Motivation, Learner Attrition, and the L2 Motivational Self System: A New Zealand Study of Heritage and Non-Heritage University Language Learners

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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March, 2017

ABSTRACT

It has been said that, if sufficiently motivated, anyone can learn a second language (Corder, 1967). But it is also true that no one succeeds in learning a second language (L2) if they stop. This study investigated motivation and learner attrition/retention among L2 learners in a New Zealand context.

L2 learners' motivation is subject to various factors, the diversity of which has only been made more apparent by recent research. Previous research has also linked various factors to learners' continuation or cessation of their L2 studies. One of the most significant developments in recent L2 motivation research is Dörnyei's (2005) *L2 motivational self system* (L2MSS), which holds that L2 motivation is determined by a learner's ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, and L2 learning experience.

Using the L2MSS as a theoretical framework, the study investigated the extent to which Dörnyei's system could account for motivation and for learner attrition/retention among university-level learners of foreign languages (FLs) and te reo Māori—the indigenous language of New Zealand.

The study also contributed to existing scholarship by exploring the relevance of two further factors to both motivation and learner attrition/retention. The first was a novel construct representing goals unrelated to a learner's L2 (*non-L2 goals*); the second was participants' heritage language (HL) learner status—i.e., whether participants were HL learners of their L2.

The study followed a mixed-methods design. Quantitative data were collected through a survey of L2 learners ($N = 700$) and a follow-up question ($N = 416$), and data were analyzed using t-tests, confirmatory factor analysis, and structural equation modelling. Interview data from 21 participants underwent a three-level coding process that allowed data to be meaningfully related to the L2MSS. Integration of qualitative and quantitative processes took place throughout the investigation—during sampling, data analysis, and discussion.

Findings confirmed that L2 motivation and learner attrition/retention are complex issues affected both by factors clearly linked to L2 learning and by other aspects of learners' lives—in particular, by learners' non-L2 goals and

ethnolinguistic identities. The study also found, however, that, while several factors played roles with regard to both motivation and learner attrition/retention, L2 learning experience was the most influential factor overall.

The findings point to a need for pragmatism regarding the real-world implications of L2 motivation research. They indicate a need for researchers, scholars, and L2 teachers to focus on those factors that have the greatest effect on motivation and learner attrition/retention, and on those that L2 teachers and institutions have the greatest ability to influence. Specifically, this study shows that the best hope for boosting L2 motivation and L2 learner retention lies in making learners' experiences of L2 learning positive and enjoyable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CFA	Confirmatory factor analysis
CFI	Comparative fit index
EFL	English as a foreign language
ESL	English as a second language
HL	Heritage language
FL	Foreign language
L1	First language
L2	Second language
L2MSS	L2 motivational self system
Pearson's r	Pearson product moment correlation coefficient
RMSEA	Root mean square error of approximation
SDT	Self-determination theory
SEM	Structural equation modelling
SLA	Second language acquisition
TLI	Tucker-Lewis Index
WLSMV	Weighted least squares mean and variance adjusted
WTC	Willingness to communicate

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Purpose of the Study

The vast majority of people acquire a first language almost automatically, with very little conscious effort. In contrast, the acquisition of a second language (L2) generally requires both motivation and persistence. Scholars have long accepted that motivation plays a significant role in one's ultimate L2 learning success (e.g., Corder, 1967), and it is self-evident that success can also be dependent on whether or not one continues learning an L2. Two questions then arise: (a) What makes some L2 learners more motivated than others? and (b) What makes some L2 learners continue while others discontinue? This dissertation contributes to a substantial body of research that has, over a period of more than half a century, sought to address such questions.

Since the earliest study of L2 learning motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1959), a variety of approaches, theories, and models have emerged that have differed both in the way motivation is viewed and in the ways in which motivation is seen as being determined. A recent model that has gained significant traction is Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 motivation self system (L2MSS), which holds that L2 learners' motivation is determined by three antecedent constructs: ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, and L2 learning experience. The validity of the L2MSS has been investigated in a number of contexts, and studies have also investigated how components of the L2MSS relate to various other variables (e.g., gender, international posture, anxiety); however, few studies have investigated the system's validity among English-speaking learners of L2s other than English, and few studies have employed methods that differ from traditional, purely quantitative approaches.

Most studies that have investigated L2 motivation have looked at motivation in terms of learners' intended and/or actual effort with regard to L2 learning (e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1959; Taguchi, Magid, & Papi, 2009; You, Dörnyei, & Csizér, 2016). However, some scholars have viewed L2 motivation research as concerning more than simply effort; indeed, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) state

that motivation research and theory concerns not only why a learner chooses to expend effort, but also why she chooses to "*engage* [emphasis added] in action" (p. 3) and "*persist* [emphasis added] in action" (p. 3). The implication of this statement is that motivation research involves looking not only at effort but also at learners' reasons for taking up an L2 and at the issue of learner attrition and retention (whether learners continue or discontinue L2 studies). A number of studies have explicitly investigated factors that lead to learner attrition and retention (e.g., Bartley, 1970; Ramage, 1990, Noels et al., 2001), but few have attempted to apply theories of L2 motivation to the issue. A notable exception is Noels' and associates' (e.g., Noels et al., 2001; Comanaru & Noels, 2009) application of *self-determination theory* (SDT) to learner attrition/retention, but there remains ample room to investigate the extent to which other models or theories of L2 motivation may be applied to this important issue. With regard to the L2MSS, while a large number of studies (e.g., Taguchi et al., 2009; You et al., 2016) have investigated the ability of the L2MSS to account for L2 learning effort, it appears that virtually no L2MSS studies have looked into whether components of the system might also account for whether learners continue or discontinue their L2 studies.

L2 motivation research has typically focused on what makes learners more motivated, and far less attention has been paid to factors that can make learners *less* motivated. At the same time, L2 motivation research has historically paid greater attention to motivational antecedents that are self-evidently related to L2 learning than to factors related to other aspects of learners' lives. Over the past two decades, scholars such as Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001) and Ushioda (2009) have called on second language acquisition (SLA) researchers to understand L2 learners "as people" (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 141), rather than "simply as language learners" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 216). Similarly, Dörnyei and Otto (1998) suggest that learners' L2 motivation may be affected by "goal hierarchies" (p. 63) and "other ongoing behaviours the actor is engaged in" (p. 63). The L2MSS does not explicitly take into account the motivational roles that may be played by non-L2-related aspects of learners' lives: All three components of the L2MSS are proposed as positive predictors of motivation, and all relate specifically to L2

learning (*L2* features in the name of each component). Perhaps, though, it is worth considering the possibility that the existence or pursuit of certain goals unrelated to a learner's L2 could have an impact—either positive or negative—on a learner's motivation and/or on whether that learner continues learning an L2.

While developments have been taking place in the field of L2 motivation research, developments have also taken place in other areas of SLA, and one area that has seen significant research attention in recent years is the issue of heritage language (HL) learners. HL learners have been defined in a variety of ways (He, 2010), but, according to all definitions, HL learners have an ethnolinguistic affiliation with their L2, and they may also have had substantial exposure to their L2 prior to beginning formal L2 classes. Several prominent works (e.g., Valdés, 1999; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003) have brought attention to the somewhat exceptional cases that HL learners represent, and a number of studies (e.g., Kondo-Brown, 2005; Noels, 2005) have investigated differences between HL learners and non-HL learners. Various differences have been found to exist, including motivational differences (e.g., Comanaru & Noels, 2009) and differences in rates of learner attrition/retention (Pratt, 2010). It would seem, however, that only one previous study (Xie, 2014) has examined differences between HL and non-HL learners with regard to L2MSS-related variables.

The present study investigated the L2MSS and its relevance to motivation and learner attrition/retention. Additionally, the study looked (a) at how HL learner status related to these issues, and (b) at whether a novel construct—*non-L2 goals*—had any bearing on either motivation or learner attrition/retention. The study employed a mixed-methods research design and was undertaken among New Zealand university learners of foreign languages (FLs) and te reo Māori—the indigenous language of New Zealand. The research setting allowed for an L2MSS investigation that focused on English-speaking learners of languages other than English. The inclusion of learners of te reo Māori added to the novelty of the context, and this also provided an excellent opportunity to compare HL and non-HL learners—not only of immigrant languages (e.g., Chinese), but also of an indigenous language.

1.2 Research Questions

The following three research questions formed the basis of the present investigation and dictated the structure of this dissertation:

Research Question 1
Part A: To what extent does the L2MSS function as an effective model of L2 motivation in the study context?
Part B: To what extent do non-L2 goals affect learners' motivation levels?

Research Question 2
Part A: What factors contribute to learner attrition and learner retention in the study context?
Part B: To what extent do L2MSS-related constructs and non-L2 goals affect learner attrition/retention?

Research Question 3
What differences, if any, exist between HL and non-HL learners of te reo and FLs with regard to motivation, L2MSS-related variables, and learner attrition/retention?

1.3 Overview of Chapters

1.3.1 Overview of Chapter 2 (Literature Review)

Chapter 2 presents and discusses previous literature relevant to the foci of the present study. The chapter begins with an overview of the history of L2 motivation research, before looking at the development of the L2MSS and at the variety of L2MSS studies that have been undertaken since Dörnyei's (2009) proposal of the system. Chapter 2 also looks at the relatively small body of

research that has been conducted on L2 learner attrition and retention, and examines research that has investigated either motivation or learner attrition/retention with regard to HL learner status. The final section of Chapter 2 presents the research questions that guided the study.

1.3.2 Overview of Chapter 3 (Methodology)

Chapter 3 presents and justifies the study's research design. This chapter provides background to the novel context of the study before moving to explain why a mixed-methods design was chosen. The chapter separately presents the research methodology for the quantitative and qualitative components of the study, including participants, data collection procedures, and data analysis procedures. This chapter also addresses how the study's qualitative findings and quantitative results were brought together in a meaningful and complementary way.

1.3.3 Overview of Chapter 4 (Confirmatory Factor Analysis, Instrument Reliability, and Descriptive Statistics)

Chapter 4 was born out of the fact that certain statistical results pertain to findings that are discussed over the course of three chapters (chapters 5, 6, & 7). Provided in this chapter are the results of a confirmatory factor analysis, other instrument reliability tests, and descriptive statistics for the whole participant population—all of which are relevant to all three of this study's research questions.

1.3.4 Overview of Chapter 5 (Addressing Research Question 1)

Chapter 5 is where this dissertation begins to address the study's findings. The chapter presents and discusses findings pertaining to Research Question 1, which concerns the factors that determined L2 motivation levels among the study's

participants and the extent to which the L2MSS functioned as a model of L2 motivation in the study context. The chapter addresses quantitative results and qualitative findings before discussing both in light of each other and in light of previous research and existing theory.

1.3.5 Overview of Chapter 6 (Addressing Research Question 2)

Chapter 6 mirrors Chapter 5 in structure, beginning with statistical results and working through extensive qualitative findings before bringing the two together. The chapter addresses findings relating to Research Question 2, which concerns learner attrition and retention and the extent to which the L2MSS or certain of its components might relate to these important phenomena. The chapter discusses factors that contribute to learner attrition and retention and looks at what theories or models might best account for the phenomena.

1.3.6 Overview of Chapter 7 (Addressing Research Question 3)

Chapter 7 addresses Research Question 3 and, as with the chapters before it, presents both quantitative and qualitative findings before discussing the two together and in light of previous research. Chapter 5 does not focus on the extent to which different variables predict motivation or learner attrition/retention; rather, it addresses motivation-, L2MSS-, and attrition/retention-related differences between HL and non-HL learners, paying particular attention to learners of te reo.

1.3.7 Overview of Chapter 8 (Conclusion)

Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation by explicitly responding to the study's research questions, by acknowledging the study's limitations, and by discussing

emergent themes. Chapter 8 also discusses theoretical and pedagogical implications of the study's findings and suggests priority areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This review begins by providing an overview of L2 motivation research (section 2.1). Following this, section 2.2 looks at the L2MSS and its origins in psychology. Next, section 2.3 covers studies that have investigated the L2MSS, including validation studies and studies that have sought to link the L2MSS to other constructs. Section 2.4 provides an overview of research on L2 learner attrition/retention, and section 2.5 looks at HL learner status and its relevance to both motivation and learner attrition/retention. Section 2.6 presents the research questions that guided the study.

2.1 History of L2 Motivation Research

Motivation research is concerned with "what moves a person to make certain choices, to engage in action, to expend effort and persist in action" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2013, p. 3). While motivation as a concept eludes simple definition, most people have an intuitive understanding of what a person means when she says that she is "motivated" to do something. Indeed, although motivation may be something that is difficult to describe succinctly, scholars have not shied away from using the term (e.g., Atkinson, 1964; Dörnyei, 2009; Maslow, 1943): In the field of L2 motivation research, many researchers (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Gardner & Lambert, 1972) appear to have reached an understanding of motivation coherent enough to permit quantitative studies of L2 learners' motivation (or aspects thereof).

Since the late 1950s, motivation has been recognized by SLA scholars as one of the most important determinants of L2 learning success. Gardner and Lambert (1972) go so far as to argue that motivation may be a more important predictor of an individual's L2 learning success than his or her language learning aptitude; Corder (1967) goes even further, stating that "*given motivation*, it is inevitable that a human being will learn a second language if he is exposed to the language

data" (p. 164). With such statements advanced by prominent SLA scholars, along with substantial empirical evidence demonstrating the importance of motivation in L2 learning (e.g. Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1985; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003), the central question in the field soon becomes not "Is motivation important?" but rather "How do we get motivated?"

In answering this question, many L2 motivation scholars maintain that L2 motivation differs significantly from more general motivation (e.g., Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Dörnyei, 2003, 2005), and that its study must therefore differ from mainstream motivation research. It has been argued that learning a language is different from learning, say, maths or science in that a language is "socially and culturally bound" (Dörnyei, 2003, p. 4) in ways that other academic subjects may not be. Where motivation to learn non-language subjects may involve being motivated to internalize the material or skills that one is being taught, language learning motivation could be seen to additionally involve being motivated to become more like another person, type of person, or member of a particular group.

In recent years, the field of L2 motivation research has seen a focus on self- and identity-related approaches to motivational dynamics, and a prime example of this is Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 motivational self system (L2MSS). This present focus, however, in no way negates the importance of earlier approaches to and models of L2 motivation; indeed, the most prominent proponent of current self-related approaches to motivation, Dörnyei (2009), states that his theories are "not at all incompatible" (p. 29) with some earlier theories. In general, rather than seeking to refute earlier claims, current theories in L2 motivation can be seen as building upon previous research and theory (MacIntyre, MacKinnon & Clément, 2009).

Since 2000, a number of reviews have provided an overview of L2 motivation research to date (e.g., Dörnyei, 2003, 2005; Ushioda, 2008, Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011), and a number of such reviews have described the development of the field in terms of periods, as in the following extract from Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011):

1. *The social psychological period* (1959-1990) – characterized by the work of Robert Gardner and his associates in Canada.

2. *The cognitive-situated period* (during the 1990s) – characterized by work drawing on cognitive theories in educational psychology.

3. *The process-oriented period* (the turn of the century) – characterized by an interest in motivational change.

(Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2011, pp. 39-40)

2.1.1 The Social Psychological Period

Any story of L2 motivation begins with Gardner; indeed, as Skehan (1989) put it, "almost all other writing on motivation […] seems to be a commentary, in one way or another, on the agenda established by Gardner" (p. 61). Beginning with his first study of the relationship between motivation, attitudes, and L2 learning achievement (Gardner & Lambert, 1959), Gardner's theories, and his social-psychological approach to investigation, represented the foundation of L2 motivation research, and dominated the field for over thirty years.

Gardner and Lambert (1959) were the first researchers to show that learners' attitudes and motivation levels are related to L2 learning achievement, and their study sparked a host of studies of L2 motivation, the vast majority of which were undertaken in Canada, employing research methods common in social psychology at the time—surveys (including scalar, Likert-type items) for data collection and statistical methods for data analysis. This early era of L2 motivation research led to the publication of Gardner and Lambert's (1972) volume *Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning*, which presented the results of a number of studies demonstrating the causal role that motivation plays in SLA. The findings and claims presented in the volume continued to guide and influence L2 motivation study at least until the 1990s.

Perhaps the most well-known construct associated with Gardner is that of *integrativeness*, defined by Gardner and MacIntyre (1993) as an "individual's willingness and interest in social interaction with members of other [L2] groups"

(p. 59). Integrativeness was viewed by Gardner and associates as a central antecedent of L2 learning motivation (e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1985; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993): As Masgoret and Gardner (2003) put it, "Individuals who want, (or are willing) to identify with the other language group will be more motivated to learn the language than individuals who do not" (p. 126). However, while integrativeness is the most well-known aspect of Gardner's theories of L2 motivation and learning, it is also the most debated.

Gardner's work, and what Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) term the *social-psychological period,* may be seen as culminating in the proposal of the socio-educational model of SLA (Gardner, 1985, 2001)—of which integrativeness forms a central part. From 1985 onwards, a majority of references made to Gardner's work or theories have been, in essence, references to the socio-educational model or to parts thereof. The model aims to account for individual differences in L2 learning achievement by modelling the interaction of several factors—particularly motivation and integrativeness. The socio-educational model (e.g., Gardner, 1985) proposes that integrativeness and attitudes toward the learning situation are interrelated and that each exerts an influence on an individual's motivation levels, which in turn affect the individual's language achievement. High levels of integrativeness and positive attitudes towards the learning situation are claimed to cause higher motivation levels and thus a higher level of language achievement. Significantly, the model does not indicate that integrativeness and attitudes have a direct causal effect on language achievement; rather, it is claimed that their effect on language achievement is mediated through the variable of motivation. In addition, the model shows language aptitude and "other factors" (Gardner, 2001, p. 4) to have a direct effect on language achievement, and the unspecified variable of "other support" (p. 4) is proposed as a further influence on motivation.

While the ideas advanced by Gardner and associates—particularly the socio-educational model—endured for several decades as the dominant ideas in the L2 motivation field, since the early 1990s they have encountered a good deal of criticism. Several authors highlighted inconsistent results of L2 motivation studies investigating integrativeness and the socio-educational model (Au, 1988; Crookes

& Schmidt, 1991; Dörnyei, 1990), and Crookes and Schmidt (1991) went as far as calling for the L2 motivation research agenda to be completely reopened. In addition to questioning the consistency of relevant study results, scholars throughout the 1990s and early 2000s questioned the meaning of integration and integrativeness in the context of an increasingly globalized world where the most commonly studied L2, English, can no longer be seen as the language of specific communities (Norton, 1997) but must rather be construed as a global language (Crystal, 2003). Indeed, Dörnyei (2009) argues that, in many language-learning situations, the idea of integrativeness "simply does not make much sense" (p. 23).

From the early 1990s onward, a "growing dissatisfaction with the integrative motive" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 22) was apparent in the field of L2 motivation research. Despite the existence of a sizable community of social-psychological stalwarts, L2 motivation research moved in another direction: to what Dörnyei (2005) and Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) term the *cognitive-situated period*.

2.1.2 The Cognitive-Situated Period

The development of approaches and theories in academic fields seldom adheres to a one child policy, and the field of L2 motivation research is no exception. Initiated by scholars such as Crookes and Schmidt (1991), Dörnyei (1990, 1994), and Oxford and Shearin (1994, 1996), the 1990s trend away from the social-psychological paradigm associated with Gardner (e.g., 1985) gave rise to not one but many avenues of research and theory. Theories and approaches advanced by scholars throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s do not necessarily represent equivalents of or counterparts to Gardner's research and models. While some aim, as Gardner and associates did, to link motivation, motivational antecedents, and L2 achievement, the proposals of others are more akin to views on how research into such links should be approached and carried out or views on the nature of motivation itself.

The different approaches advanced during the cognitive-situated period at times complement each other, at times conflict with each other, and at other times

appear to have altogether different aims from one another. The different approaches do, however, share an emphasis on learner cognition and on the importance of context. In addition, virtually all of the approaches that come under the banner of the cognitive-situated period answer Crookes and Schmidt's (1991) call for research to be informed by contemporary developments in mainstream motivational and educational psychology.

A notable avenue of research that began within the cognitive-situated period was Noels' and associates' (e.g., Noels, 2001; Noels et al., 1999; Noels et al., 2000; Noels et al., 2001) application of SDT (Deci & Ryan, 1985) to L2 motivation. SDT does not seek to account for the intensity of an individual's motivation; rather, the theory aims to predict the "likelihood of engagement in the [learning] activity in the long run" (Noels, 2001, p. 45). SDT initially divides motivation into the categories of *intrinsic motivation*, *extrinsic motivation*, and *amotivation*, although Noels (2001) chooses to think of the first two of these categories as motivational *orientations* representing the attitudes associated with the motivation but "not necessarily the level or amount of motivation" (Noels, 2001, p. 45).

According to SDT, if a learner's motivational orientation is intrinsic, that learner is motivated to learn by the inherent pleasure that they take in the learning process, and by their personal interest in the subject. A learner whose motivational orientation is extrinsic, on the other hand, is motivated by factors that are "instrumental to some consequence apart from inherent interest in the activity" (Noels, 2001, p. 46). Such a learner might, for example, want to learn a language in order to get a particular job, or because failing will result in parental punishment. Amotivated individuals are those who demonstrate a total lack of motivation with regard to the (learning) activity.

Within the extrinsic category of motivational orientations, Deci and Ryan (1985) distinguish different types of regulation (*external regulation, introjected regulation, identified regulation*) by the extent to which external motives have been internalized by an individual. In the case of intrinsic orientations, three subcategories are also identified (*intrinsic-knowledge, intrinsic-accomplishment, and intrinsic-stimulation),* and these are distinguished according to the central

source of or reason for motivation. The subcategories of motivational orientations, along with amotivation, can be thought of as existing on a continuum where each represents a particular degree of *self-determination.* Items on the continuum range from the most self-determined (intrinsic-stimulation) to the least self-determined (external regulation), and SDT holds that the motivation and persistence that a learner exhibits has to do with the extent to which that learner's engagement in an activity is self-determined. Several studies have presented evidence for the effectiveness of SDT in predicting features of L2 learning motivation. In particular, Noels et al. (1999) identified positive correlations between certain SDT orientations—intrinsic orientation and identified regulation—and outcome variables such as persistence and motivational intensity.

Another avenue of research pursued by several researchers during the cognitive-situated period was that of goals and goal theories. Dörnyei (2003) commented that what are referred to as "orientations" in L2 motivation research are often in fact goals; as such, studies such as those of Kruidenier and Clément (1986) and Belmechri and Hummel (1998) may be seen as having investigated goals in relation to L2 motivation. Of particular note was Belmechri and Hummel's finding that different orientations (e.g., friendship, travel, career) had different levels of significance with regard to their effect on L2 learning motivation. Drawing on Locke and Latham's (1990) goal setting theory, Tremblay and Gardner (1995) found evidence that greater "goal salience" (a combination of "goal specificity" and "goal frequency") was associated with higher levels of L2 learning motivation among Canadian learners of French.

Other research paths followed during the 1990s and early 2000s were somewhat disparate, although many offered valuable new perspectives on L2 motivation and associated ideas. A number of scholars, for example, looked into relationships between L2 motivation and learner autonomy (Noels, 2001; Spratt, Humphreys, & Chan, 2002; Ushioda, 1996, 2011), and at least one prominent researcher (Schumann, 1998, 1999, 2001) examined the motivational component of SLA from a neurobiological perspective. Others, such as Julkunen (1989, 2001), focused on task motivation, distinguishing between "state" and "trait" motivation, while at least one SLA scholar (Norton Peirce, 1995) advocated

moving away from the term *motivation* altogether, in favour of the term *investment*, which she argued better described a system in which learners invest effort in learning an L2 "with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources" (Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 17).

2.1.3 The Process-Oriented Period

In calling for a change of terminology, Norton Peirce (1995) was not the only scholar in the field seeking to re-think dominant understandings of motivation: Dörnyei and Otto (1998) proposed, through the introduction of their "process model of motivation" (p. 43), that motivation could be viewed as a process and defined as "the dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates, and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritized, operationalized, and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out" (p. 67). This understanding of motivation as something more fluid than static shares common ground with Ushioda's (1996) description of "motivational flux rather than stability" (p. 240) and with Williams and Burden's (1997) view that motivating learners involved both initiating and sustaining motivation.

The post-2005 shift to what Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) term *socio-dynamic perspectives* has seen something of a return to a view of motivation as a (somewhat measurable) entity determined by antecedents. But the continuing influence of process-oriented understandings of motivation may be seen in contemporary researchers' near-unanimous acknowledgement of the ability and tendency of L2 learners' motivation to fluctuate; indeed, a view of motivation as fluid and subject to change is particularly evident in recent academic discourse regarding motivation and complex dynamic systems (e.g., Larsen-Freeman, 2014; Dörnyei, Ibrahim, & Muir, 2014).

2.2 The L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS)

Currently, one of the central areas of research in the L2 motivation field is Dörnyei's (2005) L2 motivational self system (L2MSS). The introduction of this system is one of the most significant developments in L2 motivation research since Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model, representing a shift in research patterns towards what Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) term a *socio-dynamic* phase of L2 motivation research.

This section (2.2) of the literature review begins by showing how the L2MSS grew out of developments in psychology research while also incorporating aspects of contemporary L2 motivation research (sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). The sections following this present the components and workings of the L2MSS (section 2.2.3) and various limitations of the model, including what has thus far been relatively minimal criticism of the system (section 2.2.4).

2.2.1 Origins of Possible Selves in Psychology

The *self* is something that has long fascinated psychologists, sociologists, and philosophers alike. Perhaps even an eliminative materialist (e.g., Rorty, 1970) would find it difficult to deny that, regardless of its material existence or non-existence, the self is made a reality for each and every one of us through our conceptualizing and re-conceptualizing of what it means to be *me*. This conception of one's self, defined by Rosenberg (1979) as "the totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an object" (p. 7) and by Oyserman and James (2011) as "a working theory about who one is, was, and will become" (p. 117), is known as the *self-concept*.

Early psychological references to the self-concept or a similar construct can be found in William James' (1890) volume *Principles of Psychology*, in which James subdivides conceptions of the self into the *material* self, the *spiritual* self, and the *social* self. James further elaborates that "in each kind of self […][we] distinguish between the immediate and actual, and the remote and potential" (p. 300). This

indicates that the self can be divided not merely into different domains, but also into different places in time and degrees of likelihood.

James (1890) does not go so far as describing these temporal distinctions within the self-concept as selves per se, but it is perhaps not a huge jump to go from James's ideas to those of Higgins (e.g., 1987) and Higgins, Klein, and Strauman (1985), who argue for the existence of potential (or possible) selves within the self-concept—namely, *ideal* and *ought* selves, which they claim can be held by an individual concurrently with *actual* selves.

Higgins' (e.g., 1987) and associates' concern with these potential or future selves during the early to mid-1980s centred largely around the way in which relationships and discrepancies between such selves could relate to psychological disorders (Higgins, 1987; Higgins et al., 1985), and it was left for Markus and Nurius (1986) to point out the roles that *possible selves* could play with regard to individuals' motivation. Markus and Nurius (1986) claim that possible selves can function as powerful motivators, and this claim has been corroborated (to various degrees, and with varying qualifications) by a number of post-1986 studies (e.g., Destin & Oyserman, 2010; Ouellette, Hessling, Gibbons, Reis-Bergan, & Gerrard, 2005; Oyserman & Markus, 1990; Oyserman, Terry, & Bybee, 2006). Markus and Nurius (1986) claim (a) that possible selves act as incentives that an individual is motivated to work towards achieving (or avoiding), and (b) that possible selves may be further motivating through their ability to "furnish criteria against which outcomes are evaluated" (p. 956).

The idea that possible selves can serve as powerful motivators was taken up by Dörnyei (2005, 2009), to serve as a foundation of his L2MSS.

2.2.2 Origins of the L2MSS

The year 2002 saw Dörnyei and Csizér publish the results of one of the largest-scale studies of L2 motivation ever undertaken. Their study of over 13,000 Hungarian students of foreign languages (FLs) found, among other results, that a construct similar to Gardner's (1985) concept of integrativeness "explained almost

as much of the variance of the [motivation/intended effort] criterion measures as all the motivation components together" (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002, p. 453). According to the authors, this result was particularly significant because, unlike French/English studies previously undertaken in Canada, the Hungarian learners had extremely little contact, or even potential for contact, with target language communities. The study authors saw this as an indication that what was being described and measured as integrativeness was in fact another construct altogether: one that was, to a substantial degree, picked up by the same instruments that were used to measure integrativeness.

In 2003, a year after the publication of the Hungarian study (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002), and two years before proposing the L2MSS, Dörnyei (2003) stated that, rather than thinking of Gardner's (e.g., 1985) concept of integrativeness as having as its target a real, or even a metaphorical, L2 community, it might be more "forward-thinking" (Dörnyei, 2003, p. 6) to conceive of integrativeness as relating to "some more basic *identification process* within the individual's *self-concept*" (p. 6). Dörnyei's (2003) work was thus perhaps the earliest L2 motivation publication to draw on self-concept research, and in the same article Dörnyei goes on to touch on the motivational potential of possible selves.

Dörnyei (2005, 2009) describes what he terms a "growing dissatisfaction" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 22) with the concept of integrativeness. In doing so, Dörnyei cites scholars such as Noels et al. (2000) and Yashima (2004), who emphasize the difficulty of reconciling a view of integrativeness as central to L2 motivation with the present day reality of L2 learning, in which a majority of language students have little current or foreseeable contact with the L2 community. In fact, Noels et al. go as far as stating that "it would now appear that [integrative orientation] is not fundamental to the motivational process, but has relevance only in specific sociocultural contexts" (p. 60). Rather than seeing this dissatisfaction as indicative of a need to abandon the integrative concept altogether, however, Dörnyei (2005, 2009) argued for a reinterpretation of the concept. He proposed reconceptualising integration as identification, such that a motivated individual might be seen as identifying not so much with an external entity such as an L2-speaking

community, but rather with an internal construct: a possible, future version of oneself.

Radical as Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) reconceptualization of integration may have been, it did not in itself constitute a model or system that could account for L2 motivation. To take this next step, Dörnyei (2005) drew on motivational frameworks proposed by Ushioda (2001) and Noels (2001). Noels' tripartite framework consisted of three interrelated orientations: *intrinsic reasons inherent in the language learning process*, *extrinsic reasons for language learning*, and *integrative reasons*; Ushioda's, while composed of a larger number of sub-components, also comprised three clusters of factors, which she termed *actual learning process*, *external pressures/incentives*, and *integrative disposition*. While the authors of these two frameworks have somewhat differing theoretical approaches, it is nonetheless easy to observe the similarities between the two frameworks, both in terms of their tripartite construction and the foci of their components. Dörnyei's (2005) synthesis Noels' and Ushioda's frameworks therefore consisted of recasting their external and integrative elements as possible selves within a *self system*. The L2MSS he proposed thus comprises three elements (of which two are possible selves): *ideal L2 self*, *ought-to L2 self*, and *L2 learning experience*.

2.2.3 Components and Workings of the L2MSS

2.2.3.1 Ideal L2 self.

Dörnyei (2009) describes the ideal L2 self as the "L2-specific facet of one's 'ideal self'" (p. 29), and the construct has, in the words of Csizér and Kormos (2014), "by now been accepted as one of the key factors in L2 learning motivation" (p. 55). It is the L2 component of the self that one would like to become (Markus & Nurius, 1986), although it should be noted that such an L2 component may not be found in everybody's ideal self; indeed, individuals differ even in the extent to which they possess and maintain an ideal self. Dörnyei's ideal L2 self has much in common with Markus and Nurius's (1986) ideal self; however, while it is difficult

to tell whether Markus and Nurius's ideal self was intended as a specific construct, or simply as an example of one possible self among many, Dörnyei's ideal L2 self is clearly a specific construct, which performs a specific role in the L2MSS.

Dörnyei (2009) states that if an individual's ideal self is one that speaks a given L2 then the ideal L2 self is a "powerful motivator to learn the L2 because of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves" (p. 29). The concept of the ideal L2 self can account for a diverse range of motives to learn the L2: By relating to a future, hoped-for image of one's self, rather than to particular (instrumental or integrative) aims, the construct subsumes a variety of motives and motivational orientations. For example, even if, in a group of three learners, one learner is motivated largely by career goals, another mostly by a desire to become a part of the target language culture, and the third by a desire feel like an educated person, it is possible to understand each of these individuals' motives in terms of ideal L2 selves. Dörnyei states that the ideal L2 self can also be seen as having parallels with both Ushioda's (2001) integrative dimension and Noels' (2001) integrative category.

A question that might be raised with regard to the ideal L2 self is whether such a construct is significantly different from a goal (or goals). Dörnyei (2009) plainly states that a possible self such as his ideal L2 self differs from a goal by virtue of the fact that it features an experiential or visualization component that mere goals do not feature—possible selves are more than goals because they "are 'self states' that people *experience* as reality" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 16). While the distinction that Dörnyei draws between goals and possible selves is relatively clear, a question that nonetheless remains is whether goals require an experiential component in order to serve as powerful motivators, or whether straightforward but L2-relevant goals might also serve as powerful motivators to learn an L2.

2.2.3.2 Ought-to L2 self.

Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) ought-to L2 self can be thought of as the L2-specific facet of aspirations that others hold for an individual. An individual's ought-to L2 self is informed by the views—either expressed or perceived—of other people who are significant in that individual's life. In many cases, the ought-to L2 self is informed

largely by the views of learners' parents. The ought-to L2 self has much in common with Higgins et al.'s (1985) *ought self*, and, as those authors point out, the aspirations that another person (e.g., a parent) holds for an individual may be quite different from aspirations held by the individual herself. For example, a parent might imagine their child as a multilingual international businessperson, whereas the child may possess an ideal self that doesn't involve any knowledge of an L2. Dörnyei's ought-to L2 self appears to differ from Higgins et al.'s conceptualization in at least one respect, however: While Higgins et al. state that an individual's possible selves as held by others (ought selves) might be as numerous as the number of significant others in an individual's life, Dörnyei seems to at least imply that the ought-to L2 self, as it is conceived within the L2MSS, is a single construct. Dörnyei and Ushioda do, however, acknowledge that there is thus far no substantial evidence for such "uniqueness" (p. 351) of L2 selves.

In the L2MSS, a notable difference between the ought-to L2 self and the individual's ideal L2 self is that the ought-to L2 self has a more negative focus. Whereas the ideal L2 self is thought to be motivating by virtue of the learner's desire to achieve the positive outcomes inherent in the construct, the ought-to L2 self is thought to be motivating, at least partly, because of a desire on the part of the learner to avoid negative consequences of failing to meet the expectations of others (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009). Thus, as pointed out by Dörnyei (2005), the ought-to L2 self has much in common with more extrinsic components of the frameworks proposed by Ushioda (2001) and Noels (2001), and may be associated with feelings of obligation.

2.2.3.3 L2 learning experience.
The final motivational antecedent within the L2MSS is the only component that is not a possible self; rather, L2 learning experience relates to how an individual's motivation levels may be affected by factors related to the experience of learning an L2. Such factors can include the teacher, the classroom environment (including classmates), the course of study, and the degree to which the students experience success in their study of the L2 (Dörnyei, 2009). In a very general sense, it can be

expected that a largely positive or enjoyable experience of L2 learning will contribute to higher motivation levels, whereas a less positive experience may entail lower levels of L2 learning motivation.

As Dörnyei (2005) explains, L2 learning experience can be seen as relating to, or indeed as deriving from, Noels' (2001) "intrinsic orientations" (p. 45) and from Ushioda's (2001) cluster of components that together relate to the actual learning process. Dörnyei (2009) also states that this component of the L2MSS concerns situated motives similar to those that Dörnyei and Otto (1998) describe in their process model.

It makes sense that L2 learning experience should form a central part of the L2MSS given the importance of similar constructs in previous models (e.g., Gardner's, 1985, "attitudes toward the learning situation," p. 153, in the socio-educational model) and empirical studies (e.g. Inbar, et al., 2001; Noels, 2001).

2.2.3.4 The workings of the L2MSS.

An important advantage of the L2MSS is its relative simplicity in comparison to models of L2 motivation that have been proposed in the past, such as the socio-educational model (Gardner, 1985) and the process model of L2 motivation (Dörnyei & Otto, 1998). However, it should be noted that at least part of the reason why the system is simpler than some earlier models is that it seeks to describe L2 motivation in a relatively broad sense. The L2MSS may be able to account for more intricate aspects of L2 motivation, such as the different motivational orientations described by Noels and colleagues (e.g., Noels, 2001; Noels et al., 1999), and the temporally distinct phases identified by Dörnyei and Otto (1998), but, at the same time, such motivational intricacies are not explicit in the system. To understand the workings of the L2MSS, it is helpful to look less at Dörnyei's descriptions of it (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), and more at some of the quantitative validation studies that have tested the model in different environments—in particular, Taguchi et al. (2009) and Csizér and Kormos (2009).

A number of studies (e.g., Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009; You et al., 2016) have employed structural equation modelling (SEM) to test relationships between system components in different contexts. Most such studies

have identified positive causal relationships between each element of the L2MSS and learners' motivation levels (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009; You et al., 2016), although results of different studies have differed with regard to the relationship between the ought-to L2 self and motivation (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011).

It is clear, as Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) acknowledge, that there is plenty of room for further research to investigate the exact relationship of the L2MSS's components to motivation, but the idea of the L2MSS, as it was proposed, is that each of the three motivational antecedents exerts a relatively independent influence on learners' L2 learning motivation.

2.2.4 Limitations of the L2MSS

Relatively little criticism has so far been levelled at the L2MSS; indeed, Dörnyei (2009) does not draw attention to any major limitations of the model, although he does mention a number of conditions which are necessary for the system to be effective, and he and Ushioda (2009) also set out some unknowns relating to the system in a chapter suggesting directions for future research. One work that has described limitations of the L2MSS is that of MacIntyre, MacKinnon, and Clément (2009), in which the authors outline a number of cautions in a chapter intended to discourage researchers from abandoning and/or disregarding the research progress made during the social psychological period of research associated with the socio-educational model (see section 2.1.1). Specifically, MacIntyre et al. (2009) list six cautions for researchers engaging in L2MSS-related research: Their cautions concern "measurement of possible selves" (p. 53), "the naming problem" (p. 54), "cultural variation in the concept of self" (p. 54), issues surrounding "possible selves as goals" (p. 55), the fact that "possible selves change over time" (p. 56), and issues surrounding "possible selves and identity" (p. 57).

Some of these represent genuine limitations of the model, while others should be viewed simply as issues to be considered when undertaking research.

Perhaps the most significant of MacIntyre et al.'s (2009) cautions is the first: measurement of possible selves. One only needs to read a meta-analysis of Gardner and associates' studies—such as that of Masgoret and Gardner (2003)—to observe the efficacy of using research methods that are both quantitative in nature and consistent with regard to the measurements used. Virtually all studies undertaken by Gardner and associates between 1959 and the early 1990s made use of the same Likert-type items (gathered together in the Attitudes and Motivation Test Battery, e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972), and, as a result, it has been relatively simple to make some large-scale generalizations based on such studies. In contrast, as MacIntyre et al. are quick to point out, barely a decade of research on the L2MSS has already yielded a number of studies that, while perhaps comparable in terms of general findings, are generally not similar enough to each other to permit the undertaking of a meta-analysis such as that of Masgoret and Gardner. Indeed, studies relating to possible selves, both within and outside SLA, have ranged from the highly statistical, with participant numbers in the thousands (e.g., Ryan, 2009; You et al., 2016), to small-scale, highly qualitative investigations, involving as few as two focal participants (Lamb, 2009; Lanvers, 2012). While this situation is cast in a somewhat negative light by MacIntyre et al., such a situation could equally be seen as supportive of the L2MSS since, while a diverse range of research methodologies doesn't lend itself to statistical meta-analysis, the very fact that support for the system has been found by studies using totally different methodologies could be taken as evidence of its robustness.

In relation to measurement of possible selves, MacIntyre et al. (2009) also note that people's tendency to perceive themselves in a positive light may affect the reliability of self-related measures; however, it should be noted that such a limitation is present in a large proportion of psychological and social studies, and, if anything, this could indicate a need for further qualitative and mixed-methods studies, which go into more depth in exploring and understanding L2 learners' situations. MacIntyre et al. also argue that different understandings of the meaning of *self* or *self-concept* among members of different cultural and linguistic groups could lead to inaccuracy in studies.

MacIntyre et al. (2009) also raise the possibility that the terminology used by Dörnyei (2005, 2009) in the L2MSS is confusing: The authors go as far as stating that "the multitude of overlapping concepts in the literature on the self is more confusing than integrativeness could ever be" (p. 54). The question of terminology, however, is something that arises in virtually all psychology-related areas of research—not excepting the social-psychological research of Gardner (e.g., 1985) and colleagues—and there appears to be little indication that L2MSS terminology is proving more of a problem than terminology used within other L2 motivation paradigms.

A further possible limitation of the L2MSS not covered by MacIntyre et al. (2009) is the question of how confidently one can say that a particular motive or a particular learner's situation is representative of a specific component of the L2MSS. This is a limitation that is more likely to arise in qualitative data analysis, when a learner's description of a situation might appear to transcend two or more L2MSS components or might appear not to represent any of the L2MSS constructs. In particular, it is unclear how learners' descriptions of goals that lack an experiential or visual element should be classified when viewed from an L2MSS perspective.

The limitations, or cautions, described by MacIntyre et al. (2009), as well as the final limitation outlined above, are not negligible; and the limitations of the L2MSS and its component constructs can be expected to become more apparent as more L2MSS studies are undertaken in different contexts, with different foci, and employing different research methodologies.

2.3 Studies of the L2MSS

Since the 2005 proposal of the L2MSS, well over 50 published studies and theoretical works have dealt with the model in one way or another. The works that make up this body of literature represent great diversity in terms of foci, research methods context, and findings. Studies have ranged from qualitative investigations with as few as two focal participants to large-scale statistical

investigations involving thousands; they have included studies of junior high school students and of mature university-level learners studying via distance learning, and they have been undertaken on at least five continents.

The L2MSS studies discussed in this section (2.4) have generally aimed to do one or all of the following: (a) to assess the validity of the L2MSS as a model of L2 motivation in a particular context(s) (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; You et al., 2016) or (b) to examine the degree to which one or more of the component constructs of the L2MSS might be associated with constructs or factors external to the system (e.g., Henry, 2010; Yashima, 2009; You et al., 2016). Studies that have examined relationships between L2MSS constructs and other constructs or factors have looked at factors that influence L2MSS constructs (e.g., family influence, gender, interventions) and at factors influenced by L2MSS constructs (e.g., willingness to communicate, L2 anxiety), although, in some cases, the nature of relationships between L2MSS constructs and other factors may be either two-way or unclear (e.g., intrinsic motivation). Studies that have found more than one of the central components of the L2MSS to affect an external variable are of particular interest, as such studies indicate that the L2MSS may be able to serve not just as a model for predicting motivation, but also as a model for predicting other outcomes related to L2 learning, such as L2 anxiety (e.g., Papi, 2010).

This section of the present review begins by examining what findings studies have produced with regard to the validity of the L2MSS as a model of L2 motivation (section 2.3.1). Thereafter, the section broadens to look at the host of L2MSS-related variables that have been studied since 2005. Section 2.3.2 looks at how attitudes, orientations, and affective variables relate to the L2MSS and its component parts; then, sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4 address the roles of further learner variables, such as learning style, and imagery capacity, age, and gender. Section 2.3.5 looks at studies that have dealt with the relevance of context—geographical, cultural, educational, and linguistic—and the influence of other people in the workings of the L2MSS. Finally, the review moves to some less-studied L2MSS related topics, namely, conflicting goals and interference (section 2.3.6), L2MSS-

related motivational change (section 2.3.7), and links between the L2MSS and SDT (section 2.3.8).

2.3.1 Validity of the L2MSS as a Model of L2 Motivation

To say that a model or system is valid is to say that it works; but what exactly would it mean to say that the L2MSS works? The aim of the tripartite system is to account for learners' motivation levels; therefore, to say that the system is valid would be to say that each of its three elements is indeed a real construct, and that each exerts a positive influence on learners' motivation. Dörnyei (2009) states that the findings of four key studies (Al-Shehri, 2009; Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009) provide "robust theoretical and empirical confirmation of the soundness of the proposed self-based approach" (p. 32), although Ryan (2009) tests only the ideal L2 self element of the system. However, since 2008, numerous studies (e.g., Islam, Lamb, & Chambers, 2013; Kim, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; Li, 2014) have directly or indirectly tested the validity of the L2MSS as a model of L2 motivation, and, while it is true that the majority found the system, or elements thereof, to be valid, several have found one or more elements of the system to have no significant role in determining learners' motivation levels (e.g., Kormos et al., 2011; Lamb, 2012; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012). Still other studies that have confirmed *some* aspects of the L2MSS have found its explanatory power, or that of certain of its parts, to be weak. In a field where the object of investigation is an aspect people's behaviour, it is unsurprising that the results of studies vary, but it can prove illuminating nonetheless to explore the various features of studies that have found evidence supporting and/or contradicting Dörnyei's (2005) L2MSS.

Before moving on to examine these studies in detail, it should be noted that a number of what are described here as validation studies do not investigate the validity of all three elements of the L2MSS. Several others *do* measure all elements of the system, but do not test their relationship with motivation, and, as noted above, further studies find evidence for the validity of some of the system's

components, but not for others. Section 2.3.1.1 looks at empirical evidence for the existence of the central constructs of the L2MSS; following this, section 2.3.1.2 examines studies that have offered all-round support for the model; and section 2.3.1.3 looks at studies that offer only partial support for the validity of the L2MSS as a model of L2 motivation.

2.3.1.1 Support for the existence of the central constructs.

Of the many studies that have examined the L2MSS or certain of its parts, it seems that virtually all have succeeded in identifying a construct similar to that of Dörnyei's ideal L2 self (Al-Shehri, 2009; Cai & Zhu, 2012; Csizér and Lukács, 2010; Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Henry, 2009; Islam et al., 2013; Kim & Kim, 2012; Kormos et al., 2011; Lanvers, 2012; Lamb, 2009, 2012; Li, 2014; Magid, 2009; Magid & Chan, 2012; Moskovsky et al., 2016; Papi, 2010; Papi and Teimouri, 2012; Ryan, 2009; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012; Xie, 2014; You et al., 2016). Likewise, it would appear that all studies that have tested for an L2 learning experience construct have found such a construct to exist (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Islam et al., 2012; Li, 2014), or have at least found evidence for the existence of an analogous construct, such as "attitudes to learning English" (Li, 2014, p. 453). In fact, it would seem that the ought-to L2 self is the only element of the L2MSS that has not been unanimously identified as a construct by studies that have investigated it. Even then, it is only a small number of studies that have failed to identify the construct (Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Lamb, 2012), but it should be noted that in quantitative studies that have examined all three elements of the L2MSS, Cronbach's alpha scores of constructs' internal reliability have generally been lower for the ought-to L2 self than for the ideal L2 self or L2 learning experience (e.g., Kim, 2012; Li, 2014; Papi, 2010; Taguchi et al, 2009; You et al., 2016).

Given the findings described above, it can be claimed that there is substantial evidence for the existence of all three of the central constructs of the L2MSS, despite the fact that support for the existence of the ought-to L2 self is not as strong as for the other two L2MSS components. This being established, the

question that remains is whether, and how, each and all of these constructs relate to L2 learning motivation.

2.3.1.2 All-round support for the L2MSS as a model of L2 motivation.

Studies that have provided all-round support for the L2MSS, including evidence of a relationship between motivation and both of the model's self elements, have included those employing both qualitative (e.g., Kim, 2009; Lamb, 2009; Lanvers, 2012) and quantitative (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Islam et al., 2013; Papi, 2010; Taguchi et al., 2009) research methods.

Perhaps the most significant of these confirmatory studies are two cited by Dörnyei (2009): those of Taguchi et al. (2009) and Csizér and Kormos (2009), both of which consisted of large-scale survey-based investigations of school and university students of English in Hungary (Csizér & Kormos, 2009), and across Japan, China, and Iran (Taguchi et al., 2009). With only one minor exception, SEM undertaken in these studies revealed that all elements of the L2MSS exerted a significant positive effect on measures of motivated learning behaviour (Csizér & Kormos, 2009) or intended effort (Taguchi et al., 2009). The one exception was Csizér and Kormos's finding that, in the case of their secondary school student sub-group, the link between the ought-to L2 self and motivated learning behaviour was non-significant. When the data for Csizér and Kormos's two sub-groups were combined, L2 learning experience emerged as the element of the L2MSS with the strongest explanatory power with regard to the criterion measure, and the ought-to L2 self was shown to have the weakest. The same pattern regarding the relative explanatory power of the L2MSS components was found to be the case among two of the three nationality sub-groups in Taguchi et al.'s study; however, in the case of the Chinese sub-group, the ideal L2 self was found to be the most significant element, followed by attitudes to learning English (understood here to be analogous to L2 learning experience), and finally by the ought-to L2 self.

A more recent SEM study conducted by You et al. (2016) in China also found evidence that the L2MSS's motivational antecedents had an impact on learners' motivation (intended effort) levels. In this study, though, the predictive supremacy of the L2 learning experience (attitudes to L2 learning) was notable: The

regression weight for the causal effect of "attitudes to L2 learning" (p. 109) on intended effort was .68, whereas the regression weights for the causal effects of ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self on intended effort were .14 and .12, respectively.

Other quantitative studies that have found evidence of relationships between L2 learning motivation and all components of the L2MSS employed correlation analysis rather than the SEM methods used in many contemporary L2 motivation studies. The first of these studies was undertaken by Kim (2012) in South Korea, and the second in Pakistan by Islam et al. (2013). Analysis of survey data obtained from school students in these studies found the ideal L2 self to be the L2MSS component most highly correlated with the studies' respective measures of motivation, closely followed by an attitude to learning English variable. In both the Korean study and the Pakistani study the ought-to L2 self was also shown to be significantly correlated with motivation, but more weakly than the other two components of the L2MSS. Multiple regression analysis conducted with the Pakistani data further showed that attitudes toward learning English accounted for a higher proportion of the variance in intended learning effort than did the ideal L2 self.

