29–32, 34, 48,
72, 204, 206, 208, 228, 277,
562, 567
- Integrative orientation/motivation, 23,
27, 28, 30, 39–61, 102, 103,
108, 191, 452, 455, 462, 463,
519, 523, 567, 625, 634, 666,
667
- Intelligence, 13, 22, 123, 125, 164,
166–167, 169, 171, 374,
538–540, 542, 546, 550, 551,
553, 587
- Intended learning effort, 644, 663
- Interacting for Teaching and Learning
in CLIL (ITALIC) process
model, 349, 361
- Intercultural contact, 106, 523, 546,
552
- Intergroup contact, 225, 233
- Intergroup relations, 204, 228, 236
- Interlingual identification, 650, 651
- Internal motivation, 289, 422
- International posture, 81, 208, 216,
626, 634
- Internet, 5, 35, 231, 252, 603, 612,
613
- Intrinsic motivation, *see* Extrinsic
motivation
- Introversion, 204, 339
- Investigative research, 328
- Investment, 8, 139, 153, 245–260,
312, 315, 332, 391, 394, 398,
417, 488, 490, 554, 630, 631
model of, 252, 254, 256–258
teacher, 259
- Invisible group, 308, 318
- Iran, 207, 293, 372
- Israel, 331
- J**
- Japan, 24, 30, 31, 75, 81, 104, 208,
293, 311, 312, 315, 370, 396,
412, 424n2, 474, 516
- Japanese, 5, 72, 83, 154, 208,
213, 214, 217, 251, 275,
310, 316, 371, 396, 412–415,
422, 423, 423n1, 424n2, 453,
460, 553, 589, 602, 644, 646,
651
- K**
- Korean, 74, 193, 209, 256, 273, 279,
280, 290, 292, 294, 378,
411–415, 418, 421–423, 423n1,
424n2, 453, 460, 524, 644
- Korea, South, 256, 311, 396, 411–416,
424n4
- L**
- L2 achievement, 86, 295, 401, 663,
664
- L2 acquisition, 46, 233

- L2 learning experience, 48, 73, 74, 77–78, 80, 85, 86, 357, 501, 504, 635, 663
- L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS), 7, 47–50, 53, 54, 71–87, 141, 157, 172, 173, 250, 349, 356, 411, 483, 504, 506, 519, 551, 590, 608, 628, 642
- L2 proficiency, 43, 57, 142, 210, 239, 295, 312
- L2 self-concept, 83
- L2 self-confidence, 206, 208, 236
See also Second language confidence (L2 confidence)
- L2 vision, 42, 139–157, 607, 614
- L2 WTC, *see* Willingness to communicate (WTC)
- Language anxiety, 13, 25, 29, 31, 32, 34, 50, 54, 97, 101, 106, 171, 184–187, 189, 191–196, 204, 206–209, 213, 214, 217, 233, 235–238, 268, 276, 277, 289, 330, 339, 375, 380–382, 438, 506–508, 517, 518, 522, 523, 528, 545, 547–548, 551, 554, 589, 624, 632, 650, 662, 672
- Language contact, 480, 481, 486, 487
- Language development, 22, 239, 370, 433, 474, 487, 515, 516, 548, 549, 552, 554
- Language Learning Orientation Scale (LLOS), 105
- Language loss, 27, 35
- Language-Mindset Meaning System (LMMS), 543, 544, 548–550, 552–554
- Language Mindsets Inventory (LMI), 540–542
- Language of instruction, 256, 359, 502, 646
- Language policy, 229, 231, 232, 239, 251, 254, 356, 430–434, 439, 440, 476
- Language retention, 27
- Languages other than English (LOTEs), 11, 54, 81–82, 334, 340, 349, 355, 359, 423, 429–431, 439, 442, 453, 465, 487, 642, 645, 646, 648, 650, 652, 654, 655
- Lay theories, 354, 355, 538, 539
- Learner autonomy, 275, 291, 330, 528, 529, 546, 587, 603
See also Autonomy
- Learner autonomy (SDT concept), 108
- Learner characteristics/individual differences, 8, 21, 22, 24, 25, 46, 51–53, 57, 86, 117, 163–178, 184, 186, 216, 258, 308, 321, 339, 441, 517, 520, 522, 523, 529, 538, 567, 588, 662
- Learner differentiation, 295, 300, 313
- Learner engagement, 14, 350, 354, 431, 435, 587, 589, 592, 602, 632
- Learning difficulties (LD), 497, 498, 501, 506
- Learning effort, 644, 645, 663
- Linguistic self-confidence, 293, 523, 605, 625, 634
See also L2 self-confidence
- Linguistic super-diversity, 473
- LMMS, *see* Language-Mindset Meaning System
- Longitudinal designs, 104, 665, 674
- Long-term motivation, 40, 50, 57, 59, 60, 79, 119, 143, 298
- LOTEs, *see* Languages other than English
- Low achievers, 355, 359

