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An Overview of the Research on Language Learning Motivation

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It is well known among second/foreign language (L2) teachers and researchers that affective variables are no less important than cognitive variables in L2 learning. According to Gardner and MacIntyre (1992, 1993), affective variables include attitudes, motivation, language anxiety, self-confidence about the language, personality, and learning styles, whereas cognitive variables include intelligence, language aptitude, language learning strategies, previous language training, and experience. One of the affective variables, motivation, has long captured research interest because motivation plays an important role in achievement of a higher proficiency level, behavior in the language classroom, and persistence in language study. This paper overviewed the research on language learning motivation.

Early Studies on Motivation in Canada

Gardner and Lambert (1959) showed that motivational variables as well as linguistic ability played an important role in second language acquisition at a time when the measurement of linguistic aptitude captured the attention of many language researchers. Seventy-five English-speaking high school students learning French as a second language completed a test battery that included linguistic aptitude, verbal intelligence, attitudinal, and motivational measures. A factor analysis yielded two orthogonal factors, a linguistic aptitude factor and a motivational factor. Moreover, Gardner and Lambert (1959) argued that this motivational factor was associated more with integrative orientation, a particular type of motivation "characterized by a willingness to be like valued members of the language community" (p.271), than with an instrumental orientation.

Gardner, Smythe, Clément, and Gliksman (1976) reported results from a three year longitudinal study examining the role of attitudes and motivation on second language acquisition. The study was conducted in seven different geographic regions in Canada and involved students at five grade levels learning French as a second language. The researchers contended that motivational variables were as closely associated with second language achievement as the language aptitude variables. Especially, an integrative motive was referred to as an important motivational configuration, which "reflects a high level of drive on the part of the individual to acquire the language of a valued second language community in order to facilitate communication with that group" (p.199). They also pointed out the influence of the cultural milieu in which the language learner lives on the development of learners' motivation. For instance, students are expected to learn a second language or not, or language learning is expected to occur primarily in a classroom or in informal contexts. Gardner et al. also investigated the effects of motivational variables and language aptitude on four kinds of French achievement measures: aural comprehension, speech skill, grades in the French course, and

opportunities to use French. For all four achievement measures, motivation was the most consistent predictor of achievement. In the early stages of second language acquisition, motivation played a more important role on achievement than language aptitude; however, as the learners became more proficient, language ability was a slightly more dominant predictor of achievement. Furthermore, integrativeness was more highly related to each of the four achievement measures than instrumentality.

Clément, Gardner, and Smythe (1977) examined the relationships among measures of motivation, attitude, intelligence, academic achievement, and English achievement for two samples of francophone high school students learning English as a second language in Montreal. Many previous studies on motivational factors were conducted with Anglophones learning French as a second language and presented close associations between the integrative motive and both the learner's proficiency in French and persistence in its acquisition. The purpose of this study was to examine if the same were true of francophne high school students, who were not so willing to integrate with the English-speaking community due to their traditional nationalistic orientation. The researchers expected that an instrumental orientation would be a predictor of English achievement in this study just like the case in the Philippines, where achievement in English was positively correlated with an instrumental orientation because English ability was required to obtain better jobs due to American economic power in that country. Contrary to this prediction, however, the results indicated that English achievement and persistence in language learning were associated with an *Integrative* Motive. Furthermore, English competence was related to self-confidence derived from prior experience with the language. These results were supported by another study of 223 grade 11 francophone students, conducted by Clément, Gardner, and Smythe (1980), which again identified the same two motivational components, the *Integrative Motive* and *Self-confidence with English*, as very important to the acquisition of English. Self-confidence with English seemed to be brought about from personal contact, that is, the learner's actual use of the language outside the school setting.

Thus, early studies on motivation started in the unique Canadian situation in which the Anglophone and Francophone communities coexisted. The results of these studies indicated repeatedly that an integrative motive was closely associated with second language acquisition.

Motivation Studies in EFL settings

Many researchers conducted motivation studies in various EFL settings in order to investigate whether there were any differences in the kind of influential motivational factors between second language and foreign language acquisition.

Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels (1994) examined the underlying structure of motivational orientations in the unicultural Hungarian setting, where person-to-person contact with native speakers of English was rare and English was regarded as an ordinary school subject; however, significant contact with English had been brought through the media and the use of computers. Performing a factor analysis on the orientation items, the researchers found four factors: a *Xenophilic* factor (making friends with foreigners), a *Sociocultural* factor (an interest in cultural aspects of the English

world), an *Instrumental-Knowledge* factor (English as an important component of pragmatic attainment) and an *English Media* factor (the use of English in the media). A factor analysis of the attitude, anxiety, and motivation measures revealed results similar to those of Clément, Gardner, and Smythe's (1977, 1980) studies involving francophones learning English as a second language. A *Student Achievement and Performance* factor, an *Integrative Motive* factor, and a *Self-Confidence with English* factor emerged. In addition to those factors, this study, paying attention to classroom dynamics, identified an *Evaluation of the Learning Environment* factor defined by six variables (teacher's style, teacher's competence, course attractiveness, teacher's motivation, course usefulness, and teacher's rapport) that were all related to the students' evaluation of the English teacher and course. Thus, Clément et al. (1994) found integrativeness to be a powerful component in acquiring English as a foreign language in Hungary.

Tachibana, Matsukawa, and Zhong (1996) investigated the role of attitudes and motivation in learning English as a foreign language in two other unicultural settings, Japan and China, involving 359 Japanese and 442 Chinese high school students. The students were asked to respond to a questionnaire consisting of eleven reasons for studying English. For Japanese students, a factor analysis yielded three factors. Factor I, Positive Attitudes to English Studies, showed heavy loadings from five variables: "Feel happy when I can understand English," "Like to have foreign friends," "To learn English is interesting," "English fluency is good for the future," and "Want to understand English songs and movies." Three variables loaded on Factor II: "Want to be praised by parents and teachers," "Want to be highly regarded by friends," and "I'd like to be better than my rival." The authors labeled this factor Interpersonal Extrinsic Motivation. Factor III, which was derived from two variables, "It is important for the entrance examination" and "Want to get excellent scores," was labeled Achievement Extrinsic Motivation. The results of the factor analyses for Chinese students were quite similar to those for Japanese students, possibly because both the Japanese and Chinese students were test-oriented and concerned about evaluation from friends, teachers, and parents. The reason for studying English that the Chinese high school students ranked highest was "English fluency is good for the future," whereas those ranked highest by the Japanese high school students were "It is important for the entrance examination" and "want to get excellent scores." However, Japanese junior high school students ranked "feel happy when I can understand English" the highest. Thus, there was a change for Japanese students from intrinsic reasons to extrinsic reasons for studying English. Chinese high school students did not show such a change. They were more instrumentally oriented toward English learning and tended to make greater efforts to achieve a higher level of learning. Thus, the educational systems and social milieu to which the learners were exposed had a significant influence on the development of the learners' motivation.

Gardner's Social Psychological Model

Many of the studies reviewed above generally followed the social psychological model of second language acquisition proposed by Gardner (1983) and used or adapted the *Attitude and Motivation Test Battery* (AMTB). Gardner proposed that second language acquisition takes place within the social milieu and attitudes toward the community of the speakers of the target language developed in the milieu influence second language acquisition. Gardner (1985) later identified two sets of attitudinal variables: Integrativeness and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation. Integrativeness was made up of three scales: (a) attitudes toward the target language speakers, (b) an interest in the foreign language, and (c) the integrative orientation to learn the foreign language. Attitudes toward the Learning Situation consisted of two scales: attitudes toward the French teacher and attitudes toward the French course, both of which are hypothesized to affect motivation. Motivation in this model is made up of three components: (a) effort to achieve the goal, (b) desire to achieve the goal, and (c) positive affect toward the goal. Gardner called the composite of the three variables an Integrative Motive: Integrativeness, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, and Motivation (p.153). Au (1988) summarized five major propositions of Gardner's social psychological model:

- 1. The integrative motive hypothesis—integrative motive is positively related to L2 achievement.
- 2. The cultural belief hypothesis—cultural beliefs within a particular milieu could influence the development of the integrative motive and the extent to which the integrative motive relates to L2 achievement.
- 3. The active learner hypothesis—integratively motivated L2 learners achieve high L2 proficiency because they are active learners.
- 4. The causality hypothesis—integrative motive causally affects L2 achievement.
- 5. The two-process hypothesis—linguistic aptitude and integrative motive constitute two independent factors affecting L2 achievement. (pp.77-78)

Two other approaches to motivation and second language acquisition support the social-psychological model. The first is Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles & Byrne, 1982), which is the proposal that when a person wants to identify with a member of the target language community, she changes her way of speaking in order to sound more like the speech of the community member. The second is Schumann's Acculturation Model (Schumann, 1975). Schumann proposed that in naturalistic settings, the more learners assimilate the culture, beliefs, and value system of the target language community, the more they acquire the target language. In other words, the level of second language acquisition can be determined by the degree to which learners acculturate to the target language community.