The authors of three qualitative studies (Kim, 2009; Lamb, 2009; Lanvers, 2012) have also identified evidence supporting the principles of the L2MSS. Kim (2009) and Lamb (2009) each conducted studies focusing on just two learners, although Lamb's study also included qualitative data from other, non-focal learners. In Kim's study, participants were two university-age Korean ESL students in Canada; in Lamb's, they were Indonesian students studying English at a junior high-school. In the Indonesian study, Lamb focused largely on the two self elements of the L2MSS, for which he found broad support in data elicited through open-ended survey questions and semi-structured interviews. He suggests, however, that the value of L2 self-guides "for finding practical solutions to motivational problems 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). This expression of a need for scholars to situate the L2 self has much in common with Ushioda's (2009) arguments for a "person in context" (p. 216)

approach to L2 motivation. Lamb's study also acknowledges the role of the third component of the L2MSS, L2 learning experience: He shows through quotation of interview data the potential for this component to have both detrimental and positive effects on motivation, and suggests that a strong ideal L2 self may be able to counteract a negative L2 learning experience.

Like that of Lamb (2009), Kim's (2009) Canadian study concentrates on the L2MSS's self components, with relatively little attention paid to L2 learning experience. The study does, however, find support for the existence of both the ideal and ought-to L2 selves as constructs that represent important parts of a learner's motivational system. In describing his interpretation of interview data with regard to these constructs, Kim suggests, drawing on Vygotsky (1979), that "the ought-to L2 self reflects the inter-psychological plane, and the ideal L2 self reflects the intra-psychological plane in the development of the L2 self" (p. 290). The distinction between ideal and ought-to L2 selves is not seen by Kim as black and white; rather, he argues that a given extrinsic motive (Deci & Ryan, 1985) might relate to either the ideal or the ought-to L2 self, depending on the degree to which the motive is internalized.

Lanvers' (2012) qualitative used interview techniques to gather data from mature British learners of FLs who were studying via distance learning with the UK's Open University. Lanvers makes the comment that studying this somewhat atypical group of learners may affect the extent to which the findings of the study can be applied to the more general learner population; however, her identification of interview extracts indicating ideal and ought-to L2 selves playing motivational roles might also be seen as an indication of the model's robustness. Citing ideal L2 self evidence such as students' expression of a desire to be a different sort of person from the average, monolingual Briton, Lanvers claims her findings "are compatible with but overreach [the L2MSS] framework" (p. 171), particularly with regard to her findings regarding the relevance of students' L1 to L2 learning motivation. In addition, although Lanvers suggests that it can be difficult to say with which L2MSS self-guide a given motive belongs, it could be argued that the ought-to L2 self is evident in her study in participants' feelings of embarrassment

at how the British compare with a group such as the Danish with regard to multilingualism.

2.3.1.3 Partial support for the L2MSS as a model of L2 motivation.

Among studies that have investigated multiple elements of the L2MSS and found partial support for the model, some have found just the ought-to L2 self to have no role in determining motivation levels (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Kim & Kim, 2012; Kormos et al., 2011; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012), and others have found neither the ought-to L2 self nor the ideal L2 self to be significant positive predictors of L2 learning motivation (Lamb, 2012; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012, Li, 2014). In addition, one study (Csizér & Lukács, 2010) found neither the ought-to L2 self nor L2 learning experience to have a significant positive relationship with L2 motivation, validating only the role of the ideal L2 self. One further study (Li, 2014) found the ought-to L2 self and "attitudes to learning English" (p. 453) to have significant effects on motivation, but found the ideal L2 self to have no significant effect on motivation. In most studies in which the ought-to L2 self was not related to motivation, the construct was still statistically identified, but, in two studies (Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Lamb, 2012), the ought-to L2 self was not statistically identified.

Studies that have failed to find the ought-to L2 self significant in determining learner motivation in no way represent a dissenting minority; rather, if the studies that have also failed to confirm other L2MSS components are included in the count, it seems that a majority of L2MSS validation studies may count among their number. Even Csizér and Kormos's (2009) Hungarian study (see section 2.3.1.2), which is cited by Dörnyei (2009) as finding "solid confirmation" (p. 31) for the L2MSS, found that "the role of the ought-to L2 self seemed to be marginal" (Csizér & Kormos, 2009, p. 109).

Kormos et al.'s (2011) study of 201 students of English at high-school, university, and private institutions in Chile employed SEM to test causal relationships between the three elements of the L2MSS and a criterion variable of motivated learning behaviour. Their finding that the ought-to L2 self had no significant causal impact on the motivation of any of the three learner groups

studied offers a powerful indication that the ought-to L2 self does not necessarily play an important role in learners' motivation, and the authors suggest that the finding indicates that the ought-to construct may of more importance in some cultures (e.g., those studied in Csizér & Kormos, 2009 and Taguchi et al., 2009) than in others.

Papi & Teimouri (2012) used multiple regression analysis to test the power of various factors, including the components of the L2MSS, to predict a criterion variable of motivated behaviour among a population of over 1000 Iranian school and university students. The researchers found that together the variables of L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self could explain the "remarkable" (p. 299) amount of over 58% of the variance in motivated behaviour; however, the ought-to L2 self, in contrast, was found not to be a significant predictor of the criterion variable. Using similar techniques with a participant population of around 500 school students in South Korea, Kim & Kim (2012) found that although simple correlation analysis among the measured variables showed significant but weak correlation between motivated behaviour and the ought-to L2 self, sequential regression analysis revealed that while the ideal L2 self alone explained over 50% of the variance in motivated behaviour, the ought-to L2 self explained a near-negligible 0.5%. Cai and Zhu (2012) also note similar findings in a mixed-methods study focused largely on the effect of an intervention programme on the ideal L2 selves and motivation levels of students of Chinese in the USA. Pre- and post-tests both indicated that the ideal L2 self and L2 learning experience had strong motivating power, whereas the ought-to L2 self was "relatively weak both before and after the [intervention] project" (p. 318). A final study that can be seen as confirming the validity of the L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self constructs while failing to confirm the role of the ought-to L2 self is that of Ueki and Takeuchi (2012); however, the findings of their study of around 150 first-year Japanese university students are less straight-forward than those of other studies. Although SEM showed the causal relationship between the ought-to L2 self and motivation to be non-significant, path coefficients indicated that the ought-to L2 self may in fact exert a negative causal effect on L2 motivation; but such an effect is mediated through the construct of L2 anxiety.

Papi and Abdollahzadeh's (2012) study of 700 male Iranian school students of English is significant among L2MSS validation studies in that, while the study made use of quantitative research methods, students' motivation levels were ascertained not just through self-report survey data, but also through in-class observations. By bringing together these two measures of motivation, researchers were able to divide the participant classes in the study into the categories of high, moderate, and low motivation. Membership of each of these categories was then tested for correlation with strength of ideal and ought-to L2 self. No significant correlation was found between ideal L2 self and motivation, but a weak yet significant negative relationship was identified between ought-to L2 self and motivation. While such findings appear to offer very little support for the L2MSS as a model of motivation, there are several important points that should be noted, without negating the importance of Papi and Abdollahzadeh's results. First, a strong, statistically significant correlation between students' observed in-class motivated behaviour and the variable of teacher motivational practice upholds the validity of at least the L2 learning experience component of the L2MSS. In addition, Papi and Abdollahzadeh's failure to find significant correlation between the study's two measures of motivation (observed and self-reported) could (a) indicate that at least a part of the motivation measured in the study represents a different construct from that measured in numerous previous studies, and (b) bring into question the validity of a composite measure of motivation that combines two uncorrelated variables. Furthermore, the emphasis on in-class motivation could be seen as overlooking, to some extent, the relevance of behaviour and experiences outside the classroom, as investigated by Lamb (2009, 2012). Finally, the relatively young age of the participants could influence the role of possible selves in motivation (Lamb, 2012), and, as noted by Papi and Abdollahzadeh, the fact that all participants were male is further limitation, especially given that gender has been shown to be associated with the strength of ideal L2 selves (Henry, 2009).

Like Papi and Abdollahzadeh (2012), Li (2014), in a study of university-age Chinese learners of English in EFL (China) and ESL (New Zealand) contexts, found that the ideal L2 self was not significantly related to the criterion variable of

motivated learning behaviour. Li did, however, identify a weak yet statistically significant positive relationship between the ought-to L2 self and motivation, but this relationship existed only among the EFL students. Attitudes to learning English, on the other hand, which can be seen as representing the L2 learning experience construct, were found to be significantly positively related to motivation in both learner groups, although even that relationship was relatively weak among the ESL learners. Li comments that, in the populations studied, the identification of each of the three L2MSS components as discrete constructs could represent limited confirmation of the validity of the model; however, the study's failure to find robust links between motivation and two of the model's central components could be seen as undermining such an argument.

Another study that found L2 learning experience to be the only one of the L2MSS components significantly linked to L2 learning motivation is Lamb's (2012) investigation of over 500 school in Indonesia. In this study, regression analyses showed that the L2 learning experience—both in and out of school—had the most explanatory power of any of the L2MSS components with regard to motivation. Of the other two components, the ideal L2 self was found to be significantly related to motivation only among one participant sub-group.

With regard to the findings of L2MSS validation studies, Csizér and Lukács' (2010) study of Hungarian high-school students of English and German is something of an outlier. As of 2014, this appears to be the only L2MSS-related study to find no significant positive relationship between L2 learning experience and L2 learning motivation; in fact, this study found that the ideal L2 self was the only L2MSS component that had statistically significant links to motivation after the Cronbach's alpha rating for the internal reliability of the ought-to L2 self measure was deemed unacceptably low. Given that the study methodology was similar to that of previous studies with regard to both the survey (e.g., Dörnyei, Csizér, & Nemeth, 2006; Ryan, 2005) and the statistical methods employed (e.g., Kim & Kim, 2012; Islam et al., 2013), Cziser and Lukács's unusual findings cannot be easily explained away, especially given that previous studies undertaken in the Hungarian context have found L2 learning experience to play a significant role in determining motivation. In addition, it is unlikely that the study

results represent a type II error, given that the central result is replicated among two different learner groups, and with regard to two different L2s. The best that can be said with regard to Csizér and Lukács's surprising results is that the situation may have been complicated by the fact that students were learning multiple languages, and as such, perhaps represented a somewhat anomalous population. There is also, of course, the possibility that the findings of future L2MSS studies may corroborate those of Csizér and Lukács, but so far none appear to have done so.

2.3.2 Attitudes, Orientations, and Affective Variables

The banner of attitudes, orientations, and affective variables encompasses a diverse range of constructs that have been investigated with regard to their links to the L2MSS or parts thereof. It includes more general attitudes and orientations (section 2.3.2.1), such as attitudes to the target language and its speakers, as well as Yashima's (e.g., 2002, 2009) concept of *international posture*, and related concepts (section 2.3.2.2). This section also discusses the interplay between the L2MSS and various affective constructs (section 2.3.2.3), such as language anxiety, willingness to communicate (WTC), linguistic self-confidence, and self-efficacy.

2.3.2.1 General attitudes and orientations.

Several studies have linked attitudes to the target language (and its associated culture and community) to aspects of the L2MSS. Taguchi et al. (2009), for example, identified a relatively strong, significant causal path leading to the ideal L2 self from a factor termed "attitudes to L2 culture and community". They also identified a significant two-directional path between this attitudinal factor and promotion instrumentality, which, in the same study, was shown to be linked to the ideal L2 self. Kim (2012) found that, of the variables that he investigated, attitude to L2 communities was one of the factors that correlated most highly with the ideal L2 self; in this regard it was exceeded (and only slightly) only by integrativeness and promotion instrumentality. Kim also found strong correlation

between attitude to L2 communities and attitude to learning English—a variable analogous to the L2 learning experience component of the L2MSS.

With regard to less commonly researched attitude and orientation variables, both Csizér and Kormos (2009) and Kormos et al. (2011) identified, through SEM, significant causal pathways leading from a knowledge orientation variable to international posture, which in turn exerted a significant causal effect on ideal L2 self. In contrast, a second hypothesized pathway, leading from knowledge orientation to ought-to L2 self, was found to be non-significant.

2.3.2.2 International posture and related ideas.
The concept of international posture, proposed by Yashima (e.g., 2009; Yashima et al., 2004), refers to "a tendency to relate oneself to the international community rather than [to] any specific L2 group" (Yashima, 2009, p. 145) and contrasts with integrativeness (e.g., Gardner, 1985), which assumes the existence of a specific target language community. There are notable parallels between the idea of international posture and the L2MSS in that both can be viewed as responses to the apparent inadequacy, in today's globalized world, of an understanding of L2 motivation as tied to specific ethnolinguistic communities. Given that the impetus is similar for the proposal of both international posture and the L2MSS, it is logical that scholars (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Islam et al., 2013; Kim, 2012; Kormos et al., 2011; Lamb, 2009, 2012; Li, 2014; Munezane, 2012; Ryan, 2009; Yashima, 2009; Xie, 2014) have sought to empirically link international posture and related variables to elements of the L2MSS.

Csizér and Kormos's (2009) Hungarian study and Kormos et al.'s (2011) Chilean study both employed SEM, which revealed that international posture is positively affected by the L2 learning experience component of the L2MSS, and that international posture exerts a positive causal effect upon ideal L2 self. Munezane (2013), using the same methods of analysis as those used in the Hungarian and Chilean studies, also identified a robust causal path leading from international posture to the ideal L2 self among Japanese students of English.

Yashima (2009) also conducted a study to test the relationship between international posture and the ideal L2 self among Japanese learners of English,

and found substantial correlation between the two variables. Significant correlation between international posture and the ideal L2 self was also found among United States learners of Chinese (Xie, 2014), and Islam et al. (2013) found significant correlation between international posture and all three elements of the L2MSS in Pakistan, with the strongest correlation being with the ideal L2 self, and the weakest with the ought-to L2 self.

A number of studies also explored the role within the L2MSS of constructs that are different from, but closely related to, international posture. Islam et al. (2013), for example, investigated the relationship between the components of the L2MSS and the constructs of cultural interest and national interest (a construct relating to a learner's "aspirations for their country" [Islam et al., 2013, p. 234]). Significant correlations were found between all three elements of the L2MSS and both constructs; however, the low Cronbach's alpha score obtained for the internal reliability of national interest means that the results must be treated with caution, although it is still interesting to note that, of the three L2MSS components, it was the ought-to L2 self that correlated most strongly with national interest.

2.3.2.3 Affective variables.

The affective variables covered here comprise language anxiety and emotions (section 2.3.2.3.1), WTC (section 2.3.2.3.2), and the twin constructs of linguistic self confidence and self-efficacy (section 2.3.2.3.3). All of these variables have been studied in non-L2MSS-related studies of L2 motivation; however, the present review includes only those studies that have sought to relate the constructs to the L2MSS and its component parts.

2.3.2.3.1 Language anxiety and emotions.

L2 anxiety or FL classroom anxiety (e.g., Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; MacIntyre, 1995) has typically been found to be negatively associated with motivation (Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012). Several L2MSS-related studies have investigated L2 anxiety (Lamb, 2012; Papi, 2010; Ryan, 2009; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012); however, fewer (Papi, 2010, Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012) have specifically tested relationships between language anxiety and elements of the L2MSS.

Papi (2010) tested the effect of each of the components of the L2MSS on "English anxiety" (p. 470)—a construct analogous to FL classroom anxiety among Iranian high-school students. Papi's SEM showed that both the ideal L2 self and the L2 learning experience had a negative effect on students' levels of anxiety; in contrast, the ought-to L2 self had a substantial positive effect, increasing students' anxiety. English anxiety was also shown to be positively correlated with the ought-to L2 self, while there was no significant correlation between anxiety and either of the other two elements of the L2MSS. Somewhat surprisingly, given the findings of earlier, non-L2MSS-related studies of L2 motivation (e.g., Aida, 1994; Saito & Samimy, 1996), a weak yet statistically significant positive causal pathway was identified leading from English anxiety to intended effort. It should also be noted, however, that, even though in Papi's study English anxiety did not have a detrimental effect on L2 motivation, the identification of such an effect in previous studies (e.g., Aida, 1994; Saito & Samimy, 1996), coupled with Papi's finding that the ought-to L2 self increases L2 anxiety, suggests that the ought-to L2 self may have a complex and/or unpredictable role in determining motivation.

Another study to have examined the relationship between L2 anxiety and the L2MSS, Ueki and Takeuchi (2012), lends weight to the possibility that the relationship between the ought-to L2 self and motivation may be more complex than Dörnyei (2005, 2009) originally suggested. Using SEM, the study found that a path from ought-to L2 self to L2 anxiety represented a significant positive causal relationship, and that a path from L2 anxiety to motivated learning behaviour represented a significant *negative* causal relationship. Such a finding suggests that, at least in the Japanese context of the study, the ought-to L2 self may actually have a negative effect on L2 learning motivation levels, but that such an effect may be mediated by L2 anxiety. In addition, Ueki and Takeuchi found that a pathway leading from the ideal L2 self to L2 anxiety represented a negative causal relationship, indicating that a strong ideal L2 self can have an ameliorating effect on L2 anxiety.

More recently, Csizér and Kormos (2014) have looked at several other emotions associated with L2 learning in relation to L2MSS variables among

learners of English in Hungary. Their study statistically investigated relationships between the ideal L2 self and two variables that they termed "emotion control" (p. 59) and "satiation control" (p. 59), which concerned learners' abilities to manage feelings and to deal with boredom in L2 learning. The study found significant correlations between the strength of ideal L2 self and satiation control, but not between the ideal L2 self and emotion control.

2.3.2.3.2 Willingness to communicate.

WTC (MacIntyre et al., 1998) has been included as a variable in several studies that have explored the workings of the L2MSS (Ryan, 2009; Yashima, 2009; Munezane, 2012; Xie, 2014), and several such studies have tested its relationship to the separate components of the L2MSS (Munezane, 2013; Xie, 2014; Yashima, 2009).

Through SEM, Munezane (2013), in her study of Japanese students of English, identified a significant and relatively substantial positive causal pathway leading from ideal L2 self to L2 WTC, indicating that a strong ideal L2 self can lead to a learner being more willing to communicate in their L2. Munezane's study did not, however, test the effect of either of the other two elements of the L2MSS on WTC, nor the effect of WTC on any of the three L2MSS constructs. Similarly, Xie's (2014) study of students of Chinese in the United States, and Yashima's (2009) study of Japanese learners of English, found significant correlation between the ideal L2 self and general WTC. Like Munezane's study, though, neither Xie's nor Yashima's study investigated possible relationships between WTC (either L1 or L2) and either of the other two components of the L2MSS. In addition, their identification of significant correlation does not tell us in what direction any influence might flow. Munezane's, Yashima's, and Xie's studies indicate that a relationship exists between the WTC and the ideal L2 self (and thus the L2MSS more generally), and it may well be that the ideal L2 self exerts a positive causal effect on WTC; however, more research is clearly needed before any robust conclusions may be drawn.

2.3.2.3.3 Linguistic self-confidence, self-efficacy, and classroom emotions.

Self-efficacy, or, more accurately, *self-efficacy beliefs*, are defined by Kormos et al. (2011) as "one's views as to whether one is capable of performing a given learning task" (p. 497). Linguistic self-confidence, on the other hand, can be "operationally defined in terms of low anxious affect and high self perceptions of L2 competence" (Kruidenier & Clément, 1985, as cited in Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994, p. 423). The number of L2MSS studies that have included either of these closely-related constructs is relatively small (Kormos et al., 2011; Munezane, 2013; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012; Ryan, 2009; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012), and of those that have investigated the role of either construct, it would seem that only one, that of Ueki & Takeuchi (2012), has empirically tested the relationship of either factor to any of the three components of the L2MSS.

In their Japanese study, Ueki & Takeuchi (2012) used SEM to test pathways between self-efficacy and the ideal L2 self, and between self-efficacy and motivated learning behaviour. The variable of self-efficacy was found to exert a statistically significant causal effect on both the ideal L2 self and motivation, and the effect on the former was slightly higher than that on the latter. Kormos et al. (2011), perhaps the only other L2MSS study to discuss self-efficacy in any depth, did not include the construct in the SEM that informed the majority of their study's findings; however, in their discussion of an emerging model of motivation developed from the L2MSS, Kormos et al. claim that self-efficacy beliefs, along with attitudes, self-guides, and goals, represent a complex of four "learner-internal factors" (p. 513) that play an important role in determining L2 learning motivation.

With regard to linguistic self-confidence, two Japanese studies (Munezane, 2013; Ryan, 2009) both found that the variable played a role in motivational dynamics. Ryan found that self-confidence correlated significantly with intended effort. Papi and Abdollahzadeh's (2012) study of English learners in Iran used self-confidence only as part of a measure of motivation; thus, while their study had some interesting results, it is impossible to say what role, if any, was played by self-confidence.

With the notable exception of Ueki and Takeuchi's (2012) study, L2MSS studies that have investigated self-confidence and self-efficacy have thus far shed

relatively little light on the roles of these constructs with regard to the operation of the L2MSS. More study in this area would therefore be desirable in future.

2.3.3 Imagery Capacity, Visualisation, and Learning Styles

A central feature of the L2MSS is its focus on that which resides not in the present world but rather in individuals' imagination; the system focuses on situations, or states, that one may visualize, but which have not yet come to pass. Given the L2MSS's reliance on visualization and imagination, it is logical that a number of scholars (Al-Shehri, 2009; Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Kim, 2009b; Kim & Kim, 2011; Magid & Chan, 2012; Yang & Kim, 2011; You et al., 2016) have endeavoured to find links between, on the one hand, individuals' abilities, preferences, and efforts in this regard, and, on the other hand, L2 learning motivation and the components of the L2MSS. Variables examined in this area can be divided into two categories: those having to do with individuals' capacity with regard to imagination and visualization, and those relating to individuals' preferences with regard to learning style (visual, kinaesthetic, etc.).

2.3.3.1 Imagery capacity and visualisation.
Al-Shehri's (2009) study was the earliest to test the relationship between students' imaginative capacity and the ideal L2 self. Specifically, this study of Saudi students of English tested the relationship between students' imaginative abilities and tendencies (termed simply *imagination*) and the ideal L2 self. Al-Shehri found significant correlation between imagination and the ideal L2 self, and slightly weaker correlation between imagination and motivated behaviour. In addition, imagination was significantly correlated with a preference for a visual learning style, and further analysis revealed that a composite variable composed of both visual style and imagination accounted for 47% of the variance in ideal L2 self.

In a study with a similar focus, Dörnyei & Chan (2013) also identified positive correlations between a variable they termed *imagery capacity* and both the ideal

and ought-to L2 selves of Hong Kong learners of Mandarin and English. They also found that a composite variable comprising imagery capacity, visual style, and auditory style accounted for as much as 27% of the variance in ideal L2 self image. Two studies undertaken in the Korean context, Kim (2009b) and Kim & Kim (2011), also found significant levels of correlation between the ideal L2 self and imagery capacity.

In a more recent study, You et al. (2016) employed SEM in a China-based study that showed that "vividness of imagery" (p. 109) was a highly significant predictor of ideal L2 self strength and a significant predictor of ought-to L2 self strength. In that study, however, ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self had only weak effects on motivation (intended effort), which indicates that the ultimate effect of vividness of imagery on learners' motivation levels may have been minimal. You et al. also found that the extent to which learners indicated having visual or auditory learning styles predicted not only vividness of imagery, but also learners' "attitudes to L2 learning" (p. 109) (a construct analogous to L2 learning experience), which was in turn found to be a highly significant predictor of motivation. You et al.'s (2016) data also showed that "learners with no conscious visualisation awareness" (p. 106) scored lower than other learners on measures of intended effort, but the effect size of the difference between "Vision-Yes" (p. 108) and "Vision-No" (p. 108) learners on intended effort measures was small.

Taking a different approach, Magid and Chan (2012) trialled two different intervention programmes with learners of English in England and Hong Kong. Their study is relevant to understanding the role of imagery capacity within the L2MSS because the intervention programme comprised elements that Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) recommended be included in L2MSS-based motivational programmes; these included helping learners to create a vision of their ideal L2 selves, to strengthen their vision through imagery enhancement, and to continue to activate their vision. Thus, much of the programme consisted of building students' imagery and visualization capacity. Magid and Chan (2012) found that, after completing the programme, students' ideal L2 selves were stronger, their motivation had increased, and they had become more confident in their use of English. Because the intervention programme was multi-faceted and included

elements less closely tied to imagery capacity and visualization, and because the study lacked a control group, it is not possible to state conclusively that it is the imagery aspects of the programme that led to the positive results obtained; however, the implication is there.

It would seem, then, that every study that has sought to positively link learners' imaginative abilities to the strength of their ideal L2 selves has succeeded in doing so, and there are clear indications that the relationship between imagery capacity (or an analogous variable) and the ideal L2 self may be causal (Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Magid & Chan, 2012; You et al., 2016). It is important to consider, though, the fact that the imagery aspect of the ideal L2 self may not necessarily be the most important aspect of the construct with regard to determining motivation. When Dörnyei (2009) explains the difference between future self-guides (such as the ideal L2 self) and mere future goals, he indicates that future self-guides involve goals but are made more than goals by the presence of an imagery or experiential component. Specifically, Dörnyei states that "it is the experiential element that makes possible selves 'larger' than any combinations of goal-related constructs" (p. 15). While the identification of relationships between imagery capacity and the strength of learners' ideal L2 selves (e.g., Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; You et al., 2016) confirms that imagery forms a part of the ideal L2 self, it is worth considering the possibility that it is the *goal* aspect of the ideal L2 self, rather than the *imagery* or *experiential* aspect, which actually leads to learners being more motivated. In the case of Magid and Chan's (2012) intervention study, for example, it may be that motivation was more affected by the intervention programme's development of learners' goals than by the programme's development of learners' visualisation abilities.

2.3.3.2 Learning styles.

Learning style preference (e.g., visual, aural, kinaesthetic) has also been investigated with regard to its potential to affect motivation and aspects of the L2MSS. As with imagery capacity, the first study to investigate this relationship was that of Al-Shehri (2009). Through correlation analysis of data obtained from Saudi participants, Al-Shehri found that a preference for a visual learning style

was significantly correlated with the strength of learners' ideal L2 selves, and this correlation was substantially stronger than that between imagination (capacity/tendency) and ideal L2 self.

In the same year that Al-Shehri's (2009) study appeared, Kim (2009b) published a similar study, undertaken in South Korea and followed two years later by another, Kim & Kim (2011). In both of these Korean studies, very similar results were obtained through correlation analyses. The studies found that the most substantial correlations with ideal L2 self were with the visual style preference, and in both studies the second strongest correlation was with auditory style preference. A preference for kinaesthetic learning style, however, was not found to be significantly correlated with the ideal L2 self in Kim's study, and the same relationship was found to be negative in Kim and Kim's study. Dörnyei and Chan (2013), in their study of Hong Kong learners of Mandarin and English, also found preference for both visual and auditory learning styles to be correlated with both the ideal and ought-to L2 selves.

As described in section 2.3.3.1, You et al. (2016) found that visual (learning) style and auditory (learning) style were both significant predictors of learners' attitudes to L2 learning, and of "vividness of imagery" (p. 109), which in turn predicted ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self strength.

A further study that investigated the relationship between learning style and the ideal L2 self was Yang and Kim's (2011) study, which tested for correlation between the ideal L2 self and different perceptual learning style preferences among four different nationalities of English learners. Yang and Kim's correlation analysis revealed a pattern similar to that found in other studies—namely, that the ideal L2 self was most highly correlated with visual learning style, followed by auditory, and that the relationship between kinaesthetic style preference and ideal L2 self was non-significant.

The body of L2MSS research conducted on the role of perceptual learning styles indicates that a preference for visual style is related to the strength of a learner's ideal L2 self. There are also indications that visual learning style may be associated with the ought-to L2 self, and that both L2 selves may be related—but less strongly—to auditory style preference.

2.3.4 Age and Gender

The idea that an individual's age can be related to his or her possible selves is not exclusive to the L2MSS. Dörnyei (2009) cites Zenter and Renaud's (2007) claim that the emergence of more stable ideal self representations is something that emerges with adolescence, and states that the self approach may not be suitable for explaining the motivation of pre-secondary students. Studies undertaken since 2009 have tended to involve learners of secondary-school age or older, and have provided little in the way of confirmation or refutation of Dörnyei's suggestion that there may be an age below which the L2MSS is ineffective. A number of studies have, however, investigated the role of age in the workings of the L2MSS, in one way or another (Csizér & Kormos, 2009, 2014; Henry, 2008, 2010; Kim, 2012; Kormos et al., 2011; Lamb, 2009; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009), and several have also dealt with the relationships between gender and the system's operation (Henry, 2009, 2010; Ryan, 2009).

Perhaps the most comprehensive age-related L2MSS study is Kim's (2012) cross-grade survey analysis of the motivational dynamics of nearly 3000 South Korean school students from grades three to twelve. The findings of this study showed that, in general, students' motivation and scores for all three components of the L2MSS showed a downward trend from grade three to grade ten; then, from grade ten onward (after graduation from junior high-school), all of these measures exhibited, roughly speaking, an upward trend. According to the study author, this change from a downward trend to a moderate upward trend around grade 10 had to with students' need to pass a university entrance exam, which may suggest that the role of age is not as significant as it might appear, and that proximal academic goals may be relevant to both motivation and the components of the L2MSS.

Two other studies that compared several different age-groups of students, Taguchi et al. (2009) and Papi and Teimouri (2012), also found significant L2MSS-related differences between the different age-groups investigated. In Taguchi et al.'s comparative study, correlation between the ideal L2 self and

motivation measures was found to be stronger among middle-school students than among university students. Ryan (2009), on the other hand, found little difference between secondary students, university English majors, and university non-English majors in terms of the correlation between their ideal L2 selves and measures of motivation (intended effort). Papi and Teimouri's findings with regard to age were that the two older sub-groups in their participant population had higher ideal L2 self scores than did the youngest sub-group, whereas, conversely, the two younger sub-groups had significantly higher ought-to L2 self scores than did the oldest sub-group. Ryan, though, found that secondary students and non-English major university students had similar scores on ideal L2 self measures, but that the ideal L2 self scores of English majors were significantly higher than those of the other two sub-groups of participants. This finding would suggest that the critical factor is not age, but rather the focus of students' studies.

Csizér and Kormos (2009) and Kormos et al. (2011) used the same hypothesized model in their structural equation modelling of Hungarian (Csizér & Kormos, 2009) and Chilean (Kormos et al., 2011) students' motivational dynamics. With regard to age-related variables, it was found that among Hungarian learners the effect of the ought-to L2 self on learners' motivation was significant for university students but not for secondary students. Kormos et al. also found other significant differences between the three age-groups/learner types involved, the most interesting of which was perhaps the finding that the effect of the ideal L2 self on motivation was much stronger for younger learners than it was for adult learners who were studying English at a private institution.

Two studies that investigate the role of age in the operation of the L2MSS also deal with the role that gender may play in this area (Henry, 2009; Ryan, 2009). The descriptive statistics for Ryan's (2009) data clearly show that female students, on average, have significantly higher scores on measures of ideal L2 self and intended effort (motivation). One of the most notable gender-related findings was that of Henry's (2009) investigation of gender and the L2 self concept (which may be seen as analogous to the ideal L2 self) among school-aged Swedish learners of English and other FLs. Henry found that while the strength of male students' L2 self concepts decreased between grades six and nine, that of female students' L2

self concepts increased. You et al. (2016) also looked at gender differences with regard to the L2MSS; however, the study's focus was on gender differences with regard to visualisation and learning style variables, and there was less focus on gender differences with regard to L2MSS variables.

A number of the studies covered in this section appear, at first glance, to show significant links between age, on the one hand, and motivation and L2MSS component measures, on the other. However, given Kim's (2012) comments about the significance of non-age-related factors, such as examinations, and other studies' findings regarding the significance of university students' majors (Ryan, 2009; Papi & Teimouri, 2012), what appear to be age-related effects on motivation may in fact relate less to learners' ages and more to the focus of students' studies and to the presence (or lack) of proximal academic goals such as passing important exams. In contrast with the somewhat inconclusive nature of age-related findings, the relationship between gender and at least the ideal L2 self component of the L2MSS seems relatively clear-cut: In both Ryan (2009) and Henry (2009), females were found to have stronger ideal L2 selves than males, although there is perhaps a need for more studies to corroborate these findings.

2.3.5 Context and the Influence of Others

Context is significant in every area of L2 motivation, SLA, and education, and the operation of the L2MSS is no exception. This section of the present review focuses particularly on the L2MSS-related roles of what might be described as environmental factors. Environmental factors, in turn, may refer to the micro-level, such as the classroom environment, or to the macro-level, such as the geographical or cultural context (section 2.3.5.1). Environmental factors may also refer to the way in which the language being learned relates to the learner's background in the sense of whether or not the L2 can be described as a heritage language (HL) for the learner. This section of the review also covers the influence of actors external to the learner, such as parents and peers, in the operation of the L2MSS (section 2.3.5.2). Such significant others may also be thought of as a

contextual factor in that such actors form at least a part of the social context in which an individual learns an L2.

2.3.5.1 Geographical and cultural context.

Separating a learner's geographical situation, culture, and L1 can be an almost impossible task. The three factors are frequently so deeply intertwined that it simply makes no sense to attempt to pull them apart. This is perhaps why L2MSS studies that have sought to investigate these factors (Lanvers, 2012; Taguchi et al., 2009; Yang & Kim, 2011) have generally focused on a larger factor that may be seen as comprising all three: nationality. A minority of studies, however, have attempted a somewhat narrower focus: Lamb (2009, 2012) focuses more on the geographical aspect, through comparing rural and urban learners in the same country, and Lanvers (2012) concentrates particularly on the role of her UK participants' L1.

Taguchi et al.'s (2009) comparative study of learners of English in Japan, China, and Iran was the first to investigate the role of nationality in the workings of the L2MSS. Perhaps the most significant of Taguchi et al.'s findings was that L2 learning experience was the most important of the L2MSS components among the Japanese and Iranian populations (in terms of its causal effect on motivation levels) whereas, for the Chinese participants, the ideal L2 self was most important. In addition, the ought-to L2 self was found to be a less important determinant of motivation for the Iranian group than for the other two.

In a similar comparative study, which looked at Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Swedish learners of English, Yang and Kim (2011) found that, of the groups studied, Chinese students had the highest levels of motivated behaviour, but Swedish students had the most highly-developed ideal L2 selves. They also found that Korean and Japanese students reported less motivated L2 behaviour than the Chinese and Swedish groups, and that the Japanese group was generally the least motivated of the four. In addition, correlation between ideal L2 self and motivated L2 behaviour was strongest with the Swedish students and weakest with the Chinese; similarly, the amount of variance in motivation explained by the ideal L2 self was around 45% for the Swedish group and around 40% for the Japanese and

Korean groups, but only 27% for the Chinese. Thus, with regard to the motivational relevance of the ideal L2 self among Chinese and Japanese students, it would seem that Yang and Kim's results show the exact opposite of what Taguchi et al.'s results show.

Other scholars, such as Kormos et al. (2011) and Lamb (2009), have not explicitly investigated the role of nationality, but have made comments relating to cultural and geographical variables in the interpretation of their results; for example, Kormos et al. suggest that their failure to identify a significant link between the ought-to L2 self and motivation among their Chilean participants may indicate that this element of the L2MSS is more important in some cultures (and countries) than in others.

A study that has a more specific focus with regard to geo-cultural or geo-linguistic contextual factors is Lanvers' (2012) qualitative study of adult British learners of FLs. In this study, in which findings are examined through both an L2MSS and an SDT lens, Lanvers investigates how being an L1 speaker of English can affect an individual's L2 learning motivation. Her interviews reveal that the effects on motivation (through the L2MSS) can be both positive and negative. Being an L1 English speaker who is learning an FL can allow one to construct an ideal L2 self that contrasts positively with the majority of monolingual L1 English speakers. On the other hand, though, one might argue that being an L1 speaker of English (particularly in a predominantly monolingual country such as the UK) means that one suffers from a dearth of examples of successful L2 learners upon whom one might model one's own ideal L2 self.

The other study to examine a specific facet of geographical and cultural context is that of Lamb (2012). In this study, Lamb identified several L2MSS-related differences between rural, urban, and metropolitan environments, noting that the average score for the ideal L2 self of rural learners was notably lower than for that of urban and metropolitan learners. Additionally, Lamb found that urban and metropolitan students had higher (more positive) scores than rural students for out-of-school learning experience. Lamb (2009) and Islam et al. (2013) also comment on the possible importance of the rural/urban divide with regard to L2

motivation and the operation of the L2MSS, but these studies do not empirically test the relationship.

Geographical difference does not always entail differences in culture or nationality on the part of learners. Li (2014) examined L2MSS-related differences between Chinese EFL learners in China and Chinese ESL learners in New Zealand. Li found that scores for ideal L2 self, attitudes to learning English, and criterion measures (reported and intended effort) were all substantially higher among the ESL learners than among EFL learners; there was no significant difference, however, between the ought-to L2 self scores of the two groups. In such a study, there are undoubtedly a number of confounding variables that could account for results, and, for this reason, further study of EFL/ESL L2MSS-related differences would be useful to increase understanding of the roles played by this contextual factor.

Due to the multi-faceted nature of nationality and geographic context, it is impossible to say what aspects of a particular setting are associated with variation in the workings of the L2MSS; however, it seems clear that relationships do exist. Also, Lanvers' (2012) and Lamb's (2012) studies show that examination of specific aspects of geographical and cultural context is possible to some extent, but even in these more targeted studies it is still difficult to separate elements such as location and culture from one another, and impossible to state conclusively which account for which differences in the operation of the L2MSS.

Another factor tied somewhat to geographic and cultural context is the issue of whether or not language learners are heritage language (HL) learners of their L2. The relationships between HL learner status and both motivation and the L2MSS are discussed separately in section 2.5 of this review.

2.3.5.2 The influence of others.

In this review, the influence of others refers to the role that people other than the learner can play in affecting L2MSS-related features of a learner's motivation. In L2MSS studies, such variables comprise parental encouragement (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; Ryan, 2009), family influence (Kim, 2012; Li, 2014 Lamb, 2009, 2012; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Xie, 2014), and peer

influence (Islam et al, 2011; Lamb, 2009). The influence of teachers is not dealt with here, as the role of the teacher may be better thought of as forming part of the L2 learning experience component of the L2MSS. Studies that have measured the ought-to L2 self component of the L2MSS could also be seen as investigating the influence of others, but the focus here is on how variables tied to the influence of others are themselves related to the components of the L2MSS.

Evidence for the importance of parental encouragement in the L2MSS was found in Csizér and Kormos's (2009) Hungarian study, and in Kormos et al.'s (2011) Chilean study. Both of these studies employed SEM in their data analysis to test hypothesized causal pathways leading from parental encouragement to L2 learning experience and ought-to L2 self; they did not, however, hypothesize or test a direct causal pathway from parental encouragement to the ideal L2 self. Both Csizér and Kormos's and Kormos et al.'s studies found that parental encouragement had a substantial positive effect on ought-to L2 self and on L2 learning experience, and in all sub-groups of both studies the causal relationship with ought-to L2 self was substantially stronger than that with L2 learning experience.

Closely related to parental encouragement, the variable of family influence has been dealt with in at least six studies (Kim, 2012; Li, 2014; Lamb, 2009; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Xie, 2014). Of these, five sought to statistically test the relevance of family influence to the L2MSS (Kim, 2012; Lamb, 2012; Li, 2014; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Xie, 2014); however, family influence did not emerge as a clear factor in Li's (2014) study, and, while Xie (2014) commented that family plays "a crucial role" (p. 195) in shaping the ought-to L2 self, the published version of the study does not appear to include evidence supporting this claim. In Iran, Papi and Teimouri (2012) showed family influence to be a significant predictor of the strength of learners' ought-to L2 selves, but not of their ideal L2 selves or L2 learning experiences. Kim's (2012) Korean study, using correlation analysis, identified significant relationships between family influence and all three elements of the L2MSS; however, while the correlation between family influence and the ought-to L2 self was relatively strong, correlation between family influence and the other two components was weak. Further analysis of Kim's data

also showed that family influence was not a significant predictor of students' English language proficiency.

The idea that parents' education—rather than just their encouragement of their children—could affect components of the L2MSS is touched upon by Lamb (2009), in which the author suggests that the types of possible L2 selves a learner is able to form, and also the learner's experience of the learning process, may be dependent on that learner's *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1991), the nature of which is at least partially dependent on one's parents and family. With reference to a particular case study, Lamb (2009) suggests that a learner's "linguistic habitus was formed in the home" (p. 244) and that "her agency in appropriating the language for her use was enabled by the cultural and economic capital that she inherited" (p. 244).

A final phenomenon that falls under the banner of others' influence is peer influence. Lamb (2009) gave case-study examples of the effects of peer influence on in-class motivated behaviour, describing how a less-motivated student sat with friends on the "physical margins of the classroom" (p. 244), and how the same student expressed concerns about the possibility of appearing different to other students. This example does not unequivocally link peer influence to elements of the L2MSS, but there is perhaps an implication in Lamb's example that peer influence could affect the kind of L2 self a learner is able to develop and maintain.

2.3.6 Conflicting Goals and Interference

The idea that learners' motivation to learn a particular L2 may be affected by their motivational characteristics in other areas is by no means new. Dörnyei and Otto (1998) stated that a significant limitation of their process model of L2 motivation was that motivational dynamics may be affected by influences external to the learning of the target language in question, and they also suggested that a hierarchy of learner goals can affect motivation levels. Additionally, Dörnyei et al. (2006) and Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) found that pupils' positive attitudes with regard to one L2 could have an effect—particularly a negative effect—on their

attitudes to other L2s. Furthermore, Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) found that learners' L2 motivational profiles differed from language to language and that "the choice of one language inevitably affects that of another" (p. 646), a finding that is perhaps not overly surprising given that any individual's capacity for L2 learning is necessarily limited (Dörnyei et al., 2006).

Several L2MSS studies and theoretical works have dealt, to some extent, with the issues related to interference and to other possible selves or goals (Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Henry, 2010), but Henry's (2010) investigation of these issues among school students of multiple FLs in Sweden is unarguably the most comprehensive and informative. Pointing out that L2 motivation studies prior to his tended to focus on learners of a single L2, Henry's study tested three hypotheses that build upon each other. He first hypothesized that learners of more than one L2 would have discrete L2 self-concepts for each language that they are learning, and that these separate L2 self-concepts would interact in an inter-referential manner, such that one L2 self-concept might be appraised in relation to another/others. Henry's second hypothesis was that non-English L2 (FL) self-concepts would be appraised negatively in relation to English self-concepts. Third, and most closely tied to the operation of the L2MSS, he hypothesized that a high level of negative appraisal of FL self-concepts in relation to English self-concepts would be associated with low motivation for learning FLs. The results of Henry's study suggest that there is support for all three of his hypotheses; in addition, the results suggest that students' English self-concepts may operate as referential norms against which all other FL self-concepts are appraised. In emphasizing this last point, Henry draws on Markus and Nurius's (1986) idea of the working self-concept (i.e., the sum of self-concepts, or aspects thereof, that are immediately accessible to an individual at a given time). Henry states that "it would thus appear that, when pupils are engaged in FL learning, a working self-concept in which an English L2 self is an active component is activated" (p. 159). As such, at least for Henry's Swedish learners, it would seem that the English L2 self is involved in learners' motivational dynamics with regard to FLs, but that the reverse is not (necessarily) the case.

The findings of Csizér and Lukács (2010) also suggest that there may be some degree of interference between L2 selves when an individual studies more than one language at the same time. This Hungary-based study had as research participants students who were all learning both English and German. The study separated students according to which L2 they began studying first, such that there was an *L2 English−L3 German* group and an *L2 German−L3 English* group. Csizér and Lukács found that L2 learners of English had stronger English ideal selves than did L3 learners of English. Similarly, L2 learners of German had stronger German ideal selves than did L3 learners of German. However, even among the *L2 German-L3 English* sub-group of participants, English ideal L2 selves were stronger than German ideal L2 selves.

The most recent study to investigate the possibility of multiple L2MSS possible selves was that of Dörnyei and Chan (2013), which investigated a number of L2MSS-related issues among Hong Kong learners of English and Mandarin. While the concept of multiple possible selves was not the core focus of their study, Dörnyei and Chan's results indicate that the possible L2 selves associated with Mandarin and those associated with English may be, at least to some extent, distinct. This study did not, however, investigate whether these distinct possible L2 selves may, in turn, affect one another.

With regard to conflicting goals, or interference among ideal selves, it could be argued that even Henry's (2010) in-depth study poses just as many questions as it attempts to answer. Henry's finding that, among Swedish students, learners' English L2 self-concept serves as a normative referent against which other L2 selves are appraised raises the question of what the dynamics would be in that regard among a population whose native language was English. Would it be expected that all L2 self-concepts would function equally and mutually as referents, or would one expect to observe some form of hierarchy? While there has certainly been interesting work done in this area of L2MSS research, there is room for much more to be undertaken.

Additionally, neither Henry's study nor any others appear to have investigated the effect that non-L2-related goals or possible selves may have on learners' ideal L2 selves, although Lanvers (2012) does note that it may be a mistake to view

learners' ideal selves in "purely linguistic terms" (p. 170). Dörnyei and Otto (1998), upon whom Henry (2010) draws in his study, point out that educational achievement and learners' motivation to learn "are the product of a complex set of interacting goals and intentions" (p. 63). Thus, in a study such as Henry's (2010), if an English L2 self can affect a learner's German L2 self-concept, perhaps maths- or geography-related goals could have a similar effect on the strength of a learner's ideal L2 self and thus upon such a learner's motivation. It would seem logical that possessing possible selves or goals that don't involve speaking the target language could be associated with diminished motivation levels; however, such possibilities have yet to be studied. The role that other, non-L2 goals or possible selves may play with regard to the L2MSS is thus something worthy of investigation, especially given calls made by scholars such as Ushioda (e.g., 2009) for research that looks at the whole person of the learner (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001).

2.3.7 Motivational Change

L2MSS research into change over time in the dynamics of an individual's motivation to learn an L2 can be divided into two categories. First, there is gradual change, which may occur when one's learning circumstances remain relatively stable. This change may be associated with variables such as maturation or academic progress/advancement (e.g., Henry, 2008; Kim, 2012; Kormos et al., 2011). Second, there is motivational change associated with specific changes in learners' circumstances (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Magid & Chan, 2012).

With regard to the first, gradual type of motivational change, this has been largely dealt with in section 2.4.7 of this review, where studies such as Kim (2012), Henry (2008), and Kormos et al. (2011) all found that learners' L2MSS motivational dynamics can change over time. Henry's (2008) study, however, appears to be the only one to have actually used the same participant group to test motivational change in this regard, surveying the same students in grade six, and then again in grade nine. Other L2MSS studies that offer insight into motivational

change over time test the effect simply by surveying different age-groups of learners (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kim, 2012; Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009).

Studying L2MSS-related motivational change associated with specific events, or changes in learners' circumstances, has the potential to produce more applicable findings than does studying gradual change associated with less manipulable factors, such as maturation. If a particular event is shown to bring about motivational change, and if that event can be replicated, there is potential for teachers and others to positively influence students' motivation. So far, two studies (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Magid & Chan, 2012) have investigated whether L2MSS-based intervention programmes may influence motivation or components of the L2MSS.

Cai and Zhu (2012) tested an online intervention programme among learners of Chinese in the USA. While the four-week intervention programme itself was not specifically designed to enhance motivation by strengthening any particular component(s) of the L2MSS, the pre-tests and follow-up surveys completed by participants measured L2MSS constructs. Cai and Zhu found that their intervention programme coincided with an increase in the strength of only one of the three L2MSS components: L2 learning experience.

Magid and Chan's (2012) study was similar to that of Cai and Zhu (2012) in that participants in England and Hong Kong took part in an intervention programmes and completed motivation surveys before and after the intervention programmes. Intervention programmes were specifically designed to enhance aspects of learners' motivational profiles that were related to the L2MSS—particularly learners' ideal L2 selves and their imagery capacity. Magid and Chan found that there was a statistically significant increase in participants' strength of ideal L2 self between the pre-intervention survey and the post-intervention survey. In addition, the vast majority of participants reported exerting more effort to learn English after the intervention programme; however, it is not possible to say whether the increase in motivation was due to the increase in strength of ideal L2 selves.

Li's (2014) study of Chinese EFL and ESL students (see section 2.3.5.1) also indicates that motivational and L2MSS-related change can be brought about by a change of location, for example, by moving from an EFL context (China, in the case of Li's study) to an ESL context (New Zealand, in Li's study).

There is thus evidence both that L2MSS-related aspects of learners' motivational profiles change over time, and that such changes can be associated with, and possibly brought about by, other changes in learners' circumstances, such as undertaking a motivational intervention programme, or changing the context in which one is living and learning an L2.

2.3.8 The L2MSS and Self-Determination Theory

It is possible to compare any model or theory of L2 motivation to any other; however, the links between the L2MSS and SDT have been addressed in a number of studies (Yashima, 2009; Kim, 2009; Noels, 2009; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012; Lanvers, 2012), and such studies have highlighted the value of considering links and parallels between the two theories.

It is not surprising that the same phenomena can sometimes be explained from both an SDT and an L2MSS point of view, given that Dörnyei drew heavily on Noels' (2003) application of SDT to L2 motivation in his creation of the L2MSS; in fact, Noels (2009) herself comments that the two theories are "closely aligned" (p. 307). Lanvers (2012) goes further in her qualitative study of adult British learners of FLs, stating with regard to her findings that "other theoretical frameworks, such as SDT (Ryan & Deci, 2000), might offer a better fit for [the study] data, at least with respect to the manifold shades of intrinsic and/or extrinsic motivations" (pp. 171-2).

Ueki and Takeuchi (2012) argue that it is possible to relate the findings of several L2MSS studies to SDT. They found, as did a number of other studies (e.g., Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009), that the ideal L2 self exerted a much stronger effect on motivation than did the ought-to L2 self, and they argued that such a finding supported a "general assumption in L2 motivation research

[that] the more intrinsic and self-internalized the motive, the more motivated learners are to achieve their goals" (Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012, p. 13).