M

- Macau, 310
- Mastery goals, *see* Performance goals
- Mastery motives, 518, 528

- Match-guise technique (MGT), 565, 566
- Meaning-focused tasks, 518
- Media production, 612
- Mental imagery, 42, 47, 79, 84, 268, 607
- Migration, 246, 472, 480, 481, 486, 642
- Milieu, 25, 49, 170, 228, 229, 462, 498, 504–505, 626
- Mindsets, 43, 56, 440, 545, 549
 fixed mindset, 13, 374, 377, 537–540, 542, 543, 546–548, 550, 551, 553
 growth mindset, 13, 529, 537–540, 542, 543, 546–548, 550–554, 623
- Mindsets (language), 13, 53, 108, 537–544
- Mixed methods designs, 663, 666, 669
- Mobile devices, 611
- Model of multilingual communication, 229–231
- Modified Differential Emotions Scale (mDES), 190, 191
- Monolingual bias, 168, 355, 641
- Monolingualism, 430, 437, 641, 648
- Motivated learning behaviour ('intended learning effort'), 60, 644, 645, 663
- Motivational contingencies, 297
- Motivational intensity (MI), 22, 25, 29, 102, 105, 145, 170, 247, 458, 459, 461, 523, 545, 601
- Motivational L2 pedagogy, 290
- Motivational narratives, 52–53
- Motivational strategies, 41–43, 259, 288–299, 301, 361, 608
- Motivational teaching strategies (MotS), 9, 287–302
- Motivation as stable trait, 49, 170
- Multi-competence, 650, 654, 656
- Multilingual, 34, 35, 48, 54, 82, 225, 229–230, 232–234, 239, 252, 254, 333, 356, 357, 360–362, 394, 397, 437, 439, 462, 464, 471–476, 480–490, 641, 642, 644, 646–649, 652, 653, 655, 656
- Multilingual children, 391, 397
- Multilingual experience, 54
- Multilingualism, 4, 11, 15, 53–55, 81–82, 119, 229, 233, 251, 350, 355–357, 359, 360, 362, 434, 437, 471–491, 642, 644, 645, 648–651, 654, 656
 African, 472, 473
 individual, 641
 societal, 472
- Multilinguality, 652
- Multilingual motivational self system, 55, 356, 360, 652
- Multilingual ought-to self, 483
- Multilingual repertoires, 401, 475, 476, 480, 482, 487, 489, 490
- Multilingual turn, 642, 656
- Multimethod approach, 674, 675
- N**
- Narrative emphasis, 667
- Narrative turn, 667
- National curriculum, 416, 419
- Native speakers, 6, 208, 209, 249, 252, 293, 295, 296, 339, 415, 519, 548, 604, 641
- Naturalistic language learning, 642
- Near peer role modeling, 319
- Needs, psychological, 96, 97, 101, 103, 105–107, 109, 312, 374, 568, 600, 601, 608, 633
- Negotiated language learning, 328
- Networked flow, 585, 590, 593
- Networks, 103, 130, 131, 188, 214, 233, 248, 250, 253, 255, 308,