Argumentation over Gardner's Model

Although the influence of Gardner's theory of motivation has been widely acknowledged, it came under attack starting with an article published by Au (1988). Au (1988) evaluated the social-psychological theory of second language learning proposed by Gardner (1983) by commenting

on each of the five propositions summarized above. He argued that the integrative motive hypothesis lacked generality and questioned the notion that integrative motive is a unitary concept. The cultural belief hypothesis did not provide a clear definition of what constituted a cultural belief. The active learner hypothesis could not be supported without controlling the level of L2 proficiency and addressing the issue of cause and effect. The causality hypothesis maintained that integrative motive caused L2 achievement; however, some studies suggested or provided a causal link in the opposite direction. Concerning the two-process hypothesis, linguistic aptitude and integrative motive were not always independent of each other. In some studies, linguistic aptitude measures were related to some integrative motive measures.

Crookes and Schmidt (1991) argued that research on motivation in second language acquisition so far had been characterized by two limitations. First, many studies conducted in the 1970s and 1980s had been based on the social-psychological approach. Motivation was always connected to attitudes and other social psychological aspects. They claimed that "this particular approach has been so dominant that alternative concepts have not been seriously considered" (p.501). Second, in this approach, attitudes towards the target language culture and motivation were grouped together. In other fields, motivation was defined differently. Crookes and Schmidt adopted a definition from Keller's (1983) education-oriented theory of motivation, in which motivation is comprised of four determinants: (a) interest in the second language, (b) relevance (i.e., personal needs to learn the language), (c) expectancy of success or failure, and (d) outcomes (i.e., reward or punishment). Moreover, based on Maehr and Archer's (1987) theory, Crookes and Schmidt adopted choice, engagement, and persistence as key behavioral aspects of motivation. That is, when learners are motivated, they choose to learn the language, persist in the task, and keep their activity level high. Oxford and Shearin (1994) pointed out some confusing issues in current motivational research such as the absence of an agreed upon definition of language learning motivation and differences in motivation between learners of second and foreign languages. They argued that the current concept of language learning motivation should be expanded in scope by including four additional motivation theories from general psychology: need theories, instrumentality theories, equity theories, and reinforcement theories. Dörnyei (1994) stated that even though Gardner's motivation theory included an educational aspect by including several items concerning classroom learning in the AMTB, the theory placed too great an emphasis on social psychological variables in the social milieu rather than in the foreign language classroom, and that more attention should be paid to an educational perspective in understanding language learning motivation. Dörnyei (1994) proposed a framework of second language motivation in order to integrate a variety of relevant motivation types from general and educational psychology. The framework is made up of three levels: the Language Level, the Learner Level, and the Learning Situation Level. The three levels reflect the three aspects of language learning: the social dimension, the personal dimension, and the educational subject matter dimension.

Tremblay and Gardner's Revised Model

In response to the suggestion made by Crookes and Schmidt (1991), Dörnyei (1994), and

Oxford and Shearin (1994) that language learning motivation research should incorporate motivational variables from other research fields into Gardner's social psychological model, Tremblay and Gardner (1995) investigated the relationships among existing motivational variables from Gardner's model, other motivational variables derived from other psychological areas, and French achievement measures, employing a structural equation model. Seventy-five Canadian secondary school students learning French participated in this study. A new motivational construct, Motivational behavior, was presented. It refers to the observable features of a motivated individual and was assessed by using the measures of attention, motivational intensity (effort), and persistence. The newly incorporated variables were self-efficacy, valence, causal attributions, and goal salience. Self-efficacy refers to "an individual's beliefs that he or she has the capability to reach a certain level of performance or achievement" (p.507). It was assessed by measures of performance expectancy, French Use Anxiety, and French Class Anxiety. Valence refered to "the subjective value that an individual associates with a particular outcome" or simply "desire and attractiveness toward the task" (p. 508). The scales Desire to Learn French and Attitudes toward Learning French measured this construct. Causal Attributions were measured by asking students what they would attribute their success or failure to: ability, effort, luck, or task difficulty. Goal salience was assessed by Goal Specificity and Goal Frequency. The model obtained from this study indicated that three of the four newly added variables, Goal salience, Valence, and Self-Efficacy, mediated the relationship between Language Attitude and Motivational Behavior. Therefore, Tremblay and Gardner (1995) concluded that "when a teacher observes that a student displays high levels of motivational behavior, he or she may hypothesize that this conduct is influenced by the fact that the student sets goals for himself or herself, values the language course, and has a high level of self-efficacy" (p.516). Oxford (1996) praised this study, stating that:

This is a very significant expansion, which goes well beyond the previous bounds of the Socio-Educational Model and answers some of the main questions that have dogged the model in the past. This can be considered a major exploration of new pathways in language learning motivation. (p.6)