Yashima's (2009) study is perhaps that which most explicitly relates SDT to the L2MSS. Through a statistical study, Yashima tested relationships between a number of variables, including between the ideal L2 self and a number of SDT subtypes of motivation. The study found that correlations were strongest between ideal L2 self and intrinsic motivation, and between ideal self and the more self-determined subtypes of extrinsic motivation (identified and integrated). In contrast, correlations were non-significant between ideal L2 self and introjected extrinsic motivation, and were in fact negative between external extrinsic motivation and the ideal L2 self.

2.4 Learner Attrition/Retention

A central focus of much SLA research is how a learner can succeed in learning an L2. The vast majority of SLA studies have involved a classroom setting, and L2 learning success has typically been gauged by looking at learners' L2 proficiency—measured either through class grades, proficiency tests, or self-reporting. However, no L2 learner will get to the stage where they can receive grades, sit proficiency tests, or self-report on their L2 learning success if they've dropped out of their L2 class. There are many factors that can assist or hinder a learner in their L2 learning, but removing oneself entirely from the learning process is a guaranteed path to failure—and an issue that has retained a relatively low profile in the SLA field (Wesely, 2010).

Learner attrition (learners discontinuing studies) and learner retention (learners continuing studies) have seen substantial research in the wider field of education (e.g., Bean, 1980; Golde, 2005; Tinto, 1975, 1982, 1987), but much less research has been conducted on these issues in the context of L2 learning. SLA studies that have investigated learner attrition and retention have used various terms to describe the phenomena, including *retention* (Baldauf & Lawrence, 1990), *language dropout* (Bartley, 1970), *dropping out* (Gibson & Shutt, 2002),

attrition (Despain, 2003; Saito-Abbott & Samimy, 1997), *student attrition* (Wesely, 2010), *attrition/retention* (Halsall, 1994; Northwood & Kinoshita Thomson, 2012), *persistence* (Holt, 2006; Kondo, 1999; Matsumoto, 2009; Noels et al., 2001; Ramage, 1990) *continuing and discontinuing* (Ramage, 1990; Northwood & Kinoshita Thomson, 2012), *intention to continue* (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Noels, 2005; Noels et al., 2001) and *momentum* (Pratt, 2010). Despite this diversity of terminology, however, the concepts that the terms describe are concrete and straightforward—although studies have differed in whether they investigate these phenomena in terms of learners' intentions (whether or not learners intend to continue their L2 studies) or in terms of learners' real-world actions (whether learners do, in fact, continue or discontinue).

Separating L2 motivation from L2 learner attrition/retention is complicated by the fact that motivation may concern not only "What moves a person to make certain choices, to engage in action, [and] to expend effort" (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2013, p. 3), but may also concern what moves someone to "persist in action" (p. 3). This suggests that continued engagement in L2 learning could in fact be viewed as nothing more than an aspect of motivation. However, it is important to note that a majority of L2 motivation studies have focused on what might be best described as learners' motivational intensity (e.g., Gardner, 1985), which has often been operationalized in studies as intended effort (e.g., Taguchi et al., 2009); in contrast, few L2 motivation studies have included continuation of L2 studies as part of a measure of motivation. Generally, studies that have examined L2 learner attrition/retention have examined the issue as something separate from motivation, and, in fact, some studies of attrition/retention have examined motivation (or motivational intensity) as a separate variable that may be linked to learner attrition/retention (e.g., Clément, Gardner, & Smythe, 1977; Northwood & Kinoshita Thomson, 2012).

Virtually all studies that have investigated learner attrition/retention among L2 learners have sought to identify factors or processes that lead learners to either continue or discontinue their L2 studies. For the purposes of this review of relevant literature, such factors and processes have been grouped under eight headings in the sections that follow: attitudes (section 2.4.1), intrinsic interest in

L2 (section 2.4.2), instrumental interest in L2 (section 2.4.3), grades (section 2.4.4), teacher (section 2.4.5), course/classes (section 2.4.6), time/schedule/priorities (section 2.4.7), and other factors (section 2.4.8). Following this presentation of factors that have been identified as relevant to L2 learner attrition/retention, section 2.4.9 examines how a theory of motivation (SDT) has been applied to this matter, and this section also raises the possibility of applying other motivational theories or models to the issue of L2 learner attrition/retention.

2.4.1 Attitudes and Motivation

In the field of SLA, attitudes and motivation have often been studied together (e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972), and Bartley (1970), in perhaps the earliest study to look at relationships between "the attitude factor" (p. 383) and learner attrition, employed a measure of learners' attitudes that included aspects of motivation.

   Bartley's (1970) study of junior high school students of FLs in the United States found that students who chose to continue learning an FL had more positive attitudes towards their L2 than did those who chose not to continue. The attitude construct that Bartley measured, however, did not correspond closely to any commonly researched constructs in SLA and in fact comprised a number of somewhat disparate variables, including teacher, parental influence, curricular importance of L2, intrinsic motivation, and extrinsic motivation. Bartley's study thus shows that the nature of a learner's disposition towards their L2 is related to attrition/retention, but the study sheds little light on the precise roles played by different affective, social, and motivational factors. Similar to Bartley, Gardner et al. (1976) found a composite variable—involving attitudes to learning French and motivational intensity—to be linked to learners' intentions to continue or discontinue French. At least one more recent study, Northwood & Kinoshita Thomson (2012) also found that attitudes towards learning an L2 are more positive among continuing learners than among discontinuing learners.

Clément et al. (1978), in Canada, found motivation to be the most important predictor of learners' persistence in learning an L2, and Saito-Abbott and Samimy (1997) also found that continuing learners of Japanese in the United States scored higher than discontinuing learners on "strength of motivation" (p. 38) measures. Some later studies (e.g., Noels et al., 2001; Ramage, 1990), which subdivided motivation, found that certain aspects or types of motivation were more relevant than others with regard to whether learners continued or discontinued their studies. In fact, although a number of studies have shown that general attitudes/dispositions and general motivation may be linked to learner attrition/retention, the broadness of such terms presents a challenge for the researcher wishing to understand what factors bring about learner attrition and retention, and it would seem that it is perhaps of more value to examine the roles played by specific attitudes and aspects of motivation. Thus, the roles of subtypes of motivation are discussed in sections 2.4.2 (intrinsic motivation), 2.4.3 (instrumental motives), and 2.4.9 (subtypes of motivation associated with SDT), and the roles of learners' various attitudes are covered in several sections, including sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.6.

2.4.2 Intrinsic Interest and Integrativeness

An intrinsic interest in the L2—or intrinsic motivation to learn the L2—is one of the main factors that studies have identified as being related to whether or not learners continue or discontinue. Ramage's (1990) study of high-school learners of French and Spanish found that "The factor that distinguishes one group from the other is that intrinsic motivations for language study are attributed more importance by continuing students than by discontinuing students" (p.208). Ramage further suggests that L2 learners may be motivated to continue if intrinsic interest in the L2 is encouraged. Ramage's findings may be seen as being corroborated by several SDT studies (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Noels, 2005; Noels et al., 1999; Noels et al., 2001), which identified substantial correlation between persistence (measured as intention to continue) and intrinsic motivation.

Interestingly, although these studies found intrinsic interest in an L2 to be an important reason why learners might continue their L2 studies, a more recent study (Pratt, 2010), which allowed participants to select their reasons for continuing learning Spanish at university after having studied it at high school, showed that "love of Spanish" was one of the items that the fewest participants indicated as contributing to their decision to continue.

Integrative orientations have also been found to be related to L2 learner attrition/retention. Two Australian studies found that students who continued had higher levels of integrative motivation than did students who discontinued their language study: Baldauf and Lawrence's (1990) study of learners of Japanese, French, and Indonesian, and Northwood and Kinoshita Thomson's (2012) study of learners of Japanese. Northwood and Kinoshita Thomson's results also showed that continuing learners had higher levels of interest in, and enjoyment of, Japanese popular culture than discontinuing learners, and the learners who continued their Japanese studies also reported higher levels of engagement in extra-mural activities related to Japanese.

2.4.3 Instrumental Interest

With regard to continuation and discontinuation of L2 studies, instrumentality represents an interesting case. Most studies found that instrumental reasons for studying an L2 were associated with continuing, but at least one study has indicated a link between certain types of instrumentality and *dis*continuation of studies.

Ramage (1990) stated that a typical continuing student "is likely to have both motivations associated with an interest in learning language for language's sake *and* [emphasis added] those associated with interest in learning a language as a means to other goals" (p. 210). However, Ramage found that discontinuing students were more likely to endorse survey items indicating that they were taking their L2 in order to fulfil a university entrance or graduation requirement. This does not indicate that instrumental motives in general are associated with

discontinuation, but rather indicates that a learner might be more likely to discontinue their studies if *particular* instrumental goals (such as fulfilling educational requirements) are their main reasons for studying their L2.

While instrumental goals such as fulfilling an academic requirement might be related to discontinuation of L2 studies, several studies have indicated that instrumental orientations are related to continuation. Baldauf and Lawrence (1990) found that continuing Australian high school learners of FLs scored higher than discontinuing learners on measures of instrumental motivation, and Holt (2006) identified instrumental motivation as a notable predictor of persistence. Kondo (1999) states, with regard to her Japanese-Hawaiian participants, that "students who continue formal study in Japanese beyond the requirement consider such academic effort essential for achieving their academic and/or career goals" (p. 84). Pratt (2010), in the United States, found "that extrinsic and instrumental factors are the most influential as the students make decisions about whether or not to study Spanish in college" (p. 683). Specifically, Pratt identified the following as important factors: career benefits, being able to use Spanish in everyday life, and the possibility of obtaining good grades; she further commented that the strongest influences on students' decisions to continue or discontinue were "immediate and utilitarian factors" (p. 682).

2.4.4 Grades

A number of studies have found that L2 learners' grades are related to whether or not they continue in their L2 studies. As early as 1975, Gardner and Smythe (1975) found that "dropouts" among their Canadian participants had lower levels of achievement in non-immersion French classes. Baldauf and Lawrence (1990) stated that continuation was clearly related to achievement, and Ramage (1990) found that her participants' grades in French or Spanish were "a strong predictor of continuation in FL study" (p. 209). Similarly, Saito-Abbott and Samimy (1997) found that students' final grades in Japanese class were related to continuation and discontinuation of studies, and another, more recent, study of learners of Japanese

(Northwood & Kinoshita Thomson, 2012) echoed these earlier studies, with learners reporting that their reasons for discontinuing Japanese included an inability to get good marks.

These studies indicated that the marks that students had received, or were receiving, in their L2 classes contributed to learner attrition and retention; however, at least two studies showed that anticipated grades also played a role in learners' decisions to continue or discontinue. Kondo (1999) found that many discontinuing students had "low self-expectancy that they will succeed in advanced Japanese classes" (p. 84), and, viewing a similar phenomenon from a more positive angle, Pratt (2010) found that the "possibility of [obtaining] good grades" (p. 674) was one of the "most influential factors" (p. 674) in students' decisions to continue with Spanish after high school.

2.4.5 Teacher

Studies have indicated that teachers can play a substantial role with regard to whether learners continue or discontinue L2 studies. Ramage (1990) found that more positive attitudes towards the teacher were associated with continuation of French and Spanish studies, and Baldauf and Lawrence (1990) found that continuing students scored higher than discontinuing students on measures of "teacher influence" (p. 232)—a variable that focused on the learner's opinion of, and attitudes to, their L2 teacher. In a more recent study, Noels et al. (1999) found that a perception of the L2 teacher as "informative" (p. 30) was significantly and positively correlated with learners' intention to continue. In addition to these studies, Gibson and Shutt (2002) reported that a participant in their qualitative study "was poised to return to the course" (p. 61), after significant absences, because he had been personally contacted by his teacher. Such an action clearly represents the teacher as a person playing a role in a learner's decision to continue learning an L2; however, in other instances, it can be difficult to separate the role of the teacher from other aspects of students' learning experiences. Thus, the

following section (2.4.6), which addresses the role of the class or course of study, also relates somewhat to the role of the teacher.

2.4.6 Course/Classes

In studies of L2 learner attrition and retention, aspects of learners' L2 classes have been some of the most commonly identified factors that can lead to both continuation and discontinuation of studies. Factors tied to learners' L2 classes often incorporate learners' attitudes, as shown by Ramage (1990), who states that learners who continued their French or Spanish studies were characterized by "a positive attitude toward their particular language class, feeling that it is fun and challenging" (p. 210). In line with Ramage's findings, Pratt (2010) found that some high school learners of Spanish chose to continue with the L2 at university because of the possibility of enjoying classroom activities, and because they thought that they would feel comfortable in Spanish classes.

Ramage argued that "Discontinuing students' attitudes to the learning situation did not account for their discontinuation, because their attitudes tended to be typically positive," (p. 210). In contrast with this statement, however, several studies found that discontinuing students had negative views of aspects of their L2 classes. Kondo (1999) notes that discontinuing learners of Japanese often had an aim of speaking more fluent Japanese, "which conflicts with the departmental curriculum goals of advanced [university] Japanese courses intended to prepare students to study Japanese literature" (p. 84). Similarly, Northwood and Kinoshita Thomson (2012) found that, for some learners, reasons for discontinuing Japanese included finding it too difficult or feeling somehow disadvantaged in classes. Gibson and Shutt (2002), too, list a large number of specific, negative aspects of L2 classes that participants in their qualitative study mentioned as contributing to their decisions to discontinue: These included bad group dynamics (particularly with regard to tutors' management of different levels of ability within the class), use of L2 in the class (although learners varied in their

opinions of what was ideal), and preferential treatment of certain learners by teachers.

Although it cannot be classified as relating to positive or negative attitudes or experiences, the format of classes has also been shown to affect learner attrition/retention, as shown by Despain (2003), who found that student attrition rates from Spanish classes were significantly higher in internet-based distance classes than in on-campus, classroom-taught courses.

2.4.7 Time, Schedule, and Priorities

Perhaps unsurprisingly, issues of time and academic priorities have been found by a number of studies to be a central reason why learners discontinue L2 studies. Ramage (1990) states that "The majority of [discontinuing students] who responded indicated that they would have continued if they had had room in their schedule" (p. 212). Similarly, participants in Northwood and Kinoshita Thomson's (2012) study indicated that timetable and programmeme restrictions could act as a barrier to continuation, and such issues were cited as a reason for discontinuing by 17 of the 23 discontinuing learners in that study. Northwood and Kinoshita Thomson choose not to view learners who discontinued their Japanese studies because of such "structural barriers" (p. 340) as "'true' discontinuers" (p. 340), reserving this term for those who discontinued for other reasons. But one could perhaps argue that any learner who chooses to discontinue studying an L2 because of programme or timetable restrictions is nonetheless prioritizing their other studies at the cost of their L2, and, as such, is no less a true discontinuer than a learner who discontinues for any other reason. The distinction made by Northwood and Kinoshita Thomson is worthy of note, however, in that it serves as a reminder of the power of time-related issues as causes of learner attrition; indeed, their findings could be seen as indicating that even a motivated learner holding positive attitudes towards their L2 and the learning situation could be led to discontinue their L2 studies by something as simple as a timetable clash.

Conflicts relating to time and space that can lead to discontinuation are not necessarily tied to timetables and course requirements within an educational institution; they can also relate simply to the amount of time that a learner has available in her life. A number of participants in Kondo's (1999) study indicated that they were too busy studying for their major to continue studying Japanese. Gibson and Shutt (2002) suggest that students may find themselves overwhelmed if they are not aware of the amount of work required for a course before beginning it, and the authors further state that such a situation can lead to "a spiral of falling behind in class and eventual withdrawal" (p. 61).

2.4.8 Other Factors

Studies of L2 learner attrition and retention have thrown up a number of factors that appear to be relevant to the phenomena but which elude classification under any of the categories addressed so far in this section. It is also important to remember, as Ramage (1990) points out, that "no one factor is as useful in predicting continuation and discontinuation as is a combination of factors" (p. 210).

It was Ramage (1990), too, who found that the most important factor that discriminated continuing learners from discontinuing learners in her study was the grade (which is equivalent to age) at which learners began studying their L2: Ramage's results showed that the earlier learners began learning their L2, the more likely they were to continue learning it to a higher level. As Ramage points out, though, this finding lends itself to different interpretations—it could be that learners who started earlier had more time to get interested in the L2, or it could simply be that "more highly motivated students are the ones who start earlier" (p. 209). Additionally, it could be that those who started earlier feel more invested in the L2, and, if so, such learners could be seen as similar to participants in Pratt's (2010) study who indicated that one of their reasons for continuing with Spanish at university was a desire "to continue what I started" (p. 675). Level of L2 study was also found to be significant by Matsumoto (2009), who found that learners

currently studying at a higher level of Japanese at university in Australia were more likely to continue than were learners studying at lower levels.

Background statistics presented as part of Bartley's (1970) United States study also showed that attrition rates can differ by L2. Bartley cited California educational statistics showing that, among learners of French, Spanish, and German, learner attrition rates were highest for French, and lowest for German.

Baldauf and Lawrence (1990) found that learner attrition rates from L2 classes were different for different genders, with 50% of their female participants continuing, compared with only 38% of male participants. This state of affairs was similar to that observed among Pratt's (2010) participants, and among Saito-Abott and Samimy's (1997) intermediate learners of Japanese; however, the situation was the opposite among that Saito-Abott and Samimy's beginning learners of Japanese, among whom 60% of males continued but only 49% of females. Baldauf and Lawrence also showed that other background and social factors can be relevant to learner attrition/retention when they found that parents' jobs, parents' countries of origin, and ethnicity were all associated with differences in rates of continuation and discontinuation of L2 studies.

Pratt (2010) also found that ethnicity was a significant factor in whether high school learners of Spanish intended to continue with Spanish at university: 56% of Hispanic learners planned to continue with Spanish at university, compared with 29% of "White American" (p. 680), and 11% of African American learners. Aside from the clear differences observable among these different ethnic groups, the fact that Hispanic learners exhibited by far the highest retention rate could be seen to indicate learners might be more likely to continue learning an L2 if they have an ethnolinguistic affiliation with the L2. To phrase this in another way, one could view Pratt's findings as suggesting that heritage language (HL) learners (see section 2.5) may be more likely to continue learning an L2 than non-HL learners.

2.4.9 Learner Attrition/Retention and SDT

Several studies have demonstrated how a model based on research from motivational psychology—SDT—can be applied to the phenomena of L2 learner attrition and retention (Noels et al, 1999; Noels et al., 2001; Noels, 2005; Comanaru & Noels, 2009), and one study in particular, Noels et al. (2001) clearly explains how SDT constructs relate to whether or not learners can be expected to continue learning an L2. In the 2001 study, which draws on Deci and Ryan's (1985) SDT (see sections 2.1.3 and 2.4.9), the authors clearly outline several different types of motivation. These are *extrinsic motivation* (which the authors separate into *external regulation*, *introjected regulation*, and *identified regulation*), *intrinsic motivation*, and *amotivation*. The authors also plainly state how SDT would expect each of these five motivational orientations to relate to learners' persistence in L2 learning—a variable closely related to learner attrition/retention—which the study authors quantify through survey items designed to gauge learners' intentions to continue.

Noels et al. (2001) describe *external regulation* as a situation in which a learner studies an L2 because of external "pressure or reward […] such as career advancement or a course credit" (p. 425), and they state that a learner "might be expected to stop putting effort into L2 learning" (p. 425) if such a pressure or reward were removed.

With regard to *introjected regulation*, which Noels et al. (2001) describe as referring to "more internalized reasons for learning an L2, such as guilt or shame" (p. 425), the authors state that a removal of pressures could cause engagement in an activity such as L2 learning to "fall off" (p. 425). Dropping out of a language course could be seen as a manifestation of such decreased engagement.

Noels et al. (2001) state that *identified regulation* is "the most self-determined type of [extrinsic motivation] that has been examined in the L2 context" (p. 426), and describe it as a situation in which engaging in the activity (L2 learning) is valuable for achieving a learner's personal goals. The authors further state, "As long as that goal is important, the learner can be expected to persist in L2 learning" (p. 426).

Intrinsic motivation—when learners take pleasure in engaging in an activity such as L2 learning—is, according to Noels et al. (2001), "the most self-

determined form of motivation" (p. 426), and the authors imply that this form of motivation is that most likely to lead to sustained engagement in the activity, "even when no external rewards are provided" (p. 426). Although, of course, whether or not an individual takes inherent pleasure in an activity is something that may always be subject to change.

Noels et al. (2001) also outline *amotivation*, and state that individuals exhibiting this motivational orientation are likely to exhibit very little persistence in an activity such as L2 learning.

Weight is lent to Noels et al.'s (2001) claims regarding the relationships between different SDT motivational orientations and persistence by the findings of their quantitative study of Québécois learners of English, which showed that the motivational orientations most positively correlated with persistence were intrinsic motivation and identified regulation, and that the motivational orientation most negatively correlated with persistence was amotivation. Noels' et al.'s claims are also reflected in the findings of several similar studies with broader foci (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Noels, 2005; Noels et al., 1999), the most recent of which (Comanaru & Noels, 2009) found that—among learners of Chinese in Canadian universities—more self-determined motivational orientations (identified regulation, integrated regulation, intrinsic motivation) were significantly positively correlated with intention to continue studying Chinese; less self-determined orientations (external regulation, introjected regulation) were not related to intention to continue, and amotivation was negatively correlated with such intentions.

The application of SDT to the issue of L2 learner persistence shows that something that has traditionally been thought of as a theory of motivation may equally serve as a model of learner attrition/retention. Such an observation raises the question of whether other models of L2 motivation, such as the L2MSS, may have the potential to account for learners' continuation or discontinuation of L2 studies; indeed, it could be argued that Lamb (2009) posits a link between the ideal L2 self and persistence when he states that one of his study participants "has a strong 'ideal L2 self' [which] may underlie her ability to ride out the frustrations of school" (p. 243).

2.5 Heritage Language Learners, Motivation, and Learner Attrition/Retention

2.5.1 What is a Heritage Language Learner?

In recent years, a significant body of research has accumulated on heritage language (HL) learners, and much of this research looks specifically at how HL learners differ from other L2 learners. However, despite this growing body of research, scholars have yet to reach a consensus on a definition of an HL learner (He, 2010). Narrower definitions, employed by researchers such as He (2010) and Valdés (2001), centre on whether a learner was exposed to the L2 during their upbringing, and on whether the learner possesses some level of proficiency in the L2, and the narrowest of such definitions are typified by Valdés' (United States-specific) definition of an HL learner as one "who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or at least understands the language" (2001, p. 2). Broader definitions of HL learners, employed by scholars such as Fishman (2001) and Noels (2005), extend the definition to all learners of L2s that "have a particular family relevance to the learners" (Fishman, 2001, p. 89) or which are, for the learners, "an ancestral language that is not the language of the dominant society" (Noels, 2005, p. 289). Similarly, Cho, Cho, and Tse (1997) describe an HL as "the language associated with one's cultural background and it may or may not be spoken in the home" (p. 106). Some studies that have adopted a broader definition of an HL learner have opted to subdivide HL learners according to their levels of exposure to, and proficiency in, the L2 prior to beginning formal language instruction, and such subcategories have separated, for example, those whose parents were fluent speakers of the L2 from those who are several generations removed from speakers of the L2 (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Kondo-Brown, 2005).

HL learners are worthy of special attention from SLA scholars, as they are in many ways distinct from other L2 learners. Cho et al. (1997) found that, even with

regard to their initial reasons for learning an L2, HL learners of Korean in the United States cited reasons that one might be unlikely to encounter among non-HL learners of an L2: A number of participants in Cho et al.'s study expressed that they were learning Korean out of a desire to better communicate with their family and/or because they felt that it was a part of their identity. Echoing these reasons, Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) states that many students in university L2 classes "seek to reconnect with their family's heritage through language" (p. 222). If HL learner status can be related to something as basic as a learner's reasons for learning a language, it is perhaps unsurprising that HL learner status has also been shown to be related to a number of other elements of language learning, including L2 anxiety (e.g., Han, 2015; Oh & Nash, 2014), phonological proficiency (e.g., Yeni-Komshian, Flege, & Liu, 2000), grammatical proficiency (e.g., Polinsky, 2008), and motivation-related variables (e.g., Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Noels, 2005). There are thus significant indications that HL learners represent a special case among L2 learners, but it is important to remember, too, that HL learners are by no means a cohesive group: In addition to differing in the extent of their relationship with—and level of exposure to—the L2 (Comanaru and Noels, 2009; Kondo-Brown, 2005), HL learners may also differ with regard to whether their HL is an immigrant language or an indigenous language, and so there continues to be a need for HL studies with a range of foci to be conducted in further national and social contexts.

The two following sections look at two particular avenues of HL research. Section 2.5.2 looks at the findings of studies that have investigated motivation and its relationship to learners' HL or non-HL status, and section 2.5.3 looks at the phenomena of learner attrition and retention in a similar regard.

2.5.2 Heritage Language Learners and Motivation

In an article on current issues in HL learning, Montrul (2010) states that "heritage language learners need strong motivation to maintain and learn the heritage language" (p. 12). A survey of literature shows that a number of studies have

looked at how HL learners (and different types of HL learners) differ motivationally from non-HL learners, and most such studies have looked not only at general motivation—or motivational intensity—but also at how HL and non-HL learners differ on measures related to motivation and on measures of different subtypes of motivation.

One of the earliest L2 motivation studies to focus on HL learners (and particularly on HL/non-HL differences) was Noels' (2005) study of university-level HL and non-HL learners of German in Canada, in which an HL learner was defined as a learner who indicated that one or both of her parents "had a German-speaking background" (p. 292). Noels' study focused on the extent to which HL and non-HL learners differed on measures of different SDT-related motivational orientations (see section 2.1.3). In this regard, the study found that the two groups "were equivalent in their endorsement of each orientation, with the exception that heritage learners more strongly felt that they were learning German for identified reasons [i.e., identified regulation] than did the non-heritage learners" (p. 297). With regard to this difference, Noels comments that it "seems reasonable that a sense of ancestral heritage makes salient the importance of language to one's ethnic identity, and the desire to develop this aspect of the self encourages acquisition of the heritage language" (p. 301). HL and non-HL learners in Noels' study did not differ on measures of "active engagement" (p. 298), a variable similar to motivational intensity.

In a similar study—one which adopted a mixed-methods design—Comanaru and Noels (2009) investigated differences between HL and non-HL learners of Chinese, also in Canada. This study differed from Noels (2005), however, in that it subdivided HL learners into those who had grown up speaking Chinese (Chinese-Chinese) and those who spoke English but had at least one parent who was a native speaker of Chinese (English-Chinese). The study found that the three learner groups in the study were similar in their endorsement of most of the SDT orientations investigated, but the non-HL (non-Chinese) group scored significantly lower than the other two groups on measures of both introjected and integrated regulation. Introjected regulation, in particular, is associated with feelings of guilt or shame (Noels et al., 2001), and these emotions are indeed

evident in qualitative data from HL learners in Comanaru and Noels' study. One HL learner described feeling "guilty and embarrassed that I don't know my own language" (p. 148); other HL learners used words such as "should" (p. 148) and "guilty" (p. 149), and one described learning Chinese in order to "prove to myself and my family that I am capable of speaking writing and reading [*sic*] Chinese" (p. 149). In contrast, Comanaru and Noels do not identify evidence of such feelings of guilt or obligation in comments made by non-HL participants in their study. The study found that there were no significant differences between HL (Chinese-Chinese and English-Chinese) and non-HL groups on motivational intensity. This latter finding would appear to indicate that, although HL and non-HL learners differed with regard to the nature of their motivation, such differences may have had minimal effects on the amount of day-to-day effort that learners put into learning Chinese.

In contrast to the SDT angles adopted by Noels (2005) and Comanaru and Noels (2009), Lu and Li (2008) examined motivational differences between HL and non-HL learners of Chinese in the United States from what might be better described as a socio-educational (Gardner, 1985) perspective. Their study divided learners into (a) Chinese heritage (Chinese ethnicity) learners, (b) other Asian (e.g., Japanese, Korean) learners, and (c) non-Chinese, non-Asian (e.g., European, African-American) learners. Lu and Li looked particularly at differences between learner groups in terms of integrative and instrumental motivation and found that, while there were no significant differences between groups with regard to integrative orientation, HL learners scored higher than did other learner groups on measures of instrumental orientation; Chinese learners were also found to have higher levels of linguistic self-confidence than the other learner groups.

Another study of learners of Chinese at universities in the United States (Wen, 2011) examined several variables tied to motivation, including one that could perhaps be seen as analogous to general motivation, which Wen (2011) termed "intended strategic efforts" (p. 341). Wen found that HL learners of Chinese scored higher than non-HL learners on "interest in current culture" (p. 341), while non-HL learners scored higher on measures of intended strategic efforts and "positive learning attitudes and experience" (p. 341). It should be noted, though,

that the definition of an HL learner employed in Wen's study was somewhat vague, and perhaps overly inclusive: The study considered a participant an HL learner of Chinese "if one of their ancestors/relatives was Chinese."

Oh and Nash (2014) investigated motivation and related measures among university-level HL and non-HL learners of Spanish in the United States and defined an HL learner as "a US born student with at least one Latino/a parent." Despite looking at a number of motivation-related variables, including motivational intensity, integrative orientation, and instrumental orientation, Oh and Nash found that HL and non-HL learners differed significantly (HL learners scored higher) on only one measure, which may be seen as only marginally related to motivation: parental encouragement.

Only two studies of HL learners (Kurata, 2015; Xie, 2014) appear to have examined variables tied to the L2MSS, and only one of these studies (Xie, 2014) has looked at L2MSS-related differences between HL and non-HL learners. Kurata's (2015) qualitative study sought to gain insight into the "motivational selves" (p. 110) of HL learners (learners with at least one Japanese parent) of Japanese in Australia. However, while Kurata's study—in which all participants were HL learners—does represent a relatively in-depth look at how learners constructed Japanese possible selves in relation to their identities as HL speakers, the study sheds little light on specific impacts that learners' HL status may have on their day-to-day motivation as language learners, other than to show that HL identity may represent an additional L2 learning pressure that might be absent in non-HL learners. Sections of Xie's (2014) study, in contrast, focus explicitly on quantitative L2MSS-related differences between HL and non-HL learners of Chinese in a United States University. Xie's study, which referred to ethnic Chinese learners as HL learners and to others as non-HL learners, found that HL and non-HL learners of Chinese differed with regard to their scores on measures of ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self. The nature of these differences was not specifically stated in Xie's article, but Xie implies that HL learners scored higher than non-HL learners on ought-to L2 self measures when she states that "heritage language learners' L2 self is characterized by the attributes they perceive they should possess" (p. 195). Given the efforts currently being made in a number of

countries around the world to promote heritage and minority languages, it would be valuable for further studies along the lines of Xie's to investigate the interplay between learners' HL status and components of the L2MSS. Additionally, it is important to note that all studies looking at HL variables and motivation have been undertaken with HL learners of what might be described as immigrant languages, and there is thus a need for studies to examine the role of learners' HL status with regard to motivation and the acquisition of indigenous languages.

2.5.3 Heritage Language Learners and Learner Attrition/Retention

While a number of studies have investigated how learners' HL or non-HL status relates to motivation, few have looked explicitly at how such variables may relate to the issue of learner attrition/retention. Among those that have done so, learner attrition/retention has seldom been a central focus of HL studies, and HL variables have seldom been mentioned in studies of L2 learner attrition/retention. Nonetheless, several studies do shed at least some light on this matter.

Perhaps the earliest study to clearly look at the issue of learner attrition/retention among HL learners was that of Kondo (1999), conducted with bilingual and semi-bilingual HL learners of Japanese in Hawaii, United States. Differences between HL and non-HL learners were not the main focus Kondo's study; rather, the study investigated HL learners of Japanese and their various stories with regard to motivation and persistence. It is of note, however, that a number of learners in Kondo's study made comments with regard to their persistence (or lack thereof) in Japanese learning that indicated that their reasons for continuing or discontinuing their Japanese studies were similar to those cited by non-HL learners (see section 2.4). Certain points that Kondo makes with regard to learners' continuation or discontinuation, though, appear of particular relevance to HL learners. For example, Kondo points out that many HL learners in her study had goals of improving oral communication, which conflicted somewhat with their university department's aim of preparing learners for studying Japanese literature.

Although Noels (2005) and Comanaru and Noels (2009) focused on HL and non-HL learners' motivational orientations, surveys used for data collection in both studies also employed several Likert-type items to measure learners' intention to continue learning their L2. This allowed HL and non-HL learners (and different types of HL learners in Comanaru and Noels' study) to be compared with regard to their scores on measures of their intention to continue; however, neither Noels nor Comanaru and Noels identified any differences between HL and non-HL learners (or between different types of HL learners) with regard to learners' intentions to continue.

At least one study, Pratt (2010) has demonstrated differences between HL and non-HL learners of a language with regard to intentions to continue, but the terms *heritage* and *heritage language* are used nowhere in Pratt's study of whether high school learners of Spanish in the United States intended to continue learning Spanish at university. Despite this, it is possible to glean an understanding of how HL learner status is related to continuation from Pratt's break-down of continuation rates by ethnicity. One might describe the Hispanic learners of Spanish in Pratt's study as HL learners, in contrast with the "White American" (p. 680), African American, Native American, Asian/Pacific Islander, and other learners in the study. As such, it can be said that 46% of HL learners of Spanish in Pratt's study intended to continue with Spanish at university, as compared with only 32% of non-HL learners. Native American and Asian/Pacific Islander learners had slightly higher rates of intention to continue than did Hispanic learners (50%), but the numbers of such participants were very low ($N = 4$ and $N = 8$, respectively), and these rates should thus perhaps not be viewed as worthy of significant attention.

Although the studies discussed in this section have looked at the role of learners' HL status with regard to learner attrition/retention, the fact that no studies appear to have had this issue as a central focus indicates a need for further research in this area, and there is perhaps a particular need for studies to address this matter not only with regard to immigrant languages, but also with regard to indigenous languages.

2.6 Research Questions

This review has covered three broad topics: motivation and the L2MSS (sections 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3), learner attrition/retention (section 2.4), and the relevance of HL learner status to both motivation and learner attrition/retention (section 2.5). At the same time, section 2.3 of the review has shown that L2MSS studies have typically had one or more of the following aims: (a) to investigate the validity of the L2MSS as a model of motivation in a particular context (e.g., Kormos et al., 2011), (b) to examine whether outcomes other than motivation may be affected by the L2MSS or its component constructs (e.g., Papi, 2010), or (c) to look at external factors that may be associated with L2MSS constructs (e.g., Henry, 2009). Through addressing three central research questions, the present study may be seen as having all three of these aims, and the research questions also concern each of the three broad topics covered in the literature review.

Research Question 1 concerns the validity of the L2MSS in a novel context: Among New Zealand university learners of FLs and te reo (Māori)—the indigenous language of New Zealand. The context of the present study responds to (a) the present lack of L2MSS studies undertaken among English-speaking learners of L2s other than English, and (b) the lack of L2 motivation studies undertaken among learners of indigenous languages.

Research Question 2 concerns how the L2MSS might account for an outcome other than motivation through looking at factors that affect learner attrition/retention and through examining the extent to which components of the L2MSS may account for learner attrition/retention. Having learner attrition/retention as a central focus of the present investigation recognizes that is a relatively under-researched issue in SLA field, despite being an issue that is crucial to learners' ultimate L2 learning success.

Research Question 3 concerns how L2MSS constructs relate to another variable through looking how HL learner status may be relevant to components of the L2MSS, to motivation, and to learner attrition/retention. This research question responds to the fact that previous studies of HL learners' motivation have

focused on learners of immigrant languages rather than learners of indigenous languages; it also responds to the fact that no studies appear to have explicitly investigated HL learner status and learner attrition/retention.

All three research questions additionally examine a novel construct—*non-L2 goals*—with regard to how the construct may relate to motivation, to learner attrition/retention, and to HL learner status. The inclusion of this novel construct in the present investigation represents a response to observations and calls made by a number of scholars in recent years for L2 research to pay greater attention to aspects of learners' lives that may not initially appear closely tied to L2 learning. In particular, the impetus to investigate non-L2 goals as a potentially relevant construct in the present study came from Ushioda's (2009) call to avoid viewing participants "simply as language learners" (p. 216)—a call which itself drew on Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001), who advocate "understanding second language learners as people" (p. 141). The inclusion of non-L2 goals as a variable in the present study also responds to Dörnyei and Otto's (1998) reminder that L2 learners are not exempt from the fact that individuals' behaviour can be dependent on a hierarchy of goals, certain of which trump others in incentivizing action (e.g., Maslow, 1943; Bandura, 1991).

The following three research questions guided the present study:

Research Question 1

Part A: To what extent does the L2MSS function as an effective model of L2 motivation in the study context?

Part B: To what extent do non-L2 goals affect learners' motivation levels?

Research Question 2

Part A: What factors contribute to learner attrition and learner retention in the study context?

Part B: To what extent do L2MSS-related constructs and non-L2 goals affect learner attrition/retention?

Research Question 3

What differences, if any, exist between HL and non-HL learners of te reo and FLs with regard to motivation, L2MSS-related variables, and learner attrition/retention?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter covers the research methods used in the present project. It begins by presenting the context of the study and exploring and justifying why a mixed-methods research design was chosen. The chapter then moves on to present the methodologies of the quantitative and qualitative components of the study. These two components of the study are discussed separately because, while they are inextricably linked, they differ in methodology at virtually every stage of the research process. Finally, this chapter explains how data and findings from the two components of the project were brought together in a meaningful way, such that they complement each other.

3.1 Context

The present study was undertaken among New Zealand university learners of FLs and te reo Māori (henceforth *te reo*). This was a novel context for L2MSS research: Very few L2MSS studies have been undertaken among English-speaking learners of languages other than English, and few L2 motivation studies of any kind have featured learners of a minority indigenous language such as te reo.

New Zealand has two de jure official languages—te reo and New Zealand Sign Language; however, English, the de facto official language, is by far the most commonly spoken language in the country, with around four million speakers (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). In contrast, although 15% of New Zealanders identify with Māori ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a), only around 1.2% of New Zealanders (50,000), or 14% of Māori, speak te reo "well" or "very well" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006; Statistics New Zealand, 2013b), and only around 22% of New Zealand school students were learning te reo in school as of July, 2015 (Education Counts, 2016). Statistics such as these justify describing te reo as an "endangered" (May, 2005, p. 367) language, the future of which is "not clear" (Harlow, 2005, p. 62). Additionally, Spolsky (2005) states that, for te reo,

"there has not yet been language revitalization in the sense of the restoration of natural intergenerational transmission" (p. 82). A 2006 survey on the health of te reo indicated that acquisition of the language usually occurs "through involvement in a number of simultaneous language acquisition activities" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006, p. 24). Thus, although acquisition of the language in the household and from family members is an important means of learning te reo, formal education also plays a significant role. Indeed, a 2007 report on learning te reo through tertiary education states that such education is important in "increasing the number of people with conversational proficiency," (Earle, 2007, p. 63) which is "likely to have benefits in terms of reinforcing the next generation's language proficiency and building the status and acceptance of the language" (p. 63).

In addition to te reo, English, and New Zealand Sign Language, which has 20,000 users (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a), a number of other languages also have substantial speaker-bases in New Zealand. Those with the greatest numbers of speakers are Chinese (100,000+ speakers), Samoan (86,000 speakers), Hindi (66,000 speakers), French (49,000 speakers), German (36,000 speakers), and Tongan (31,000 speakers) (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Those who identified themselves as speakers of these languages in New Zealand's 2013 census were not necessarily proficient speakers, however, as the census asked merely "In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?" (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c, p. 2).

All but one of New Zealand's universities offer courses in te reo to at least third-year level (the final year of study for most BA students in New Zealand universities). Te reo is not compulsory at English-medium schools in New Zealand, and neither are such schools required to offer te reo; rather, a New Zealand Ministry of Education website states that "since [te reo] is an official language of New Zealand and an intrinsic part of the country's heritage, we would hope that all schools choose to provide some Māori language learning to their children" (Te Kete Ipurangi, n.d., para. 3). In practice, at many New Zealand secondary schools, te reo is only available as a distance learning subject (Te Kete Ipurangi, n.d.). Various ethnic groups are represented among learners of te reo in New Zealand; however, statistics show that, at primary and high school levels, the

number of Māori students studying te reo is disproportionately large in relation to the number of Māori in the general population (Education Counts, 2016); at tertiary level, Māori learners represent more than two thirds of te reo students (Earle, 2007).

The situation of FLs within New Zealand's education system is not dissimilar from that in a number of other English-speaking countries, such as the UK and the United States. FLs are compulsory neither in New Zealand schools (Scott, 2011) nor in New Zealand universities, although most secondary schools offer at least one FL and some university undergraduate programmes (e.g., Asian studies, French) require students to take a certain number of (particular) FL classes. A review of New Zealand universities' websites shows that a selection of FL options are available at all but one of New Zealand's universities, although the specific selection of FLs available differs from university to university. Twelve modern languages were taught at New Zealand universities during the period of data collection; these were te reo, Chinese, Cook Islands Māori, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Korean, New Zealand Sign Language, Russian, Samoan, Spanish, and Tongan.

At New Zealand universities, students enrolled in 100-level (first-year) L2 classes are generally relative beginners, whereas students enrolled in 200-level (second-year) classes are generally a mixture of those who have already completed 100-level classes and those who were already at an intermediate level of proficiency when they entered university. Most students in the latter group attain sufficient proficiency by studying the L2 in high school. Students at 300-level (third-year) are generally those who have passed 200-level classes. For many university L2 learners, the L2 is not their university major.

3.2 Why a Mixed-Methods Study?

As is mentioned in the literature review (chapter 2), a majority of L2MSS studies have been purely quantitative in nature (e.g., Kormos et al., 2011; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009); however, as Ushioda (2008, 2009) argues, not all

constructs—or relationships between constructs—lend themselves to quantitative, statistical study. The present investigation attempted to measure all relevant constructs and relationships by statistical means; however, the limitations of such methodologies were acknowledged (particularly with regard to their ability to take into account contextual factors), and qualitative, interview-based methods were also employed.

Mixed-methods studies aim "to serve the dual purposes of generalization and in-depth understanding—to gain an overview of social regularities from a larger sample while understanding the other through detailed study of a smaller sample" (Bazeley, 2002, p. 5). Relatively few L2MSS studies (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Magid, 2011; Magid & Chan, 2012) have employed mixed methods, but there are significant advantages to doing so, especially when, as in this study, it is unclear whether the constructs and relationships under investigation would be best measured through qualitative or quantitative methods. Undertaking a mixed methods study allows the researcher to take advantage of the best of both worlds, and combining methodologies answers the calls made by SLA scholars such as Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991), Hashemi and Babaii (2013), and Riazi and Candlin (2014), all of whom argue that qualitative and quantitative research paradigms should be seen by researchers as complementary.

Looking outside the domain of L2 motivation study, mixed-methods research approaches have in fact been relatively widely employed in the applied linguistics field, even if the frequency of their use is low relative to that of wholly qualitative or quantitative approaches. Hashemi and Babaii (2013) and Riazi and Candlin (2014) offer reviews of the use of mixed-methods research approaches in applied linguistics, and both of these works emphasize the fact that mixing methods represents a pragmatic approach to research, acknowledging that neither qualitative nor quantitative methods alone are ideal for the investigation of many issues in the field. Regarding the practicalities of mixed-methods studies, Hashemi and Babaii argue that a number of applied linguistics mixed-methods studies did not realise their full potential through effective synthesis of methods. This study's attempt to address this issue is dealt with in section 3.5.

3.3 The Quantitative Component

3.3.1 Participants

3.3.1.1 Participant recruitment.

To be eligible to participate in the study, students needed to be enrolled in at least one modern language class at a New Zealand university. Before participant recruitment began, the study received the approval of the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee (see appendix A), and the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee was consulted on Māori cultural matters (see appendix D). Following the completion of these processes, participant recruitment was undertaken with the agreement of lecturers, course coordinators, and, in some cases, heads of department, other university ethics committees, and university registrars.

At three universities, participants were recruited through five-minute in-class presentations given in time provided by lecturers or tutors. During these presentations, which generally took place at the beginning of a class, students were told about the purpose of the research project, and about what participation in the project would entail should they volunteer as participants. Following these presentations, students who were interested in participating were asked to provide the researcher with their email address. It was made clear to potential participants that email addresses would not be shared with any third party and would be used only for the purposes of the study. Participants were also reminded that providing an email address in no way obliged them to take part in the study. Email addresses were collected in order that interested students could be sent a link to the project website. On this website, participants had the opportunity to read, at their leisure, the project information sheet (see appendix B), which had been previously approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. They could then click on a link to an online survey specific to the L2 that they were studying. Participant consent forms were included in the initial pages of the online survey

(see appendix E) so that participants gave their consent online before beginning the survey proper (see appendix E). Participants also indicated in this initial survey whether they were prepared to be re-contacted for further participation in the project through answering one more question, taking part in an interview, or both.

In the case of four universities, the researcher did not speak directly to classes; rather, language teachers were emailed and asked whether they might provide their students with information about the study. Teachers who did so generally informed their students about the study by posting a pre-written notice—which included a link to the project website—on online learning management systems such as BlackBoard and Moodle.

Because any student enrolled in a language course could participate in the study, it is likely that a small number of participants were students from other countries who may have been studying in New Zealand for just one or two semesters. It is difficult to see, though, how this might adversely affect the results of the study, especially when one considers that, at least in the case of New Zealand universities, students on study abroad programmes nearly always make up a proportion of the student population.

A further point to note regarding participants in the present study is that students who were studying more than one language were encouraged to fill out one survey for each language that they were studying. For the purposes of the study, a student who filled out two surveys was treated as two separate students; however, it is important to note that the number of such individuals was small: An examination of email addresses supplied by survey participants inidicated that only around 26 individuals filled in a survey for more than one language (an exact figure is not possible due to the fact that a further 25 participants did not supply email addresses).

3.3.1.2 Participant statistics.

After data cleaning was completed (see section 3.3.3.1), which resulted in 92 participants' data being excluded from the study, data from exactly 700 participants remained from the initial online survey. In all, participants studied

nine different L2s. Table 3.1 shows how many students were studying each L2 in the study and also shows how many learners of each language were HL learners. Four-hundred and eighty-five participants were female, 210 were male, and five selected "other" gender. The youngest student in the study was 17 and the oldest was 70; the mean age of participants was 21.45 years ($SD = 6.70$ years). Thirty-three participants did not provide their age.

English was a first language for 601 participants, and 98 participants stated that English was not a first language for them. One participant did not state whether English was one of their first languages.

There was a reasonable spread of participants across different levels of university L2 study; as expected, though, more participants were enrolled in 100-level courses than in higher-level courses. Three-hundred and fifty-three students were enrolled in 100-level language courses, 201 in 200-level courses, and 140 in 300-level courses. Six participants provided answers that did not show what level of course they were enrolled in.

Seventy-one participants listed Māori as one of their ethnicities and were considered Māori for the purposes of the study; 629 participants did not lost Māori as an ethnicity and were considered non-Māori for the purposes of the study.

The study adopted a broad, ethnicity-based definition of a HL learner in line with scholars such as Fishman (2000) and Noels (2005): Māori learners of te reo were considered HL learners, as were other participants who identified with an ethnicity associated with their L2 (e.g., learners of Spanish who identified with Mexican ethnicity). In some cases, such as learners of Chinese who identified simply with "Asian" ethnicity, it was impossible to say whether learners were HL learners, and such cases were excluded from relevant analyses. Learners who identified themselves as New Zealand European were considered non-HL learners of FLs unless they also stated an ethnicity associated with their L2.

Table 3.1

Number of Participants and Number of HL Learner Participants by L2

L2	Participants (*n*)	HL learners (*n*)
Chinese	61	12
French	185	1
German	74	2
Italian	25	1
Japanese	131	6
Korean	18	0
Te Reo	80	35
Russian	6	0
Spanish	120	1
Total	700	58

3.3.2 The Initial Survey and the Follow-Up Question

The instruments employed in the quantitative component of the study consisted of an initial online survey and a follow-up question. Both were created, stored, and administered using Google Forms. Participants completed the initial online survey during the first (southern hemisphere) university semester of 2015. The majority of participants received links to the surveys via email; they also received up to two reminders to complete the survey, although it was made clear that they were under no obligation to do so. Students who indicated in the first survey that they were willing to answer the follow-up question were sent a link to this question in the second university semester of 2015.

3.3.2.1 Survey structure.
The initial survey (see appendix E) consisted of a 49-item test battery of statements. For each statement, participants marked the degree to which each

statement was true for them. Five-point Likert-type scales were provided to answer each of the 49 items, and the points were labelled as follows: 1 = *absolutely true*, 2 = *mostly true*, 3 = *neither true nor untrue*, 4 = *mostly untrue*, 5 = *absolutely untrue*. Care was taken to ensure that the scales had semantic symmetry as much as possible. The 49 items were spread over five pages, with approximately ten items per page. Reminders of the meaning of each of the five points on the Likert-type scales were provided at the top of each page, and, for every item, the ends of the scale were anchored with "absolutely true" and "absolutely untrue" (see appendix E).

The motivational constructs measured with the Likert-type items are shown in table 3.2 (see section 3.3.2.2). Multiple items were used to measure each construct. The numbers of survey items per construct were highest in the cases of the constructs that were most central to the study: namely, motivation, ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience, and non-L2 goals.

The 49-item test battery consisted largely of items drawn from earlier L2MSS studies—in particular, from Ryan (2009), Taguchi et al. (2009), and Csizér and Kormos (2009); however, the wording of most items was changed slightly, and the items measuring non-L2 goals were necessarily original (see appendix F, items 3, 10, 17, 20, 23, and 49), given that this was a novel construct. Data from participants' responses to items were only included in final statistical analyses if the use of items was justified by a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and coefficient alpha (Cronbach, 1951) (henceforth *Cronbach's alpha*) estimates of internal reliability (see sections 3.3.3.2 and 3.3.3.3).

The wording of items was adapted for several reasons. One of the main reasons for adaptation of wording was that previous studies (e.g., Csizér and Kormos, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009) concerned learners of English, whereas the present study concerned speakers of English learning other L2s. Given the current global (Crystal, 2003) status of English, certain survey items simply didn't work when English was substituted with the name of a different language—particularly when substituted with the name of a language that is clearly not a global language, such as te reo or Italian. For example, Taguchi et al.'s (2009) survey included "I can imagine myself speaking English with international friends or colleagues"; in

the present study, this was adapted to (in the case of the Spanish survey) "I can imagine myself speaking Spanish with Spanish-speaking friends or colleagues" (see appendix F, item 2).