317, 522, 585, 606, 608, 611,
612, 626, 627, 664
Neurobiology/neuroscience, 46, 321
New Zealand, 78, 207, 256

O

Online informal learning of English
(OILE), 601, 609
Optimal experiences, 581, 583,
585–588, 590, 592, 593
Oral language skills, 416
Orientations (motivational), 95,
97–101, 103, 105, 106, 109,
281, 453, 455–462, 464, 465
Ought self, 73, 85, 567
Ought-to L2 self, 73, 74, 76–77, 83,
86, 250, 357, 418–419, 504,
505, 628

P

Parental influence, 11, 80, 452, 664
Past learning experience, 46, 420
Path analysis, 31, 32
Patterns of control, 254, 258, 259
Perceived behavioural control, 562
Perceived competence, 97, 187,
205–209, 237
Perceived language distance, 650
Perceived Positive Language
Interaction (PPLI), 646, 649,
651, 654–656
Performance anxiety, 551
Performance-approach, 269, 281, 545,
546, 583
Performance-avoidance, 214, 215, 269,
545, 546, 583
Performance goals, 13, 108, 125, 269,
414, 423, 545, 546, 548, 551,
554, 582, 583
performance-approach, 269, 281,
282, 545, 546, 583

performance-avoidance, 214, 215,
269, 545, 546, 583
See also Mastery goals
PERMA model (Positive emotions,
Engagement, Relationship,
Meaning and Accomplishments),
14, 591, 622–625, 627, 629,
631, 633, 634, 636
Persistence, 25, 58, 61, 101, 105,
142–144, 177, 269, 270, 272,
316, 369, 505, 545, 553, 629,
633, 663
Personal growth, 102, 623, 628
Personality, 49, 52, 53, 141, 164–166,
168, 169, 185, 188, 196, 206,
217, 236, 247, 310, 318, 370,
374, 537, 565, 566, 626
Personality characteristics, 52
Person-in-context relational view, 47,
78, 237, 248, 310, 626, 644, 655
Phenomenological perspective, 579
Plurilingual ideal *Bildungs-Selbst*, 653
Poland, 24, 30, 32, 207, 350, 503,
507, 636
Positioning, 106, 203, 255, 611
Positive and Negative Affect Scale
(PANAS), 190, 191
Positive psychology, 14, 109, 184, 190,
195, 339, 591, 621–637
Possible selves, 55, 71, 73, 78,
83, 84, 87, 141–143, 146,
153, 391, 399, 400, 402,
524, 567, 628, 643, 652,
666, 667
Poststructuralist, 247
Practice-oriented epistemology,
400–402
Prevention-orientation (prevention-
focus), 77, 87, 550, 643
Primary education, 350, 351, 353, 355,
359, 515, 518
See also Elementary schools
Primitive (unconscious) drives, 561

Principled Communicative Approach, 333

Private language schools, 4

Problem-Based Learning, 328

Process-oriented approach, 49

Projects

- project approach, 328
- project-based approach, 328
- project work, 288, 291, 327, 328, 330, 332, 334, 336, 338, 340, 361, 603

Promotion-orientation (promotion-focus), 77, 87, 122, 643

Psychological nourishments, 14, 601, 614

Pyramid Model, 204–206, 208

Q

Q methodology, 674

Qualitative approaches, 173, 663, 666

Qualitative research paradigm shift, 666

Quantitative approaches, 207, 663

Quebec, 256

Questionnaire design, 154

R

Reactance, 654, 655

Real-time discourse data, 676

Regulations

- external, 99, 103, 274
- introjected, 103, 105

Relatedness, 14, 97, 100, 103, 105, 106, 109, 312, 374, 375, 381, 568, 600, 601, 603–604, 611, 614, 633, 651