Furthermore, Gardner, Tremblay, and Masgoret (1997) investigated the interrelationship among various individual difference variables: language attitudes, motivation, language anxiety, language aptitude, self-confidence, language learning strategies, field dependence/independence, and language achievement. Data from 102 university students enrolled in introductory French were first factor analyzed. Twenty-nine measures assessing the various variables mentioned above were reduced to five relatively independent factors. They were labeled Self-Confidence with French, Language Learning Strategies, Motivation to Learn French, Language Aptitude, and Orientation to Learn French, respectively. The subsequent investigation using causal modeling procedures revealed that "Language Attitudes is seen to cause Motivation, Motivation causes both Self-Confidence and Language Learning Strategies, and Motivation, Language Aptitude, and Language Learning Strategies cause Language Achievement" (p.353). One interesting result was that contrary to their expectation, the correlation between Language Learning Strategies and Language Achievement was

negative, meaning that the use of language learning strategies was not associated with high levels of achievement. Gardner et al. explained that 86% of the students had nine years of prior training in French, so those students might have discovered and adopted a primary strategy that was effective for them and therefore did not use a wide range of strategies.

Different Concepts of Motivation

The most familiar concepts concerning motivation for second language learning are those of integrative and instrumental motivation, presented by Gardner (1985). Gardner and MacIntyre (1991) emphasized a distinction between orientations and motivation, stating that "Orientations refer to reasons for studying a second language, while motivation refers to the directed, reinforcing effort to learn the language" (p.57). In Gardner's model, motivation subsumes three components: Motivational Intensity (effort), Desire to Learn the Language (valence), and Attitudes Towards Learning the Language. Orientations are regarded as motivational antecedents that help to enhance the levels of the three components in motivation. An integrative orientation reflects a personal interest in the people and culture of the target language and a desire for cultural and linguistic integration, whereas an instrumental orientation reflects the more utilitarian value of learning the target language, such as getting a good job and entering a good school. In the early motivation studies conducted in second language contexts, the integrative orientation was found to be a better predictor of second language learning than the instrumental orientation. However, in foreign language contexts, the results were inconsistent. Dörnyei (1990) suggested that instrumental orientation might be more influential than integrative orientation to foreign language learning. In monolingual EFL contexts, learners have few opportunities to meet members of the target language community; therefore, the nature of integrative orientation differs between second and foreign language learning contexts. Integrative orientation in foreign language learning contexts tends to be less specific to a particular target community and more general in their attitudes toward the community.

Schmidt, Boraie, and Kassabgy (1996) and Noels (2001) introduced other concepts of motivation to second and foreign language learning; intrinsic and extrinsic orientations, which were derived from self-determination theory (Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 1991) in educational psychology. Schmidt, et al. adopted this concept together with value-expectancy theories that were mainly derived from the motivation models of Pintrich (1989), Keller (1983), Maehr and Archer (1987), and Dornyei (1990), when they conducted a large empirical study at the Center for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) at the American University in Cairo, Egypt with 1464 students. Noels defined intrinsic orientations as "reasons for L2 learning that are derived from one's inherent pleasure and interest in the activity; the activity is undertaken because of the spontaneous satisfaction that is associated with it," (p.45) and extrinsic orientations as "reasons that are instrumental to some consequence apart from inherent interest in the activity" (p.46). Several subtypes of extrinsic orientations were identified according to the extent to which they were self-determined. The relationship between intrinsic and extrinsic orientation was represented as a continuum between self-determined (intrinsic) and controlled (extrinsic) forms of orientations. Concerning the

relationship between this concept and instrumental-integrative concept, Schmidt, et al. argued that:

The extrinsic-intrinsic distinction is somewhat similar to the instrumental-integrative distinction,
but it is not identical, and both instrumental and integrative motivation are properly seen as

subtypes of extrinsic motivation, since both are concerned with goals or outcomes. (p.14)

Irie (2003) presented another set of motivational concepts; mastery and performance orientation. Irie adopted these concepts from goal orientation theories in motivational psychology. They overlap with intrinsic and extrinsic orientation to some extent but their focus is placed on personal cognitive goals in educational learning situations. Irie described mastery-oriented learners as those who "focus on the value of learning itself, for personal growth, more than on whether or not they enjoy learning" (p.89), and performance-oriented learners as those who "engage in tasks to demonstrate to others their worth or competence" (p.89). Irie suggested that these orientations can provide new insights into motivation in the foreign language classroom.

Thus, researchers are searching for most appropriate motivational concepts that will fit their particular language teaching situations. More studies will be necessary to understand the relationship between motivational variables and second/foreign language proficiency.

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