The wording of survey items was also adapted in cases where the initial phase of piloting (see section 3.3.2.3) showed items to be ambiguous or confusing. For example, a number of items that began with "I can imagine myself …" were changed to "I can imagine myself *in the future* …" (see appendix F, items 2, 9, 18, 32, and 39) after several (think-aloud) pilot-study participants commented that they weren't sure whether such items referred to the present or to the future.

Between them, the previous studies on which the present study was to some extent modelled had many more survey items than were required for the present study. For this reason, a number of survey items used in previous studies were not employed in the survey for the present study. Items were excluded particularly when survey items from two or more prior L2MSS studies were judged to be near-identical.

In addition to the 49 five-point scales, the survey included a number of background questions (see appendix E). These background questions gathered data on participants' age, gender, first language, year of university study, course of study, and ethnicity. The questions also gathered data on further variables that were beyond the scope of the present study (see appendix E), but which may be relevant to future investigations. Significantly, the survey also asked participants whether they planned to continue studying their L2 the following semester.

3.3.2.2 Constructs investigated.

Table 3.2 shows the constructs investigated, along with an example of a Likert-type survey item employed in the measurement of each construct and the number of survey items employed in the measurement of each construct. Although the initial survey (see appendix E) contained 49 Likert-type items, a number were removed during refinement of the measurement model (CFA). Thirty-nine items were included in final data analyses. The specific items used to measure each construct can be found in appendix F.

Table 3.2

Constructs Investigated, Number of Survey Items Per Construct, and Sample Survey Items

Construct	Number of items	Sample survey item
Motivation	5	I am working hard at learning Spanish.
Ideal L2 self	6	I often imagine myself in the future as someone who is able to speak Spanish.
Ought-to L2 self	7	I study Spanish because other people think it is important.
L2 learning experience	7	I like the atmosphere in my Spanish classes.
Non-L2 goals	6	A lot of my career ideas don't require Spanish.
Integrativeness	4	I would love to have lots of Spanish-speaking friends.
Instrumentality	4	Things I want to do in the future will involve me learning Spanish.

3.3.2.3 Piloting.

The entire initial survey was put through two stages of piloting. First, the survey was administered to eight L2 learners or former L2 learners who completed the survey one at a time while thinking aloud so that the researcher, who observed these participants completing the survey, was able to identify potentially confusing or misleading elements within the survey. This method of initial piloting is similar to that employed by Csizér and Kormos (2009). After each participant completed the survey while thinking aloud, necessary revisions were made until, by the time the eighth think-aloud participant had completed the survey, there appeared to be little in the way of confusing items.

The second stage of piloting involved employing the initial survey for a small-scale study of students enrolled in beginners' te reo and Japanese courses during a New Zealand university's 2015 Summer School. In line with the procedure for the main study, the researcher spoke to students early in the course and collected email addresses from those who were interested in participating. Participants then completed the survey online.

Thirteen students from the te reo and Japanese Summer School classes completed online surveys. Data from the pilot study were used for the purposes of testing methods of data collation, and for testing the internal reliability of

construct measures using Cronbach's alpha estimates, but pilot study data were not used in the main study.

3.3.2.4 The follow-up question.

One of the final questions in the initial survey asked students whether they intended to continue studying their L2 the following semester. Regardless of how students answered this question, those who agreed to be contacted again were re-contacted by email the following semester and provided with a link to the follow-up question (see appendix G), which asked them simply whether they were still studying the L2 that they had been studying the previous semester.

This process was important with regard to gathering data relating to learner attrition and retention. The initial survey (see section 3.3.2.1) was only able to gather data on learners' intentions with regard to continuing or discontinuing their L2 studies, but the follow-up question gathered data on learners' real-world actions in this regard. Being able to identify learners who had recently discontinued their L2 studies was also valuable for informing the selection of potential interview participants.

As with the initial survey, a link in an email directed participants to the project website, where they could select the language(s) for which they had filled out the initial survey the previous semester. Selecting a language took participants to an online form powered by Google Forms, where participants could answer the follow-up question. In addition to asking participants whether or not they were still studying the language that they had been studying the previous semester, the online form also asked participants to again provide their email address, as this allowed data from the follow-up question to be matched with data from the initial survey.

3.3.3 Processing and Analysis of Quantitative Data

By late in the first (Southern Hemisphere) semester of 2015, 792 participants had completed the initial survey. By mid-way through the second semester of 2015,

416 participants had answered the follow-up question. Raw data were exported from Google Forms as Microsoft Excel documents, and email addresses were used to match participant data from the initial survey with participant data from the follow-up question. All data were combined into a single spread-sheet.

Following this, processing and analysis of the quantitative data comprised the following stages: data cleaning, CFA, calculating construct scores, *t*-tests, and SEM. These stages are detailed separately in the following sections of this chapter.

3.3.3.1 Data cleaning.

Of the 792 participants who completed the initial survey, a number were excluded from the study in accordance with various criteria. Twenty-eight participants had not entered a paper code (class code) for a language class in which they were enrolled. This meant that it could not be guaranteed that these participants were currently enrolled in a university language course. In addition to this, five participants appeared to have completed the survey twice, as evidenced by their names and email addresses appearing twice, in succession, in relation to the same L2. These double-ups were also excluded from the study. Finally, any participants who failed to fill in all items in the Likert-type items section of the survey were excluded from the study. There were 58 such students, and their exclusion brought the total number of participants excluded to 92. This left exactly 700 participants, a number considered sufficient for the undertaking of all statistical analyses involved in the research project, including SEM, which requires a minimum of 100 participants (Dörnyei, 2012).

3.3.3.2 Confirmatory factor analysis.

Factorial structure of the scale (survey) was assessed using CFA with robust weighted least squares mean and variance adjusted (WLSMV) estimator.

Taguchi et al. (2009) describe the purpose of a CFA as being "to specify the relationships between the latent variables and the actual survey items that assess them and to test the fit and validity of these proposed links" (p. 76). In the words of Hoyle (2000), "the measurement model (i.e., CFA) concerns the relations

between measures of constructs [...] and the constructs they were designed to measure (i.e., factors)" (p. 465).

In social science, a researcher wishing to conduct a CFA constructs a measurement model in which survey items are hypothesized to be related to psychological constructs that the researcher wishes to measure. The CFA then determines whether the survey items are indeed significantly related to the constructs in question—in other words, the CFA determines the extent to which the measurement model does or does not fit the study data.

If a CFA finds a hypothesized measurement model to have good fit, this indicates that the items in the survey are satisfactorily related to the constructs that they were intended to measure. It is common, however, that a measurement model may need to be refined in order to achieve good model fit if the modifications are theoretically and practically plausible. For example, a construct such as motivation might be initially measured by ten Likert-type items in a survey, but several items that are found to be unrelated or less closely related to the construct of motivation may need to be dropped from the measurement model in order for the model to satisfactorily fit the data. It is thus common that the number of survey items included in a final measurement model is smaller than the number of survey items originally intended to measure the constructs in question.

In the present study, a CFA was used to test the relationship between the initial survey items and the following seven constructs: L2 learning motivation (intended effort), ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience, integrativeness, instrumentality, and non-L2 goals (see section 3.3.2.2).

The CFA was conducted using the MPlus Version 7 (Munthén & Munthén, 2012) statistical package, and initial analysis included 47 of the 49 Likert-type items from the initial survey. (Two of the items were not included as they were designed to measure a construct that was not of interest in the present study.) WLSMV estimator was used for estimating the strength of relationships between the survey items and the constructs under investigation. This method of estimation was chosen because it is suitable for categorical data, such as that obtained from Likert-type scalar survey items, and it does not require data to be normally distributed (Brown, 2006).

In line with the recommendations of Hu and Bentler (1999) and Cheung and Rensvold (2002), the measurement model's statistical goodness of fit was assessed using multiple criteria. Acceptable and good fit were determined by non-significance of $\chi2$, root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) with values less than 0.08 (acceptable) or 0.05 (good), and comparative fit (CFI) and Tucker-Lewis (TLI) indices with values greater than 0.90 (acceptable) or 0.95 (good). It should be noted, however, that in the case of large sample sizes, such as this study's N = 700, the $\chi2$ test is "not a practical test" (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002, p. 234), and the alternative fit indices are more reliable in such cases.

CFA results indicating that the final measurement model obtained a good level of fit can be found in section 4.1.

3.3.3.3 Instrument reliability and calculating construct scores.

For each of the seven constructs investigated in the study, it was necessary to calculate scores for all of the study participants. Construct scores were calculated based on the results of the CFA (see sections 3.3.3.2 and 4.1). The CFA identified which survey items were relevant in measuring the constructs under investigation in the study; it also identified which survey items were not accurately reflecting the intended constructs.

Two more tests were conducted to establish the reliability of the survey as a measure of the constructs in question. First, Cronbach's alpha estimates were calculated to determine the internal reliability of the constructs. Kline (1999) indicates that while a Cronbach's alpha estimate of 0.80 may be suitable as a minimum score for cognitive tests, for measurement of psychological constructs, a value of 0.70, or even values below 0.70, can realistically be expected. Results confirming the internal reliability of the constructs measured in the present study may be found in section 4.2.

Following the CFA and calculation of Cronbach's alpha estimates, scores for constructs were calculated. This was done by calculating each participant's mean score from their scores for the survey items that together measured each construct.

Finally, a matrix of Pearson product moment correlation coefficients (Pearson's *r*) was constructed (see section 4.2) for the relationships between all of

the constructs investigated. Dörnyei (2007) indicates that inter-construct correlations of greater than $r = 0.60$ may suggest that constructs are measuring essentially the same thing and are not discrete variables. Results showing that all but one of the relationships between constructs in the present study fall below this $r < 0.60$ boundary may be found in section 4.2.

3.3.3.4 *T*-Tests and related tests.

Several tests involved in the present study involved comparing two different learner groups with regard to their scores on the seven constructs investigated in the study (motivation, ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience, non-L2 goals, integrativeness, instrumentality). These comparisons were made using Welch's independent sample *t*-tests conducted in the freely available *R* statistical package.

Independent samples *t*-tests were used to test for statistically significant differences between the following pairs of learner groups:

- Intended to continue studying L2 (in the semester following the initial survey)/Did not intend to continue studying L2 (in the semester following the initial survey)
- Continued studying L2 (in the semester following the initial survey)/Did not continue studying L2 (in the semester following the initial survey)
- HL learners of FLs/Non-HL learners of FLs
- HL (Māori) learners of te reo/Non-HL (non-Māori) learners of te reo

The *t*-test employed in this portion of the data analysis was a parametric test, which required that the sampling distribution be normal. Because sample sizes of groups in the study were generally large, the most effective means of determining normal distribution was visual examination of histograms. This process revealed that the assumption of normality was violated in the case of two of the variables investigated: ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self. *T*-tests were nonetheless carried out in order to compare learner groups on ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self

measures; however, in order to validate the findings of these *t*-tests, a non-parametric equivalent of the independent sample *t*-test, the Wilcoxon rank-sum test, was also conducted to test differences between these two variables. Throughout this dissertation, wherever *t*-test results are presented, the results of Wilcoxon rank-sum tests on measures of ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self (which test differences between two medians, rather than two means) are also provided, along with an *r* effect size.

The results of *t*-tests and Wilcoxon rank-sum tests can be found in statistical results sections of chapters 6 and 7. Pearson's *r* effect sizes for differences between learner groups are quoted along with the results of the *t*-tests. In line with Cohen (1988), effect sizes of greater than $r = 0.10$, $r = 0.30$, and $r = 0.50$ are described as small, medium, and large, respectively.

3.3.3.5 Structural equation modelling.

SEM is a statistical method that allows a researcher to test for causal relationships between a number of latent variables. Latent variables are variables that cannot themselves be observed, but which may be measured through the statistical combination of several observable variables. In the present study, the latent variables were psychological constructs such as motivation and ideal L2 self; the observed variables were the Likert-type survey items intended to measure these psychological constructs.

There are two stages to the process of SEM. The first stage is the construction and testing of a measurement model (CFA) (see section 3.3.3.2) to confirm that the constructs under investigation are indeed measured by the survey items intended to measure them. The measurement model should always be established before testing and interpreting the structural model. If the measurement model does not hold, then interpreting the structural relationships may not be meaningful and valid. If the measurement model fits the data sufficiently, however, SEM may continue to the second stage: the construction and testing of a structural model.

The structural model is commonly represented by a path diagram such as that in figure 3.1, in which hypothesized causal relationships between latent variables (constructs) are represented by directional arrows. Conducting the analysis

produces regression weight estimates for each arrow in the path diagram; that is to say, the analysis produces estimates of the degree to which constructs in the structural model influence other constructs in the model. In addition to this, goodness of fit measures are output, which indicate the degree to which the hypothesized structural model fits the data.

The strength of the causal relationships between constructs in the structural model are expressed as standardised regression weights, and the statistical significance of the causal relationships is expressed with p values, where values below $p = .05$ are considered indicative of a statistically significant causal relationship. Goodness of fit indices employed to indicate the degree to which the model fits the data are identical to those used in the CFA, and an explanation of these estimation methods and goodness of fit measures used can be found in section 3.3.3.2.

In the present study, SEM was used to statistically address Research Question 1 (see section 2.6). Part A of the research question asked to what extent the L2MSS was an effective model of L2 learning motivation in the context of the study. To address this, the MPlus 7 statistical package was employed to estimate regression weights for the strength of causal relationships between the latent variables (constructs) in the model in figure 3.1. The results of this process of SEM can be found in section 5.1.1.

Part B of Research Question 1 (see section 2.6) concerned the extent to which non-L2 goals affected learners' motivation levels. Two hypothetical models were constructed to address this question, and the way in which these models were employed to answer the question is explained in section 5.1.2.

Figure 3.1   Hypothesised Causal Relationships Between L2MSS
             Components and Motivation
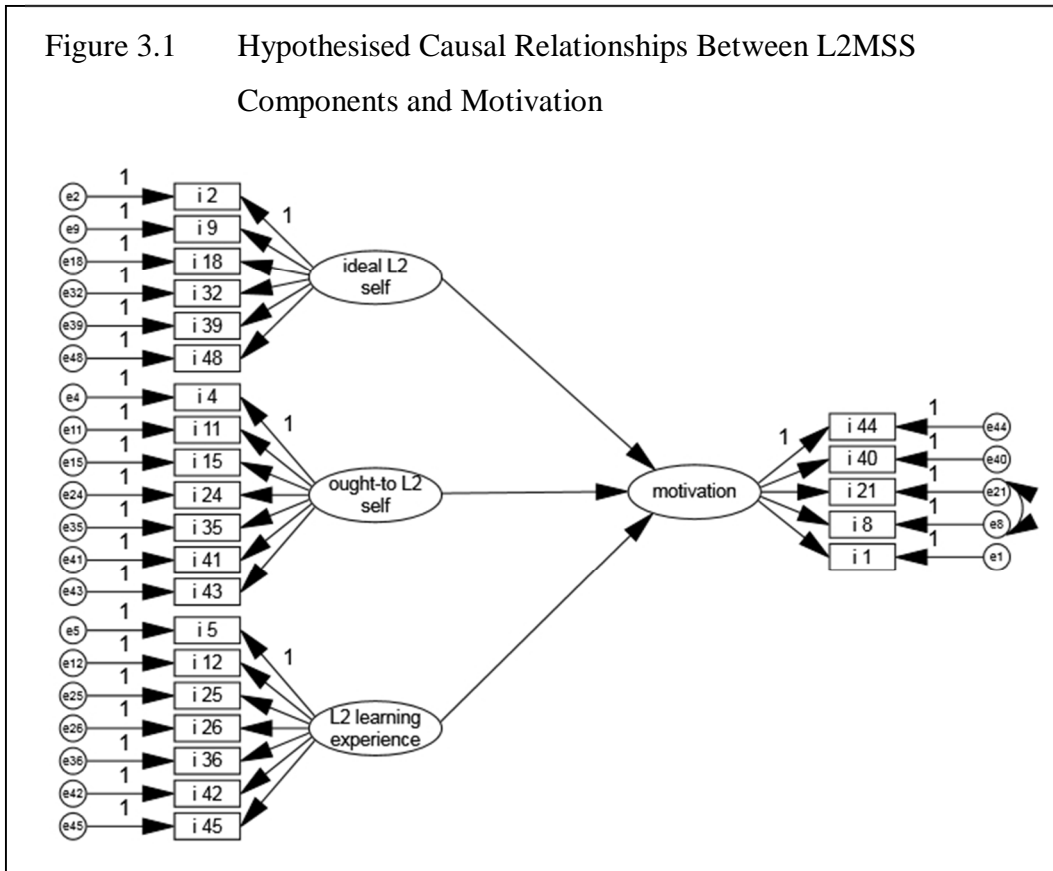
3.4 The Qualitative Component

3.4.1 Participants and Sampling

Interviews were undertaken with 21 participants, all of whom had previously completed both the initial survey (see section 3.3.2) and the follow-up question (see section 3.3.2.4). All interview participants had been New Zealand university L2 learners at the time they completed the initial survey, although 10 of the 21 interview participants were no longer enrolled in university L2 classes at the time of their interview. Five interview participants had been studying te reo at the time of the initial survey, and 17 had been studying one or more FLs at the time of the initial survey. Three interview participants had been studying more than one FL at the time of the initial survey, and one participant had been studying te reo and two

FLs at the time of the initial survey. It is important to note, though, that interview participants also talked about earlier, pre-university experiences of L2 learning, and data relating to these earlier experiences were included in the qualitative data analysis.

Eighteen interview participants were female, and three were male. Interview participants ranged in age from 18 to 62, but all but two participants were aged under 30. Two interview participants were Māori, and 19 were non-Māori; three participants were HL learners, and 18 participants were non-HL learners.

For the qualitative, interview-based component of the research project, participant sampling involved analysis of data from the initial survey. Of the 700 (post-data-cleaning) participants in the initial survey, 515 indicated that they intended to continue studying their L2 the following semester. The follow-up question, administered in the semester following the initial survey, showed which learners continued as intended and which discontinued their L2 studies. Participants who had recently made the decision to discontinue their L2 studies were of particular interest, as it was thought that interviewing a number of such learners might prove valuable for understanding why learners discontinue or continue L2 studies. Other participants who were deliberately selected for interviews included learners who had not intended to continue, but who had subsequently continued; HL (Māori) learners of te reo; and non-HL (non-Māori) learners of te reo. Other interview participants were randomly selected.

3.4.2 Interviews

3.4.2.1 Interview format and transcription

Interview participants each took part in one interview, lasting between 30 and 80 minutes. Interviews were mostly conducted in a cafe environment, but care was taken to ensure that the interview location was such that background noise would not hinder recording quality. Interview locations were negotiated with participants, as it was deemed important that locations were places where participants would feel at ease. Interviews were recorded on a high quality digital

recorder, but recording did not begin until the interviewer and the respondent had exchanged pleasantries (and in many cases ordered tea or coffee), completed participant consent forms (see appendix C), and discussed how the interview would be recorded. A short test recording was then undertaken before each interview began in earnest. This unrecorded, informal, and friendly opening to interviews is in line with recommendations made by Dörnyei (2007) with regard to the importance of establishing good rapport with the interviewee in the first few minutes of an interview, as well as with McCracken's (1988) emphasis on the necessity of the interviewer coming across as agreeable. At this early stage, participants were also reminded that the interviewer was not looking for any particular answers to questions, but rather for a broad picture of students' language learning. They were also reminded that they could choose not to provide answers to any questions that they didn't want to answer, and that they could end the interview at any time if they so wished.

Interviews were semistructured, and the interview style and structure was informed largely by Dörnyei's (2007) chapter on qualitative research methods. An interview guide was developed (see appendix J), and, following the commencement of recording, interviews began with some simple factual questions that were easy for participants to answer. The aim of this was, like the pre-recording section of the interview and to set participants at ease. The responses to these questions were not irrelevant to the research, but it was the material that followed from the more open-ended questions that was the central focus of the interviews.

After the short, factual questions, the interviewer asked the respondent to describe, or "tell the story of" their L2 learning so far, starting with when and why they began learning their L2(s). Throughout the participant's response to this question, the participant was at times prompted to go into more detail about a particular point. With the aim of gathering data on the ought-to L2 self, the ideal L2 self, non-L2 goals, and L2 learning experience, participants were asked about the role that others played in their L2 learning, about goals and plans for the future, and about their general experiences of L2 learning. Participants were encouraged to talk about such points not just with regard to the present, but also

with regard to when they began university and with regard to when they began learning their L2.

A number of interview participants were learners who had indicated in the initial survey that they intended to continue their L2 studies, but who had subsequently discontinued their studies. Given this, it was possible to ask such participants to talk about why they had discontinued their L2 studies. In the case of learners who had continued, learners were asked about why they continued, and about any times when they might have considered discontinuing their L2 studies.

In order to gather specific data on motivation, each participant was asked, later in their interview, about whether there were times when they were more motivated or less motivated to learn their L2. Participants were asked to describe such times, in the hope that such descriptions might demonstrate causal links between various factors and learners' motivation levels.

To finish the interview, participants were asked if there was anything they would like to add, and whether there was anything that the interviewer should have asked, but did not. This means of finishing an interview is similar to that suggested by Dörnyei (2007).

Digital recordings of interviews were transferred to a computer and transcribed manually using the MAXQDA12 qualitative data analysis software package and transcription conventions adapted from Richards (2003) were employed (see appendices K and L). Transcribing data in this way produced transcriptions that included time-stamps for interviewer and participant turns, which allowed the researcher to listen repeatedly to individual turns when it was advantageous to do so throughout the coding process. All interview participants were given a pseudonym, and interview data were further anonymised through removal of university names, city names, and names of friends and teachers.

3.4.2.2 The role of the interviewer

All interviews conducted as part of this study were conducted by the same interview. While this is a positive point in the sense of maintaining uniformity across difference interviews, this may also be viewed as a limitation, as scholars such as Mann (2010, 2016) and Talmy (2010) have brought attention to the need

to consider the role and contribution of the interviewer in interview-based qualitative data collection.

The interviewer in the present study was a New Zealand European male in his mid-twenties, and it is possible that ethnic, gender, age, and power differences (or similarities) between interviewer and interviewees could have had an effect on data collected. Indeed, with specific regard to Māori participants, it is important to note that public health researchers in New Zealand have recommended that doctors interviewing Māori patients go *beyond* simply building rapport with patients (as they might with non-Māori patients) by "moving from rapport to whakawhānaungatanga [making a connection, often through discussion and mutual disclosure of family and geographic origins]" Lacey et al. (2011, p. 74).

In the present investigation, no attempts were made to control for the interviewer's contributions to the interactional context of interviews, but it is important to acknowledge that the interviewer's role is unlikely to be neutral in the "social practice" (Talmy, 2010, p. 129) of research interviews such as those conducted in this study.

3.4.3 Data Analysis

Interview data were analysed using qualitative data analysis techniques, which drew particularly on procedures outlined by Auerbach and Silverstein (2003), Stratton et al. (1986), and Stratton (1997).

The broad foci of the present study centred on factors that affect L2 learner's motivation levels (Research Question 1) and factors that affect L2 learner attrition and retention (Research Question 2), and these issues were approached from an L2MSS theoretical perspective. Qualitative investigation involved exploring (a) the extent to which the theoretical constructs of the L2MSS existed in the study context, and (b) the extent to which these constructs and others influenced motivation and learner attrition/retention. A version of Auerbach and Silverstein's (2003) three-level coding procedure was employed in data analysis aimed at addressing all research questions; however, with regard to the investigation of

factors that affect motivation and learner attrition/retention, this coding procedure was employed in conjunction with aspects of Stratton's (1997) attributional coding procedure. In this study, these two coding procedures are referred to respectively as *three-level coding* and *attributional coding*. All coding was undertaken using the MAXQDA 12 qualitative data analysis software package.

The coding procedures explained in the following sections were undertaken in order to address Research Questions 1 and 2. Separate coding was not undertaken to address Research Question 3, as findings pertaining to this research question were obtained through the coding undertaken in order to address the first two research questions.

3.4.3.1 Attributional coding.

Attributional coding, using aspects of Stratton's (1997) coding methods, was employed as an initial phase in data analysis aimed at investigating factors that affected motivation and learner attrition/retention. Attributional coding was not, however, used in determining the existence of L2MSS constructs in the study context—only three-level coding (see section 3.4.3.2) was used for this.

The first step in qualitatively addressing questions regarding factors that affect motivation and learner attrition/retention was to employ Stage 1 (Extracting Attributions) of Stratton's (1997) coding procedure by identifying all relevant statements of causal belief in the interview data. In identifying such statements, this study employed Stratton's definition of a statement of causal belief as "Any statement in which an outcome is indicated as having happened, or being present, because of some identified event or condition" (p. 124). Stratton also emphasizes that statements of causal belief do not conform to a particular structure, and that "connective words such as 'because' may or may not be present" (p. 124). In the case of the present study, relevant statements of causal belief were any statements made by interview participants in which learners indicated reasons for being more motivated or less motivated, or for continuing or discontinuing L2 studies.

Once relevant statements had been identified, interview participants' statements of causal belief were categorized according to the outcomes to which

they referred. As such, statements of causal belief were coded as relating to one or more of the following four outcomes:

- Motivation (positive, increasing)
- Motivation (negative, decreasing)
- Discontinuing (or considering discontinuing) L2 studies
- Continuing (or considering continuing) L2 studies

The first two of these codes relate to Research Question 1, and the remaining two codes relate to Research Question 2. Within these four outcome codes, relevant statements of causal belief, were coded using a version of Auerbach and Silverstein's (2003) three-level coding (see section 3.4.3.2). This coding of learners' attributions (statements of causal belief) permitted an understanding of which theoretical constructs might play roles in determining learners' motivation levels, and in determining whether learners continue or discontinue L2 studies.

3.4.3.2 Three-level coding.

A version of Auerbach and Silverstein's (2003) three-level coding procedure was used in investigating the existence of L2MSS-related theoretical constructs and the same coding procedure was also used to code statements of causal belief identified through attributional coding (see section 3.4.3.1).

Like a number of prominent advocates of qualitative data analysis (e.g., Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2008), Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) advocate a coding procedure that involves several layers of coding—in their case, three layers. The authors recommend first grouping extracts of *relevant text* into the first layer of coding: *repeated ideas*. Repeated ideas are then gathered into groups that form the second layer of coding: *themes*. These themes, in turn, fall within categories that form Auerbach and Silverstein's third and final layer of coding: *theoretical constructs*.

A majority of qualitative studies that make use of grounded theory techniques (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) are exploratory in nature. The qualitative component of the present study,

however, may be seen as somewhat confirmatory in nature, although it is not without exploratory elements. Research Questions 1 and 2 (see section 2.6) both asked the extent to which various L2MSS-related constructs influenced (a) motivation levels (Research Question 1), and (b) whether learners continued or discontinued their L2 studies (Research Question 2). In order to address these questions, the theoretical constructs that form the third and final layer of Auerbach and Silverstein's coding method were drawn from existing theory (the L2MSS) rather than being developed directly from the first two layers of coding.

Thus, while coding in the present qualitative analysis involved identifying repeated ideas and grouping these into themes, the final stage of coding involved, where possible, categorizing themes as belonging to existing theoretical constructs, such as ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, or L2 learning experience. Categorizing themes thus did not represent an imposition of theoretical categories upon the qualitative data, as it was acknowledged (a) that some emergent themes might not fit within any existing theoretical categories, and (b) that data might indicate a need to question the existence of certain existing theoretical constructs in the context of the study (see, for example, section 5.3.1.1). Figure 3.2 (following page) shows an example of three-layer coding of statements of causal belief relating to the outcome "continuing (or considering continuing) L2 studies."

Categorizing themes as belonging to existing constructs was advantageous not just because it permitted qualitative investigation of existing theory (the L2MSS), but also because doing so allowed the study's qualitative findings to be meaningfully integrated with the study's quantitative findings: It was advantageous to have both the qualitative and quantitative opponents of the study deal as much as possible with analogous or comparable L2MSS-related constructs. However, care was taken to explore in depth the extent to which constructs addressed through qualitative and quantitative methods were indeed analogous (see, for example, sections 5.3.1.1 and 5.4.1.2).

This study is not the first to categorize themes arising from qualitative data analysis as relating to or representing L2MSS constructs: In fact, at least three notable studies have done so previously. Lamb (2009) showed how interview data from two learners indicated the existence of ideal and ought-to L2 selves, and

both Lanvers (2012) and Magid and Chan (2012) described themes that emerged from their coding of interview data as relating closely to the ideal L2 self. In its use of qualitative data analysis methods, this study may thus be seen to draw on, and to build upon, the designs of earlier qualitative (Lamb, 2009; Lanvers, 2012) and mixed-methods (Magid & Chan, 2012) L2MSS studies.

3.5 Data Synthesis and Comparison

Hashemi and Babaii (2013) argue that there has been, in many cases, a failure to effectively integrate methods and findings at various stages of mixed-methods studies. They point out that integration of qualitative and quantitative methods may take place at the three main stages of a typical investigation: the sampling stage, the data collection stage, and the data analysis stage.

In the present study, integration of qualitative and quantitative methods took place at all three of the stages outlined by Hashemi and Babaii (2013), but the major integration of qualitative and quantitative findings took place at the stage of data analysis and discussion. Initially, qualitative (think-aloud) methods were used in the pilot study to assess the effectiveness of the survey used in the quantitative component (see section 3.3.2.3). Then, data obtained through quantitative surveys informed the selection of interview participants for the qualitative component of the study (see section 3.4.1). The way in which qualitative and quantitative components of the study were integrated was similar to what Hashemi and Babaii term a "sequential exploratory design" (p. 842),

Figure 3.2.   Example of Coding Layers

- **<u>CONTINUING (OR CONSIDERING CONTINUING) L2 STUDIES</u>**
    - IDEAL L2 SELF (OR SIMILAR)
        - *future-related reasons*
            - valuable in my life
            - good for CV
            - to travel/study abroad
            - want children to speak L2
        - *investment-related reasons*
            - want to finish degree
            - why give up now?
    - OUGHT-TO L2 SELF (OR SIMILAR)
        - *family, friends, identity*
            - my family encourage(d) me
            - my friends encourage(d) me
            - for my ancestors/to save the L2/heritage
    - L2 LEARNING EXPERIENCE
        - *L2 class-related reasons*
            - want L2 practice/exposure
            - wanted to learn [something specific]
            - the teacher(s) was amazing
            - really enjoyed it
            - did well (grades, absolute)
            - did well (extramural)
            - did well (grades, relative; bad grades in other studies)
    - OTHER FACTORS
        - *other factors*
            - might as well continue/no reason not to

Figure 3.2. The boldface, underlined, capitalised category represents the outcome that learners attributed to various factors. Theoretical constructs (third layer of coding) are shown in capital letters; themes (second layer of coding) are shown in italics; repeated ideas (first layer of coding) are in plain text.

where the "qualitative phase may […] be used for piloting or evaluating a particular scheme, method, or assessment tool" (p. 842) and where a quantitative phase can present "a solution to the problem of generalizability of the qualitative findings" (p. 842). In other words, the two broad components of a study each work to strengthen the validity of the other, such that the generalizability of the qualitative findings may be supported by the quantitative data, and such that the quantitative findings, in turn, may be supported and expanded in breadth through the qualitative findings.

The findings of the main qualitative and quantitative phases of research were explicitly integrated in the final sections of chapters 5, 6, and 7, which address each of the study's research questions. In the case of Research Question 1, SEM analysis of quantitative data provided an initial indication of causal relationships between L2MSS-related constructs, and qualitative findings were able to lend weight to aspects of the quantitative findings while simultaneously indicating a need to question other aspects. In the case of Research Questions 2 and 3, t-tests undertaken using quantitative data indicated associations between L2MSS constructs and outcome variables, and qualitative findings were able to shed light on the nature and meaning of the associations identified. In the cases of all research questions, qualitative findings guided interpretation of quantitative findings, and quantitative findings, in turn, permitted a degree of generalization of the qualitative findings.

CHAPTER 4: CONFIRMATORY FACTOR ANALYSIS, INSTRUMENT RELIABILITY, AND DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

The aims of Research Questions 1, 2, and 3 are different, and the results and findings pertaining to these research questions are discussed in chapters 5, 6, and 7, respectively. Statistical investigation of all three research questions, however, draw on the same pool of quantitative data, and therefore the same CFA results, instrument reliability test results, and descriptive statistics are relevant to all research questions. To avoid repetition in chapters 5, 6, and 7, these results and statistics are presented in the present chapter.

This chapter begins with the results of the measurement model (CFA) (section 4.1), which may be viewed as providing validity evidence for the study's initial survey The section following this (section 4.2) presents Cronbach's alpha values of internal reliability for each of the theoretical constructs investigated in this study, along with a correlation matrix, indicating the strength of relationships between constructs. Section 4.3 presents descriptive statistics for the study sample with regard to scores on constructs investigated.

4.1 Confirmatory Factor Analysis

After examining the modification indices, the measurement model was refined through dropping items and correlating the errors for two pairs of similarly worded survey items. The final measurement model comprised seven latent variables and 39 observed variables, and the model is shown in figure. 4.1. Goodness of fit was assessed according to criteria detailed in section 3.3.3.2. and goodness of fit indices are provided in figure 4.1. Standardised factor loadings were all significant and ranged from .24 to .92; factor loadings are shown in table 4.1.

Figure 4.1. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (Measurement Model)

Figure 4.1. The measurement model's statistical goodness of fit was assessed using multiple criteria. The results demonstrated acceptable fit for the measurement model, $\chi2(741) = 31153.21$ (p < .001), RMSEA = 0.06, CFI = 0.95, TLI = 0.94.

Table 4.1
Factor Loadings for Final Measurement Model

Latent variable	Survey item	Standardized factor loading
Motivation		
	Item 1	0.86
	Item 8	0.80
	Item 21	0.88
	Item 40	0.69
	Item 44	0.70
Ideal L2 self		
	Item 2	0.87
	Item 9	0.89
	Item 18	0.89
	Item 32	0.79
	Item 39	0.89
	Item 48	0.82
Ought-to L2 self		
	Item 4	0.57
	Item 11	0.75
	Item 15	0.83
	Item 24	0.80
	Item 35	0.71
	Item 41	0.73
	Item 43	0.75
L2 learning experience		
	Item 5	0.87
	Item 12	0.92
	Item 25	0.85
	Item 26	0.84
	Item 36	0.58
	Item 42	0.52
	Item 45	0.42
Non-L2 goals		
	Item 3	0.77
	Item 10	0.88
	Item 17	0.51
	Item 20	0.85
	Item 23	0.58
	Item 49	0.24
Integrativeness		
	Item 6	0.60
	Item 13	0.62
	Item 27	0.79
	Item 37	0.86
Instrumentality		
	Item 14	0.84
	Item 28	0.78
	Item 38	0.77
	Item 30	0.87

4.2 Other Instrument Reliability Tests

Table 4.2 shows the Cronbach's alpha measures of internal reliability for each construct, as well as a correlation matrix, which demonstrates that the strength of correlation between the variables is unlikely to be problematic (i.e., different constructs are not measuring the same thing), although it should be noted that the (negative) correlation between non-L2 goals and instrumentality does slightly exceed Dörnyei's (2007) recommended threshold of $r < 0.6$. For an explanation of the relevance of these values, see section 3.3.3.3.

Table 4.2

Pearson's r *Values for Strength of Inter-Construct Relationships Between Variables Investigated and Internal Reliability (Cronbach's Alpha) of Construct Measures*

	Motivation	Ideal L2 self	Ought-to L2 self	L2 learning experience	Non-L2 goals	Integrativeness	Instrumentality
Motivation	1.00**						
Ideal L2 self	0.38**	1.00**					
Ought-to L2 self	0.17**	0.09*	1.00**				
L2 learning experience	0.51**	0.43**	-0.10*	1.00**			
Non-L2 goals	-0.32**	-0.58**	-0.17**	-0.24**	1.00**		
Integrativeness	0.30**	0.49**	0.10**	0.46**	-0.39**	1.00**	
Instrumentality	0.27**	0.59**	0.24**	0.24**	-0.65**	0.36**	1.00**
Reliability (Cronbach's alpha)	0.88	0.76	0.78	0.83	0.84	0.90	0.85

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$; $N = 700$

4.3 Descriptive Statistics for Construct Scores

Participants' scores for the constructs investigated in the study were calculated as described in section 3.3.3.3. Table 4.3 presents the descriptive statistics for the construct scores of study sample ($N = 700$). Constructs were composite variables calculated from five-point Likert-type items; thus, the highest possible score for a construct was 5.00 and the lowest possible score was 1.00.

Table 4.3
Construct Score Descriptive Statistics for the Study Sample (N = 700)

Variable	Mean	SD	Median	Min.	Max.	SE	N
Motivation	3.14	0.67	3.20	1.00	5.00	0.03	700
Ideal L2 self	4.00	0.87	4.17	1.00	5.00	0.03	700
Ought-to L2 self	1.82	0.76	1.57	1.00	4.86	0.03	700
L2 learning experience	4.02	0.64	4.14	1.43	5.00	0.02	700
Non-L2 goals	3.09	0.82	3.00	1.00	5.00	0.03	700
Integrativeness	3.71	0.83	3.75	1.00	5.00	0.03	700
Instrumentality	3.63	0.99	3.75	1.00	5.00	0.04	700

CHAPTER 5: ADDRESSING RESEARCH QUESTION 1

Chapter 5 presents and discusses statistical results and qualitative findings pertaining to Research Question 1. Section 5.1 presents relevant statistical results, and the following section (5.2) discusses these in light of previous research. Section 5.3 presents the study's qualitative findings and discusses how these findings relate to previous research and particularly to the L2MSS. Quantitative results and qualitative findings pertaining to Research Question 1 are brought together and discussed, along with possible implications, in the final section of this chapter (5.4).

5.1 Statistical Results: Research Question 1

5.1.1 Validity of the L2MSS in the Study Context

In order provide validity evidence for the effectiveness of the L2MSS in the context of New Zealand students learning FLs and te reo, an SEM model informed by previous studies and by Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS was constructed and tested.

The SEM model employed to test the validity of the L2MSS in the study context is shown in figure 5.1, with three causal pathways leading from the L2MSS's motivational antecedents to motivation.

The strongest causal relationship identified was for the pathway leading from L2 learning experience to motivation (.60, $p < .001$); this was followed by the causal pathway leading from ideal L2 self to motivation (.14, $p = .001$). The regression weight for the pathway leading from ought-to L2 self to motivation was .06; however, this relationship was non-significant.

Together, the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self, and the L2 learning experience were found to account for 46% of the variation in motivation.

Figure 5.1.   First Structural Model, with Standardized Estimates
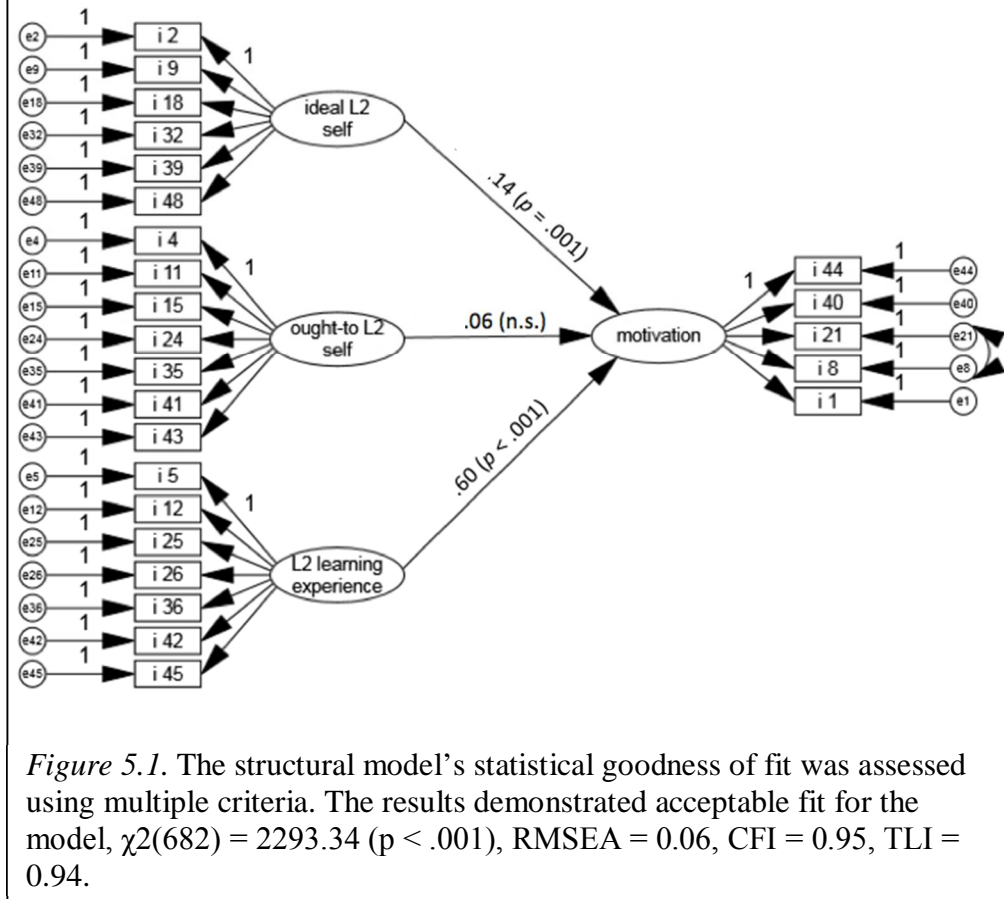
Figure 5.1. The structural model's statistical goodness of fit was assessed using multiple criteria. The results demonstrated acceptable fit for the model, $\chi 2(682) = 2293.34$ (p < .001), RMSEA = 0.06, CFI = 0.95, TLI = 0.94.

5.1.2 Addition of Non-L2 Goals

SEM was also employed to investigate whether a novel construct—non-L2 goals—might be a worthwhile addition to a model of L2 motivation. In order to test this, two hypothetical structural models were constructed and compared with regard to the amount of variation in motivation explained by the motivational antecedents within each model.

Model A represented the L2MSS, but, for the sake of simplicity, the ought-to L2 self was not included, as previous analyses (see section 5.1.1) had already shown that that construct was not a significant predictor of motivation in the study context. Model B included non-L2 goals as a predictor of motivation, but was

otherwise identical to Model A. R-square values generated for both models indicated the amount of variation in motivation accounted for by the motivational antecedents within each model. If the R-square value for motivation in Model B was found to be greater than the R-square value for motivation in Model A, that could indicate that the addition of non-L2 goals to the model improved the model's ability to predict learners' L2 motivation.

Figures 5.2 and 5.3 show the results of the analyses in the form of path-diagram representations of Models A and B, along with regression weights indicating the relative predictive power of each of the antecedent variables in the model with regard to motivation.

The R-square value for the amount of variation in motivation predicted by the motivational antecedents in Model A was $R^2 = 0.46$, indicating that ideal L2 self and L2 learning experience together accounted for 46% of the variation in learners' L2 motivation. The value for Model B was also $R^2 = 0.46$.

Model B also showed that, when the ideal L2 self and non-L2 goals were included in the same model as predictors of motivation, the pathway leading from non-L2 goals to motivation had a slightly greater regression weight (-.10, p = .046) than did the pathway leading from the ideal L2 self to motivation (.07, p = 0.22). In fact, when non-L2 goals were included in the model alongside L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self, the role of the ideal L2 self in predicting motivation became non-significant.

Figure 5.2.   Model A with Standardized Estimates

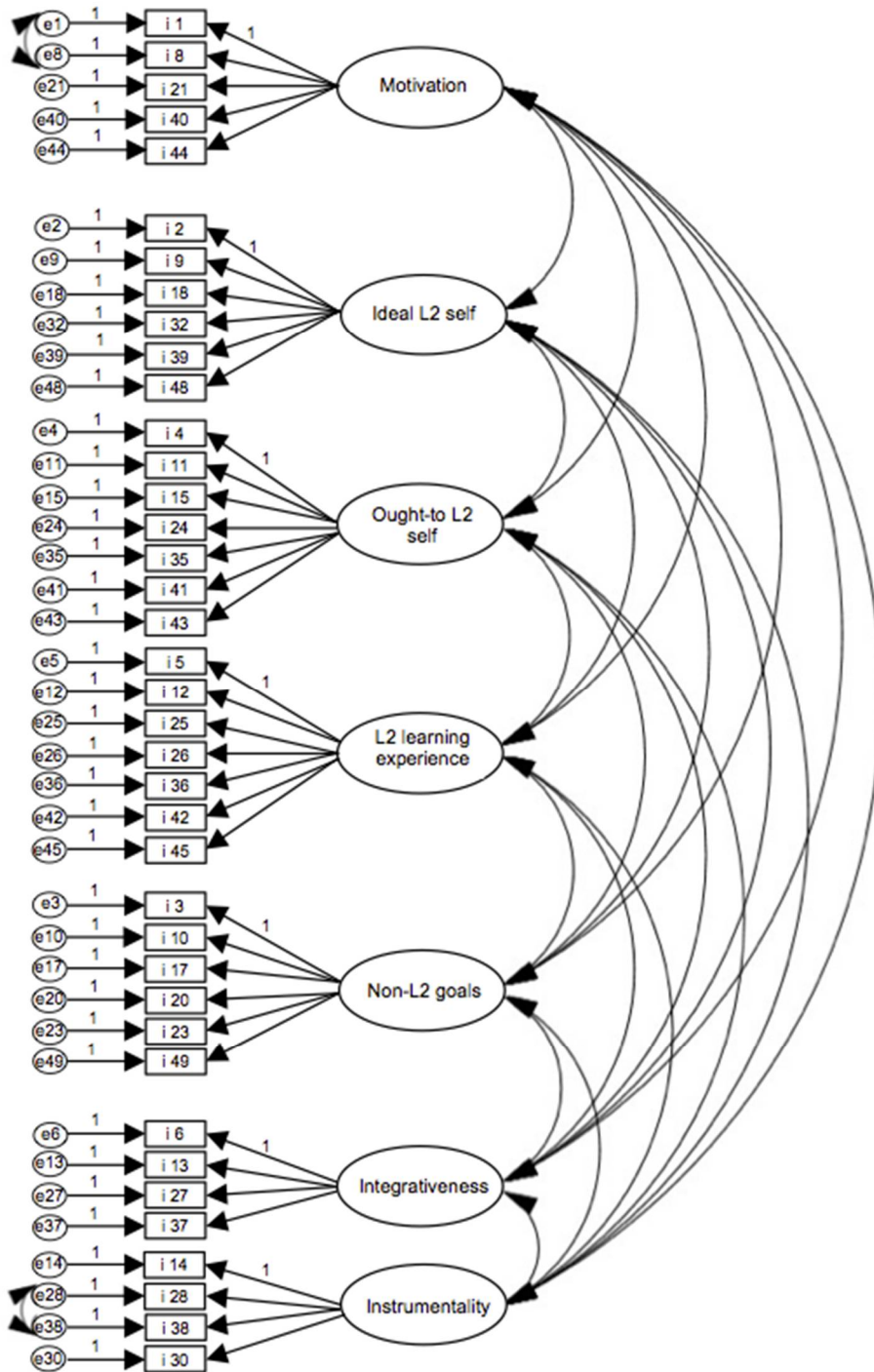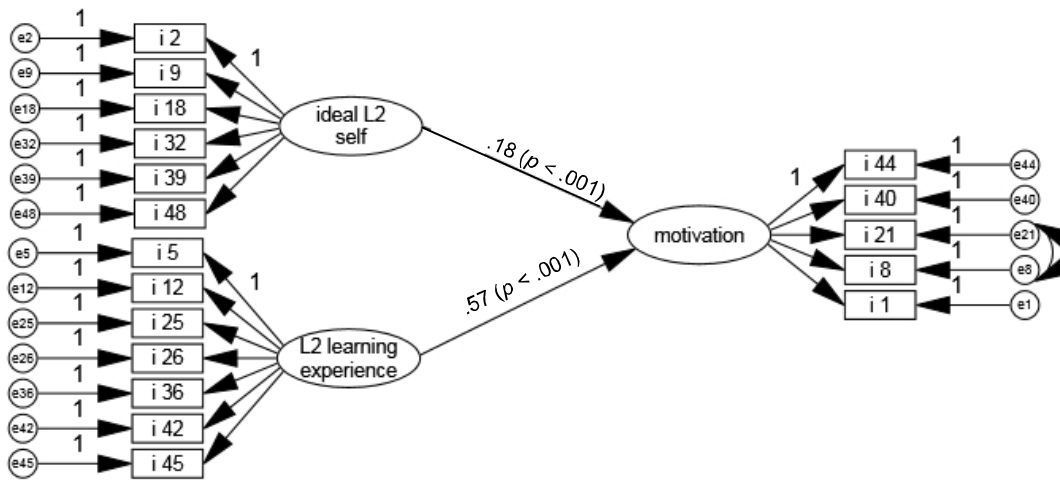*Figure 5.2.*   Model A's statistical goodness of fit was assessed using multiple criteria. The results demonstrated acceptable fit for the model, $\chi2(683) = 2274.06$ ($p < .001$), RMSEA = 0.06, CFI = 0.95, TLI = 0.94.