Relational dynamics, 668

Relational unit, 119–120, 122

Remotivation, 368, 524

Resilience, 5, 140, 152, 374, 377, 524, 630, 632, 635

learner resilience, 547

teacher resilience, 391

Retrodictive qualitative modelling, 673

Rewards, 2, 5, 247, 272, 289, 292, 297, 298, 300, 374, 379–381, 518, 528

Romania, 24, 30, 32

Rooted L2 self, 48, 334, 644, 668

S

Saudi Arabia, 290, 294, 296, 300, 655

Scaffolding, 97, 152, 279, 289, 319, 528, 636

Scale reliability, 29

School belonging, 308

School league tables, 441

Secondary education, 351, 352, 356, 357, 359, 413, 415

Second language acquisition (SLA), 4, 21–35, 39, 104, 144, 168, 184, 209, 225–240, 246, 267, 299, 307–321, 338, 367, 392, 473, 498, 515, 537, 580, 613, 621, 622, 665

Second language competence (L2C), 192, 204, 207, 233, 238

See also L2 achievement; L2 proficiency

Second language confidence (L2 confidence), 187, 192, 232, 233

Self-actualization, 97, 622, 628, 629

Self-authenticity, 151, 334, 609

Self-concept, 54, 72, 73, 82–84, 142, 147, 153, 270, 271, 350, 352, 354, 360, 507, 508, 518, 522, 571, 628, 644, 645, 652, 653

Self-concordant goals, 58, 59, 147–149, 151, 153, 333

Self-Determination Theory (SDT), 7, 14, 45, 80, 95–109, 146, 271, 272, 274, 297, 374, 391, 411,

- 422, 551, 568, 571, 590,
600–605, 614
- Self-determined motivation, 97, 109,
551
- Self-directed learning, 330
- Self-discrepancy theory, 47, 55, 567,
628, 643, 654
- Self-efficacy, 45, 46, 268–270, 276,
282, 311, 330, 339, 421, 434,
436, 440, 508, 562, 588, 600,
605, 628
- learners, 269, 376, 435, 438, 498,
507
- teachers, 391, 393
- Self-esteem, 125, 204, 331, 350, 354,
507, 508, 547, 553
- See also* L2 self-concept; Second
language confidence (L2
confidence)
- Self-evaluation, 42, 84, 149, 192, 233,
289, 421
- Self-handicapping, 378, 547
- Self-presentation, 123, 606, 611
- Self-regulated learning, 101, 193, 335
- Self-regulation, 87, 108, 140, 141,
152, 258, 418, 547, 568,
571, 601
- Self-System Motivational Model of
Development (SSMMD), 101
- Self-worth, 507, 508
- Sign languages, 502–504, 509n1,
509n2
- Silence, 203, 213–215, 217, 315, 316
- Singapore, 251, 414
- Situated learning, 318, 319
- Small lens approach, 15, 44, 675
- Social capital, 109, 251, 627, 642
- Social divide, 432, 440
- Social ecology, 101
- Social flow, 585, 593
- Social identity, 246, 308, 488
- Socially intelligent dynamic systems
(SINDY), 310
- Social media, 60, 109, 252, 604, 610,
611
- Social motivation, 46
- Social network analysis (SNA), 128,
130, 315
- Social networking, 611–613
- Social psychological research, 8
- Social relationships, 214, 490, 625
- Social responsibility, 452
- Sociocultural context, 46–47, 102,
107, 109, 218, 255, 289, 393,
548, 553
- Sociocultural discourse analysis, 676
- Socio-cultural factors, 550
- Socio-economic background, 295, 433,
435, 520
- Socioeconomic status (SES), 80, 417,
418, 433, 441, 520, 521, 529
- Socio-Educational Model, 7, 21–35,
101–103, 170, 190, 228, 411,
418
- Socio-structural factors, 108
- Sojourn, *see* Study abroad
- South Africa, 250, 471–490, 646–648,
653
- South America, 215
- South Korea, 11, 256, 396, 411–413,
424n4
- Spain, 24, 30, 32, 350, 351, 353, 356,
358, 391, 645, 646
- Spanish, 82, 238, 252, 280,
356, 357, 430, 432,
589, 604, 605, 645, 646,
651, 655
- Special Educational Needs (SEN), 12,
495–508
- definition, 496
- types of disability, 495
- Standardized (public) tests, 101, 106,
411, 416
- Stereotypes, 377, 540, 550, 570, 573
- Stimulated recall interviews, 210, 211,
671, 673, 675