Figure 5.3.   Model B with Standardized Estimates
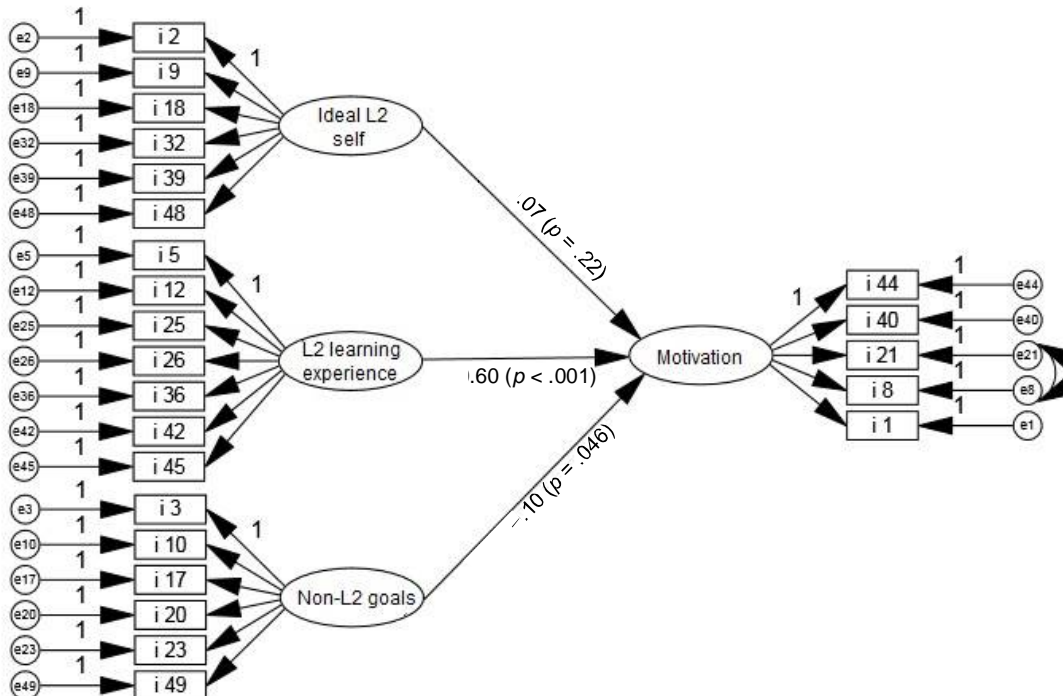
Figure 5.3.   Model B's statistical goodness of fit was assessed using multiple criteria. The results demonstrated acceptable fit for the structural model, $\chi2(682) =$ 2278.20 ($p < .001$), RMSEA = 0.06, CFI = 0.95, TLI = 0.94.

5.2 Discussion of Statistical Results: Research Question 1

5.2.1 Existence of L2MSS Constructs

In this study, the central means of providing validity evidence for the effectiveness of the L2MSS in the study context was SEM, the results of which are provided in section 5.1.1. However, CFA, calculation of Cronbach's alpha scores, and construction of a correlation matrix also shed light on the validity of the L2MSS in the study context: While SEM permitted an assessment of the degree to which the components of the L2MSS predicted motivation in the context of the study, other statistical tests were important for gauging the very existence—in the study context—of the constructs of which the L2MSS is composed.

In this study, the L2MSS's three motivational antecedents (ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience) were all successfully statistically identified through CFA (see section 4.1), Cronbach's alpha measures (see section 4.2), and examination of a correlation matrix (see section 4.2). Motivation, non-L2 goals, integrativeness, and instrumentality were also successfully statistically identified through the same tests.

Successful statistical identification of all of the constructs that Dörnyei (2005, 2009) claims make up the L2MSS is in line with the majority of L2MSS studies undertaken since the introduction of the self system (see section 2.3.1.1). Not all L2MSS studies have sought to investigate all components of the system; however, it would seem that all studies that have sought to identify the ideal L2 self have succeeded in doing so (Al-Shehri, 2009; Cai & Zhu, 2012; Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Csizér and Lukács, 2010; Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Henry, 2008; Islam et al., 2013; Kim, 2009; Kim & Kim, 2012; Kormos et al., 2011; Lamb, 2009, 2012; Lanvers, 2012; Li, 2014; Magid & Chan, 2012; Moskovsky et al., 2016; Munezane, 2012; Papi, 2010; Papi and Abdollahzadeh, 2012; Papi and Teimouri, 2012; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012; Xie, 2014; Yang & Kim, 2011; You et al., 2016), as have all those that have sought to identify the L2 learning experience (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Islam et al., 2012; Li,

2014). The present study corroborates the findings of all of these studies in successfully identifying the ideal L2 self and L2 learning experience as constructs.

With regard to the successful identification of the ought-to L2 self in the current study, this finding is also in line with the majority of previous studies (e.g., Islam, Lamb, & Chambers, 2013; Kormos et al., 2011; Ryan, 2009), although the finding is at odds with the findings of at least two studies: Csizér and Lukács (2010) and Lamb (2012). In a number of previous studies, it was also found that the ought-to L2 self was the construct for which Cronbach's alpha scores were lowest (e.g., Kim, 2012; Li, 2014; Papi, 2010; Taguchi et al, 2009); however, this was not the case in the present study, in which the alpha scores for all four components of the L2MSS fell within the 0.83-0.90 range (see section 4.2).

5.2.2 Motivational Role of the Ideal L2 Self

Looking at the present study's findings with regard to the effect of the ideal L2 self on language learners' motivation levels, the regression weight of .14 (p = .001) may be seen as simultaneously corroborating, and to some extent differing from, the findings of earlier L2MSS studies.

The finding may be seen to corroborate previous studies (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009; You et al., 2016) through identifying the ideal L2 self as a positive predictor of motivation. This study is one of the first large-scale studies—and perhaps the first employing SEM—to test the motivational predictive power of the ideal L2 self in the context of English-speakers learning L2s. Thus, the fact that the ideal L2 self was found to predict motivation in the present study could be seen to suggest that the construct may act as a positive antecedent of motivation not only in EFL and ESL contexts (e.g., Kormos et al., 2011Taguchi et al., 2009), but also in a significantly different context.

This study's findings may be seen to differ from those of similar, previous studies in that the study found the motivational predictive power of the ideal L2

self to be relatively weak—particularly relative to that of the L2 learning experience. The weak predictive power of the ideal L2 self in the context of the present study contrasts with Dörnyei and Ushioda's (2011) summary of previous studies, in which they state that the ideal L2 self has typically explained "more than 40% of the variance [in motivation]" (p. 87). In fact, in this study, the regression weight for the pathway from ideal L2 self to motivation was smaller than that identified in all but one of the published SEM studies previously undertaken (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009), with the exception being You et al.'s (2016) Chinese study.

The findings of the present study with regard to the predictive strength (or lack thereof) of the ideal L2 self are significant for two reasons: First, the weak predictive power identified is somewhat at odds with most previous L2MSS studies that employed SEM for data analysis; second, the findings suggest that, while the ideal L2 self may play a significant role in determining motivation in EFL and ESL contexts, its role may be less significant in situations where learners who already speak English are learning a non-English L2.

Prior to the present study, few published L2MSS studies had been undertaken with English-speaking learners of FLs (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Lanvers, 2012, Xie, 2014), and, due to methodological differences, none easily lend themselves to comparison with the present study with regard to the relationships between ideal L2 self and motivation. The fact that the regression weight for the relationship between ideal L2 self and motivation was so low in the present study, though, suggests that there is a need to further examine the motivational role of the ideal L2 self in contexts in which English-speakers are learning an L2 other than English. Further investigation could perhaps more conclusively determine whether the ideal L2 self might be a less important predictor of motivation in such contexts than in EFL/ESL contexts.

5.2.3 Motivational Role of the Ought-To L2 Self

As discussed in section 2.3.1 (and particularly in section 2.3.1.3), the ought-to L2 self is the component of the L2MSS that has been found in previous studies to have the weakest effect on motivation; in fact, the present study's finding that the effect of the ought-to L2 self on motivation is non-significant is consistent with a number of earlier studies (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Kim & Kim, 2012; Kormos et al., 2011; Lamb, 2012; Li, 2014; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012), perhaps even a majority of L2MSS studies. Looking just at those studies that employed SEM and had relatively large participant populations (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; Papi, 2010; Taguchi et al., 2009), it seems that only around half of such studies found the ought-to L2 self to play a notable role in determining learners' motivation levels (Papi, 2010; Taguchi et al., 2009), and the other half found the influence of the ought-to L2 self on motivation to be either non-significant (Kormos et al., 2011) or "marginal" (Csizér & Kormos, 2009, p. 109).

Given that the present study is by no means anomalous in finding the motivational role of ought-to L2 self to be non-significant, and given that the present study represents a novel context (L1 English learners) with yet the same findings regarding the construct's somewhat negligible motivational role, it is perhaps time to consider whether the ought-to L2 self should continue to be considered a central component of a model of L2 motivation intended for application in various global contexts, or whether, rather, the construct is worthy of note only in specific L2 learning contexts.

5.2.4 Motivational Role of L2 Learning Experience

The identification of a strong causal pathway leading from L2 learning experience to motivation is not surprising: Virtually every L2MSS study that has investigated the relationship between L2 learning experience and motivation has identified such a relationship. Furthermore, most studies that have investigated the effect of the L2MSS's antecedent components on motivation found, as did the present study, that L2 learning experience was the most important of the three L2MSS

motivational antecedents in terms of determining motivation levels (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; Papi, 2010; Taguchi et al., 2009; You et al., 2016). In the case of several of these previous studies, however, the relative importance of the L2 learning experience was dependent on the study population sub-group for which statistical tests were conducted (e.g., Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009). At least one other study (Kim, 2012) found that the ideal L2 self was more strongly linked to motivation than was L2 learning experience, and at least one study (Csizér & Lukács, 2010) did not find L2 learning experience to be an important determiner of motivation; however, the Hungarian participants in Csizér and Lukács's study may have been a somewhat atypical group in that all were learners of two L2s. Regardless of the differences between the findings of the present study and the findings of certain earlier studies, the present study's finding regarding the predictive power of L2 learning experience may be viewed as corroborating the findings of a majority of earlier studies—particularly those of studies that also had large sample sizes and employed SEM.

The role of L2 learning experience in the present study context does, however, differ from its role in the contexts of most previous studies in that its predictive power relative to other L2MSS components (ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self) was greater than in most previous studies (Csizér & Kormos, 2009, Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009), with the exception being that of You et al. (2016). In the majority of previous SEM studies of the L2MSS, L2 learning experience was the greatest predictor of motivation, but generally only by a relatively small margin; in the present study, the regression weight difference between the L2 learning experience pathway (.60, p < .001) and the ideal L2 self pathway (.14, p = .001) is striking. This difference may suggest that the predictive supremacy of the L2 learning experience within the L2MSS is more pronounced in contexts where English speakers are learning non-English L2s than in the EFL and ESL contexts of most previous L2MSS studies. However, You et al.'s finding that L2 learning experience was by far the most important predictor of motivation in a Chinese EFL context throws some doubt on this possibility, and further studies in contexts analogous to that of the present study would thus be desirable.

5.2.5 Motivational Role of Non-L2 Goals

In addition to investigating a number of constructs that had been previously investigated, the study looked at a novel construct: non-L2 goals (see section 2.6)—i.e., the extent to which learners' goals might involve *not* needing or using their L2. It was hypothesised that SEM would reveal non-L2 goals to be a negative predictor of motivation.

Two hypothesized structural models (A and B) were constructed (see section 5.1.2), and results showed that non-L2 goals were a weak yet significant negative predictor of motivation. However, when non-L2 goals were added as a predictor of motivation to a model that already included the ideal L2 self and L2 learning experience as predictors of motivation, there was no change in the model's ability to predict motivation. This indicated that, in this study context, non-L2 goals were not a worthwhile addition to a model that already included ideal L2 self and L2 learning experience.

However, another outcome of these SEM analyses warrants further inspection. When non-L2 goals were included in the structural model, the construct's predictive role with regard to motivation was slightly greater than that of the ideal L2 self, and the ideal L2 self became non-significant as a predictor of motivation (see section 5.1.2). This result does not indicate that non-L2 selves should replace the ideal L2 self within the L2MSS, but, along with the fact that the addition of non-L2 goals did not change the overall predictive power of the model, the result may suggest that the ideal L2 self and non-L2 goals share similarities with regard to the influence that they exert on learners' motivation—even if such influence is positive in the case of one (ideal L2 self) and negative in the case of the other (non-L2 goals). In fact, this would make sense, given that the two constructs were found to be highly negatively correlated ($r = -0.58$, $p < .001$), and given that both relate to future states or goals.

Although Model B (see section 5.1.2) did demonstrate that non-L2 goals could act as a significant predictor of motivation, the regression weights for the pathways leading to motivation from both non-L2 goals ($-.10$, $p = .046$) and the

ideal L2 self (.07, $p = .22$) indicate that the motivational roles of both non-L2 goals and the ideal L2 self were minimal in this study, and pale in comparison to the predictive role played by L2 learning experience.

While there appears to be no place for non-L2 goals within a model of motivation, the construct *was* found, in both the quantitative and qualitative components of this study, to play a significant role in learner attrition/retention (see chapter 6).

5.3 Qualitative Findings and Discussion: Research Question 1

This section explores the study's qualitative data pertaining to Research Question 1. It begins by looking at the three motivational antecedents that form the core of the L2MSS. For each of these constructs—ideal L2 self (section 5.3.1), ought-to L2 self (section 5.3.2), and L2 learning experience (section 5.3.3)—the following sections explore interview data to ascertain (a) the degree to which there is evidence for the existence of the construct, and (b) the degree to which there is evidence that the construct determines learners' motivation levels. Following this, the same analysis is undertaken with regard to non-L2 goals (section 5.3.4).

While this section explores in depth the motivational roles of L2MSS-related constructs, it only touches briefly on the relationship between motivation and HL learner status. The relevance of HL learner status to motivation, L2MSS constructs, and L2 learner attrition/retention is addressed in depth in chapter 7.

5.3.1 Ideal L2 Self

The following sections look at the extent to which interview data obtained in this study offered support for the existence and motivational relevance of the ideal L2 self.

5.3.1.1 Ideal L2 self: Existence.

The ideal L2 self was proposed by Dörnyei (2005, 2009) as a possible self (Markus & Nurius, 1986) and Dörnyei (2009) emphasizes that possible selves are more than future goals. In demonstrating that possible selves are not "merely a subset of goals" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 15), Dörnyei argues that what distinguishes possible selves from goals is the fact that possible selves involve "self-relevant imagery" (Ruvolo & Markus, 1992, p. 95): Possible selves are "a reality for the individual: people can 'see', 'hear' and 'smell' a possible self" (Dörnyei, 2009, p.12). Going even further, Dörnyei states that the "key element" of possible selves is that they "are 'self states' that people experience as reality" (p. 16).

Although Dörnyei (2009, 2014) is at pains to point out that possible selves are not simply goals (or a subset thereof), he makes it clear that possible selves *involve* goals when he cites Markus and Ruvolo's (1989) argument that "it is a major advantage to frame future goals in this way [as possible selves]" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 13). It would seem that, in Dörnyei's view, possible selves—such as the ideal L2 self—have much in common with goals, but are made *more than goals* through their experiential component—i.e., through the fact that they involve visualization and can be experienced by an individual as a reality.

When it comes to conducting qualitative analysis of interview data, the need for a possible self to involve imagery or an experiential element (Dörnyei, 2009) has the effect of placing the bar rather high with regard to what interview data might constitute evidence of an ideal L2 self. Many comments made by interview participants with respect to L2 learning indicate the existence of relevant future goals, but far fewer comments contain evidence of the kinds of visualization that Dörnyei argues distinguishes possible selves from mere future goals.

The following sections separate interview extracts according to the extent to which they exhibit the existence of an ideal L2 self. The first section (5.3.1.1.1) looks at the only interview participant in this study whose comments unequivocally demonstrated the existence of an ideal L2 self. The following section (5.3.1.1.2) looks at several other participants whose L2-related goals could, to varying degrees, be framed as ideal L2 selves, but whose comments do not provide unequivocal evidence of visualization or of a possible self being experienced as "a reality for the individual" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 12). Section

5.3.1.1.3 presents the cases of several learners whose comments indicated the existence of L2-relevant goals, but which lacked any evidence of a visualization or experiential element, and section 5.3.1.1.4 presents the cases of learners who appeared to possess no L2-relevant goals. Finally, section 5.3.1.1.5 discusses the existence of the ideal L2 self in the context of the present study, and compares the situation in the present study with those of previous studies.

5.3.1.1.1 Clearest example of an ideal L2 self.

Out of all interviews conducted in this study, the comment that most plainly exhibited the existence of a construct akin to an ideal L2 self was made by Cat, a learner of French. Cat's comment outlined how, while studying French at high school, she visualized herself as a future French speaker in France:

> "Yeah, back then I was like, I want to spend my—as much of my time as I can in France. I want to see all the—all the cool monuments and the history as well. […] I could just see myself with a little dog, walking, walking in the streets of … yeah."

It is the latter portion of this quote, particularly, that warrants its being considered evidence of the existence of an ideal L2 self. To spend time in France visiting historic monuments could be considered no more than a future goal, but the phrase "I could just see myself" implies visualization, and perhaps even an experiential component. Furthermore, Cat's description of "walking, walking" with her "little dog" indicates the existence of something more elaborate, more visualized, and more *real*, than a simple goal. Cat's goal might have been to live and travel in France, but her description of dog-walking demonstrates that living and traveling in France was not simply an abstract goal for her, but rather something that she visualized—something which might be accurately described as a possible self.

Cat's ideal French self did not last, however, and, regarding her second year of university, Cat said, "I would have probably envisioned myself more in a Spanish-speaking country. I have a massive desire to go to Latin America." With regard to

Spanish, Cat also said, "I could really see myself speaking it, being over there, and […] putting it to use." She added that she planned to "find a job in Spain," and that "it'd be cool to kind of be a translator." Again, the use of "envisioned" and "I could really see myself" indicates the existence of a possible self through the implication that a sense (sight) is in some way involved. It could perhaps be argued that "I can see myself …" is simply a common idiomatic expression used in English to express goals or desired end-states, but "envisioned" may be seen as a clearer indication of the existence of Cat's ideal Spanish self.

5.3.1.1.2 Less clear examples of the ideal L2 self.

Several other learners' hopes or plans with respect to their L2s could be viewed as including visualization or experiential components, but no cases were as clear-cut as Cat's ideal French self. For example, two Māori learners of te reo—Kahu and Marama—demonstrated what could be considered evidence of the existence of ideal L2 selves when they spoke of their plans to bring up their future children to speak te reo. Of her plans in this regard, Marama said the following (see further, section 7.2.3):

> "I have always wanted to, like, pass on Māori to my children […] always wanted to just speak to my children in Māori and hopefully, yeah, help them to grow up and speak the language."

Kahu's description of his hopes and plans for a te reo-speaking family was significantly more detailed than Marama's. He described how te reo would be the "the only language" of his future household, and stated that his children would not have to learn te reo as an L2 "when I pass that language on" (see further, section 7.2.4).

Through describing how they will bring up their children, Marama and Kahu both described hoped-for aspects of their future lives/selves. The extent to which the interview extracts above may be viewed as evidence of ideal L2 selves, however, depends on the extent to which one views Marama's and Kahu's comments as evidence of these learners visualizing or experiencing these aspects

of their future lives. In this regard, it could be said that Kahu's comments are more representative of the existence of an ideal L2 self than are those of Marama. Marama talked about *wanting* her children to speak te reo, whereas Kahu's comments, in which he described what his future household will be like, perhaps imply the existence of some sort of mental image. Kahu spoke confidently about how things would be, using phrases such as "when I pass that language on" and "that's all they'll hear."

The use of particular expressions can perhaps be taken as evidence of learners visualizing or in some way experiencing possible future states, although there are, of course, ambiguous cases. Melanie said that, at one point, she had "imagined myself living in France and using French everyday," and her use of the verb *to imagine*, could be viewed as evidence of the kind of visualization that Dörnyei (2009) argues distinguishes possible selves from future goals; however, as with Cat's use of "I can see myself," Melanie's use of *to imagine* could represent little more than someone expressing a hope through use of a commonly used English expression. The lack of any further detail (job, living arrangements, etc.) in Melanie's comments also brings into question the extent to which she genuinely "imagined" a future, French-speaking self.

Eva, a non-Māori learners of te reo, provided another interesting example of why it can be difficult to categorize a learner's future L2-related hopes as either representing or not representing an ideal L2 self. Eva talked of just one plan for when she finished university: to work in a prison as a corrections officer. Eva took just one introductory semester of te reo at university, in her last semester before graduating; she explained that te reo could be useful in her planned career because "I'd be working with [Māori people] a lot […] and there may be times when I have to, you know, introduce myself, um, in Māori" (see further, section 7.2.3).

Eva had a clear and detailed idea of what she wanted to do in the future (at the time of her interview, she had just applied for a job at a prison), and the fact that she had thought about times when she might have to use te reo could be seen as indicating a degree of imagination on her part, with regard to her desired career. However, Eva's knowledge of te reo was very basic: Although she could conceive of situations where she might use te reo in her future job, it seems unlikely that

speaking te reo would be a major part of her intended career. Thus, while it might be possible to describe Eva as having a possible self, the fact that the L2 component of such a possible self might be minimal makes it difficult to confidently describe Eva as having an ideal *L2* self. Rather, it might be prudent to view her future plans as an example of a more general possible self with a (minimal) L2 component.

5.3.1.1.3 Examples unlikely to be seen as examples of the ideal L2 self.

The participants discussed so far in this section are those who could be viewed as possessing ideal L2 selves without significantly stretching the definition of the term: All participants presented in sections 5.3.1.1.1 and 5.3.1.1.2 appeared to have relatively coherent L2-relevant goals, and their comments also suggest that these goals may have included experiential elements or elements of visualization. In contrast, the participants whose cases are addressed in this section (5.3.1.1.3) are those whose L2-related hopes or plans do not easily lend themselves to being described as ideal L2 selves.

The first cases discussed in this section (Hayley and Cara) are those of learners who appeared to have some L2-related goals, but whose goals lacked the experiential or visual elements that would permit them to be described as ideal L2 selves. Cases discussed in later paragraphs (Gabrielle, Bryony, and Lara) also lack such elements, but, in these later cases, the L2-related hopes or plans themselves also lack coherence—i.e., learners had only somewhat vague ideas about how they might use their L2s in the future.

At the time of her interview, Hayley had some clear ideas about what she would like to do with German; however, there seemed to be no single German-related goal or hope on which she was focused. At one point in her interview, Hayley said that she "figured" she would "do some sort of post-graduate degree in Germany […] then potentially work there for long term." But Hayley also had other ideas about what she could do with her second language:

> "I mean, I want to go work either in an aid organization—some sort of
> NGO—or become a diplomat. And having a second language doing that is

huge. So it's [German is] something that's really going to help me with my potential career."

Another participant, Cara, described in detail her ideas of how she would use Spanish, and, like Hayley, she described more than one desired future scenario. Relatively early during her interview, Cara said, "I think I'd like to be a teacher, so if I can teach Spanish, that would be good." Then, later, Cara described her interest in a career such as working as an interpreter in a South American hospital. Cara also spoke more generally, several times, of her desire to "live, work, and be in a Spanish-speaking country."

The fact that Hayley and Cara had multiple ideas about what they might want to do with their L2s could be indicative of the existence of multiple ideal selves— a possibility raised by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009), who suggest that the question remains as to "whether learners have several desired possible self images […] or only one broad ideal L2 self" (p. 351). However, there is little evidence of self-relevant imagery in either Hayley's or Cara's comments, and this may be seen to indicate that their (multiple) L2-related plans might be more accurately framed as future goals, rather than as ideal L2 selves.

Of those who had relatively non-specific ideas about how they would use their L2s in future, many explicitly referred to hoping, planning, or wanting to use their L2s in their future careers, even if they were somewhat vague about what (or where) their future careers might be. When Gabrielle was asked whether, while studying Spanish at high school, she had ideas about how she would use the language in the future, she replied, "I had no idea. I knew I found it interesting. I knew I wanted to travel and that I would possibly use it like that." Later, while studying Spanish at university, it seemed that Gabrielle had developed more of an idea of how Spanish could become part of a career, although it was clear that she had not settled on one particular career idea:

"I would love to, um, get some job where I can use my Spanish […] um, recently I've been thinking about Spanish teaching. I'd love to do something like interpreting."

A further comment that Gabrielle made, however, demonstrated that her level of commitment to any given career plan was relatively low, and that her general attitude to career plans was less goal-focused and more akin to a "que sera sera" approach:

> "I'm not very good at planning things. I just sort of take it as it comes. So if I end up in South America, awesome! If I end up in Europe, cool! If I stay in New Zealand, great!"

Bryony's sentiments with regard to French echoed those of Gabrielle in that Bryony also talked about wanting to use her L2 in a career without being overly specific about how she might do so. Bryony felt that changing her major so that it included French gave her more options for the future:

> "I thought, if I do this [French] to a higher level, become—or try to be— more fluent, ah, it will definitely give me more options for the future."

Bryony added that, although she "hadn't really thought of [French] as a career choice" in the past, when she changed her university major to include French, she thought, "Oh, if I keep doing this, then I will be able to incorporate it into a career."

Lara, a learner of Chinese, commented in her interview that she would be interested in a job in which both her anthropology and Chinese studies would be relevant. Asked if she had any specific ideas of a job that could involve both, though, Lara responded, "Aw, I don't know," before adding that she would "kind of like to be a translator […] a film translator or something like that." It was clear that this was in no way a plan to which Lara was at all committed, though, as she followed this comment with "mm, I don't know," and added, "I'd like to travel, for sure."

Unlike Gabrielle, Bryony, and Lara, Henry did not have any specific German-related career ideas while he was studying German at high school. He also talked

about how, at the time, he had thought of living (and perhaps working) in a German-speaking country, but this appeared to be more of a vague idea than a plan. When asked how he could see himself using German in future (during the time he was studying it at high school), Henry suggested that he could perhaps see himself "going to Germany, living in Germany or some European country near there […] going there, living there, working there. Yeah."

Gabrielle's, Bryony's, Lara's, and Henry's cases demonstrate that although some language learners may articulate a desire to use their L2s in the future, such ideas may be vague to the extent that it is difficult to describe them as goals, let alone as ideal L2 selves. Given the relative vagueness of such learners' L2-related ideas for the future, it is perhaps unsurprising that these participants' descriptions of such ideas or hopes included no evidence of visualization or an experiential component. It is important to remember, though, that most learners interviewed were in their late teens or very early 20s, and it is thus entirely possible that vague hopes and plans, such as those held by Gabrielle, Bryony, Lara, and Henry could later become more fully-fledged ideal L2 selves—although it is just as possible that such vague plans for future use of an L2 could simply evaporate over time.

5.3.1.1.4 Lack of ideal L2 self.

Many participants in this study had ideas about how they could use their L2 in the future that lacked the visualization or experiential elements that Dörnyei (2009) argues distinguish possible selves from mere future goals. A minority of interview participants, however, appeared to have had no ideas about how they might use their L2s in the future. Such participants may be confidently described as possessing nothing akin to an ideal L2 self.

Julie—a mature learner of French—described what might be viewed as a lack of ideal L2 self during both her time learning French at high school and during her time learning French at university around forty years later. Regarding her time learning French at high school, Julie was asked whether she had ever imagined herself using French in the future, and whether she had had any idea of how she could have used the language later in her life:

"No, didn't ever. No one travelled. No one went away. You know, um, no one. Ever. No, I didn't really. I didn't really. No."

If such a quote weren't sufficient to demonstrate a lack of ideal L2 self, Julie went on to add, "We just did French because everybody did French."

Julie was the most emphatic of all participants in describing a situation that exemplified an absence of an ideal L2 self; however, other students did describe somewhat comparable situations. Asked how she saw herself using te reo in future while studying it at high school, Rhianna—a non-Māori learner—answered as follows:

"Um, I don't know. I think at the time I learned it mostly because I liked the sound of the language. Um, and so I don't know that I particularly saw myself using it in the future."

Rhianna went on to say that she did "um, maybe, I think" have the idea of becoming a teacher, but said that she didn't think that idea "was a particularly big, um, big thing." Rhianna's sentiments were echoed by Finn who, despite saying earlier in his interview that he thought he "probably would end up using [Chinese]," later said, "I'm not really sure where I'd want to go with it, whereas medlab's [a science course] very specific, and I know that's something I think I'd like doing as a actual career." It is possible that Finn may have had a general desire to use Chinese in the future, but his comment makes it clear that it was in no way something he was at all committed to or something towards which he was working.

Several other participants, whose comments at times indicated the existence of future L2-related plans or goals, made comments at other times in their interviews that suggested that they were unable to see a future in their L2 learning. For example, although Carla described wanting to use French on a holiday in France, she also said of French, "I don't know if I'll ever use it," perhaps indicating a lack of L2-relevant goals. Cara related a similar sentiment when describing a time

when she studied Spanish by distance learning, saying that she "[could]n't see a future in it."

5.3.1.1.5 Discussion regarding existence of ideal L2 self.

Statements made by learners such as Cat appear to offer strong evidence of the existence of a construct similar to the ideal L2 self in the context of this study, while learners such as Julie offer examples of those for whom no such construct exists. It is important to note that the unequivocal absence of an ideal L2 self—such as appeared to be the case for Julie while she was learning French at high school—in no way negates the idea that the construct might exist and be motivationally relevant in this study context. Questions are perhaps raised, though, by the cases of learners whose L2-related goals, hopes, or ideas lie between those of Cat and Julie. Given that Dörnyei (2009) plainly states that the difference between future goals and possible selves lies in the existence of a visual, "real," or experiential element, it is difficult to categorize the majority of the interview participants as having genuine ideal L2 selves. Many appeared to have L2-related goals, hopes, or ideas for the future, but in most cases the distinguishing characteristic—visualization or an experiential component—appeared to be absent.

This study is not without precedent in finding that many learners lacked genuine ideal L2 selves. In his Indonesian study, Lamb (2009) acknowledges that "not all the focal learners in [the] study had easily identifiable L2 self-guides" (p. 243). Similarly, a number of participants in Lanvers' (2012) study of UK learners of FLs exhibited a lack of visual or experiential components in their L2-related hopes and goals. Lanvers uses the term ideal selves to describe participants' L2-related hopes and goals, but the expressions used by participants in her study bring into question the degree to which such hopes and goals involved any "self-relevant imagery": Phrases such as "I want to learn about …" (Lanvers, 2012, p. 167) and "I'd like to be able to …" (p. 168) do not obviously demonstrate the presence of the elements that Dörnyei (2009) argues distinguish possible selves from mere goals.

Although the study's qualitative data indicate that genuine ideal L2 selves were held by only a very small proportion of the learners in the study, such a finding does not necessarily conflict with Dörnyei's (2009) claim that the ideal L2 self can serve as "a powerful motivator to learn the L2" (p. 29). In fact, in order for the ideal L2 self to be relevant as a motivational antecedent, it must be assumed that there is variation in the strength of learners' ideal L2 selves, as well as in the degree to which learners possess ideal L2 selves. Indeed, Dörnyei cites Higgins (1987, 1996) in pointing out that "not everyone is expected to possess a developed ideal or ought self guide" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 19), and Dörnyei reemphasizes his view of the motivational power of possible selves when he suggests that a lack of an ideal or ought self "can explain the absence of sufficient motivation in many people" (p. 19). Dörnyei would thus appear to suggest that learners in a study such as the present study would be more highly motivated if the L2-related goals and ideas that they already possessed were strengthened, through visualization, such that they become full-blown ideal L2 selves.

Thus, in order to determine whether or not the ideal L2 self may serve as an important motivator in the context of the present study, there is perhaps relatively little need to focus on the extent to which the construct *exists* in this context. Rather, there is perhaps a need to focus on the extent to which the factor that forms the "crucial distinction" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 15) between goals and possible selves—visualization or an experiential component—is in fact motivationally necessary, or whether L2-relevant goals lacking such a component may in themselves act as powerful motivators to learn an L2.

5.3.1.2 Ideal L2 self: Motivational role.

Markus and Nurius (1986) argue that possible selves "provide a conceptual link between cognition and motivation" (p. 954), and Dörnyei (2009) claims that the ideal L2 self "is a powerful motivator to learn the L2" (p. 29). Dörnyei also cites Higgins (1987, 1986) in arguing that the motivational power of the ideal L2 self may derive from learners' desire to reduce the discrepancy between their current self and their ideal L2 self. The following paragraphs examine the extent to which comments made by interview participants in the present study offer evidence that

the ideal L2 self functions as an antecedent of L2 motivation in the context of the study and, by extension, in general.

Given Dörnyei's (2009) argument that the "crucial distinction" (p. 15) between future goals and possible selves lies in individuals' experiencing or genuinely visualizing their future goals, an important function of this section is to determine to what degree L2-related goals that *lack* a visualization component may still serve to motivate learners. Evidence that mere L2-related goals can serve as effective motivators would perhaps represent a reason to question the extent to which a central and defining feature of the ideal L2 self is relevant to learners' L2 motivation.

This study—and this section in particular—employs relatively narrow criteria in determining what sort of interview data constitute examples of L2 motivation being affected (positively or negatively) by a learner's ideal L2 self or by L2-relevant goals: It is not considered sufficient for a learner's comments about being motivated to be temporally proximal (either in the interview or in the learner's life) to comments that represent the ideal L2 self. Rather, this section generally only considers comments exemplary of the ideal L2 self affecting motivation when the participant herself makes a statement of causal belief (Stratton, 1997) linking some sort of desired future end-state to motivation (or linking an absence of a relevant, desired future end-state to a corresponding lack of motivation).

In all interviews, participants were asked, usually later in the interview, whether there were times during their L2 learning when they felt more or less motivated, or whether there were times when they were putting in more effort or less effort. Learners' responses to such questions provided some of the clearest data on the factors that play roles in determining learners' motivation levels.

One of the clearest instances of a learner attributing their motivation to the existence and pursuit of an L2-related goal was apparent in Kahu's reply to a question about whether his teachers might have played any role in his being more motivated or less motivated. Kahu described his teacher as serving, to some extent, as a role model on which Kahu had perhaps modelled his own ideal L2 self:

Interviewer: Did you ever feel like your teachers had a role in making you feel more motivated and less motivated at different times?

Kahu: Yep, yep, […] one big one is probably with my kaiako [teacher], Mike, raising his kids speaking Māori. So they're native speakers, his kids. So definitely looking at that as an inspiration, and that's definitely one I want to do with my kids.

Other comments from Kahu regarding his plans for a te reo-speaking family (see section 5.3.1.1.2. and 7.2.4) indicated that there was likely some degree of visualization in Kahu's future family plans. Thus, Kahu's responding to a question about motivation by talking about his hopes for a te reo-speaking family may be seen to indicate that he was personally aware of a link between his here-and-now motivation and his plans for the future.

Two other interview quotes that might be considered evidence of an ideal L2 self having a positive effect on motivation were examples where the link between the future end-state and motivation was clear, but where the ideal L2 self component was only arguably representative of Dörnyei's (2009) construct—i.e., there was strong evidence that learners' L2-relevant goals or plans affected their motivation, but there was insufficient evidence that such goals or plans involved the visualization or experiential elements that distinguish ideal L2 selves from mere goals.

Hayley, when asked to talk about the times when she was most motivated and most excited about learning German, said, "Year 12 [of high school] I was pretty excited, 'cause I knew I was going to be going to Germany […] and so, you know, you really want to put in that effort."

Similarly, Finn said that he was "the most motivated" to learn Chinese when he was starting "and then before I went to Taiwan." The following comment shows how Finn's planned trip to Taiwan motivated him to improve his Chinese:

"[…] and then, like before I was going to Taiwan, I wanted to make sure I'd improve on things like speaking so I'd be able to communicate easily"

Both Hayley and Finn demonstrated instances of learners being motivated by imminent plans for travel or study abroad—plans which can easily be seen as L2-related goals; however, neither's comments include the kinds of "self-relevant imagery" characteristic of genuine possible selves (see further, section 5.3.1.1).

Other participants' comments may also be taken as evidence of the existence of a positive relationship between the ideal L2 self and motivation, but in a negative sense—i.e., participants exhibited links between an absence of an ideal L2 self and a corresponding lack of motivation. Carla, for example, cited a lack of a future in French as causing her to lack motivation with regard to learning the language:

> " […] it was sort of … I don't know if I'll ever use it [French]. And I think that helped—er, didn't help—with, yeah, motivation"

Another example of a learner's lack of ideal L2 self having a negative effect on motivation is seen in a comment made by Cara:

> "I did [Spanish] by correspondence [distance learning], but I didn't do well, 'cause I don't have a lot of motivation to do something by myself […] if I can't see a future in it."

The interview data discussed so far in this section plainly demonstrate that learners' L2-relevant goals or plans (or lack thereof) have the ability to exert a causative effect on learners' motivation. As such, it could be argued that the above comments represent evidence supporting Dörnyei's (2009) claim regarding the motivational power of the ideal L2 self. It should be noted, however, that Hayley and Finn represent examples of learners who appeared to be motivated by having L2-relevant plans or goals that did not obviously feature a visualization or experiential element. Similarly, it could be argued that, in the cases of Cara and Carla, the learners' lack of L2 motivation stemmed not simply from a lack of L2-related, self-relevant imagery, but from a total absence of relevant goals.

It is thus worth considering the possibility that L2-relevant goals or plans may serve as powerful motivational antecedents even when they do not involve the kinds of visualisation that Dörnyei (2009, 2014) argues distinguish possible selves (such as the ideal L2 self) from mere goals.

In proposing the ideal L2 self as a core construct of the L2MSS, Dörnyei (2009) argues that the construct acts as a powerful motivator to learn an L2 "if the person we would like to become speaks an L2" (p. 29) However, just as it is worth considering that self-relevant imagery may not be necessary in order for goals to serve as motivators, it is also worth considering the possibility that L2-relevant goals may motivate individuals *even if* such goals do not involve becoming a proficient user or speaker of an L2. Indeed, there is significant evidence in the present study's interview data that even grade-related proximal academic goals, which appear to involve neither visualization nor a plan to become a proficient L2 speaker, can have substantial effects on L2 learners' motivation levels.

When talking about times when she was more (and less) motivated to learn French, Carolyn said, "to be honest, I think it just comes down to how much it's worth—like, aca- academically." The following extract from Carolyn's interview shows just what she meant by this:

> "When I went from just like middle school stuff to NCEA [a national high-school qualification], I was like, uh-oh, OK, this is actual, like, this is NCEA Level 1. Like, I actually need to do well […] so I was, like, more motivated to do well that time than I had been in middle school."

Carolyn also described a similar situation regarding French at university:

> "So yeah, I basically thought, OK, if I really study hard, I can get the A-plus at the end of this semester. So that motivated me to study really hard."

A comment from Rhianna, regarding learning te reo at high school, echoes Carolyn's sentiments regarding academic goals:

"It was important to me to get good grades and to do well in the assessments, rather than necessarily just to learn stuff."

Similarly, Cat said that the time when she put in the most effort with French was during her penultimate year of high school, and she unmistakably showed that her motivation had to do with academic goals that were not specific to French:

"Probably the most effort would be year 12 […] because I was like, this is really hard. I've got so much to learn, and my—I knew that it was a really important year, because all the university halls [dorms] look at your results from year 12. So that was when I put in the most effort."

Proximal academic goals such as those of Carolyn, Rhianna, and Cat might be best described as L2-related instrumental goals; however, although it appears to have been Dörnyei's (2005) intention that the ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self would subsume instrumental goals, the *L2* aspect of Dörnyei's constructs does not obviously permit the inclusion of L2-related goals that are not necessarily tied to a learner's becoming a competent user of the L2 in the future. After all, getting an A-plus in a few weeks' time may involve explicit knowledge of grammar for a test, but it may not involve realizing any kind of L2-speaking self. Dörnyei (2009) does state that "internalized instrumental motives would typically belong to [the ideal L2 self]" (p. 29); however, it is unclear whether such internalized instrumental motives would still be considered to belong under the banner of the ideal L2 self if they do not involve a learner becoming a speaker of the L2.

Proximal academic goals do not represent the same phenomenon as learners becoming motivated as a result of receiving good or bad grades, which would come under the banner of the L2 learning experience (see section 5.3.3.2). Rather, although Carolyn's, Rhianna's, and Cat's comments show learners being motivated by a desire to achieve a future goal, these particular goals appear to be almost entirely about academic achievement, as opposed to relating specifically to the learners' L2s. The fact that the academic subject in which the learner wishes to achieve a good grade happens to be an L2 seems almost irrelevant.

Dörnyei (2009) makes it clear that the ideal L2 self is a possible self, and that a possible self is more than a goal in that it involves self-relevant imagery—i.e., visualization and/or an experiential element. Dörnyei also makes it clear that one's ideal self can serve as a powerful motivator to learn an L2 if such an ideal self is a speaker of an L2. However, the majority of the interview quotes presented in this section (5.3.1.2) may be seen as examples of learners being motivated by goals that do not clearly feature self-relevant imagery, and a number of the goals that appear to have motivated learners in this study do not even necessarily involve the learners aiming to become proficient future speakers of an L2.

The interview data presented and discussed in this section do not give cause to question Dörnyei's (2009) claim that the ideal L2 self "is a powerful motivator to learn the L2" (p. 29); in fact, Kahu's example appears to show just that. However, this study's interview data show that learners can be motivated by goals that lack some key features of the ideal L2 self. This in turn perhaps indicates a need to question the extent to which such key features are necessary, at least in the context of the present study.

5.3.2 Ought-To L2 Self

The following sections look at the extent to which interview data obtained in this study offered support for the existence and motivational relevance of the ought-to L2 self.

5.3.2.1 Ought-to L2 self: Existence.

Like the ideal L2 self, the ought-to L2 self is described by Dörnyei (2009) as a "future self-guide" (p. 29)—a term that Dörnyei appears to use as a parallel term for a possible self. However, in Dörnyei's specific description of the three components of the L2MSS, there is less emphasis on the "self" aspect of the ought-to L2 self than on this aspect of the ideal L2 self. While Dörnyei describes the ideal L2 self as "the L2-specific facet of one's 'ideal self'" (p. 29), his description of the ought-to L2 self speaks of a construct that simply "concerns the

attributes that one believes one ought to possess to meet expectations and to avoid negative outcomes" (p. 29). Dörnyei acknowledges the "self" aspect of the ought-to L2 self by stating that "This dimension corresponds to Higgins's ought self," but it should be noted that such a correspondence entails important differences between the ought-to and ideal L2 selves with regard to the extent to which, and the manner in which, each represents a future self that is "a reality for the individual" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 12).

While Markus and Nurius (1986) describe their concept of possible selves—including the ideal self—as something that is "represented in the same way as the here-and-now self" (p. 961), Higgins (1987) focuses less on the *real* aspect of the ought self, describing the construct as "your representation of the attributes that someone (yourself or another) believes you should or ought to possess (i.e., a representation of someone's sense of your duty, obligations, or responsibilities)" (p. 321). Higgins also describes the ought self in literary terms as similar to a hero's "sense of duty" (p. 961), which may be viewed as further evidence that this construct is perhaps more of an emotion or sentiment than something as tangible as Markus and Nurius's possible selves. Furthermore, Dörnyei's (2009) description of the ought self as having "usually been interpreted in the literature […] as someone else's vision for the individual" (p. 14) raises the possibility that, while an ought self may be "a reality" (p. 12) for somebody external to the individual in question, the ought self may not be so real for the individual themselves. Given that Higgins's definition of the ought self appears less focused on something that is a reality for the individual than does Markus and Nurius's definition of a possible self, it is perhaps reasonable to argue that the researcher analysing interview data should set the bar for what may be considered an ought-to L2 self somewhat lower than that for what may be considered an ideal L2 self. In order for interview data to be considered evidence of the existence of the ought-to L2 self, there is perhaps not such a clear need for "self-relevant imagery" or evidence that the (ought-to L2) self is "represented in the same way as the here-and-now self" (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 961).

There thus exists some degree of vagueness with regard to precisely what qualitative data might be considered evidence of an ought-to L2 self, and this

poses a challenge in the following paragraphs as regards the categorization of interview participants' comments as representative—or not representative—of a construct similar to the ought-to L2 self. In response to this challenge, this section begins by addressing those comments that best represent the ought-to L2 self, before moving to examine comments that are less representative of such a construct. The following paragraphs do not, however, attempt to explicitly categorize any comments as perfectly exemplifying the ought-to L2 self. Rather, this section discusses the extent to which participants' comments may be viewed as doing so.

It should be seen as significant that, of the five interview participants whose comments most strongly indicated the existence of a construct similar to the ought-to L2 self, four were learners of te reo. It is also significant that, of these four—two Māori learners and two non-Māori learners—it was the two Māori learners whose comments *best* exemplified ought-to L2 selves. The specific motivational effects of the L2 that a learner studies and that learner's ethnicity or HL learner status are issues that are addressed in chapter 7, however, and these are not explicitly discussed in the present chapter.

Throughout her interview, Marama (a Māori learner of te reo) made reference to her dad's "definitely active" encouragement of her te reo learning. She said that "there definitely was a time when I felt like he was just forcing it on me," and that "he kept pushing me to do it." Marama's dad was not her only source of "ought-to" feelings with regard to te reo, though: She also described her mum telling her, "you should know it [te reo]," and her friends saying, "you should learn your language."

Dörnyei's (2009) description of an ought self as "someone else's vision for the individual" could also be seen as being well represented by Marama's description of one of her high-school te reo teachers' hopes for her:

> "When [the teacher] came, he was just like, yeah, so passionate about the language, and just like, like, so much, like, hope and, like, aspiration for me. He's like, you know, you, like, you're going to go far. Like, you've got to do it."

As well as describing how other people acted as a source of ought-to feelings, Marama also made comments that bore a resemblance to Higgins' (1987) "sense of duty" (p. 961) when she hinted at a sense of personal, cultural obligation to learn te reo:

> "I'm just like, well, yeah, it's my culture, so I'm like, I really should know the language, like, of my forebears."

Such cultural obligation forming part of a construct similar to an ought-to L2 self was also exemplified by Kahu, another Māori learner of te reo. While Kahu described his mum as a big supporter of his efforts to learn te reo, it seemed that his ought feelings or feelings of obligation were largely characterized by a feeling of obligation to Māori culture, and perhaps even to the language itself:

> "So I see myself as, um, sort of requested by my ancestors to learn it now […] I do see myself as being obliged and requested."

It is certainly possible to view a statement such as this as exemplifying an ought-to L2 self, although the idea that an ought-to L2 self might be informed by the perceived aspirations of long-dead ancestors is surely very different from what scholars such as Higgins (e.g., 1987) and Dörnyei (2005, 2009) had in mind when they proposed their respective ought constructs.

The comments of two non-Māori learners of te reo, Rhianna and Gabrielle, could also be viewed, without any great stretch of the imagination, as representing something akin to an ought-to L2 self. Gabrielle spoke of what might be described as a feeling of national obligation with regard to her decision to begin studying te reo at university:

> "Well, I figure if I'm studying language and linguistics in New Zealand [and] I'm from New Zealand, I should probably learn a bit more Māori than counting to ten and the colours."

Asked if she felt at all obliged to learn te reo, though, Gabrielle responded as follows:

"I wouldn't say obliged. […] More, I feel it's an important part of New Zealand."

Rhianna said that her parents "want our whole family to become fluent in Māori"—a comment that perhaps conforms to the ought-to L2 self prototype in that it seems that Rhianna's parents had a particular L2 vision for their children, of which Rhianna was aware. Rhianna's ought-to L2 self also seemed to be something that originated in herself, though, as evidenced by her comment that, "as a medical student, I think it's important to understand at least basic Māori. […] It's a mark of respect."

The only learner of a language other than te reo who could be relatively easily viewed as possessing something akin to an ought-to L2 self was Melanie, a learner of French who had quit French by the time of her interview. Melanie described her parents as "really supportive" of her learning French, and indicated the existence of some sense of obligation in describing how she delayed telling some family members that she had quit French:

"I haven't told my grandparents yet, 'cause my grandma's—she was really happy that I was doing French, and I don't want to, like, make her disappointed."

Further examples of comments made by learners that could be viewed as relating to a construct akin to the ought-to L2 self were more vague, or less clearly representative of the construct. In many cases, learners described how others, particularly family members, encouraged them in their L2 studies; however, it is not clear that encouragement should be viewed as evidence of an ought-to L2 self if there is no evidence of feelings of obligation or expectation on the part of the learner (e.g., Dörnyei, 2009; Higgins, 1987). For example, Cat said a number of

times in her interview that her parents were "always really encouraging," and Cat also said that one of the reasons why she began learning French in high school was that "my parents really thought it was quite a good idea for me to maybe pick up a language." Cat did at one point describe her dad telling her that she "should" learn French, but it seemed that this may have been in response to Cat saying that she wanted to do so, and this may thus have been an example of Cat's dad encouraging her to do what she wanted to do, rather than an example of him pushing her to fulfil his vision for her:

"I was like, Dad, I really want to do this. He was like, […] yeah, you should do it"

Several other learners related similar situations to those of Cat. Henry spoke of how his parents "really encourage things like learning languages" to the extent that they paid for his second semester of university Russian. Lauren said that her mum was "quite excited" that she was studying German, but when asked if anyone would have been disappointed if Lauren stopped studying German, Lauren replied, "I don't think so. […] Maybe if I had run into my German teacher from high school." Bryony's comments perhaps came close to indicating the existence of an ought-to L2 self when she said that "everyone in the family […] definitely wanted me to do languages and all that," but there was nothing in Bryony's comments to suggest that her family's hopes instilled any feelings of obligation in her.

The comments of learners such as Cat, Henry, Lauren, and Bryony exemplify learners who experienced family encouragement but whose situations might not be accurately described as representing a construct similar to an ought-to L2 self. The situation of such learners is perhaps best summed up by a comment made by Lara, a learner of Chinese:

"My parents never pushed me to study [Chinese]. But they were always encouraging me to continue."

As was found to be the case with regard to the ideal L2 self, several learners interviewed in this study appeared to lack anything that could conceivably described as an ought-to L2 self. Such learners are not simply those who did not make mention of anything that could be viewed as representative of the construct; rather, they are those whose comments actively indicated a lack of any such construct. Carolyn, for example, when asked whether her parents influenced her in her decision to study French, responded as follows:

> "I think they liked […] that I was learning about another culture and stuff, um, but nah, they didn't really [influence me]. Not really, no."

Similarly, Cara indicated a lack of ought-to L2 self through her description of her mum's attitude to her learning Spanish, which she described as "seems like a good idea. If that's what you want to do, go for it."

Two other learners who appeared to lack ought-to L2 selves, Margaret and Maddie, provided interesting examples of what might almost be viewed as inverse ought-to L2 selves—situations where others' attitudes were almost *dis*couraging. Margaret, who was studying te reo while working as a science researcher at a New Zealand university, described how, in her field, there was an attitude that "[researchers] should be spending their time in the lab." Margaret had the following to say with regard to her work situation:

> "The fact that I could be doing something else as, you know, not-sciency as a language—yeah, it wasn't strongly encouraged."

Maddie, a learner of Japanese, described her mum's attitude to her choosing to learn Japanese in simple terms:

> "Um, my mum thought it was a bad idea."

Maddie went on to say that her mum's attitudes may have had to do with her mum's belief that Maddie, whose grandmother was an important figure in the

local Māori community, should be learning te reo. Maddie also suggested that her mum's belief that learning Japanese was "a bad idea" may have stemmed from the fact that Maddie was putting "more effort into [Japanese] than into my other classes."

Overall, comments made by learners offer some evidence for the existence of a construct similar to the ought-to L2 self in the study context; however, it could also be said that the majority of participants did not say anything that could easily be considered representative of such a construct. The fact that the ought-to L2 self is arguably a somewhat more vaguely defined construct than the ideal L2 self means, however, that it is perhaps tenable to consider less prototypical examples of "ought" situations as representative of weak ought-to L2 selves. Conversely, though, this same lack of certainty with respect to what exactly constitutes an ought-to L2 self (as discussed at the beginning of this section) also makes it difficult to say with certainty that any particular situation exemplifies the construct.

There is little in the interview data addressed in this section that could actively lead one to dispute the existence of a construct that might be described as similar to an ought-to L2 self. However, the significant number of learners who shared Lara's situation of never being "pushed" but always being "encouraged" brings into question the usefulness of describing L2-related motivational roles of others—particularly parents and family—in terms of a possible self. Without doubt, certain participants' comments indicated the existence of what could only be seen as "someone else's vision for the individual" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 14), with a prime example of this being Marama's description of her te reo teacher's aspirations for her. But the majority of the situations described by this study's interview participants could be described as mere encouragement, rather than as a genuine ought-to L2 *self*.

Under the heading "Empirical Validation of the L2 Motivational Self System" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 31), Dörnyei states that several studies conducted in the three years to 2009 had as their aim to "specifically test and validate" (p. 31) the L2MSS. Dörnyei further states that "the most important of these" (p. 31) are Al-Shehri (2009), Csizér and Kormos (2009), Ryan (2009), and Taguchi et al. (2009).

Given that Dörnyei (2009) claims that "All these studies found solid confirmation for the proposed self system," (p. 31) it is significant that Al-Shehri's study investigates neither the ought-to L2 self nor any analogous construct, and that Ryan's study, rather than examining the ought-to L2 self, looks at a simpler, more easily understood construct: parental encouragement.

It is worth considering that the term that Ryan employs—*encouragement*—may be a more fitting term than *ought-to L2 self* for describing the majority of the situations presented in this section (5.3.2.1); however, the question remains as to whether mere encouragement has effects on learners' motivation levels, or whether it is only feelings of obligation or expectation that have the power to drive learners' L2 learning motivation.

5.3.2.2 Ought-to L2 self: Motivational role.

The comments of only one interview participant, Marama, clearly indicated the ought-to L2 self having an impact on motivation levels. Interestingly, while many of the "ought-to" situations described in the previous section (5.3.2.1) might be best described as simple encouragement, comments made by Marama that indicate a relationship between motivation and the ought-to L2 self relate explicitly to feelings of obligation and to the expectations of others.

While a learner's immediate family may be the significant others who are most often connected with a learner's ought-to L2 self (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009), instances in which Marama's motivation was affected by something akin to the ought-to L2 self had to do, rather, with others who were not members of learners' immediate families. Perhaps the only example in the interview data of simple encouragement having positive effects on a learner's L2 motivation was Marama's description of how she responded positively to encouragement from her high-school friends:

> "My friends […] were like, Marama, you should learn your language, kind of thing. So, OK, like, good point."

Marama's "OK, like, good point" does not necessarily indicate that she became more motivated as a result of her friends' encouragement, but the fact that Marama made this comment in response to an interview question about what kept her studying te reo suggests that Marama was indeed implying that her friends' encouragement of her had positive motivational consequences.

When asked about times when she was most motivated to learn te reo, Marama described what might be viewed as an ought-to L2 self as playing a role. In this case, too, the ought construct was not tied to immediate family, but rather to te reo as a language. Describing how she was particularly motivated during the year when her interview took place, Marama showed how learning about the endangered status of te reo may have made her more motivated to learn the language:

> "learning the history of the language and, like, how in decline it is and, exactly, like how important it is, like, to the culture—I'd just be like, I wanna learn the language more."

Such comments suggest that feelings of obligation may positively affect learners' motivation levels, but a further comment by Marama shows that too much encouragement from others may, on occasion, have a negative effect on learners' motivation. Throughout her interview, Marama made reference to the strong encouragement that she received from her dad, and she also said that, at the time of the interview, she was grateful for it. However, she did describe a period during high school when her dad's level of encouragement appeared to be associated with a lack of motivation on Marama's part:

> "Yeah, there was definitely a time when I felt like [Dad] was just forcing it on me. And I was like, 'No, Dad. I don't want to do it. Like, I'm just, like, I'm over it."

In this quote, there is no direct evidence that her dad's expectations actually brought about a lack of motivation on Marama's part, although the fact that

Marama juxtaposes the "forcing" and being "over it" could be seen as implying this. Something Marama said later in the interview, though, was perhaps more indicative of a causal link. When asked about times when she was least motivated to learn te reo, Marama talked again about her unmotivated period of high school, but this time Marama appeared to list several factors that led her to be lacking in motivation at that time:

> "I was kind of like, oh, I don't want to do it. I just feel like all my friends are doing [other things] and I don't want to do this. And like, you know, like *Dad* [emphasis added]. Like, no-one even speaks it, kind of thing. Um, so yeah, the beginning [of high school] I was like, ooh, like, I can't be bothered doing it."

In this passage of the interview, Marama's dad (indicated in italics) seems to be cited as one of three reasons why Marama couldn't "be bothered" learning te reo. Without Marama's previous quote, this reference to Marama's dad might be meaningless, but because the previous quote shows that she felt, during the same period of high school, that her dad was "forcing" te reo on her, it seems probable that Marama's dad's insistence with regard to her learning te reo had a detrimental effect on Marama's motivation.

Marama's comments indicating a positive relationship between motivation and something similar to the ought-to L2 self are in line with a number of statistical L2MSS studies undertaken since Dörnyei's (2005) proposal of the self system (e.g., Taguchi et al., 2009; Csizér & Kormos, 2009). And Marama's comment indicating a negative relationship between the ought-to L2 self and motivation is also consistent with at least one previous study that identified a possible negative relationship between motivational strength and strength of ought-to L2 self (Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012).

Despite the fact that there is precedent for identifying both positive and negative relationships between the ought-to L2 self (or a similar construct) and L2 motivation, it might be more accurate to summarize this study's findings in this regard in terms of a finding for which there is even greater precedent in previous

studies: that there is, in many cases, very little relationship between the ought-to L2 self and L2 learning motivation (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; Papi & Teimouri, 2012).

Although Marama's comments do indeed demonstrate a link between obligations to (and encouragement from) others and L2 motivation, this must be viewed in the broader context of the qualitative component of the present study: Of 21 participants who were interviewed as part of this study, only 1 made comments that implied that the ought-to L2 self (or an analogous construct) played any role in determining motivation levels. In addition to these numerical indications that the ought-to L2 self may be a somewhat negligible predictor of L2 motivation, it is important to note that Marama was an HL learner of an endangered indigenous language, and may thus be viewed as a somewhat atypical L2 learner.

Interview data discussed in this section echo the findings of previous studies in indicating that the ought-to L2 self *can* affect L2 motivation (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009), but that in many cases its effect on motivation is either non-existent (e.g., Kormos et al., 2011), marginal (e.g., Kormos & Csizér, 2009), or negative (Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012).

5.3.3 L2 Learning Experience

This section follows the pattern of the previous sections. It first addresses evidence offered in interview data for the existence of the L2 learning experience as a construct and then looks at qualitative evidence of the role that the construct and its elements play in determining L2 learners' motivation levels. In contrast to the sections devoted to the ideal and ought-to L2 selves, however, this section looks only briefly at the question of whether L2 learning experience exists, with the majority of this section devoted to examining the ways in which the construct affects learners' motivation. The reason for not focusing on the construct's existence is that there is little in previous research or in the present study's data

that indicates a need to question the existence of L2 learning experience as a construct.

5.3.3.1 L2 learning experience: Existence.

The idea of a construct similar to L2 learning experience has been around as long as the field of L2 motivation research itself. In one of the most important early publications on L2 motivation, Gardner and Lambert (1972) investigated the motivational role of learners' attitudes to the learning situation. Forty-five years on, there is relatively little difference between Gardner and Lambert's construct and Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 learning experience, which Dörnyei (2009) states relates to "the immediate learning environment (e.g. the impact of the teacher, the curriculum, the peer group, the experience of success)" (p. 29).

In previous studies (e.g., Lamb, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009), learners have communicated the extent to which their L2 learning experiences were positive or negative either through Likert-type test batteries, or through describing experiences in interviews. In the present study, too, interview participants described many aspects of their L2 learning experiences, and interview data showed that, in many cases, learners were able and willing to make judgements with regard to whether their L2 learning experiences—or aspects thereof—were largely positive or negative. Cat, for example, clearly demonstrated a positive appraisal of her Spanish L2 learning experience, and of a particular aspect of that experience, when she made the following statement:

> "I've been learning Spanish for a year and a half now, and I just love it. I love—the lecturers are awesome!"

Another student of Spanish, Cara, described a negative L2 learning experience in unambiguous terms:

> "I found the class incredibly dull. […] The fact that it was so basic, and the teacher was not very good at her job. She didn't make the class very interesting, and it felt like she didn't want to be there."

These comments, and numerous other comments made by interview participants serve as a reminder that anyone who learns a language has an L2 learning experience, which may include positive, negative, or neutral elements.

5.3.3.2 L2 learning experience: Motivational role.

Dörnyei (2009) indicated that one's experience of learning an L2 can affect one's motivation when he said that, for some language learners, "the initial motivation to learn a language does not come from internally or externally generated self images but rather from successful engagement with the actual language learning process" (p. 29). In line with the vast majority of previous studies that have examined the motivational relevance of L2MSS variables (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009), this study's interview data showed that learners can indeed be motivated by successful engagement with the L2 learning process, and data also showed that motivation loss can occur when the language learning process does not successfully engage learners.

Participants made, in total, about 10 comments that could be viewed as linking the ideal L2 self (or L2-related goals) to motivation, and seven comments that could be seen to indicate the ought-to L2 self having an effect on motivation. In contrast, learners made nearly 80 comments that could be seen to link aspects of their L2 learning experience to their motivation levels. Furthermore, 18 of the 21 interview participants made comments that appeared to link L2 learning experience to motivation, as compared with between six and eight for the ideal L2 self, and two for the ought-to L2 self.

Of course, such numerical superiority does not alone prove the importance of L2 learning experience as a predictor of motivation. The range and specificity of learners' comments also clearly demonstrate the construct's substantial role in determining learners' motivation levels, and learners' comments also demonstrate that the causal effect exerted by L2 learning experience on motivation can be both positive and negative: Learners attributed increases in motivation to positive, enjoyable L2 learning experiences, and learners also attributed motivation loss to negative, unenjoyable L2 learning experiences.

The sections of this chapter that have addressed the motivational role of the ideal and ought-to L2 selves were able, by virtue of a relative lack of data, to examine a near-exhaustive collection of relevant comments made by participants. Given that participants made nearly 80 comments in relation to the motivational relevance of L2 learning experience, such an exhaustive treatment of comments is not possible here. This section instead looks at exemplary quotes that demonstrate the different categories of L2 learning experience that learners identified as affecting their motivation, and at the positive and negative ways in which different aspects of learners' L2 learning experiences affect motivation.

The following paragraphs begin by looking at the role of the teacher and then continue to look at the motivational role played by the content of lessons. Following this, there is an examination of the motivational relevance of learners' experiences of success and failure, which is in turn followed by several paragraphs dealing with the role of general enjoyment (or lack thereof).

Cara's comment, below, shows that her first Spanish teacher was inspiring in a way that could be seen as motivating:

> "I really enjoyed my first teacher. I thought he was great and really nice and made me really excited to learn about things."

Cara's comment shows how aspects of the teacher's personality had the effect of making Cara "excited to learn." Another teacher-related comment, this one from Marama, shows that a learner's perceptions of their teacher's feelings about the L2 that they are teaching can also affect a learner's motivation:

> "He was just really interactive—really engaging. And yeah, he was just really passionate about the language, and so he was very passionate about teaching it. Um, so obviously when you've got a very enthusiastic, passionate teacher, it, like, rubs off on you, so, you know, you want to do it."

Of course, if an "enthusiastic, passionate teacher" makes a learner more motivated, it stands to reason that a teacher lacking such characteristics might have the opposite effect. Another comment from Marama showed that this can indeed be the case. When asked about the times when she was least motivated to learn te reo, Marama cited the "beginning of high school." She said that what she was taught was "really basic," and she described her teacher as follows:

> "[…] And, like, my teacher wasn't very interested, or didn't seem very passionate about it. So, exactly, she just felt like, you know, came in, sat down, she was like, 'OK. Here's some stuff. Learn it.' That's it, kind of thing. Yeah, so definitely that beginning of high school."

When asked about the times when she was least motivated to learn German, Hayley also described being less motivated because of a teacher who was less exciting:

> "Year 11 a little bit less [motivated], because I had a teacher who was a little bit less exciting."

Closely associated with the teacher is the content that is taught in classes: Several learners' comments indicated that the content of classes, including the types of assignments, made them more or less motivated. Sophie, for example, described how a French assignment motivated her because it related to something she was interested in—sport:

> "When it was something that I was interested in, I really wanted to do it. Like, last semester, we had to do a pastiche […] and we were allowed to choose whatever text we want. So I picked something to do with sport […] so I did a historical documentary on the Tour de France. And, like, I just couldn't stop writing it. I pretty much finished it as soon as I started, because I just found it really, really interesting."

Sophie went on to explain that working on topics she was less interested in could make her less motivated:

> "But then if I had to do, in previous years, an assignment on fashion or—I don't know—global warming or—I don't know—some historical person in France, it wasn't really something that I was super interested in, so I wasn't really keen."

Speaking more generally, Sophie summed up the relationship between class content and her motivation as follows:

> "If I'm really interested and I understand something, then I'm really motivated to do it and try really hard. And if I don't really get it, or I can't be bothered, then I'm kind of like, 'Uff, I'm not really going to try'"

A major component of L2 learning experience that participants cited as affecting their motivation levels was success, or its evil twin—failure. When Carolyn was asked about why she thought she was more motivated at some times than at others, her answer included the following:

> "Last semester I was really motivated just because, um, I was doing well in the tests. I thought, oh, if I study really hard, I can do really, really well. I'm weird like that. If I'm doing well, I'm more motivated than if I'm not doing well."

Carolyn's comment plainly shows how academic success can serve to increase a learner's motivation levels, and her comment also shows that, in her case, success was motivating, to some extent, by virtue of the fact that it stimulated the creation of more ambitious L2 goals (doing "really, *really* well"). The final part of Carolyn's comment demonstrates that a lack of success can lead to a decrease in motivation. While Carolyn's comments are valuable in providing an insight into the relationship between L2 success and L2 motivation, Carolyn was mistaken in

one respect: She is certainly not "weird" in being more motivated when she is doing well. Other participants' comments exhibit precisely the same phenomenon, in regard to both academic L2 success and broader, extramural L2 success. Describing being on exchange in Germany, Hayley unmistakably demonstrated the motivating power that feelings of success can have:

> "And then in Germany, of course. It was hard, and there were times when I just wanted to give up. But then you have a sudden breakthrough. It's so worth it. So that was mostly very motivating."

In a similar way, Kahu described in emphatic terms how feeling that he was progressing with te reo helped to keep him motivated:

> "It's just knowing you're getting better and able to hold a conversation for just that wee bit longer, that 30 seconds longer. Knowing a lot more, being able to express your thoughts in a Māori way. You know—it's amazing! It just warms the spirit, bro. It just keeps you going and going and going, you know? It keeps you motivated."

Bryony showed through her comments that, while L2 success affected her motivation, the motivational role of success was tied up with the role of more general enjoyment of L2 learning. Bryony said that she "really enjoyed [French] in high school because I was doing really well, and it just makes you more motivated." In this case, Bryony's comment seems to indicate that success was a cause of both motivation and enjoyment; however, other comments made by Bryony indicate that enjoyment had a direct, positive impact on Bryony's L2 motivation and in fact strongly indicate that success, enjoyment, and motivation may all feed into each other. During discussion of this point in her interview, Bryony was asked whether she enjoyed French more because she was doing well with it, or whether she did well with it because she was enjoying it. She answered as follows:

"Yeah, they tie in well together … you have to enjoy it to do really well—I mean, for me, anyway. Um, whatever I enjoy, I'm always going to work harder at. So that definitely works in that way. But I always get a bit of a sort of boost when I'm doing well, as well. So that makes me happier, I guess."

Bryony also described the relationship between enjoyment and motivation in simpler terms:

"when you enjoy things more at uni, you are more motivated with the study."

Bryony was in no way the only participant to express such sentiments regarding the role of general enjoyment in motivation. When asked about the times when she had been most motivated in her German study, Lauren described finding herself more motivated when she found herself enjoying German again after a period when she had been enjoying it less:

"Yeah, so, like, after the summer and that semester where I hadn't enjoyed it as much, [I] came back to it, and I was just like, yeah—I was like, yeah, I like this again. So those were probably my main times when I was really motivated to learn it."

A comment from Gabrielle about the motivating power of her study abroad year in Costa Rica showed that enjoying learning Spanish made her motivated not just with regard to learning Spanish, but also with regard to learning other languages:

"I think, because I had so much fun learning Spanish, it's really motivated me to keep going and learn other languages."

Looking at the opposite situation, Kahu showed how unenjoyable L2 learning experiences, combined with a sense of failure, can have the effect of sapping a

learner's motivation. When asked about the times when he was least motivated, Kahu answered as follows:

"Probably after making … I don't know—probably after getting corrected a lot on my errors. I was just like, oh nah, stuff it, then. You know? I hate the embarrassment. I'm not going to do it anymore. What's the point? So you get very lethargic and just have no motivation at all to learn the language."

The examples addressed so far in this section can be roughly summed up as indicating that positive, enjoyable experiences entail greater motivation, while negative, unenjoyable experiences may result in less motivation. However, one component of the L2 learning experience cited by a several participants as making them more motivated shows that the situation may be somewhat more complex. Five participants gave examples of how finding classes challenging had served to motivate them. This is particularly worthy of note, given that finding learning activities difficult might not necessarily be described as a positive, enjoyable experience.

While learners such as Bryony and Carolyn described being motivated by doing well in tests, Julie described being more motivated because she wasn't doing so well in tests:

"I'm probably more motivated this term because, I realise, and the tests we've done this semester we haven't done so well, because I hadn't done the homework. And of course it's harder."

Julie went on to clarify why she was more motivated during the semester when her interview took place:

"[…] because I need to be [more motivated], because it's actually harder. Yeah, it's harder and […] having done really well last semester, I need to

be more motiv—I am more motivated to do the extra work to try and do as well this semester."

Although she didn't make specific reference to grades, Cat also cited finding a class challenging as motivating her to work harder:

"This semester I've put the most effort in for Spanish because […] my [Spanish] commerce paper is so hard. It's the one I have to learn all the tenses for and stuff like that."

The motivational role of finding classes challenging does not appear straightforward, however, as Carla showed that finding French class challenging led her to be less motivated:

"[…] not understanding the content, it made me not want to go to class as much."

Somewhat in contrast with Carla, Marama described lacking motivation to learn te reo when she felt that she wasn't being sufficiently challenged. When asked about the times when she was least motivated to learn te reo, Marama responded as follows:

"Um, so, beginning of high school, where I felt like the content was really basic. Um, I felt like I wasn't being, like—exactly, so I wasn't being pushed past that, like to higher learning."

Understanding how encountering challenges in L2 learning relates to increases and decreases in motivation at first appears complicated, and perhaps even somewhat paradoxical, given that encountering challenges appears to have the potential to push learners' motivation levels either up or down. It is important to consider, though, that individuals can derive enjoyment from being challenged and overcoming challenges. Indeed, in a chapter dedicated to the roles of

enjoyment and anxiety in L2 learning, Dewaele and MacIntyre (2016) cite Csikszentmihalyi (2004) in saying that enjoyment "can be defined as a complex emotion, capturing interacting dimensions of challenge and perceived ability that reflect the human drive for success in the face of difficult tasks" (Dewaele & MacIntyre, p. 216). Furthermore, Csikszentmihalyi (1996) describes a "balance between challenges and skills" (p. 6) as one of the building blocks of the motivation-related mental state of flow (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1996).

This study's collection of comments from learners whose motivation appears to have been affected by finding classes sufficiently or insufficiently challenging indicates a need to strike a balance such as that described by Csikszentmihalyi (1996): In order to achieve optimal motivation levels, it seems that learners need to find classes challenging enough that they put in effort in order to succeed, but not so challenging that they struggle or feel that success is unlikely—particularly given that learners in this study cited struggling and receiving bad marks as reasons why they ceased L2 studies (see section 6.3.1.1.2). Given that different individuals almost certainly have different thresholds for feeling challenged or feeling that they are struggling, striking the optimal balance for fostering motivation may not be a simple task.

The role that feelings of being (sufficiently, overly, or insufficiently) challenged can play with regard to motivation show that the relationship between motivation and the positivity of a learner's L2 learning experience may not be perfectly linear. However, the number, breadth, and detail of interview data indicating that aspects of the L2 learning experience affect L2 motivation may be seen to suggest, in line with a number of previous studies (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009) that L2 learning experience is the most important of the L2MSS's components.

5.3.4 Non-L2 Goals

This section covers the existence and possible motivational role of a novel construct introduced in this study (see section 2.6): non-L2 goals. It is important

to note that, while the ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, and L2 learning experience are considered positive antecedents of L2 motivation (e.g., Taguchi et al., 2009; Kormos et al., 2011), non-L2 goals are proposed as a negative predictor of learners' L2 motivation levels.

5.3.4.1 Non-L2 goals: Existence.

The non-L2 goals construct proposed in this study is, to a large extent, the inverse of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) ideal L2 self, although non-L2 goals do not necessarily feature the visualization and experiential components that Dörnyei (2009) argues distinguish possible selves from goals. Because non-L2 goals do not necessarily involve such an experiential element, virtually all non-L2 plans or hopes that learners possess can be confidently classified as non-L2 goals, whereas many interview participants' L2-related goals lacked the experiential components that would have permitted their being classed as ideal L2 selves. Participants nonetheless varied in the extent to which their comments could be considered evidence of the existence of non-L2 goals, and, in the paragraphs that follow, the first comments examined are those that can be described as representing non-L2 goals. This section then looks at three learners who appeared not to maintain or possess any non-L2 goals.

Of all the study's interview participants, Melanie, Carla, Lara, Bryony, and Erin provided the clearest examples of learners with non-L2 goals. Melanie described how, when she was at school, she had hopes (which could be viewed in ideal L2 self terms) of "living in France and using French everyday," but she also described how that changed around the time she left school:

> "I decided to do health sciences because I wanted to become a doctor. And I was like, I'll be a doctor in New Zealand. So that kind of stopped the France idea."

Melanie's plan to become a doctor in New Zealand could, with no hesitation, be described as a goal. Her goal of becoming a doctor in New Zealand did not, however, involve speaking an L2. If Melanie's life plan at this time were to be

framed in terms of an ideal self, Melanie's ideal self clearly lacked what Dörnyei (2009) refers to as "the L2 specific facet" (p. 29).

Carla also exhibited a lack of any L2-specific facet in her description of her long-term, career-related goals. Carla described having read about somebody working as a genetic counsellor and said that genetics and psychology were "something I really want to make part of my—part of my future." Carla also said that she would "love to live in New Zealand" in future, and when asked whether French was very likely to be important in her future, Carla replied, "probably not."

Erin, an HL learner of Japanese, did not exhibit great specificity in relating what might be described as her non-L2 goals, but it was evident from her comments that she did not plan to use her L2 to any great extent in her future. Erin was majoring in food science at university, and when she was asked whether she saw her future in food science more than in Japanese, Erin answered, "Yeah, I'd rather work in the food science industry."

Lara's situation was similar to that of Erin in that, although she didn't relate any specific plans regarding her future, it was evident from her comments that she had no immediate plans to make extensive use of Chinese. With regard to living and working in China, Lara said that she would "never rule it out," but another comment that Lara made could be viewed as representing a non-L2 goal that Lara intended to pursue:

> "My partner and I have already got plans for future, and we're probably going to stick around [a New Zealand city] for a while, and I don't know if [going to China] is the direction we're going to take."

In her interview, Bryony expressly stated that she was planned to enter the police force, and was not pursuing a career related to the L2s that she was studying:

> "I really enjoy languages; I really enjoy linguistic;, but I don't think it's what I want to do as an actual career."

Lauren's, Cara's, and Cat's comments indicate that these learners should not be viewed as possessing or maintaining non-L2 goals. Lauren appeared to be an example of someone who lacked a non-L2 goal, but who also exhibited little in the way of an ideal L2 self: Lauren's comments indicated very minimal plans for the future. In fact, she explicitly said, "I'm not very like, 'This is my ten-year plan.' I'm like, we'll see what happens." Specifically regarding her degree (Lauren was majoring in politics but also studying German), Lauren said the following:

"I really have no idea what I'm going to do with my degree, or if I'm going to do some form of other study or something. So, I mean, I guess it would really just depend on how I was feeling at the time."

While Lauren, Cara, and Cat's comments all appear to represent a lack of non-L2 goals, the ways in which their comments do so are very different. Whereas Lauren appeared to lack future plans in general, Cara and Cat may be viewed as lacking non-L2 goals precisely because they *did* have ideas for the future, and because all of their future ideas involve use of an L2.

In her interview, Cat was asked whether any of her ideas for the future didn't involve speaking Spanish or French. Her response was as follows:

"No. I … no, without a doubt, I want to spend my life—I would learn as many languages as I can. Um, and I—I can't see my life without a language in it now."

Cara's comments echoed those of Cat: While she had plans for the future, none of Cara's plans involve *not* using Spanish. Asked whether she had any specific ideas that wouldn't involve Spanish, Cara answered as follows:

"No, cause if [working as a hospital interpreter] doesn't—if I don't do that, I'll be a teacher. And, ah, I'm actually already working as a content generator at [an online language teaching company]."

As the comments covered in this section demonstrate, there is certainly evidence for the existence of a construct akin to non-L2 goals, but the larger question that is asked in this chapter, with respect to non-L2 goals, is whether the construct might play a (negative) role in determining learners' L2 learning motivation.

5.3.4.2 Non-L2 goals: Motivational role.

Although participants made a number of comments that clearly indicated the existence of non-L2 goals, relatively few comments demonstrated that the construct played a significant motivational role. This is in contrast with the interview data related to learners continuing and quitting, in which non-L2 goals were shown to play a very significant role (see chapter 6). Of the two participants whose comments did explicitly link non-L2 goals to L2 motivation, both linked a lack of motivation to the greater relative importance of other academic subjects that they were studying at university, rather than to more distant, career-related non-L2 goals, such as those presented in the previous section (5.3.4.1).

Lauren clearly indicated through her comments that her motivation to work hard in German at university was adversely affected by the fact that it was not the most important of her classes with respect to her degree:

> "German, I think, was the thing where I was like, it's not going to affect my degree as much, because it's not my major, and it's not my minor. So, if it falls a little bit, it's not as drastic as if some of my other subjects fall a bit. So I think, yeah … that was probably, yeah, I just—I wasn't trying very hard."

As mentioned in the previous section (5.3.4.1), Lauren did not appear to have any specific long-term, or career-related, non-L2 life goals; however, her comment shows that more short-term goals—in this case getting a degree—can also lead to a lesser expenditure of effort on learning an L2.

The only other learner whose comments appeared to link non-L2 goals to motivation, Henry, described a similar situation to Lauren's with regard to the relative importance of his L2 to his degree as a whole:

"I mean, even though Russian's quite fun, it definitely—because I'm doing a computer science degree—it falls down the list on my priorities."

Henry did not specifically state that the lower place of Russian in his priority hierarchy entailed a lack of motivation, but his comment implies that he may have been putting less effort into Russian than into his other university subjects. This reading of the previous comment is confirmed by another of Henry's comments regarding his Russian motivation. When asked about the times when he was least motivated in his Russian learning, Henry answered as follows:

"Yeah, probably when I've got lots of other assignments from other classes that are a bit more pressing—that's when I'm least motivated."

Henry's and Lauren's comments plainly show the ability of non-L2 goals to negatively affect motivation levels; however, the fact that only two learners out of 21 explicitly demonstrated the motivational relevance of the construct may be seen to indicate that non-L2 goals are not as important a motivational antecedent as L2 learning experience or ideal L2 self (or L2-related goals). Henry's and Lauren's comments do, however, suggest a need for L2 motivation scholars to at least consider the importance of learner goals that do not appear immediately related to L2 learning.

5.4 Synthesis of Qualitative Findings and Quantitative Results: Research Question 1

This section brings together the study's statistical and qualitative findings and examines what the combined findings suggest with regard to what determines

learners' L2 motivation levels, and particularly with regard to the role that the L2MSS and its components may play in determining motivation.

This section begins by briefly examining and discussing the qualitative and quantitative evidence for the existence of the ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience, and non-L2 goals. This section then looks one at a time at the roles of the ideal L2 self (L2-related goals), ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience, and non-L2 goals as antecedents of L2 motivation, paying attention to how the findings of the present mixed-methods study relate to the findings of previous L2MSS studies.

Finally, an overall discussion looks at what the findings have to say about the L2MSS as a model of L2 motivation, and an alternative model, which draws on the L2MSS, is proposed.

5.4.1 Existence of L2MSS Constructs

A large number of previous L2MSS studies have sought to verify the existence of the central components of this model of L2 motivation. The majority of studies, though, have undertaken to do so through statistical analysis of survey data (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009; Ryan, 2009), and few have employed qualitative methods (Lamb, 2009; Lanvers, 2012) or sought to triangulate findings through a mixed-methods approach (Magid, 2009). The present study investigated the existence of the central constructs of the L2MSS through a mixed-methods study design that employed qualitative analysis of interview data and various statistical analyses of quantitative survey data.

Three statistical analyses were undertaken to determine the reliability of the Likert-type items employed in this study's initial survey: a CFA (see section 4.1), calculation of Cronbach's alpha estimates of internal reliability (see section 4.2), and construction of a correlation matrix (see section 4.2). Although the study successfully identified all L2MSS-related constructs investigated in the study, it is important to note that there are limitations to identifying constructs by such means as CFA and Cronbach's alpha estimates. Acceptable alpha values and CFA

goodness-of-fit measures essentially inform a researcher that he or she is successfully measuring *something*, but such numerical values may not satisfactorily indicate whether a researcher is in fact measuring what he or she intends to measure. In the context of the present study, for example, reliability measures indicated that several Likert-type items intended to measure learners' ideal L2 self did indeed measure the same *something*, but such satisfactory reliability measures do not necessarily mean that the *something* that was being measured was in fact something that bore a close resemblance to Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) ideal L2 self. Reliability and goodness-of-fit measures thus cannot be taken as unequivocal evidence of constructs' existence in the context of this study. It is therefore necessary to turn to this study's relevant qualitative findings in order triangulate data and ascertain the extent to which the constructs investigated did in fact exist in the study context.

5.4.1.1 Ideal L2 self.

Statistical analyses corroborated the findings of previous statistical studies (e.g., Taguchi et al., 2009; Islam et al., 2013) through successfully identifying the ideal L2 self. However, interview data (discussed in section 5.3.1.1) brought into question the extent to which the ideal L2 self measured by Likert-type survey items in this study's initial survey genuinely represented "'self states' that people experience as reality" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 16)—something that Dörnyei describes as "the key element" (p. 16) that makes possible selves more than simply goals.

While some comments made by this study's interview participants did indicate the existence of goals that involved the kinds of self-relevant imagery that Dörnyei claims characterize a possible self, most L2-related goals described by participants did not obviously feature visualization or an experiential component. This is perhaps in line with the findings of an earlier qualitative L2MSS study, in which Lamb (2009) stated that "not all the focal learners in [the] study had easily identifiable L2 self guides" (p. 243).

The relative lack of evidence in interview data of L2-related goals that feature visualization or an experiential element (see section 5.3.1.1) suggests that survey items employed to measure the ideal L2 self in this study's initial survey may in

fact have measured L2-related goals that may not have involved "the key element" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 16) of possible selves. Most Likert-type survey items that were intended to measure the ideal L2 self began with an expression such as "I can imagine myself (see appendix F, items 2, 9, 18, 32, 39) …"; however, a participant's endorsement of such an item does not necessarily indicate the existence of anything as tangible as a genuine ideal L2 self. Rather, being able to "imagine" oneself doing something in the future could indicate simply the existence of an idea or hope (see further, section 5.4.2).

The possibility that this study's quantitative measurement of the ideal L2 self may in fact have simply measured learners' L2-related goals does not bring into question Dörnyei's (2009) claim that an ideal L2 self can serve as a powerful motivator to learn an L2; in fact, Dörnyei plainly states that not everyone possesses an ideal self. This possibility does, however, bring into question the extent to which statistical relationships identified between the ideal L2 self and motivation in this study should be viewed as evidence supporting Dörnyei's claim. The possible implications of this with regard to the interpretation of this study's quantitative motivation-related findings are discussed in further detail in section 5.4.2.

5.4.1.2 Ought-to L2 self.

Although this study's successful statistical identification of the ought-to L2 self was in line with the majority of previous studies (e.g., Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009), the apparent existence of the construct was not entirely upheld by the study's qualitative data, which indicated that a genuine ought-to L2 self (as described by Dörnyei [2009]) may exist only for a small proportion of learners (see section 5.3.2.1). Average endorsement of Likert-type items relating to the ought-to L2 self in the initial survey was low among study participants ($M = 1.82$, $SD = 0.76$), and this may reflect the qualitative finding that the existence of a construct similar to the ought-to L2 self was marginal in many cases. Among interview participants whose comments indicated the existence of an ought-to L2 self, comments corresponded relatively well with the Likert-type items intended to measure the construct in the initial survey: Most survey items employed to

measure the ought-to L2 self included phrases such as "other people think it [learning the L2] is important," "people I respect think I should do it," and "to gain the approval of others" (see appendix F, items 4, 11, 15, 24, 41). Interview participants who appeared to possess an ought-to L2 self made comments analogous to such phrases. For example, Marama talked about how her dad "really wanted, like, me to be immersed in [te reo], and, like, to learn the language," and how her friends "were like, well it is a part of your culture, you should […] know it." Similarly, Kahu clearly described a situation where people he respected thought he should learn te reo when he described being "requested by my ancestors." Qualitative and quantitative data suggest that, in this study context, a minority of learners possessed an ought-to L2 self, but findings also indicated that the extent to which the construct was relevant to such learners' motivation levels might be minimal (see section 5.4.3).

5.4.1.3 L2 learning experience.

L2 learning experience, which may be seen as closely related to Gardner's (e.g., 1985) attitudes to the learning situation, to intrinsic motivation (e.g., Noels et al., 2000), and to Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2014, 2016) *foreign language enjoyment*, is one of the best-established constructs in the field of L2 motivation research. Indeed, it would be difficult to deny the existence of what the construct purports to measure: the degree to which a learner's experience of learning an L2 is enjoyable or otherwise. Acceptable CFA goodness of fit measures, high Cronbach's alpha scores, and innumerable comments made by interview participants give no reason to question the existence of L2 learning experience as a psychological construct in the study context. In successfully identifying this construct in the study context, this study aligns with all previous L2MSS studies that have investigated the construct (e.g., Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Islam et al., 2013; Taguchi et al., 2009).

5.4.1.4 Non-L2 goals.

Non-L2 goals were a novel construct in L2 motivation study, born partly of the widely accepted view that an individual may be less motivated to work toward a particular end if a more important or pressing end commands the individual's attention (e.g., Maslow, 1943).

Non-L2 goals were successfully statistically identified through both CFA and Cronbach's alpha measures, and Likert-type survey items employed to measure the construct bore a satisfactory resemblance to comments made by interview participants. Melanie's plan to become a doctor in New Zealand (see section 5.3.4.1), for example, echoes the non-L2 goals survey item that read, "A lot of my career goals don't require [L2]"; Bryony's comment that languages and linguistics weren't what she wanted to do "as an actual career" resembles the same survey item, and also resembles other non-L2 goals survey items, such as "Many of my future plans don't involve me using [L2]."

Both the qualitative and quantitative components of this study thus offer substantial evidence that many L2 learners possess non-L2 goals. Additionally, variation in interview participants' comments, and in the extent to which participants endorsed non-L2 goals items in the initial survey, show that significant differences existed between L2 learners with regard to the extent to which they possessed non-L2 goals, and with regard to the strength of such goals.

5.4.2 Ideal L2 Self and Motivation

Interpretation and discussion of this study's statistical results (sections 5.1.1 and 5.2.2) and qualitative findings (section 5.3.1.2) regarding the motivational role of the ideal L2 self reached a number of the same conclusions, but statistical and qualitative findings also differed in certain regards. Both components of this study found evidence of some sort of causal relationship between learners' L2-related goals and motivation. Qualitative and quantitative findings were also broadly in line with one another in finding that the causal effect exerted on motivation by the ideal L2 self was relatively weak, especially when compared with the causal effect exerted by L2 learning experience. Statistical findings in particular raised

the question of whether the ideal L2 self might be less motivationally relevant in the context of English-speakers learning L2s other than English than in the case of speakers of other languages learning English. Qualitative findings brought into question whether the ideal L2 self measured via survey items in the present study (and in previous studies) genuinely represents Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) conceptualization of the construct. This in turn raised the question of whether L2-related goals may be able to serve as effective motivators even when they lack the experiential or visualization component that Dörnyei (2009) argues distinguishes genuine possible selves from mere goals.

This section deals with the matters outlined above one at a time. It begins by addressing how the qualitative and quantitative components of this study complement one another in the identification of a relatively weak, yet significant, causal relationship between the ideal L2 self and motivation. This section then addresses questions raised by the qualitative data regarding this study's quantitative measurement of the ideal L2 self, and looks at what these questions may imply with regard to interpretation of the statistical findings of both this study and previous studies.

Analysis of statistical data revealed the existence of a substantial and significant correlational relationship between the ideal L2 self and motivation (see section 4.2), and, more notably, SEM results (see section 5.1.1 and 5.2.2) demonstrated that the ideal L2 self exerts a positive and statistically significant (but weak) causal effect on motivation. The existence of such a causal relationship is to some extent upheld by the findings of the qualitative component of this study, although interview participants' comments indicated that many of the L2-related goals that made learners more motivated lacked features that would permit them to be considered ideal L2 selves: While some learners appeared to be motivated by the existence of a genuine ideal L2 self (e.g., Kahu, see section 5.3.1.2), the number of learners who might accurately be described thus was very small. Additionally, the fact that several learners appeared to be motivated to achieve proximal academic goals (see section 5.3.1.2) suggests that learners' goals may be motivating even if such goals do not necessarily involve becoming a proficient L2 speaker.

The statistical finding that the ideal L2 self exerts a weak causal effect on learners' motivation may be seen as being partially corroborated by the qualitative finding that L2-related goals affected the motivation of some L2 learners. In this regard, the present study may be seen to align with a majority of previous L2MSS studies (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011; Magid, 2009; Papi, 2010; Taguchi et al., 2009; You et al., 2016). At the same time, though, two aspects of this study's findings suggest that the present study's findings regarding the motivational role of the ideal L2 self should be viewed as diverging somewhat from those of previous studies. First, the weakness of the causal effect indicated by both the qualitative and quantitative findings of this study may be seen to contrast with the relatively strong effect found in a number of previous studies, and may be seen to contrast particularly with Dörnyei and Ushioda's (2011) statement that the ideal L2 self has typically explained "more than 40 per cent of the variance [in motivation]" (p. 87). Second, if it is true, as suggested in section 5.4.1.2, that Likert-type survey items employed in this study's initial survey to measure the ideal L2 self may have in fact measured nothing more than the strength of learners' L2-related goals, this could have notable implications for the interpretation of this study's statistical findings regarding the motivational relevance of the ideal L2 self.

This first point gives cause to reconsider the idea (raised in section 5.2.2) that the motivational role of the ideal L2 self within the L2MSS may be smaller in situations where English-speakers are learning L2s than in situations where speakers of other languages are learning English. Although this study's qualitative data have little to say regarding *why* the effect of the ideal L2 self on motivation may have been smaller in this study than in most previous studies, qualitative data do lend weight to the finding that the construct's effect on motivation was particularly minimal in this study context—especially when compared with the role played by L2 learning experience. This study's data do not invite one to draw robust conclusions regarding the extent to which the minimal motivational role of the ideal L2 self in this study may have had to do with the fact that all learners were speakers of English and learners of non-English L2s, but the mere indication that such a factor may be relevant serves as a reminder that there is a general need

in the L2 motivation field for studies that focus on English-speaking learners and on learners of non-English L2s.

    With regard to the second point raised above, the possibility that Likert-type items employed to measure the ideal L2 self in this study's initial survey may have in fact measured little more than non-L2 goals could mean that, in this study, the causal statistical relationship between the "ideal L2 self" and motivation does not represent motivation being affected by the ideal L2 self. Rather the causal relationship identified could indicate that learners' motivation levels were influenced by simple L2-related goals. This could in turn suggest that the defining feature of the ideal L2 self (the "real" or experiential element) might not be as motivationally necessary as has been suggested by scholars such as Dörnyei (2005, 2009), at least in the context of the present study.

    The questions raised by this study's qualitative data with regard whether Likert-type items accurately measured ideal L2 selves may be seen to have implications that go beyond this study. The Likert-type items employed to measure the ideal L2 self in this study's initial survey were drawn, and somewhat adapted, from a number of earlier studies (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009; Ryan, 2009), and an examination of the items employed in these studies reveals a need to consider whether such items could be expected to measure the existence and/or strength of *genuine* ideal L2 selves (featuring an experiential component) or whether survey items employed in earlier studies may also, to some extent, have inadvertently measured the strength of mere L2-related goals. Like the present study, earlier statistical studies—which also made use of Likert-type items—used phrases such as "I can imagine …" in items intended to measure the ideal L2 self (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009; Ryan, 2009; You et al., 2016), but such studies also made use of items that did not obviously measure L2-related goals that learners experienced or visualized. Taguchi et al.'s (2009) surveys, for example, included an item that read, "The things I want to do in the future require me to use English," (p. 91); Ryan's (2009) survey featured an identical item, and also an item that read, "When I think about my future, it is important that I use English." Furthermore, as was pointed out in section 5.4.1.2, even endorsement of an item that begins "I can imagine …" does not necessarily

indicate visualization on the part of a learner. Such an expression could merely indicate the existence of an idea or, as with Cat's use of "I can see myself …" (section 5.3.1.1.1), the expression could be simply a commonly used idiom for expressing one's hopes or plans for the future. Quantitative studies that identified relationships between the ideal L2 self and imaginative capacities and tendencies (Al-Shehri, 2009; Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Kim & Kim, 2011; Magid & Chan, 2012) indicate that items used to measure the ideal L2 self in previous studies may have captured data on a construct that featured some degree of imagination or visualization, but it is nonetheless necessary to question the degree to which the construct measured in earlier studies genuinely represented the ideal L2 self as conceived by Dörnyei (2005, 2009).

If there are indeed reasons to question whether previous (statistical) studies measured genuine ideal L2 selves or merely L2-related goals, then perhaps the present study is not alone in raising questions about the extent to which the "key element" (Dörnyei, 2009, p.16) of possible selves is necessary in order for L2-related goals to be motivating. After examining Likert-type items employed in earlier L2MSS studies, perhaps studies such as Taguchi et al. (2009) and Ryan (2009) could also be seen to suggest that mere L2-related goals can be motivating. In fact, evidence of such a possibility may even be found in studies that have focused particularly on the visualization/experiential distinction between goals and possible selves: Magid and Chan's (2012) intervention programmes (see also Magid, 2014) aimed to motivate L2 learners by strengthening goals and possible selves, and, although there were clear examples in their findings of learners who had been motivated by the visualization component of the interventions, Magid and Chan also found that "As the participants' goals became more clear as a result of both programmes, they felt more motivated to study English" (p. 121). All participants in Magid and Chan's study took part in imagery activities, and the study's findings regarding the motivating power of clear goals perhaps give cause to wonder whether participants might have been similarly motivated if they had taken part in goal development activities that lacked an imagery component. Importantly, Magid (2014) also comments that his intervention programme "helped to improve my participants' attitudes towards learning English, which

made them want to devote more time and effort to learning English," (p. 284) and it is thus possible that motivational gains also came from this aspect of the intervention. In order to determine the extent to which the imagery component of the ideal L2 self is responsible for motivation, there is perhaps a need for more studies such as that of Al-Murtadha (2017), which essentially replicate Magid and Chan's study with the addition of a control group. Such studies would permit examination of the possibility raised by the present study's findings: that L2-related goals may serve as important motivators even when they lack a visualization or experiential component.

5.4.3 Ought-To L2 Self and Motivation

The statistical (see section 5.1.1) and qualitative (see section 5.3.2.2) findings of this study with regard to the motivational role of the ought-to L2 self are closely aligned and relatively straightforward. This section addresses the findings of both components of this study regarding the ought-to L2 self's apparent marginal effect on the motivation of participants, and questions whether the construct should continue to be seen as a central component of the L2MSS.

The results of SEM showed that the hypothesized causal pathway leading from the ought-to L2 self to motivation was non-significant, indicating that the ought-to L2 self exerts no significant causal effect on learners' L2 motivation. Furthermore, although there was significant correlation between the ought-to L2 self and motivation, the effect size of this correlation was very small ($r = 0.17$, $p < .001$). The finding that the ought-to L2 self is not a significant determiner of L2 motivation is largely upheld by qualitative analysis of interview data, which showed that a construct similar to the ought-to L2 self had a clear effect on motivation in the case of only one learner (see section 5.3.2.2).

With respect to this study's qualitative findings, the fact that the comments of only 2 out of 21 interview participants showed evidence of a construct similar to the ought-to L2 self affecting motivation could alone be seen as a sign that the construct plays only a marginal motivational role in the study context. However,

the fact that the participant whose comments showed evidence of an effect was a Māori learner of te reo could be seen to suggest that the construct may only be motivationally relevant under specific circumstances and may be irrelevant to L2 motivation for the majority of learners.

In discussing statistical results (section 5.2.3), it was pointed out that finding the ought-to L2 self to be somewhat irrelevant to motivation for most learners is in fact consistent with a large number of previous studies (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Kim & Kim, 2012; Kormos et al., 2011; Lamb, 2012; Li, 2014; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012). In fact, even in one of the very studies cited by Dörnyei (2009) as finding "solid confirmation for the proposed self system" (p. 31), Csizér and Kormos (2009) state that "the ought-to L2 self is not an important component of the model of language learning motivation in the investigated Hungarian sample" (p. 107). The majority of previous L2MSS studies have been quantitative in nature, and it is therefore of particular significance that a mixed-methods study such as the present one, undertaken in a novel context, produced similar findings to a host of earlier studies as regards the marginal role of the ought-to L2 self within the L2MSS. This study's findings should thus be viewed as contributing to a significant body of evidence that points toward a need to move away from viewing the ought-to L2 self as a construct that plays a central role in determining L2 learners' motivation levels.

Such a thought is in line with comments made recently by several L2 motivation scholars, including, notably, Dörnyei and Chan (2013), who stated that, while "externally sourced self images [such as the ought-to L2 self] do play a role in shaping the learners' motivational mindset, in many language contexts they lack the energising force to make a difference in actual motivated learner behaviours by themselves" (p. 18). There is, of course, evidence that the ought-to L2 self may play a more important role in particular national-cultural contexts—notably in China (Magid, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009), and the present study's qualitative findings indicate that the construct may also be of greater relevance in particular HL learning contexts (see chapter 7 and section 5.3.2.2). However, perhaps it would be wiser to view the ought-to L2 self as a component that may be

added to a model of L2 motivation in specific geographic, socio-cultural, and educational contexts, rather than as a component worthy of significant attention in all contexts around the world.

If an important aim of L2 motivation research is to inform practice such that students may be more motivated, perhaps it is advantageous to have the simplest model possible, such that it may be easily applied in order to benefit learners. With this in mind, perhaps one of the most straightforward ways to simplify a model such as the L2MSS would be to remove a component that repeatedly been found to have a negligible effect on learners' motivation.

5.4.4 L2 Learning Experience and Motivation

This study's statistical and qualitative components both found L2 learning experience to be a highly significant determiner of learners' L2 motivation; in fact, it was found to be a more significant determiner of motivation than any other variable investigated in this study.

SEM showed that the effect of the ideal L2 self (L2-related goals) on motivation was small, and that the effect of the ought-to L2 self was non-significant. Standing in stark contrast to those results, L2 learning experience was found to exert a large effect on motivation (.60, $p < .001$). Finding that the L2 learning experience was a more important predictor of motivation than were the ideal or ought-to L2 selves is in line with the majority of previous statistical L2MSS studies (e.g., Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009; Papi, 2010; Kormos et al., 2011; You et al., 2016), although the difference in effect size between the role of L2 learning experience (.60, $p < .001$) and that of the ideal L2 self (.14, $p = .001$) was particularly great in this study, and was only surpassed by the difference between the predictive power of these two variables in You et al., (2016) (.14 and .68). In fact, in both the present study and You et al.'s study, the role of the ideal L2 self could perhaps be described as almost marginal in comparison to that of L2 learning experience.

In interviews, participants talked about periods of higher and lower levels of L2 motivation. Participants made many comments in which they attributed their motivation levels to various factors, and, in the majority of such comments, learners attributed their motivation (or lack thereof) to factors that may be seen as forming part of their L2 learning experience. Aspects of the L2 learning experience that learners specifically identified as affecting their motivation levels included teacher and teaching style, class content, the experience of success or failure, and finding classes challenging. Most of the motivationally relevant aspects of the L2 learning experience may be seen as relating to enjoyment (and perhaps specifically to Dewaele and MacIntyre's, 2014, 2016, concept of *foreign language enjoyment*), and several participants explicitly cited enjoyment as leading them to be more motivated.