Structural equation modeling (SEM),
104, 107, 207, 314, 588
Study abroad, 84, 235, 251, 417, 422,
674
Subjective task value (STV), 270, 271
Summative feedback, *see* Formative
feedback
Sweden, 42, 81, 291, 350, 353, 487,
602, 610, 612, 645, 655
Switzerland, 234, 251, 516

T

Taiwan, 57, 290, 292, 310, 311
Task-based language teaching (TBLT),
216, 333, 592
Task engagement, 120, 140, 195, 268,
270, 271, 274, 277, 282, 602
Task motivation, 9, 46, 267–283, 518
Task ownership, 274
Teacher cognition, 391, 392
Teacher feedback, 675
 explicit feedback, 528
 implicit feedback, 528
Teacher identity, 39, 256, 391, 397
Teacher motivation, 3, 10, 85,
389–403
Teachers' possible selves, 398
Teacher-student relationship, 336, 340,
627
Teaching materials, 216, 361, 370, 372
Teaching methodology, 520
Team flow, 584, 585, 593
Telecollaboration, 604
Temporal dimension, 49, 143–144,
621
Tertiary education, 413, 420
Test of English for International
Communication (TOEIC), 416,
420–422, 424n4
Theory of planned behaviour, 561
Thinking-in-action, 299
3D animation, 607

Transdisciplinary perspectives, 392
Transdisciplinary research, 125–127,
132
Transfer, 59, 204, 282, 335, 376, 502,
585, 650, 651
Transition, 375, 435, 522, 529, 612
Translanguaging, 648
Transportable identity, 334
Triangulation of data, 518
T-tests, 314, 664
Types of disability, 496

U

Uganda, 251, 256
Unconscious
 attitudes, 55, 539, 562–570, 670
 motivation, 55, 153, 562, 568
 motivational processes, 568, 673
 motives, 148, 339, 562
 self-regulation, 568
Unconscious motives, 561
United Kingdom (UK), 5, 11, 207,
367, 429–442, 566
United States (USA), 231, 251, 370,
412, 580, 648

V

Valence, 46, 52, 562
Validation seeking, 600, 606,
611–614
Valued others, 520, 525–527
Variability, 57, 122, 226, 372, 497,
499, 520, 523, 567
Verisimilitude, 14, 600, 606, 608–611,
614
Video conferencing, 604
Video-sharing, 612
Visible group, 308
Vision, 47, 50, 53, 57–59, 61, 75, 76,
79, 83, 84, 139–157, 217, 218,
259, 267, 268, 339, 355, 357,

361, 391, 392, 439, 441, 506,
591, 606–608, 632, 667
Visionary training programme, 58, 143
Vision, L2, 14, 42, 76, 139–157, 600
Visualization, 84, 143, 259, 361, 562,
607, 643, 654
Volitional control, 146–148

W

Wash-back, 414, 420
Well-being, 14, 97, 101, 102,
150–152, 186, 188, 192, 312,
321, 591, 592, 600, 605, 624,
625, 627, 630–632, 634–636

Welsh, 431, 566, 604
Wiki, 604, 612
Willingness to communicate (WTC),
8, 86, 102, 187, 203–219, 227,
236, 237, 249, 273, 316, 488,
528, 552, 568, 604
L2 WTC, 8, 187, 203–219, 273,
316
Written language skills, 57

Y

Young learners (YLS), 417, 454,
515–530
very young learners, 515