In the cases of the ideal L2 self (see section 5.4.2), ought-to L2 self (see section 5.4.3), and non-L2 goals (see section 5.4.5), the qualitative and quantitative components of this study produced findings that, while not entirely contradictory, did raise certain questions with regard to the conclusions that should be drawn. In contrast, with regard to the motivational role played by learners' L2 learning experiences, the qualitative and quantitative findings appeared to be in harmony: Both aspects of the study found strong evidence that a positive, more enjoyable L2 learning experience was linked to higher motivation levels, while a negative, less enjoyable L2 learning experience was linked to lower motivation levels.

This study's identification of L2 learning experience—and specifically of enjoyment (or lack thereof)—as the most important component of the L2MSS is worthy of note not only because it represents a mixed-methods study corroborating the findings of a number of previous, largely statistical, studies; this finding is also worthy of note because it demonstrates that the L2 learning experience is also the most important component of the L2MSS in a novel research setting comprising English-speaking learners of FLs and of a minority indigenous language. It is also notable that the relative importance of the L2 learning experience within the L2MSS aligns with the findings of studies undertaken in Europe (Csizér & Kormos, 2009), South America (Kormos et al.,

2011), Iran (Taguchi et al., 2009), Japan (Taguchi et al., 2009), and China (You et al., 2016), although it remains in contrast with Taguchi et al.'s Chinese findings, which showed that, among Chinese learners of English, the ideal L2 self was a more powerful motivator than was the L2 learning experience. It is also significant that, in terms of relative ability to predict motivation, the supremacy of L2 learning experience within the L2MSS was notably greater in the present study than in perhaps any previous study other than that of You et al. (2016).

5.4.5 Non-L2 Goals and Motivation

A key purpose of investigating the motivational role of non-L2 goals was to assess whether such a construct might prove a worthy addition to a model of L2 motivation. In order to statistically examine whether such an addition might indeed be useful, two hypothetical models were constructed and tested. One represented the existing L2MSS, and another represented the L2MSS with the addition of non-L2 goals as a predictor of motivation. For reasons of simplicity, the ought-to L2 self was not included in either model, as prior statistical analyses (see section 5.1.1) had already demonstrated that the ought-to L2 self was not a significant determiner of L2 learners' motivation in the context of the study.

Results of SEM analyses showed that a model that included non-L2 goals as a predictor of motivation was no better at predicting motivation than a model that did not include non-L2 goals (see section 5.1.2). This indicates that, statistically speaking, non-L2 goals are not a worthwhile addition to an L2MSS-like model of L2 motivation; however, results also indicated that, in this study context, non-L2 goals and the ideal L2 self had similar levels of predictive power with regard to motivation (see Model B, section 5.1.2).

Such findings may indicate that ideal L2 self and non-L2 goals account for variance in learners' motivation in similar ways—i.e., the two variables may be, to some extent, ends of the same spectrum. Indeed, the possibility that this study's quantitative measurement of ideal L2 selves may have in fact captured data on L2-related goals suggests that the "ideal L2 self" construct measured in this study

may indeed have been to some extent the inverse of non-L2 goals. The fact that the two variables were relatively highly (negatively) correlated ($r = -0.58$, p < .001) could also be seen to hint at this possibility. However, given this study's relevant qualitative findings—which may be seen to suggest that L2-related goals to have more of an effect on motivation than non-L2 goals—there is little reason to think that there would be any theoretical advantage in employing non-L2 goals in a model of L2 motivation in place of a construct that represents learners' L2-related goals.

Comments made by several interview participants to some extent linked motivation to non-L2 goals; however, in the case of most comments that appeared to do so, the non-L2 goals to which learners made reference were relatively proximal goals, such as a desire to succeed in other university classes. For example, several learners viewed receiving good grades in non-L2 classes as more important than receiving good grades in L2 classes, and some such learners apportioned their efforts accordingly. These proximal, academic non-L2 goals differed significantly from the sorts of goals that were measured in the statistical component of this study. Likert-type items employed to measure non-L2 goals mostly included the word *future* and focused on more distant goals, such as "career" and "future life." This being the case, a future study examining the motivational relevance of non-L2 goals would do well to design a survey such that measures of non-L2 goals would incorporate data on proximal and academic goals as well as more distant life-goals. Measuring non-L2 goals in such a way would permit an understanding of how the construct may be relevant to learners' motivation through here-and-now prioritizing based on present states of affairs, as well as through more distant thoughts regarding future plans.

Both the qualitative and the quantitative findings of this study indicate that non-L2 goals can play a role in L2 motivation; however, the fact that the kinds of non-L2 goals on which data were collected in the quantitative survey differ somewhat from those that learners spoke about in interviews makes it difficult to draw any robust conclusions about the role of the construct with regard to motivation. However, the mere observation that non-L2 goals are in some respect relevant to learners' motivation is notable.

Much past motivation research has looked at goals, hopes, and aims that relate specifically to the L2 that learners are studying (e.g., integrativeness, instrumentality, ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self), whereas even the somewhat inconclusive findings of this study with regard to the motivational role of non-L2 goals show that other goals are at least worthy of L2 motivation researchers' attention. This study's findings with regard to the motivational role of non-L2 goals should perhaps also serve as a reminder of the need for researchers to remember that various aspects of learners' lives can affect L2 motivation, and of the need to avoid viewing research participants "simply as language learners" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 216).

5.4.6 Discussion of Motivation-Related Findings

With regard to the question of whether the L2MSS functions as an effective model of L2 motivation in the context of this study, the findings do not offer a straightforward, conclusive answer. The findings do, however, allow several robust points to be made with regard to the L2MSS, and the findings may be seen to invite the proposal of an alternative model that draws on (a) the L2MSS, (b) the findings of previous L2MSS studies, and (c) several of this study's central findings with regard to the L2MSS.

In proposing an alternative model of L2 motivation, this section looks first at how this study's findings signify that the ought-to L2 self may no longer have a place in a model of L2 motivation intended for application in various global contexts. Next, this section summarizes how the study's findings point to a need to reconsider whether a genuine ideal L2 self—one that includes visualization and/or an experiential component—is necessary for motivating learners, given that learners in the present study appeared to be motivated by mere L2-related goals. The implications of this study's findings with regard to the role of non-L2 goals are then discussed, and this section finally shows how the study's qualitative and quantitative findings together indicate a need for L2 motivation scholars (and

L2 teachers wishing to motivate learners) to focus above all on learners' L2 learning experiences.

The alternative model of L2 motivation proposed in this section was developed directly from the L2MSS. Thus, in the interests of demonstrating how the alternative model was developed, the schematic in figure 5.4 represents the originally proposed L2MSS (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009).

Figure 5.4.   Schematic of the L2 Motivational Self System
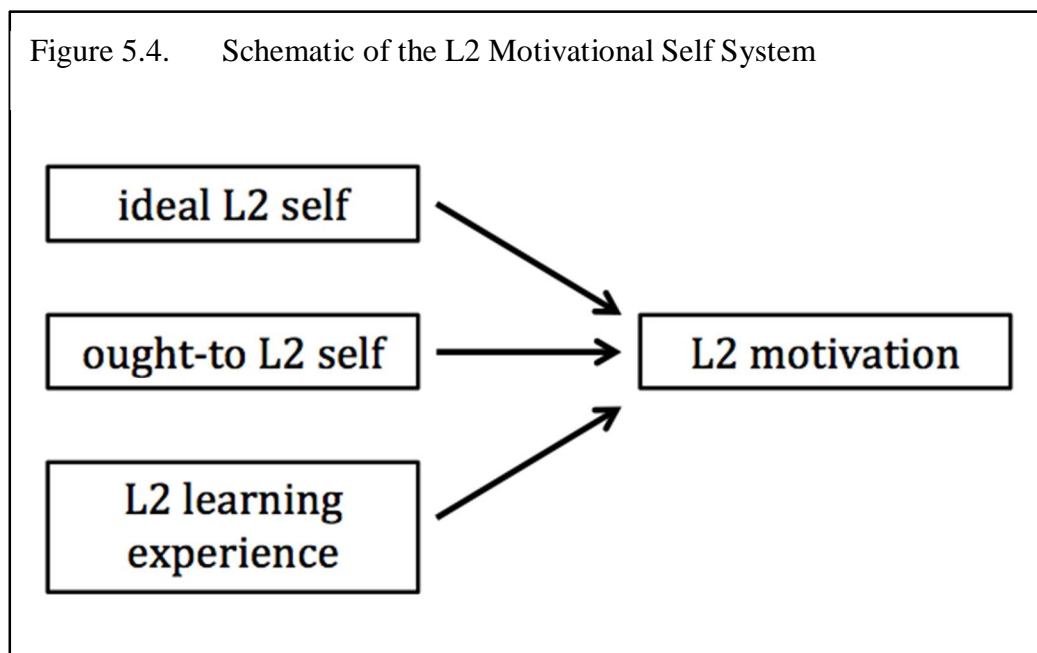
The majority of L2MSS studies undertaken since Dörnyei's (2005) proposal of the system have indicated that, while the ought-to L2 self may play a role in learners' motivation in certain contexts, in many contexts its role is, at best, marginal (e.g., Cai & Zhu, 2012; Kim & Kim, 2012; Kormos et al., 2011; Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Ueki & Takeuchi, 2012). This finding was corroborated, in a novel context, by the present mixed-methods study (see section 5.4.3). This study's findings, combined with the findings of previous studies, suggest that the ought-to L2 self may no longer have a place within the L2MSS: While the construct may be motivationally relevant in particular socio-cultural contexts (see sections 5.4.3 and 5.3.2.2), it is perhaps not sufficiently relevant to most learners

to warrant inclusion in a model of L2 motivation. Figure 5.5 shows a representation of the L2MSS that has been simplified so that the ought-to L2 self no longer forms a part of the system.

Figure 5.5.   Schematic of the L2 Motivational Self System Minus the Ought-To L2 Self
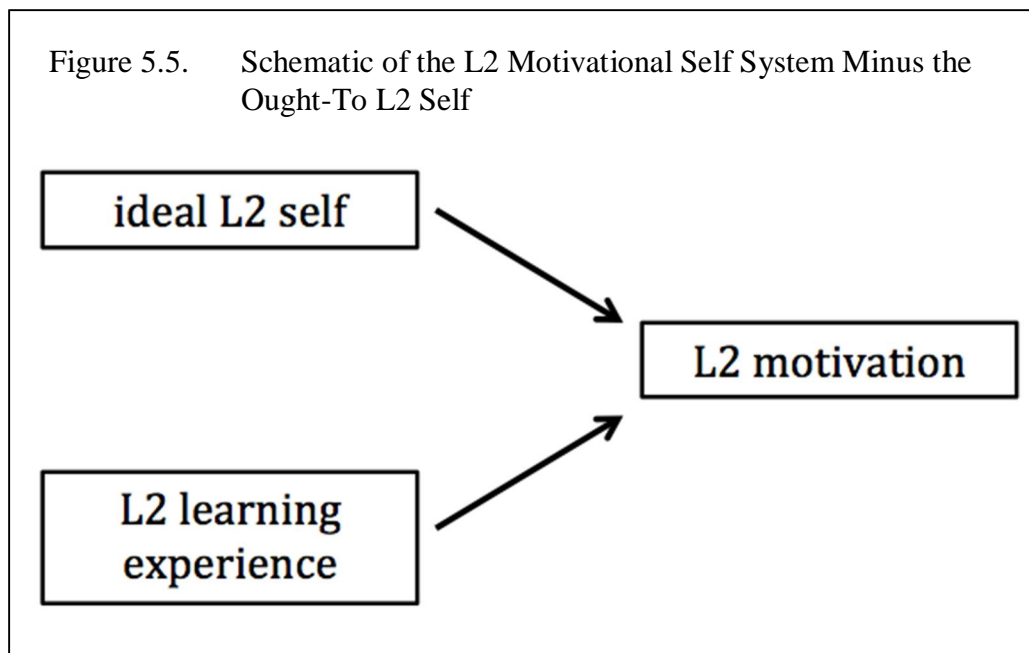
Section 5.4.2 has demonstrated that there are a number of reasons to believe (a) that learners may be motivated by L2 goals that lack a visualization component, and (b) that the apparent motivational role of the ideal L2 self identified in both this study and previous studies may in fact be exemplify mere L2-related goals affecting learners' L2 motivation levels. There is thus perhaps reason to argue that a theoretical model might better account for the factors that determine L2 learners' motivation if L2-related goals (which do not necessarily involve an experiential component) were to serve as a motivational antecedent within such a model—in place of the ideal L2 self. Figure 5.6 exemplifies a model thus adapted.

Figure 5.6.   Schematic of an Adapted L2 Motivational Self System: L2-Related Goals Have Replaced Ideal L2 Self
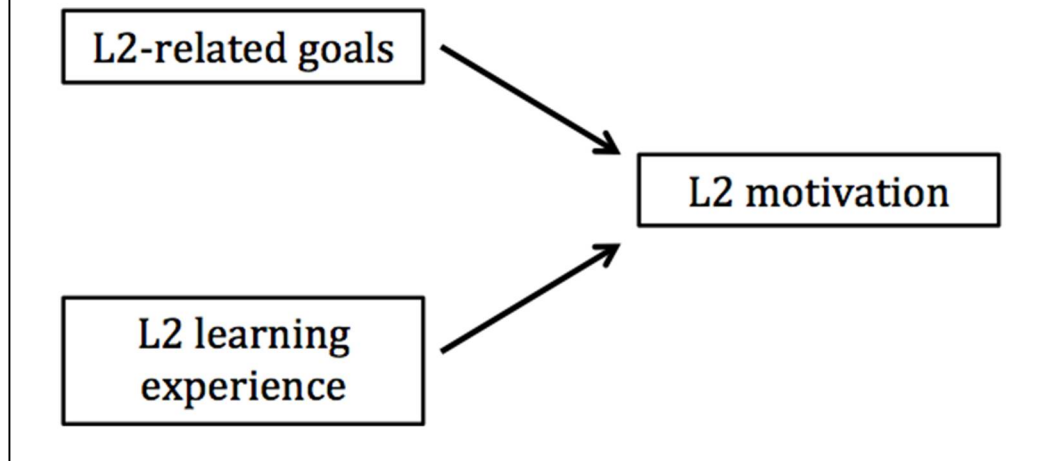
This study was somewhat inconclusive with regard to what specific role non-L2 goals might play within an L2MSS-style model designed to account for L2 learners' motivation. Section 5.4.5 has shown that non-L2 goals may be just as important as L2-related goals in predicting motivation, although the former is a negative predictor of motivation and the latter a positive predictor. However, although non-L2 goals and L2-related goals predicted similar levels of learner motivation, qualitative findings indicated that the construct should not hold a central place in a model of L2 motivation. Thus, while non-L2 goals are clearly an area worthy of further research attention, this study's findings do not represent a call for the construct's inclusion in a model of L2 motivation at this stage.

Qualitative and quantitative findings were unambiguous in demonstrating that, in terms of ability to predict/account for L2 learning motivation, L2 learning experience eclipsed all other constructs investigated. This may be viewed as a call for a greater focus on L2 learning experience, by both L2 motivation researchers and L2 teachers. Constructs analogous to L2 learning experience have been present throughout the history of L2 motivation research; however, in terms of research attention and discussion in the field, such variables have often played second fiddle to other (generally more complex and L2-specific) constructs, such

as integrativeness (e.g., Gardner, 1985) and the ideal L2 self (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009). SDT research (e.g., Noels et al., 1999)—which drew attention to the importance of intrinsic motivation—represented a notable exception to this tendency, but much research has continued to focus on complex psychological variables, such as the ideal L2 self, rather than focusing on what might be described as learners' basic enjoyment (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014, 2016; Dewaele et al., 2017) of learning an L2. The schematic in figure 5.7 is essentially the same as the previous schematic (figure 5.6), but the size of text and of causation arrows serve to remind the reader of the relative importance of the different antecedent components within the model.

Figure 5.7.   Schematic of an Alternative Model Based on the
L2 Motivational Self System
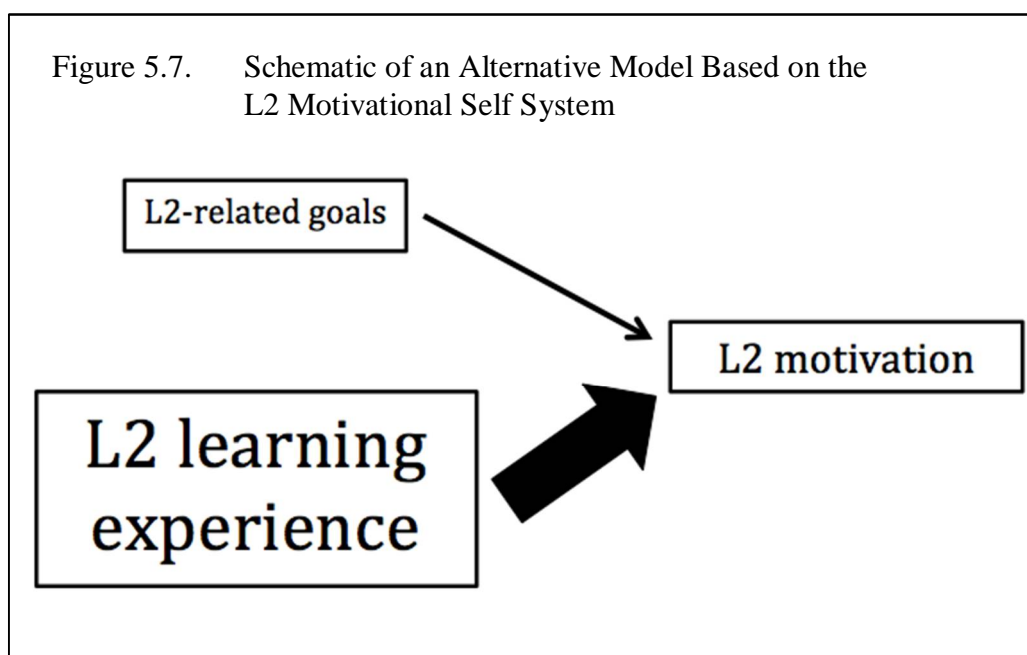
If the findings of L2 motivation research are to be applied in the real world such that L2 learners might be more highly motivated, there is a need to consider (a) which motivational antecedents most heavily influence learners' motivation levels and (b) which motivational antecedents L2 teachers and institutions have the greatest ability to influence. At least one study (Magid & Chan, 2012) has shown that interventions can boost L2 learners' motivation through strengthening

L2-related goals (and visualization ability). However, given that both this study and previous studies (e.g., Taguchi et al., 2009; You et al., 2016) have found L2 learning experience to be more important than L2-related goals in determining motivation levels, it seems probable that more substantial motivational gains could be realized through improving learners' L2 learning experiences than through strengthening their L2-related goals (although, of course, these are not mutually exclusive courses of action).

It can be argued that the findings of this study and previous studies indicate that L2 teachers and institutions are likely to be most successful in increasing L2 learners' motivation if they can make learners' experiences of learning an L2 more enjoyable—bearing in mind that what is enjoyable is not always pleasurable (Csikszentmihalyi, 2004), and that enjoyment may result from encountering and overcoming challenges (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2016). Dewaele and colleagues (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014, 2016; Dewaele et al., 2017) have recently directed attention to the role of enjoyment in SLA, and Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014) suggest that enjoyment may be important in helping learners to successfully acquire an L2:

> Enjoyment might be the emotional key to unlocking the language learning potential of adults and children alike; if a teacher, parent, friend, or mentor creates an enjoyable context, they likely have gone a long way towards facilitating learning. (p. 261)

If enjoyment does indeed facilitate L2 learning, the results of the present study may be seen to suggest that motivation could provide a conceptual link between enjoyment and language learning success.

Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2014, 2016) research included asking learners to describe L2 learning episodes that they "really enjoyed" (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2016, p. 219). Many of the episodes that learners cited as enjoyable in Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2014, 2016) studies were the same kinds of situations that learners in the present study described as motivating. For example, situations that learners in Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2014) study described as enjoyable were

grouped by the authors into themes, of which some of the most frequently cited were "classroom activities" (p. 256), "teacher recognition" (p. 258), "teacher skills" (p. 259), and "realisation of progress" (p. 258). These categories closely parallel comments made by participants in the current study with regard to the aspects of their L2 learning experiences that affected their motivation (see section 5.3.3.2)—e.g., teaching style (including classroom activities), teacher's personality, and the experience of success (or failure). Furthermore, items on Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2014) FL enjoyment scale (a component of their data collection instrument) bore notable similarities to several L2 learning experience survey items in the present study (see, for example, appendix F, items 12, 26, and 36), and to comments made by the present study's interview participants regarding when and why they were more (or less) motivated. For example, item 18 of Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2014) FL enjoyment scale reads, "There is a good atmosphere" (p. 273), and this corresponds closely with an L2 learning experience survey item in the present study, which read, "I like the atmosphere in my [L2] classes."

Although the participants in the present study cited a diverse range of factors related to their L2 learning experiences as affecting their motivation, the various factors cited should not be viewed as disparate. Rather, the majority of these factors may be viewed as examples of enjoyment. In fact, a single, general comment made by an interview participant in the present study (see section 5.3.3.2) may be seen to summarize both the study's statistical findings and the majority of the more specific comments made by interview participants in this study with regard to the role of the L2 learning experience in determining motivation levels. Talking about her experience at university in general—but with specific reference to French—Bryony made the following statement:

> "when you enjoy things more at uni, you are more motivated with the study"

Bryony's comment is simple, and yet it eloquently states one of the most significant findings not only of this study, but of many prior L2MSS studies (e.g.,

Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009; You et al., 2016), and also of other L2 motivation scholarship—e.g., SDT studies (e.g., Noels et al., 1999) and Dörnyei and Csizér's (1998) "Ten Commandments" for motivating language learners. Other motivational antecedents are yet worthy of attention, but L2 motivation researchers, teachers, and educational institutions need to pay substantial attention to learners' L2 learning experiences and, specifically, to the importance of enjoyment. With this in mind, Bryony's comment should perhaps be taken as a guide for action, indicating that if L2 learning is enjoyable, learners *will* be motivated.

Motivation is a complex area, and there will always be learners who represent exceptions to rules with regard to what makes them more or less motivated. For this reason, it is important to remain aware of the role that less influential motivational antecedents (e.g., ideal L2 self, L2-related goals, ought-to L2 self, non-L2 goals, integrativeness) can play in determining learners' motivation levels. But when it comes to everyday practice and actual, real-world L2 teaching and learning, it can be expected that the greatest motivational gains will be realized through maximizing L2 learners' enjoyment of the L2 learning process.

CHAPTER 6: ADDRESSING RESEARCH QUESTION 2

Chapter 6 presents and discusses statistical results and quantitative findings pertaining to Research Question 2. Section 6.1 presents statistical results, and the following section (6.2) discusses these results in light of previous research. Section 6.3 presents qualitative findings pertaining to Research Question 2, and discusses how these findings relate to previous research and to the L2MSS. Relevant quantitative results and qualitative findings are brought together and discussed in the final section of this chapter (6.4).

6.1 Statistical Results: Research Question 2

6.1.1 Learner Attrition/Retention and L2MSS-Related Constructs

Of the 700 participants who completed this study's initial survey (see section 3.3.2), 515 indicated that they intended to continue studying their L2 the following semester, 123 indicated that they intended to discontinue studying their L2 the following semester, and 62 selected "haven't thought about it." Of the 416 participants who answered this study's follow-up question (see section 3.3.2.4), 277 continued their L2 studies the following semester and 139 discontinued their L2 studies.

Two sets of independent samples t-tests were conducted in order to investigate L2MSS-related constructs and learner attrition/retention. These t-tests compared learner groups' average scores on the seven L2MSS constructs measured by Likert-type items in the initial survey.

The first set of t-tests—which compared learners who intended to continue their L2 studies the following semester with those who did not intend to continue—included data from all of the study participants who indicated either an intention to continue ($n = 515$) or an intention to discontinue ($n = 123$). This first set of tests did not, however, include learners who selected "haven't thought about

it" ($n = 62$) in response to the survey item asking whether they intended to continue their L2 studies.

The second set of *t*-tests—which compared learners who continued their L2 studies the following semester ($n = 277$) with those who did not continue ($n = 139$)—necessarily only included data from the 416 learners who completed both the study's initial survey *and* the follow-up question, which asked, in the semester following the initial survey, whether participants were still studying their L2.

Table 6.1 shows the *t*-test comparison of those who planned to continue the following semester and those who did not plan to continue.

The difference between learners who intended to continue and those who did not intend to continue was significant with regard to all seven of the L2MSS-related constructs investigated in the study. Those who intended to continue had significantly higher scores on motivation and on all constructs positively correlated with motivation. Those who did not intend to continue had significantly higher scores on non-L2 goals, which was negatively correlated with motivation. Effect sizes ranged from medium to large.

Results of Wilcoxon rank-sum tests for the non-parametrically distributed ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self were in line with the *t*-test results. On ideal L2 self measures, those who intended to continue (*Mdn* = 4.29) scored higher than those who did not intend to continue (*Mdn* = 3.29), W = 14513, $p < .001$, $r = 0.37$. On ought-to L2 self measures, those who intended to continue (*Mdn* = 1.71) also scored higher than those who did not intend to continue (*Mdn* = 1.43), W = 25178.5, $p < .001$, $r = 0.14$.

Table 6.2 shows the *t*-test comparison of those who continued their L2 studies the following semester and those who did not.

The difference between learners who continued their L2 studies and those who did not continue was significant with regard to all but one of the seven L2MSS-related constructs investigated in the study. Those who continued had significantly higher scores on motivation, ideal L2 self, L2 learning experience, integrativeness, and instrumentality. Those who did not continue had significantly higher scores on non-L2 goals. There was no significant difference between the two groups with regard to ought-to L2 self scores.

Results of Wilcoxon rank-sum tests for the non-parametrically distributed ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self were broadly in line with the t-test results. On ideal L2 self measures, those who continued ($Mdn = 4.33$) scored higher than those who did not continue ($Mdn = 3.83$), W = 13651.5, $p < .001$, $r = 0.22$. On ought-to L2 self measures, those who intended to continue ($Mdn = 1.71$) also scored higher than those who did not intend to continue ($Mdn = 1.43$), W = 20107, $p = 0.46$, $r = 0.03$.

Table 6.1

Learners Who Planned to Continue or Discontinue L2 Studies in the Semester Following the Initial Survey: Descriptive Statistics and Results of Independent Samples T-Tests

Variable	Learners who planned to continue L2 studies the following semester (n =515)		Students who planned to discontinue L2 studies the following semester (n = 123)		t	df	p	95% CI		Effect size
	M	SD	M	SD				LL	UL	r
Motivation	3.20	0.65	2.88	0.67	4.87	181.19	<.001	0.19	0.46	0.34
Ideal L2 self	4.23	0.69	3.22	1.09	9.81	146.02	<.001	0.80	1.21	0.63
Ought-to L2 self	1.87	0.79	1.58	0.56	4.77	252.58	<.001	0.17	0.41	0.29
L2 learning experience	4.10	0.60	3.67	0.69	6.29	168.67	<.001	0.29	0.56	0.44
Non-L2 goals	2.94	0.78	3.60	0.83	-7.99	176.65	<.001	-0.82	-0.49	0.52
Integrativeness	3.83	0.77	3.28	0.88	6.39	169.21	<.001	0.38	0.72	0.44
Instrumentality	3.81	0.89	2.95	1.10	8.04	162.36	<.001	0.65	1.07	0.53

Note. CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

Table 6.2

Learners Who Continued or Discontinued L2 Studies in the Semester Following the Initial Survey: Descriptive Statistics and Results of Independent Samples T-Tests

| Variable | Learners who continued L2 studies the following semester (n = 277) | | Students who discontinued L2 studies the following semester (n = 139) | | | | | 95% CI | | Effect size |
	M	SD	M	SD	t	df	p	LL	UL	r
Motivation	3.18	0.69	3.03	0.69	4.87	275.75	.03	0.01	0.29	0.28
Ideal L2 self	4.20	0.71	3.70	1.00	5.35	209.25	<.001	0.32	0.69	0.35
Ought-to L2 self	1.80	0.79	1.83	0.73	-0.31	296.45	.76	-0.18	0.13	0.02
L2 learning experience	3.85	0.62	4.11	0.71	3.70	245.01	<.001	0.12	0.40	0.23
Non-L2 goals	2.98	0.80	3.37	0.81	-4.56	276.66	<.001	-0.55	-0.22	0.27
Integrativeness	3.81	0.78	3.57	0.85	2.76	254.43	.007	0.07	0.41	0.17
Instrumentality	3.75	0.91	3.40	1.03	3.38	249.49	<.001	0.15	0.55	0.21

Note. CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

6.2 Discussion of Statistical Results: Research Question 2

This section discusses statistical results pertaining to Research Question 2. Learner attrition/retention is an issue that perhaps lends itself best to examination through qualitative methods, given that learners' reasons for continuing or discontinuing L2 classes can be complex, and that understanding such reasons may require an explanation from learners themselves. However, *t*-test results presented in the previous section (6.1.1) indicated the existence of significant associations between learner attrition/retention and the motivation- and L2MSS-related constructs investigated. This section first discusses how the two different ways of discriminating continuing and discontinuing learners are both meaningful with regard to the investigation of factors related to learner attrition/retention. The remainder of this section then discusses how the results of *t*-tests might be interpreted and also discusses how this study's results relate to the findings of previous studies that have looked at learner attrition/retention.

6.2.1 Two Sets of *T*-tests

The two sets of *t*-tests employed to investigate differences between continuing and discontinuing students discriminated students by whether they intended to continue their L2 studies and by whether they did in fact continue. The general pattern of the *t*-test results was similar in both sets of tests. Furthermore, comparison of participants' responses to both this study's initial survey and to the follow-up question showed that learners' intentions regarding continuing or discontinuing L2 studies corresponded closely (with 82-84% accuracy) with their real-life actions. Thus, both learners' intentions and their real-life actions may be seen as legitimate means of discriminating learners in order to examine the issue of L2 learner attrition/retention.

In general, differences between continuing and discontinuing learners were greater in the tests where learners were discriminated based on intentions than in the tests where learners were discriminated based on actual actions, and this

perhaps makes sense, given that learners' real-life actions are more likely to be subject to various confounding variables than are their intentions. For example, with regard to the tests in which learners were discriminated according to their real-life actions, the statistical waters could be somewhat muddied by learners who ceased their L2 studies due to a change in financial circumstances, or due to a health or family issue. In addition, it is important to note that construct data (on the ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, etc.) were collected at the same time as data on learners' intentions to continue or discontinue studies, whereas data on whether learners actually continued their studies were collected the following semester, several months after construct data were collected. Thus, there was plenty of time between the initial survey and the follow-up question for learners' motivational profiles to change—i.e., for changes to occur in learners' ideal L2 self, L2 learning experience, etc.

Given that both means of discriminating continuing and discontinuing learners (by intentions or actions) appear to be legitimate and meaningful—and given that the results are similar for both sets of *t*-tests conducted—the results of the two sets of *t*-tests are discussed together in the sections that follow, which address associations identified between learner attrition/retention and each of the L2MSS-related variables investigated. In the interests of readability, numerical results are generally not provided in the following sections, but the numerical results of the tests discussed are provided in tables 6.1 and 6.2.

6.2.2 Motivation and Learner Attrition/Retention

Statistically significant differences in motivation levels were identified between continuing learners and discontinuing learners in the study, with continuing learners exhibiting higher scores on motivation than discontinuing students (see tables 6.1 and 6.2).

An association between motivation (or subsets thereof) and learner attrition/retention has also been identified in previous studies (e.g., Bartley, 1970; Clément, Gardner, & Smythe, 1978; Noels et al., 2001; Ramage, 1990); however,

the motivation measured in such studies does not always align closely with the intended effort measure employed in the statistical component of the present study. In fact, in several of the most prominent studies to identify an association between motivation and learner attrition/retention, it appeared that it was not so much the quantity or intensity of learners' general L2 learning motivation was associated with continuation or discontinuation, but rather the *type* of motivation or motivational orientation (Bartley, 1970; Noels et al., 2001; Ramage, 1990). The association identified in the present study should perhaps therefore only be cautiously viewed as corroborating some earlier studies: It is important to bear in mind that certain of the motivational orientations identified in earlier studies as linked to *persistence* (Noels et al., 2001; Ramage, 1990) might in fact resemble variables other than motivation that were investigated in the present study. For example, *intrinsic motivation*—identified as an important factor in learner retention (persistence) by both Noels et al. (2001) and Ramage (1990)—is perhaps more analogous to L2 learning experience than to motivation, which was quantitatively measured as intended effort in the present study.

The statistical association identified between motivation and learner attrition/retention could indicate the existence of a causal relationship, but it should not necessarily be interpreted thus. There are other reasons why an association might exist, and the most obvious is the fact that both motivation and learner attrition/retention can be influenced by the same antecedent variables: Correlational analyses undertaken by Noels et al. (2001) clearly showed that the motivational and regulatory orientations that were most highly correlated with motivational intensity (amotivation, identified regulation, intrinsic motivation, integrative orientation) were the same motivational and regulatory orientations that were most highly correlated with L2 learning persistence. Additionally, Northwood and Kinoshita Thomson (2012) state, "It is likely that when students know they are going to continue, they are more highly motivated and engaged, while the opposite may be true for the discontinuers, since they know they will not continue" (p. 351).

The majority of studies that have examined the antecedents of learner attrition and retention have employed purely statistical methodologies (e.g., Bartley, 1970;

Gardner et al., 1976; Noels et al., 2001). Although some, such as Kondo (1999) and Ramage (1990), made use of qualitative methods, Kondo's qualitative investigation focused on motivated behaviour and its antecedents more than on learner attrition/retention, and the qualitative pilot study that informed Ramage's statistical study gathered data on learners' motivations for learning FLs rather than on the factors to which learners attributed their continuation or discontinuation. Thus, although a number of studies—including the present study—have identified an association between learner attrition/retention and motivation, there is something of a dearth of the kinds of qualitative data (e.g., learners' comments about why they continued or discontinued L2 studies) that would allow a researcher to confidently state whether the statistical associations observed are (a) evidence of a causal relationship, or (b) nothing more than associations that may be attributed to both motivation and learner attrition/retention being influenced by many of the same antecedent variables.

6.2.3 Ideal L2 Self and Learner Attrition/Retention

In both sets of *t*-tests conducted, the largest difference between continuing and discontinuing learners was on ideal L2 self measures, on which continuing students scored higher than discontinuing learners (see tables 6.1 and 6.2). Here, too, the association identified may be representative of a mere association, or it could indicate the existence of a causal relationship. There is little scope for comparing this result with previous studies, as the present study appears to be the first to explicitly examine the role of L2MSS-related constructs in regard to learner attrition/retention. Some earlier studies did, however, identify connections between learner attrition/retention and variables that resemble the ideal L2 self.

Although Dörnyei (2009) stresses that future self-guides (such as the ideal L2 self) are not the same thing as future goals, it is undeniable that the two concepts have much in common in that they relate to the realization of desired outcomes. As such, aspects of Kondo's (1999) qualitative findings may be seen as indicating that the relationship between ideal L2 self and learner attrition/retention can at

least sometimes be causal in nature: Kondo states that "Students who continue formal study in Japanese beyond the [institutional] requirement consider such academic effort essential for achieving their academic and/or career goals" (p. 84).

If future goals are understood as closely related to the ideal L2 self (see section 5.4.1.2), then this study's identification of a statistical association between ideal L2 self and learner attrition/retention may also be seen to echo an aspect of Noels et al.'s (2001) findings. Noels et al. state that *identified regulation* is what takes place when a learner engages in an activity because "that activity has value for her chosen goals" (p. 426), and the positive correlation that the authors found between identified regulation and L2 learning persistence may thus be seen as broadly in line with the present study's statistical findings regarding ideal L2 self and learner attrition/retention. Like the present study's statistical findings, though, Noels et al.'s correlation findings regarding identified regulation and persistence do not shed any light on the precise nature of the association between the two variables.

In addition to the question of whether the relationship between ideal L2 self and learner attrition/retention is causal in nature, there is a need to consider the possibility that—if the relationship *is* causal—causality could proceed in either, or in both, directions. It makes sense—and, indeed, Kondo's (1999) findings show— that a strong ideal L2 self could contribute to a learner continuing her studies, but it is also conceivable that whether or not a learner intends to continue her studies could affect the strength or perceived plausibility of her ideal L2 self. The Likert-type items employed to measure learners' ideal L2 self in both this study and previous studies (e.g., Taguchi et al., 2009; Csizér & Kormos, 2009) gauged the extent to which a learner could imagine herself as a future user of her L2. That being the case, if a learner knew that she would not be able to continue her Russian studies—no matter the reason—it is easy to see how that knowledge might make it more difficult for the learner to imagine herself as a future user of Russian, and one would expect her to score lower on ideal L2 self measures as a result.

Thus, if the statistical association identified in this study between ideal L2 self and learner attrition/retention is indeed representative of a causal relationship, it is possible—likely, even—that causality might proceed in both directions.

6.2.4 Ought-To L2 Self and Learner Attrition/Retention

Both sets of *t*-tests conducted indicated that the ought-to L2 self was, of the variables investigated, that which was least associated with learner attrition/retention. In the set of *t*-tests in which learners were discriminated based on their *intentions* to continue or discontinue their L2 studies, the ought-to L2 self score difference between continuing students and discontinuing students was smaller than that for any of the other L2MSS-related variables investigated (see table 6.1). In the set of *t*-tests in which learners were discriminated based on whether they continued or discontinued their L2 studies in the semester following the administration of this study's initial survey, the difference between continuing and discontinuing students was non-significant (see table 6.2).

The fact that a significant difference on ought-to L2 self measures was found to exist between learners who intended to continue their L2 studies the following semester and those who did not means that the role of the ought-to L2 self in learner attrition/retention may not be negligible. However, the fact that the difference is so much smaller than the difference with regard to other constructs (along with the fact that the construct appeared not to be associated with whether or not learners actually continued their studies) indicates that a research focus on other potentially influential variables may be more fruitful with regard to understanding the causes of learner attrition and retention.

This study's statistical findings regarding the role of the ought-to L2 self in learner attrition/retention echoes the findings of at least one previous study: Noels et al. (2001) employed correlation analysis to test for a relationship between L2 learner persistence and a number of variables, one of which was introjected regulation. Introjected regulation has similarities with the ought-to L2 self in that it relates to the role of feelings of "guilt or shame" (Noels et al., 2001, p. 425) in

an individual's engagement in an activity such as L2 learning. Thus, Noels et al.'s failure to identify a statistically significant relationship between L2 learning persistence and introjected regulation may be seen as in line with the apparent marginal statistical association between the ought-to L2 self and learner attrition/retention in the present study.

6.2.5 L2 Learning Experience and Learner Attrition/Retention

T-tests demonstrated the existence of statistically significant differences between continuing students and discontinuing students on measures of L2 learning experience: Continuing learners had, on average, higher scores on measures of L2 learning experience than did discontinuing learners (see tables 6.1 and 6.2). With regard to the effect sizes of these differences, L2 learning experience was in no way a stand-out variable: The effect sizes of differences between continuing and discontinuing students on measures of the variable were neither notably larger nor notably smaller than the effect size of differences on several other measures investigated (e.g., ideal L2 self, non-L2 goals, instrumentality). However, the difference identified is nonetheless worthy of attention.

Identifying an association between L2 learning experience and learner attrition/retention is in line with the findings of several earlier studies. Perhaps the earliest study to focus on L2 learner attrition/retention—Bartley (1970)—found that more positive attitudes to FL learning were associated with continuation of studies, and the converse was also found to be true. Attitudes to FL learning is a broad concept, which, in the case of Bartley's study, included such sub-concepts as teacher, parental influence, intrinsic motivation, and instrumental motivation, and Bartley's finding may thus be seen as similar but not analogous to those of the present study. Ramage's (1990) and Noels et al.'s (2001) findings indicating a relationship between intrinsic motivation and learner attrition/retention, however, may be seen as more closely aligning with this study's statistical findings regarding the role of L2 learning experience in learner attrition/retention: Both L2 learning experience and intrinsic motivation are variables that are closely related

to enjoyment in L2 learning—a concept that has recently begun to attract research attention (e.g., Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014, 2016; Dewaele et al., 2017).

Despite there being some precedent of studies identifying a statistical association between enjoyment-related variables and learners' (intended) continuation or discontinuation of studies, interpreting the statistical results of the present study in this respect is fraught with the same issues that have been discussed in preceding sections—i.e., the statistical results do not permit the making of claims with regard to the nature (causal or otherwise) of the association identified. However, while one can easily imagine how a learner's intentions to continue or discontinue L2 studies might affect the strength of that learner's ideal L2 self, it is perhaps more of a stretch to imagine that such intentions might have any substantial effect on what is essentially the degree to which a learner enjoys their experience of learning an L2. Thus, if the association between L2 learning experience and learner attrition/retention identified in this study represents a causal relationship, one might imagine that such causality would proceed largely from L2 learning experience to learner attrition/retention, rather than in the opposite direction.

The possible role of L2 learning experience—or enjoyment—in learner attrition/retention is worthy of particular attention due to the fact that, of the L2MSS variables tested for their statistical association with learner attrition/retention, L2 learning experience is perhaps the variable that L2 teachers and educational institutions have the greatest ability to influence. In other words, if L2 learning experience is indeed an important factor in determining whether learners continue or discontinue their L2 studies, it might well be possible to improve L2 learner retention rates through improving learners' L2 learning experiences. In order to determine whether the statistical association identified is in fact representative of such a causal relationship, however, it is necessary to examine in depth learners' comments regarding the factors to which they attribute their (intended or actual) continuation or discontinuation of L2 studies (see section 6.3.3.2.3).

6.2.6 Non-L2 Goals and Learner Attrition/Retention

Given that the novel construct of non-L2 goals encompassed learner goals that did not pertain to learners' L2s, even the observation that there is an association between the variable and learner attrition/retention (see section tables 6.1 and 6.2) lends weight to statements made by a number of SLA and L2 motivation scholars (e.g., Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001; Ushioda, 2009) regarding the need to avoid positioning "the central participants in our research simply as language learners" (Ushioda, 2009, p. 216).

At least one previous study that investigated learner attrition/retention identified factors similar to non-L2 goals as playing a role in determining whether learners continued or discontinued their L2 studies. In her qualitative study of HL learners of Japanese in Hawaii, Kondo (1999) stated that "many" learners "reported the problem of time-management as a reason for discontinuing the study of Japanese" (p. 85). She further added that learners were "busy with studying for their [university] majors" (p.85), and went on to suggest that many learners had "concluded that college Japanese is irrelevant to their professional goals" (p. 85).

Given the similarity between the present study's statistical measures of non-L2 goals and Kondo's comments regarding time-management and prioritization, Kondo's findings could be viewed as an indication that the statistical association identified between non-L2 goals and learner attrition/retention in the present study may represent a causal relationship in which the existence and pursuit of non-L2 goals contributes to learners' discontinuing their L2 studies. It is important to remember, though, that—at least with regard to motivation—the specific roles played by L2MSS constructs are subject to cultural factors (Taguchi et al., 2009; Kormos et al., 2011) and institutional factors (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Kormos et al., 2011). Thus, in order to determine (a) whether the association identified in the present is representative of a causal relationship, and (b) in what direction(s) such causality might proceed, it is necessary to look once again at this study's relevant qualitative findings (see section 6.3.3.2.4).

6.2.7 Integrativeness, Instrumentality, and Learner Attrition/Retention

Significant statistical differences existed between continuing and discontinuing participants on measures of both integrativeness and instrumentality. In both sets of *t*-tests, the effect size of the difference between discontinuing and continuing students was greater on measures of instrumentality than on measures of integrativeness. In each set of tests, and with regard to both integrativeness and instrumentality, continuing students scored higher than did discontinuing students (see tables 6.1 and 6.2).

In proposing the L2MSS, Dörnyei (2005) suggests, with reference to the findings of Csizér and Dörnyei (2005), that the concept of integrativeness may be reconceived as the ideal L2 self and that, "depending on the extent of internalization of the extrinsic motives that make up instrumentality" (p. 103), the ideal L2 self may also subsume aspects of instrumentality (although Dörnyei also suggests that less internalized extrinsic motives might also be subsumed by the ought-to L2 self). Indeed, at least one large-scale study has found that integrativeness and instrumentality (or aspects thereof) act as antecedents of the ideal L2 self (Taguchi et al., 2009). In addition, the present study found that there were relatively high levels of correlation between the ideal L2 self and both integrativeness ($r = 0.49$, $p < .001$) and instrumentality ($r = 0.59$, $p < .001$) (see table 4.2), indicating a close relationship between the constructs.

Although the statistical associations identified in the present study between learner attrition/retention and both integrativeness and instrumentality could be indicative of causal relationships (in which causation could proceed in either or both directions), there is good reason to view integrativeness and instrumentality as being largely subsumed by the ideal L2 self and, to a lesser extent, by the ought-to L2 self. For this reason, it makes sense for the researcher attempting to understand the factors that give rise to learner attrition and retention to focus attention on the role of the ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self, the former of which may, in particular, be viewed as a variable superordinate to integrativeness and instrumentality, which has to a large extent superseded integrativeness and instrumentality.

6.3 Qualitative Findings and Discussion: Research Question 2

This section presents and discusses the qualitative interview data pertaining to learner attrition/retention. The format of the presentation and discussion of interview data in this section differs somewhat from the presentation and discussion of qualitative data pertaining to Research Question 1 (section 5.3).

Analysis of qualitative data pertaining to Research Question 1 (see section 5.3) focused on the extent to which the L2MSS functioned as an effective model of L2 motivation, and that analysis and discussion took what might be described as a somewhat confirmatory approach. This made sense given that a number of previous studies had already provided validity evidence for the L2MSS as a model of motivation in other research contexts. The present study, however, would appear to be the first to investigate whether the L2MSS might to some extent function as a model of L2 learner attrition/retention, and the approach taken in presenting and discussing the qualitative data pertaining to Research Question 2 is a more exploratory approach.

In addressing Research Question 2, the following sections initially address the first component of the research question by collating and categorizing both learners' reasons for discontinuing L2 studies and their reasons for continuing L2 studies. Learners' reasons for continuing or discontinuing their L2 studies are presented with little reference to previous studies or to the L2MSS, and this census of learners' reasons for continuing or discontinuing is followed by a discussion of how the qualitative findings relate to earlier research, and of how learners' comments might be understood from an L2MSS perspective.

6.3.1 What Factors Contribute to Learner Attrition?

All study participants who had discontinued any L2 studies at any time were asked about why they ceased their L2 classes. In addition to this, a number of

participants were asked about times when they had *considered* quitting L2 classes. The initial focus was on why learners cease L2 studies at university, but many participants also volunteered information about when and why they had discontinued—or considered discontinuing—L2 studies during their time at high school, and this data was also considered relevant to Research Question 2. Many of those who took part in interviews were selected because their survey responses suggested that they might have recently made the decision to quit their L2 studies; however, in practice, interview participants comprised learners with a diversity of language learning stories: learners who had quit on earlier occasions, learners who had quit recently, and learners who were still studying their L2(s).

Making use of three-level coding methods (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003), statements of causal belief relating to attrition and retention were initially grouped into categories of *repeated ideas*. These ideas were then categorized as *themes* that are discussed separately in the sections that follow (see further, section 3.4.3). The themes identified during data analysis may be thought of as factors that contributed to participants' quitting or considering quitting. Factors related to L2 classes are addressed first, followed by factors related to learners' other studies. Following this, other factors, which fit into neither of the former categories, are discussed, before the discussion moves on to briefly examine the ways in which factors work together to lead learners to drop out of L2 courses. Finally, findings are discussed in light of previous research and theory, and with regard to the extent to which they relate to the L2MSS.

6.3.1.1 Factors related to L2 classes.

Several L2 studies of dropping out, or student attrition, have linked dropping out to learners' unfavourable attitudes towards L2 classes and to their experiences in classes (e.g., Bartley, 1970; Gardner et al., 1976; Ramage, 1990), and similar factors were also identified in the present study.

This section addresses factors related to participants' L2 classes, which 10 participants cited as contributing to either their decision to discontinue, or to their considering discontinuing. The section looks first at the role of the teacher (section 6.3.1.1.1), then at the relevance of struggling or receiving low marks

(section 6.3.1.1.2). The role of stress and anxiety are then addressed (section 6.3.1.1.3), followed by the roles played by a lack of enjoyment of classes in general (section 6.3.1.1.4) and by the feeling that one is not learning enough (section 6.3.1.1.5).

6.3.1.1.1 Teacher.

One of the most commonly cited factors related to learners' L2 classes was the teacher. Comments relating to the teacher can be roughly grouped into two categories: the teacher as a person, and the teaching style or class content. In practice, it is often difficult to distinguish these, but this section looks first at a participant whose comments relate largely to their teacher's attitude or personality and then at a participant whose comments relate mainly to the teaching. This section then moves on to look at cases where the combined effects of teachers' personalities and teaching styles led students to drop out, or to consider dropping out.

In some cases where students cited their teacher as one of the reasons why they discontinued, it seemed that, over and above any issues that the student might have had with the teaching style, it was a clash of personalities that made it difficult for the student to even be in the same place as the teacher. Cat related such a situation.

As soon as her interview turned to her third year French class, Cat said, "I hated it […] I absolutely hated it." She then qualified her general dislike of the course by adding, "I did not enjoy the lecturer at all." When asked why she chose not to continue with her French studies, Cat answered, "because I knew I had to have her [the lecturer] again." Cat made it even more clear that her teacher was one of the central reasons why she discontinued French when she said "I […] genuinely don't think I could put myself through another semester of French with that lecturer." When asked explicitly whether she would have continued French if she had had a lecturer whom she liked, Cat replied, "yeah, I probably would have." Further comments that Cat made also suggested that the situation in her French class was more than simply not enjoying the teaching style. Even when Cat attempted to say something positive about her teacher, her language indicated

that her clash with her teacher was something personal: When she talked about how she could see that her teacher "loves" and "understands the language," Cat also described the teacher as "sort of flouncing around"—a description that could hardly be described as flattering.

Another participant, Haley, described the horrors of her high school French teacher in terms that seem initially to relate almost as much to the teacher as a person as to the teaching in the classes. Hayley described her French teacher as "horrific," and added the following:

"She was awful. Like, she wasn't even there half the time; the class was not in any form of control."

The fact that Hayley applied words like "awful" and "horrific" to the teacher, rather than to aspects of the teaching, perhaps implies that, in her view, it was the teacher as a person that led her to quit, rather than aspects of the teaching. However, Hayley went on to comment on the teaching as well, complaining that the classes were "very much more of a rote learning system, rather than an actual interactive learning system." In high school, Hayley chose German over French, but she commented, "I think, if the teachers were reversed, I would have chosen French."

Most participants who discontinued (or considered discontinuing) their L2 studies for teacher-related reasons made at least some reference to the teacher as a person; however, in at least one case, it seemed that a learner's desire to discontinue L2 studies may have arisen almost exclusively from the content that the teacher taught in the classes. Sophie, a student of French, made no mention of her teacher's personality or attitudes when she described how her Year 10 high school French classes consisted largely of activities that were "really irrelevant," such as "learn[ing] The Three Little Pigs." Sophie simply described how aspects of the classes were tedious and how, as a result of this, "I did lose a little bit of interest there—I didn't really want to take [French] in year eleven and twelve."

Other participants who cited teacher-related reasons for discontinuing also linked their complaints both to aspects of the teacher's personality and to the

teaching. Carla, who quit French after only three weeks of an introductory course at university, initially cited the teacher herself as a reason. When asked what could have been different that might have made her continue with French, Carla replied as follows:

"I think that … oh … I don't want to … the lecturer?"

Carla also commented on the teacher's manner when she described her last day of French, during which the teacher's actions acted as a catalyst for Carla's decision to stop studying French:

"I don't know if she was just having a bad day, but she just had a go at this girl behind me, and I was like, 'I can't.'"

Carla also, however, highlighted the fact that a number of her problems with her teacher were related to the teaching. Carla made the following comments regarding the teaching style:

"she talked very quickly"
"I'm used to more structured"
"She did a lot of sort of standing at the front and talking."

Carla's experience in French shows how a teacher's personality and teaching style can work together in informing a student's view of that teacher—a view that may contribute to a student dropping out of the class.

Cara, a learner of Spanish, also showed how it can be a combination of the teacher's personality and teaching style that contributes to students' decisions to discontinue. Cara said the following in relation to her teacher's focus on grammar rather than communication:

"so yeah, if she had changed her ways, a different teacher's not necessary, but I don't think she would have."

6.3.1.1.2 Struggling/bad marks.

When they spoke about reasons for discontinuing their L2 classes, a number of participants cited "struggling," "not doing well," and "low marks."

When Carolyn, a student of French, was asked why she had chosen not to continue French at university, her reply included the following:

"… I'm already struggling a lot more this semester than I was last semester"

When Cat, who quit university French, was asked what could have made her continue, her answer included the fact that, when she decided to quit, "my results just, like, […] they were pretty average." Later, in response to a similar question, Cat added the following:

"Even if the class was just rubbish, but if my grades were really good, I probably would've been a little bit more hesitant to drop [French] so quickly"

For Carla, a number of factors worked together to lead her to quit French, and these included struggling. Carla only remained in her French class for three weeks, and her description of struggling didn't appear to relate to the marks she was receiving for assessments; rather, Carla talked about being "quite a way behind" and also described how she was not doing well relative to other students:

"I think it was maybe more of an ego thing, why I dropped it, 'cause I don't like being the kid in class who doesn't … doesn't understand."

Carla also related a situation where the teacher drew attention to another student who didn't understand something (see section 6.3.1.1.1), and described how "it made me feel a bit, oh, I don't want to be that girl who doesn't understand." It may be that this general feeling of being "behind" contributed to Carla's negative appraisal of her chances of success in her French class:

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> "It's the first [university class] I've withdrawn from, […] and I just thought, I didn't know if I would pass."

Carolyn's, Cat's, and Carla's stories show that struggling can contribute directly to learners' decisions to discontinue L2 studies. In addition, Carla's comments—in which struggling appeared to be linked to negative emotions and to uncertainty with regard to grades—suggest that struggling may contribute to an overall negative experience of L2 learning.

6.3.1.1.3 Stressed or anxious.

Several participants demonstrated that stress or anxiety contributed to their discontinuing, or considering discontinuing, their L2 studies. This factor may refer to either stress or anxiety in class—a factor similar to *foreign language classroom anxiety* (e.g., Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014, 2016; Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986)—or to more general stress that may be exacerbated by an L2 class.

Melanie described anxiety in class, including with regard to assessments, as the major reason why she stopped studying French—which had been her university major—and changed her major to politics. Melanie described how a conversation assessment, in particular, made her feel stressed:

> "Um, I was feeling really nervous about … nervous …. um, and I couldn't relax, and I was feeling anxious, and yeah."

When asked specifically what sorts of things she thought contributed to her decision to quit French, Melanie replied, "I found it stressful—the conversations" Later, when asked whether the stress or the boredom was most significant in her decision to quit, Melanie answered, "the stressfulness."

Sophie was still studying French at the time of her interview, and had no intention of quitting; however, when asked whether she'd ever questioned whether she wanted to continue, she replied as follows:

"It definitely kinda played on my mind when I came up to, like, assessment time or having to speak in front of the class or answer questions […] because I don't like being wrong, and I was always, like, kinda scared that some people might be like 'Oh, she's not very good 'cause she doesn't really know what she's talking about. She's not as good as me.'"

Evidently, however, although these feelings of anxiety were enough to make Sophie wonder whether French was for her, they were not sufficient to lead her to actually discontinue her L2 studies.

With regard to more general stress and anxiety, it was clear that some participants' reasons for quitting (or considering quitting) were tied to more generalized stress. Although Lauren planned to continue studying German at university at the time of her interview, she had resolved to quit the previous semester because of "just, like, high levels of stress at the time." When asked about the period during which she planned to stop studying German, Lauren described how university and work commitments combined to create a stressful situation:

"I was doing five papers last semester, and I was just, like, totally stressed. […] Yeah, so I was doing five papers; I was working 15 hours a week at my part time job. So, like, I was just, like, totally, like, 'Aaargh!'"

Carolyn also cited general stress as one of the reasons why she chose to stop studying French, although, in Carolyn's case, her decision to quit was somewhat pre-emptive: She could see that continuing to study French, along with her other university classes, could lead to a stressful situation, and her decision to quit was partly tied to a desire to avoid such a situation:

"[…] next year will be—for French—will be an even bigger jump, and I think I might just—it might just be a bit too stressful."

6.3.1.1.4 Not enjoying classes in general.

Many of the class-related reasons that participants gave for quitting or considering quitting were sufficiently specific that they could be categorized according to whether they related to factors such as the teacher or classroom anxiety. However, several participants talked more generally about not enjoying classes or finding them "boring."

"The first lecture was pretty boring," Melanie said of her university French classes, "and then the lectures after that … I mean, they were all right, but they were a bit boring." When Melanie was asked what factors contributed to her decision to drop French, which had been her university major, she cited two main factors: stress, and the fact that lectures were "kind of boring." It should be noted, though, that Melanie considered the stress a more significant factor than boredom in her decision to stop studying French and change her major (see section 6.3.1.1.4).

Lauren resolved to stop studying German when she began to find it boring:

> "Yeah … it was just, I was finding it quite boring, and I was, like, I really loved this language at high school—I'm not finding it as good anymore. I don't want to, like, stop loving learning this language, so maybe it's better if I just stop learning it and keep it up with my host sister."

One participant, Kahu, was still studying te reo at the time of his interview, but when he was asked whether there was anything that would discourage him from continuing with te reo the following year, he cited an aspect of his classes that he disliked—a lack of commitment on the part of other students. He described his frustration thus:

> "It's an immersion setting, so you need to speak Māori, you know? […] We have a five-minute break […] you go out to the toilet, or go out to make a coffee, you know? There's four of you go out, and you just go back to speaking English. Makes me want to tear my hair out, bro."

When asked a similar question about what sort of hypothetical situation could have led her to drop out of French, Carolyn answered as follows:

> "if I hadn't enjoyed the class. If I was like, oh, French again […] and, like, if I thought […] I'm so glad for this to be over, then I wouldn't have taken it."

Such a comment suggests that it may not necessarily be specific class-related factors that lead students to discontinue, but rather their feelings towards classes in general—feelings that may stem from identifiable factors or experiences, but which may also be emergent, resulting from less consciously identifiable factors.

Not enjoying classes was also cited by Cara when she explained why she quit Spanish. She described how she could no longer see herself studying Spanish at university "'cause I've just … I haven't enjoyed it for two years."

Similarly, Carla showed how not enjoying classes in general contributed to her decision to quit French:

> "It was the one class out of all four that I didn't look forward to going to. So I think that helped in my decision to stop going."

The general idea of enjoyment—or lack thereof—apparent in the comments of learners such as Cara and Carla is perhaps similar to that addressed by Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014, 2016), who suggest that FL enjoyment may be relevant to several areas of SLA, and the possible relevance of such a construct to the issue of L2 learner attrition and retention is addressed in section 6.4.2.3.

6.3.1.1.5 Not learning enough.

Two participants cited reasons for quitting that may be described as feeling that they were not learning enough.

When Sophie talked about why she "dropped" Japanese in high school, she described how her level of Japanese had remained basic, even after years of study:

"Compared to what I was learning in French, I knew probably a tenth of it in Japanese. And I couldn't have a conversation with a Japanese person, and I couldn't write an email in Japanese, and I couldn't read anything in Japanese—like a book or something—and in French I could, sort of. So I think that was probably another deciding factor, I just didn't seem to be […] as well skilled in it as I was in French. So, yeah, I dropped it."

Similarly, when Lauren was asked why she considered discontinuing German, the first reasons that she gave were stress and the fact that "I felt for a while like my German wasn't actually progressing that much."

6.3.1.2 Priorities and other goals.

When asked why they discontinued (or considered discontinuing) their L2 studies, 13 interview participants cited reasons related to other studies, such as a lack of time or a need to focus on other studies. These reasons represent situations where students have placed other goals ahead of their L2-related goals, and such reasons are here collectively referred to as *priority-related* reasons.

Seven participants described making a conscious choice between their L2 and other studies, and clearly stated that they ceased studying their L2 in order to concentrate on other studies. For example, Erin's decision to quit Japanese was tied to her feeling that she needed more time and energy to focus on her science studies:

"well, my grades for my science degree weren't the best last semester […] so I thought maybe if I spend more time towards that I could get better grades, and the only way to do that was to drop the Japanese."

Lara cited similar reasons in her conscious decision to drop Chinese in order to focus on her university major, anthropology:

"Yeah, you definitely had to work incredibly hard, and this is where my dilemma was. 'Cause I thought, 'Wow! I'm spending all my time focusing

on Chinese, and I think I should be focusing on my major.' You know, to pass my degree."

Carla, who discontinued French for a number of reasons, echoed Erin's and Lara's sentiments:

"I didn't want to go through the whole course and neglect my other papers for, yeah, something that was more of an interest paper."

Carolyn, too, when asked why she decided to discontinue her French studies at the end of the year, responded as follows:

"I think it's because, um, I'm going to be moving into [third year] level in my other papers. I feel like I'm probably gonna—and it's my major—I'll probably need to focus more time on those. […] My other papers are what's going towards my degree, so I really need to focus and do well on those."

Even before going to university, several participants dropped—or considered dropping—L2 classes for priority-related reasons, particularly around Year 11 and Year 12 at high school, when New Zealand students are often faced with a choice between focusing on sciences or focusing on humanities. Cat described the potential effects of such decisions:

"I would have given [French] up if I knew that medicine was the … definitely the path that I needed to take and I needed to take maths and all of the sciences and things like that."

Sophie cited a similar reason for considering discontinuing French at high school. When asked about times when she had considered discontinuing French, Sophie responded with the following:

"Probably the most significant time [when I considered quitting] would be when I finished Year 10 and had to choose my NCEA subjects for Year 11. Because … I knew I wanted to do something to do with science […] and I thought, like, later down the track, the sciences split into, like, chemistry, biology, and physics. And if I wanted to take all three of those, I probably wouldn't be able to take my languages."

Similarly, Bryony explained how she dropped French at high school for the following reasons:

"I wanted to do it, but I was doing science and PE and maths, and there just wasn't enough papers. So kind of with my five or six papers it was all sciency. And I wanted to continue French; there just wasn't enough room, really."

Cat's and Sophie's quotes, in particular, shed some light on why learners might choose to drop their L2 in order to pursue other studies. In particular, Cat's description of how medicine could have been "the path that I needed to take" suggests that learners view subject choices as setting them on a path towards particular goals. Perhaps, then, if one path is more likely to carry a learner in the career or study direction that she wants to go, then it makes sense for her to prioritize the studies that she believes will take her in that direction. This idea of paths leading to goals is reiterated by Bryony's statement that "I wanted to do sciences at university, and I needed them to get in," to which she added, "The whole way through high school, I was one of the people who knew exactly what she wanted to do."

The participants described so far in this section presented their decision to drop their L2 and focus on other studies as a conscious, considered choice—or, in Lara's words, a "dilemma." However, other participants who appeared to have dropped—or considered dropping—their L2 for similar reasons did not describe the situation in terms of a conscious choice. Rather, for some, dropping their L2 seemed more like an inevitability—something that had to happen, often as a result

of time or institutional constraints. In all such cases, it seemed that other goals were being prioritized, but, when interviewed, several participants did not initially acknowledge this.

Describing high school, Melanie said, "I didn't have enough space for French, so I dropped it." At university, many participants viewed the situation in the same way. Henry, for example, said simply that "The structure of my degree here didn't really allow for any study of German, cause I study computer science." Bryony, too, described how, at university, "I didn't do [French] in first year, 'cause I was just doing health sci," and Finn explained how "I'm probably not going to be able to continue with [Chinese] next year [...] Medlab's a professional course, so the papers are already prescribed."

In some of these cases, participants only really acknowledged that they were making a choice between their L2 and their other studies when further questioned by the interviewer. Finn, for example, when asked whether he saw his science studies as more important in his future than his Chinese studies, responded "Yeah … professionally […] cause I have a better idea of what I would do with a degree with medlab rather than Chinese."

Cat provided a particularly interesting example of somebody prioritizing other studies over an L2: In her case, the subject that was prioritized over French was another L2—Spanish. When Cat was asked how she reached the decision to discontinue French, she responded as follows:

> "My Spanish was just, like, really good. Like, I was … I loved Spanish. It was, it was just the Spanish really."

This comment makes it clear that Cat's positive experiences in Spanish contributed to her decision to quit French. Not long after Cat began learning Spanish at university, she changed her major from French to Spanish, and it seems that she also began to prioritize her Spanish at the cost of her French, to the extent that she eventually discontinued the latter in favour of the former. It is possible that Cat's decision to prioritize one L2 over another had to do with placing herself on a path leading to particular goals: When Cat talked about learning French at

school, she described how she had wanted to spend "as much of my time as I can in France," but when she was asked whether this changed at all during her time at university, Cat replied that more recently she had been interested in traveling to Latin America (see section 5.3.1.1.1). Perhaps Cat's prioritizing Spanish over French reflected concurrent changes in her travel-related goals.

Few participants who cited other goals or priorities as a reason for discontinuing L2 studies expressed a desire to stop learning their L2. Rather, participants' decisions related to a desire to focus on non-L2 goals, which some learners felt they could better pursue if they abandoned their L2 studies. Erin and Bryony summed up sentiments that were apparent in a number of those who discontinued their L2 studies as a result of prioritizing non-L2 goals: When Erin was asked what could have been different that would have made her continue studying Japanese, she responded as follows:

"If I had more time in the day [...] to study for everything—and get good marks in everything."

A comment made by Bryony may also be seen to summarize the comments of many learners who discontinued their L2 studies for priority-related reasons:

"I took it [French] up until, you know, the latest that I could, but I just sort of had to prioritize."

6.3.1.3 Other factors.

This category covers reasons for ceasing studies that cannot be categorized as relating to L2 classes or to other studies. Such reasons comprise not seeing any future in studying an L2 (section 6.3.1.3.1), unavailability of follow-on classes (section 6.3.1.3.2), and injury or illness on the part of the student (section 6.3.1.3.3).

6.3.1.3.1 No future in L2.

In the case of a number of students who gave priority-related reasons for discontinuing (or considering discontinuing) their L2 courses, it seemed that participants saw more of a future in their other studies, but this was seldom explicitly stated. In some cases, however, some participants cited a perceived lack of future in their L2 as one of the reasons why they quit or considered quitting. In some cases, learners described situations where they discontinued their L2 studies partly due to having little opportunity to use their L2 while they were learning it; in other situations, learners described dropping their L2 because they couldn't see how they would use the language in the future. It should be noted, though, that the number of interview participants who cited "no future" reasons for discontinuing L2 studies (2-3 participants) was small in comparison with those who cited reasons related to their L2 classes (10 participants) and reasons related to other goals (13 participants).

Finn was an example of someone who stopped learning an L2 because he had little opportunity to use it while he was learning. Finn stopped learning Japanese online because "I couldn't practice it with anyone, so it was really hard to develop the skills […] then I just gave up on trying to study it myself." Rhianna, who quit German after studying it for two years via distance learning during high school, said that she "probably would have been more likely to do it for longer" if she hadn't been studying via distance learning, and that "it was difficult not having a classroom, not having people to talk to, unless I forced my sister to at home."

When he was learning Chinese (after having discontinued his Japanese studies), Finn explained that he was considering dropping Chinese in order to study medlab science partly because he had "a better idea of what I would do with a degree with medlab." In a similar way, Lauren, who resolved to quit German, before later changing her mind, said that "I didn't really see the point in continuing if I wasn't actually going anywhere with it." This reason for quitting an L2 may be one that is of particular relevance in the context of New Zealand, a geographically isolated country in which virtually everyone already speaks English—a global language (Crystal, 2003). Whereas an L2 learner living in a location closer to L2 environments might easily be able to imagine themselves using their L2 regularly, it may be more common for New Zealand L2 learners to

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harbour sentiments similar to those of Carla, who indicated that not knowing whether she would use French in future affected both her motivation (see section 5.3.1.2) and her desire to continue:

> "I don't know if I'll ever use it, and I think that helped, er, didn't help with, yeah, motivation, and doing it. I think it did help me make a choice to drop the paper."

6.3.1.3.2 No class available.

Two participants ceased their L2 studies when classes became unavailable. Hayley stopped learning Spanish when she was eleven years old because her family moved from the United States, where Spanish was mandatory in her school, to New Zealand, where it was not offered in her school. Another participant, Margaret, did not consider herself to have quit te reo, as she hoped to continue with it in the year following her interview; however, she had temporarily ceased her te reo studies because, at her university, there was a semester-long gap between an introductory te reo course and the follow-on course. Margaret described this situation as "really annoying," and said, "I do feel like I'm losing [the language] already." Margaret also only said that she would "try" to take te reo the following year, and reiterated that she was "slightly concerned about how much of it is fading from my brain."

6.3.1.3.3 Injury/illness.

Two participants in the study were forced to (at least temporarily) discontinue their L2 studies because of injury. Maddie was forced to withdraw from her Japanese classes after sustaining two concussions during the semester—a situation that lead to her realizing that "I couldn't study a new language when I was having trouble speaking English." When Maddie received her second concussion, "we were only a month before the final exams," and "I wasn't going to pass." Maddie did, however, hope to continue studying Japanese the following year.

A situation such as Maddie's might initially seem the sort of factor over which teachers, educational institutions, and L2 learners might have little control, and

thus a factor not worth considering when thinking about student retention in L2 classes; however, the experience of another participant, Bryony, shows that the response of a teacher or institution to problems resulting from a student's being injured can have an impact on whether that student can continue learning an L2.

When Bryony was involved in a car accident, she was enrolled in two L2 courses at university: French and German. As a result of the crash, Bryony "had two weeks off uni" and then "tried to catch up." Bryony was able to pass her German class, but was advised to "try again next year" with French. Bryony described how, in German, her lecturer "was really good, and he just said 'OK, these are what you need to catch up on. Just do it whenever you can.' […] He didn't really put any pressure on." This allowed Bryony to continue with her German and contrasted notably with her French classes, in which "there were no extensions […] I just didn't have enough time to catch up before the last deadline."

Bryony intended to pick up French again the following year, but she was "quite mad" about having to temporarily cease her studies:

> "if I'd had that extra week, then I could have possibly continued and it wouldn't have wasted a whole extra year."

Bryony's experience suggests that, even when a learner's discontinuation of studies appears to be due to factors beyond anybody's control, different teacher and institutional reactions can have an impact.

6.3.1.4 Factors work together.

Many participants made it clear that no single factor led to their discontinuing (or considering discontinuing) their L2 studies. Carla, for example, cited a diverse range of factors as contributing to her decision to discontinue French after three weeks of university classes. Carla's reasons included the teacher, struggling, not enjoying classes, priority-related factors, and the fact that she saw little use for French in her future. In fact, of the 14 participants who talked about having ceased university L2 studies, 10 listed multiple reasons for quitting, and, of the remaining

four, three were forced to discontinue their studies by factors beyond their control. The fact that multiple factors led learners to discontinue their L2 studies is exemplified in a statement made by Cat with regard to her reasons for discontinuing French:

"oh, I guess it was, it was a lot of things."

6.3.2 What Factors Contribute to Learner Retention?

When considering the issue of learner attrition/retention, there are two main questions that need to be addressed: What factors contribute to learner attrition? And what factors contribute to learner retention? Section 6.3.1 has addressed factors that led learners to discontinue their L2 studies; this section addresses factors that led learners to continue their L2 studies.

Participants who said *why* they continued learning an L2 cited a range of factors. These factors are grouped under several headings in the sections that follow. Section 6.3.2.1 presents factors related to other people—particularly encouragement and feelings of obligation. This section is followed by the most commonly cited factors that contributed to learners' continuing: factors related to L2 classes (section 6.3.2.2). Following this, there is an examination of a more loosely affiliated group of factors collectively described as *future-related factors* (section 6.3.2.3). Finally, section 6.3.2.4 looks at factors related to learners' investment in their L2(s).

6.3.2.1 Encouragement, identity, and obligation.
Reasons for continuing that related to feelings of obligation and to being encouraged included direct encouragement from others and also included learners' perceptions or beliefs with regard to what respected others wanted them to do. This section looks first at direct encouragement from others and then at the role of feelings of obligation.

Of the L2 students interviewed as part of this study, few explicitly cited encouragement from parents or friends as reasons why they continued their studies, although a larger number said that their parents were influential in their initial decision to study an L2.

Between years 11 and 12 of high school, Cat seriously considered dropping her French classes in order to take science classes that might lead to the midwifery career that she was considering at that point. However, when she was mulling the possibility of quitting French, it seemed that her parents' encouragement contributed to her decision to continue:

> "Yeah, my parents were kinda like, '[Cat], you really enjoy French. Why don't you keep it as something that you can study and still enjoy? You know, it can be like your enjoyment subject.' Um … so, yeah, but I carried on with it".

In this case, it was Cat's enjoyment of French that appeared to lead her to continue, but it took direct intervention on the part of her parents to remind her how much she enjoyed French and to discourage her from discontinuing her French studies.

Parental encouragement can also have more material manifestations: Henry—who planned to study Russian at university for just one semester, but who subsequently decided to take another Russian class the following semester—said that his parents "really encourage things like learning languages," and it helped cement his decision to continue with Russian when his "mum said that if I did Russian, they [Henry's parents] would pay for it." Later, when Henry summarized his reasons for continuing with Russian, he listed his reasons as follows:

> "yeah, the interest, and the satisfaction, and then the money."

For Marama, encouragement from her parents—particularly her dad—was a major factor in her decision to continue studying te reo at times when she was considering discontinuing her formal L2 studies. Before she even began school,

Marama's parents' desire for her to learn te reo was realized when they enrolled her in a kōhanga reo (te reo immersion preschool), and when she began primary school, she was placed in a bilingual (te reo and English) class.

At the time of her interview, Marama was "glad that, yeah, [Dad] kept pushing me to do it, because I think it's really important." In her first year of university, Marama again went through a phase of wondering "whether I should be doing it". When asked what kept her going at that point, Marama answered, "again, definitely, like, family, and, I think, more so, me."

When Marama cites "me" as a factor that kept her going, she is perhaps indicating the role that her identity played with regard to her decision(s) to continue learning te reo. The role of ethnolinguistic identity and HL learner status in learner retention was apparent in a number comments made by Marama (see chapter 7), and such factors also clearly played a role in another learner's perseverance with learning te reo.

Kahu, another HL learner of te reo, talked about feeling that he had been "requested" by his ancestors to learn te reo (see section 5.3.2.), and when he was asked whether he could imagine anything that would stop him learning or speaking te reo, he answered "No," and stated that it was his "destiny" to learn the language and "pass it on."

Kahu's and Marama's comments clearly show that a learner's identity and feelings of obligation can lead one to continue learning a language. Such comments indicate that ethnicity and whether or not a learner is an HL learner of a language may be relevant to the issue of L2 learner attrition/retention, and the role(s) that such variables may play in this regard are addressed in greater depth in chapter 7.

6.3.2.2 Factors related to L2 classes.

When participants talked about why they continued with their L2 studies, the majority of the factors that they cited had to do with their L2 classes. The following sections look at the L2 teacher (section 6.3.2.2.1), at general enjoyment (section 6.3.2.2.2), at success (section 6.3.2.2.3), and at other factors that were less easily categorized (section 6.3.2.2.4).

6.3.2.2.1 Teacher.

A number of participants cited their L2 teacher as playing a role in their decision to continue with their L2 classes. Of these participants, several articulated the connection between their teacher and their decision to continue in simple terms—i.e., their teacher was good, so they continued. Two other participants described how specific actions on the part of their L2 teacher were instrumental in encouraging them to continue. Finally, this section looks at two participants who did not continue—learners who quit partly because of their teachers, but who explained how their teachers could have been better, which might have made them continue.

Maddie, a student of Japanese, is an example of someone who appeared to have been inspired by her L2 teacher. Initially, she took a university Japanese class just "as a filler paper" for one semester, but that soon changed:

> "… then I decided that I would take it full time and have it as a [university] minor because of the teacher and how much fun I was having in the class."

Maddie described her teacher as "amazing," and said that it was "refreshing" to go "from teachers who were paid to, you know, teach you the basics, to someone who was actually interested in teaching you everything about [Japanese]."

Similarly, when Marama described a period during high school when she was considering quitting te reo, she said that what kept her studying was family, friends, and "my high school teacher—like, the new one." Marama said that her teacher "definitely kept me going, cause, yeah, very passionate."

When Cat took Spanish at university, having an "amazing" teacher, who made learning fun, clearly played a role in her decision not only to continue with Spanish, but to make it her university major:

"I had an awesome, amazing lecturer for Spanish. And he was, like, the reason I changed my major. I was, like, this is what I want to do. Like, he makes it so fun."

However, fun was not the only teacher quality that made Cat want to continue with Spanish. Further comments showed that another Spanish lecturer's patience was also important:

"My teacher in second semester was really patient, and he'd come round and, like, explain things to us. And so I thought, yeah, I definitely want to continue with this."

A further teacher quality that was evidently important to Cat, with regard to whether she continued learning a language, was whether she could relate to her teacher. Cat quit French partly because she "didn't get along with [the teacher] at all," but said of her favourite Spanish teacher that "he was just really funny. He— you could just relate to him so much. Um, and that's when I decided that I wanted to study Spanish."

Furthermore, when Cat was asked whether she would continue with Spanish right through university, her answer suggested that she would do so largely because of the teachers:

"No doubts at all. I've got a great line of lecturers, um, in my view. So, yeah, no, it's great. I love it."

Two participants, Gabrielle and Henry, indicated that specific actions of their teachers had encouraged them to continue studying their L2s. At high school, Gabrielle was "really struggling" with Spanish, but the teacher "encouraged me to continue" and suggested going on exchange to a Spanish-speaking country:

"[The teacher] was like, 'Look, I can tell you really like this […] but you're terrible at doing, at doing the class work. Have you thought about

going on an exchange?' And so she supported me in finding an exchange to go on. I ended up going to Costa Rica when I was 18."

Like Maddie with Japanese, Henry only intended to study Russian for one semester as "just a general education paper," but several factors led him to continue studying Russian the following semester as well. One particular incident that contributed to his decision to continue was when his lecturer contacted him personally after his first semester to suggest that he continue:

"Mike, the lecturer, emailed me, saying, 'Well, you got a good mark […] We'd really like to see you in the class."

Henry's lecturer also indicated that it would help the university's Russian department if he continued, so Henry's decision was, in his words, "kind of a little bit of a pity thing".

Cara and Carla both ceased studying their L2s at university during the course of the present study, and both cited their teacher as contributing to their decision to quit. A number of their comments are, however, relevant to the question of why learners continue, or persevere, as both Cara and Carla articulated things that their teachers could have done differently that might have led them to continue their university L2 studies.

Cara said of her Spanish teacher that a different teacher was "not necessarily needed" if the teacher could have "focused on communications instead of […] meta-language, you know, grammar and stuff." Cara also suggested that a different teacher wouldn't have been necessary for her if there had been "more activities that could have had us standing up," "more real-life tasks," and "more authentic material."

Carla's suggestions were notably different from Cara's, which may reflect the different ways in which the two found classes a struggle. Carla said that she might have kept going with French if the teacher had "gone maybe a bit slower or offered more support."

The comments made by participants regarding how their teacher led them to continue their L2 studies show that the teacher can play a critical role; however, the findings also show that the specific teacher qualities or actions that lead learners to continue are diverse. Few of the desirable qualities or actions described by participants, however, appear to be of the sort that might encourage some students to continue while discouraging others, and neither do any of the qualities or actions described appear mutually exclusive. It is difficult to imagine any L2 learner being discouraged from continuing by a teacher who is passionate, enthusiastic, fun, or patient. And there is nothing to stop a teacher employing communicative tasks and authentic materials while also being supportive and moving at a speed that suits students.

6.3.2.2.2 Enjoyment.

Along with the teacher, general enjoyment of learning a language was one of the most frequently cited factors that led learners to continue studying an L2. Several learners were relatively non-specific in talking about how enjoyment led them to continue, although one participant articulated that his desire to continue had to do with enjoying having more variety in his university studies. Two participants related their decision to continue not just to the fact that they enjoyed the L2 classes, but also to the fact that they were not enjoying other studies, or at least not enjoying them as much as other studies.

In the cases of participants who cited general enjoyment or "liking" learning an L2, it was not always clear whether participants specifically enjoyed their L2 classes, or whether they enjoyed the broader experience of learning an L2—both inside and outside the classroom. For example, the following quote from Cat shows that one reason why she continued learning French at high school was that she enjoyed it, but the quote does not make clear whether Cat's experience of classes contributed to her enjoying learning French:

> "I really, really enjoyed it. And the language was certainly, like, learning a language is something that's totally different than anything I'd done. And I was like, yeah, I definitely want to keep going."

Cat was even more general when she was asked what kept her going with French right through high school, when she answered, "Um, I think I just, I just loved it. Like, it wasn't something that I was really willing to give up." While such comments do not obviously relate to Cat's experience of classes, she did imply that enjoyment of classes was important in determining whether she continued with an L2. When Cat talked about how one of her university Spanish lecturers was "the reason I changed my major," she added that the lecturer "makes it so fun." This suggests that enjoyment of classes was an important factor in whether Cat continued, and it also suggests that the teacher can play an important role in making classes enjoyable.

Lauren also spoke of how enjoying learning German contributed to her decision to continue when she talked about how pressure and a lack of time led her to consider ceasing her German studies. Talking about deciding not to quit, Lauren said, "Again, it's cause I love learning the language and, you know, it's always been one of those things for me which just, like, you know, I've really enjoyed."

Hayley made it clear that enjoying German was an important factor when she decided to continue studying the language at high school. Hayley said that at one point she "thought about dropping [German], but I realized that it was something that I really enjoyed, and I wanted to keep with it." She also added the following about the role that enjoyment played in her decision to continue learning the language:

> "I think at the beginning, [German] was just purely an interest thing. I wasn't sure that I was going to stick with it forever. But I really enjoyed it, and it was something that I wanted to stick with."

Maddie's and Henry's enjoyment of L2 learning contributed to their deciding to continue learning their L2 even though they had initially only planned to study an L2 for one semester. Maddie cited "how much fun I was having in the class" as a reason for continuing, and Henry said, "then I found I really liked [Russian], so I

did it again this semester." Henry also indicated that continuing with Russian would improve his general experience of the semester by adding some variety to his course of study, which was dominated by his computer science major:

> "Yeah, oh, also wanting to […] change my semester up a little bit, so I'm not doing the same thing all semester—so I've got a bit of variety."

Relative enjoyment, rather than absolute enjoyment, also contributed to some participants continuing with an L2. Comments made by two participants showed that *not* enjoying other studies, or finding that L2 studies were more enjoyable than other studies, played a role in their decisions to continue studying an L2. When asked about whether she had originally planned to continue with French after her first semester at university, Bryony answered as follows:

> "I was unsure at that stage. It was more just I need an interest paper, I'd love to do this, but … yeah, and then when I did well in it and wasn't enjoying the science, I was just like, it just seems like the right move to make—just continue with something I enjoy rather than continue with what I planned to do [science] but just wasn't enjoying."

This quote from Bryony clearly shows that *relative* enjoyment played a role in her decision to continue, and a further quote reiterates this point:

> "I noticed I wasn't enjoying the sciences as much […] so since I did well in French and enjoyed it, I was like, 'Yep, I'll continue this.'"

Bryony's quotes make it clear that she enjoyed French in an absolute sense, as well as in a relative sense; however, another learner of French, Sophie, puts a more negative spin on the idea of relative enjoyment, suggesting that her decision to continue may have had to do with opting to continue with the class that was *least un*enjoyable.

"I wasn't loving the [French] classes, but I wasn't hating them either. Whereas some of my classes I really hated, and got rid of them."

6.3.2.2.3 Success.

As a factor that can lead learners to continue learning an L2, success has an important point in common with enjoyment (see section 6.3.2.2.2): Both factors can be relevant both in an absolute sense and in a relative sense, with regard to other classes. This section looks first at learners who show through their comments that L2 learning success—in an absolute sense—contributed to their continuing their L2 studies. It then examines the cases of three learners who cited relative success as a reason for continuing. Finally, this section looks at a learner who described what might be thought of as extramural L2 success as contributing to her decision to continue learning an L2. Some participants transcend the subdivisions of success outlined here, with one participant's comments covering absolute success, relative success, *and* extramural L2 success.

Carolyn described how, when she took her first semester of university French, she "hadn't really thought about" whether she would continue the following semester. However, Carolyn then elaborated, saying, "I think I was going to see how I did and then from there decide." This suggested that whether or not Carolyn continued with French was predicated on her grades. When Carolyn was subsequently asked about her grades in that French class, her answer made it clear that her grades played an important role in her decision to continue:

"I got an A-plus, so I thought I may as well continue. I thought, there's no point not continuing."

Similarly, Henry, who said that he decided to continue with Russian for a number of reasons, included in his reasons the fact that he "got an A last semester."

Speaking hypothetically about factors that could have prevented her from quitting French, Cat's comments also showed links between grades and continuing with L2 studies. Specifically, Cat said that, even though she wasn't enjoying French, she might have persisted if "my grades were really good."

Sophie and Cat both cited what might be described as relative success as a reason for their continuation of French studies. Sophie indicated that her French grades were particularly good in relation to her grades in other classes, and her comments suggest that getting better grades in French played a role in her decision to continue:

> "I was like, well, I'm actually doing worse in science than I am in French, so if I was going to give something up, it would be the science."

Cat, who had ceased her French studies when she entered university and began studying law, returned to French when she received her law grades at the end of her first year of university:

> "I just—law wasn't for me at all. And I got my results, and I was on the phone to my dad, who was away at the time, and I was like, 'Dad, I think, I think I should study languages.' Like, I missed French so much. I didn't study it my first year. And I was like, 'I miss it so much. I wanna—I wanna take another language.'"

Two participants also talked about how L2 success in areas other than class grades led them to continue their L2 studies. A comment made by Hayley suggested that making progress in German led her to continue studying the language:

> "I can see how far I've come, and I want to keep pushing it until I'm fluent."

A comment made by Cat also suggests that the success of reaching an extramural milestone with her French contributed to her desire to continue:

> "I used to listen to music and think, like, oh, this is so cool. And when I could sing the whole song in a different language, I was like, no-one has any idea what I'm saying. And yeah, I think then I was just like, this is really cool. I want to keep going."

6.3.2.2.4 Practice.

When talking about why they continued learning their L2 at university, two participants cited a desire for exposure to, or practice using, the L2. For Kahu and Gabrielle, an important reason for continuing to attend L2 classes was that classes permitted L2 exposure that might otherwise be minimal in the small New Zealand city in which they lived and studied. Both Kahu and Gabrielle were advanced speakers of their respective L2s before coming to university, and their desire to attend their L2 classes evidently related partly to a desire to avoid losing their L2 skills.

Kahu had the following to say about his reasons for taking te reo classes at university:

> "I'll be honest with you, bro: If it wasn't for the classes here, I probably wouldn't have the chance to speak Māori outside of the university, because the Māori speakers I know are far too busy. They're out of town half the time, and when they're available, I'm not available."

Gabrielle, when asked the main reasons why she continued with Spanish in the semester during which she was interviewed, replied as follows:

> "[to] learn more, and to have that constant Spanish exposure—actually, that's probably the main one."

6.3.2.3 Future-related factors.

Factors that led to learners continuing and which were related to learners' futures were grouped into three categories: "valuable for future and career" (section 6.3.2.3.1), "travel" (section 6.3.2.3.2), and "children" (section 6.3.2.3.3).

6.3.2.3.1 Valuable for future and career.

A comment made by Cat perhaps best sums up the idea of continuing learning an L2 because of a perceived general benefit. When talking about high school, Cat

said that she really enjoyed French and that "I kind of knew this is definitely really valuable in my life, and I would just want to keep going with that." This idea of an L2 being useful in the future in a somewhat non-specific sense was echoed by Sophie, who said, when talking about why she decided to continue with French after studying it in first year, that she "knew it could be useful in some sense." Marama, too, when asked about why she kept going with te reo during her first year of university, when she was finding it a struggle, included in her answer the fact that te reo was "a good asset to have."

While only three participants appeared to cite a perceived general benefit as one of their reasons for continuing, a larger number indicated that the perceived usefulness of their L2 with regard to future careers played a role in their deciding to continue. Most such comments, however, exhibited only relatively weak links between L2-related goals and learners' decisions to continue their L2 studies.

Cara talked about how she wanted "to be a teacher" and said that if she could "teach Spanish, that would be good." Cara also spoke of the more general career goal of "working and living in a South American or European country," in the context of saying that she felt that she "may as well just continue with this [Spanish]."

Bryony and Sophie also talked about wanting to continue learning the language partly because of perceived career benefits, although they were less specific than Cara in describing the sorts of careers to which their L2s might be relevant. Bryony, for example, described having the following thoughts while studying French at university:

> "I thought, if I do this to a higher level—become, or try to be, more fluent—ah, it will definitely give me more options in the future. And I hadn't really thought of it as a career choice until this year. And I thought, oh, if I keep doing this, then I will be able to incorporate it into a career."

Sophie, when talking about her decision to continue with French when she entered university, said that one reason for taking French was that it might give her something of an advantage over other science graduates:

"Well, I thought there's probably quite a lot of people coming out [of university] with Bachelor of Applied Science, and there's probably not a lot of people coming out with Bachelor of Applied Science and Diploma in Language […] so I thought it would definitely separate me from the science field."

6.3.2.3.2 Travel.

Several participants mentioned future travel plans as playing a role in their decisions to continue; however, the types of comments that participants made with regard to travel indicated that, at least for some, this was probably not a central factor.

When asked about what made her keep going with French, Cat's answer included the following:

"Learning a language is something that can, obviously, it can take you across the world. So I definitely wanted to keep going with it."

This comment, however, was made as part of a larger comment, in which Cat spoke of wanting to "keep my […] opportunities open," which suggests that travel goals may have been part of a larger factor that made her want to continue.

Another example of a travel-related goal playing a role in a learner's decision to continue learning an L2 was that of Gabrielle. Gabrielle talked about how, during a period when she was wondering whether to continue with Spanish, her teacher suggested she go on exchange to a Spanish-speaking country. The fact that Gabrielle did continue her classes and go on exchange after her teacher's suggestion may indicate that her plan to go on exchange to a Spanish-speaking country contributed to her decision to continue with Spanish at high school, but this is not entirely clear from Gabrielle's comments.

6.3.2.3.3 Children.

Two participants in the study—both Māori learners of te reo—talked about their desire to pass te reo on to their children; however, only Marama linked this desire to her perseverance with the language at university.

At one point in her interview, Marama was asked why she wanted to keep learning te reo even though, as she had said earlier, she had few opportunities to use the language. Marama's response to this question included the following:

> "I'm of the hope of, like, if I teach my children Māori, then they can speak to me in Māori, so I'll still be using it."

6.3.2.4 Investment-related factors.

Several participants, when talking about why they continued learning their L2(s), cited reasons that may collectively be described as relating to the fact that learners were already invested in their L2(s), and that quitting would constitute an abandonment of that investment.

Virtually all comments made by participants that fall under the banner of investment-related factors convey a sentiment that might be best summed up by a comment made by Marama with regard to learning te reo:

> "Why give up now?"

When Marama was asked what kept her going with te reo during her first year of university, when she was struggling, she cited her family and herself, but when she elaborated on how she kept herself going, Marama added the following:

> "I was like, you know, I've invested so much time into it. Like, why give up now?"

Continuing, Marama said that dropping out would have been "the easy option," and she said that she told herself, "You've done it this long. It's a part of who you are." With regard to this last comment, it is difficult to say whether Marama is referring to te reo being a part of her Māori identity, or whether she is suggesting

that, by studying a language for a long period, it becomes part of one's identity. The former interpretation relates to the role of HL learner status, which is addressed in chapter 7; the latter interpretation, like Marama's earlier comments, would suggest that being invested in her L2 contributed to Marama's decision to continue learning te reo.

The idea of continuing because of the extent to which one is invested in an L2 is also reflected in a comment made by Gabrielle with regard to continuing to study Spanish:

> "I've worked so hard at it. I've got so many friends that speak Spanish. I need to be able to talk to them. […] Like, my Costa Rican host family don't speak any English at all."

Cara further echoed the sentiments of Marama and Gabrielle when she said the following of Spanish:

> "Yeah, I've been doing it so long that it just made sense [to continue]."

Marama's, Gabrielle's, and Cara's investment in their L2s might be best described as investment in the languages themselves, but for other L2 learners, L2 investment might be better thought of as investment in a university qualification.

Bryony, who was forced to add a year to her French degree after a car accident left her unable to pass a class, described her situation as follows:

> "I would consider possibly not continuing [French] because it means I'm here for an extra year. But, because it's part of my degree, kind of have to [continue]."

Bryony's situation with German was similar, and she had the following to say about her decision to continue studying German at university:

> "To be honest, the German is really only for the degree. If I didn't need it for my degree, I may not continue it after first year."

Like Bryony, Sophie also made it clear from her comments that her reasons for continuing with French at university had to do with her being invested in a qualification related to French—in Sophie's case, a Diploma in Language:

> "Like, kind of once I got past the first year, I kind of committed to it already. Cause I'd taken three papers, and you only need seven for the diploma. So I kind of thought, well, I'm nearly half way; it seems a bit dumb to have paid three grand to take these papers and then just chuck it away."

Sophie's final comment indicates that Sophie's investment-related reasons included financial investment.

Investment in an L2—whether in the sense of investment in learning the L2, investment in a qualification, or financial investment—appears to be an important factor that leads some learners to continue learning an L2. However, in the present study, the number of participants who cited an investment-related reason for continuing with their L2 studies is notably smaller than those who cited other factors, such as factors relating to their L2 classes.

6.3.3 Summary and Discussion of Qualitative Findings Pertaining to Research Question 2

6.3.3.1 Comparison with earlier studies.

In this study, it was possible to categorize learners' reasons for discontinuing (or considering discontinuing) their studies into three relatively discrete categories: factors related to L2 classes, factors related to other studies, and other factors. Similarly, factors that led learners to continue their L2 studies were able to be

categorized as relating to L2 classes, to future goals, or to the concept of investment.

The importance of factors related to L2 classes reflects the findings of a number of earlier studies that examined learner attrition/retention. Bartley (1970), Gardner et al. (1976) and Clément, Smythe, and Gardner (1978) all found links between learners' continuation or discontinuation of L2 studies and their attitudes towards their classes or towards FL learning, and comments made by this study's participants in relation to the teacher, in relation to struggling or success, and in relation to enjoyment of classes in general may be viewed as expressions of such attitudes. Finding that negative class-related experiences contributed to learners' decisions to quit learning an L2 is also somewhat in line with Gibson and Shutt's (2002) findings: In particular, Gibson and Shutt's participants' descriptions of not enjoying various aspects of L2 classes have much in common with comments that learners in the present study made regarding their having discontinued studies as a result of factors related to their L2 classes. The fact that the present study linked enjoyment to learner attrition/retention also ties in with Noels et al.'s (2001) conclusion that intrinsic motivation—which may be seen as closely related to enjoyment—is positively correlated with persistence. Learners such as Carla, who quit French after finding it to be "the one class […] that I didn't look forward to going to," perhaps exemplify a lack of intrinsic motivation bringing about a lack of persistence.

The links evident in participants' comments between negative experiences and discontinuation of studies is, however, somewhat at odds with Ramage's (1990) claim that "discontinuing students' attitudes toward the learning situation did not account for their discontinuation because their attitudes tended to be typically positive" (p. 212). Regarding this comment, though, it should be noted that Ramage's findings were drawn from analysis of quantitative data, and it is possible that the role that negative experiences can play in learners' decisions to discontinue studies is more clearly visible in qualitative data, such as that collected in the present study.

The study does align somewhat with Ramage (1990)—and also with Kondo (1999)—in finding that learners' prioritization of other studies can lead to

discontinuation of L2 studies. In particular, the present study's finding that some learners discontinued due to factors such as not having "enough room" echoes Ramage's statement that a majority of discontinuing students "indicated that they would have continued if they had had room in their schedule, indicating the low priority of FL study in relation to other subjects" (p. 212). Kondo similarly commented that many students in her study "reported the problem of time-management as a reason for discontinuing" (p. 85).

When learners cease studying an L2 in order to focus on other studies, this could be viewed as other goals playing a role in learner attrition/retention, but some learners also cited the pursuit of certain goals as leading them to continue. Interview participants' comments about how future-related factors (future value of L2, travel goals, children) led them to continue may be seen as exemplifying the role that relevant goals can play in learner retention. Such a possibility echoes the findings of at least two previous studies (Kondo, 1999; Noels et al., 2001). Noels et al. (2001) found a significant relationship between identified regulation and L2 learning persistence, indicating that the pursuit of L2-relevant goals may have played a role in learners' continuation of studies; Kondo (1999) stated that "If students believe college Japanese will help achieve their professional goals, they are likely to continue taking Japanese no matter how busy they are" (p. 85).

This study was possibly the first to identify encouragement, identity, and feelings of obligation as relevant to learner attrition/retention (see section 6.3.2.1), although it was not the first to investigate the possibility that variables could affect learner attrition/retention: Ramage (1990) did not find "parental encouragement" to be an important variable in discriminating continuing learners from discontinuing learners, and Noels et al., (2001) found that introjected regulation was not correlated with persistence.

6.3.3.2 The L2MSS and L2 learner attrition/retention.
In past studies, the L2MSS and its components have been employed in understanding L2 learning motivation. However, the present study also sought to examine whether the L2MSS or certain of its components could also account for L2 learner attrition and retention.

In this discussion, the qualitative findings of this study as they relate to learners' reasons for continuing or discontinuing L2 studies are discussed in light of the L2MSS. The discussion focuses particularly on the roles and relative importance of L2-related goals (ideal L2 self), ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience, and non-L2 goals with regard to learner attrition/retention.

6.3.3.2.1 L2-related goals and learner attrition/retention.

L2-related goals—with or without a visualization component—appeared to play a relatively minor role in learners' decisions to continue or discontinue their L2 studies. A number of learners' comments regarding discontinuing studies that were classified as "no future in L2" (section 6.3.1.3.1) can easily be construed as situations in which a lack of L2-related goals on the part of learners led learners to discontinue (or to consider discontinuing). In the same way, comments that were categorised as "future-related factors" (section 6.3.2.3) and the majority of comments that were categorized as "investment-related" (section 6.3.2.4) may be seen as situations in which L2-related goals led learners to continue. Lauren, for example, could clearly be described as lacking L2-related goals when she described considering quitting because she "wasn't really going anywhere with [German]," and Cara could be described as possessing and pursuing L2-related goals when she indicated that her desire "to be a teacher" contributed to her view that she "may as well just continue" with Spanish.

L2-related goals are closely relate to the ideal L2 self (see sections 5.3.1.1 and 5.4.1.2), and, as such, it is significant that Dörnyei (2009) states that possible selves "need to exist" (p. 33) in order to have any power to motivate L2 learners. Perhaps a lack of plausible L2-related goals can lead not only to a lack of motivation, but also to a learner questioning why they are bothering to study an L2 at all. To turn this idea around, perhaps the existence of L2-related goals can contribute not only to a learner's motivation, but also somewhat to a learner's desire to simply keep on studying her L2.

Further evidence of the relevance of L2-related goals to some learners' decisions to quit may be seen in the case of Cat. Section 5.3.1.1.1 showed how Cat's L2-related goals changed from wanting to spend "as much of my time as I

can in France" to having "a massive desire to go to Latin America." Soon after this change in Cat's L2-related goals occurred, Cat not only changed her major from French to Spanish, but also made the decision to quit her French studies. While Cat's story gives no clue as to the direction of causation, and while there were clearly other factors involved in Cat's decision to discontinue her French studies, this example shows how a learner's actions in present reality (e.g., dropping a class) can mirror changes in a learner's L2-related goals.

Although interview data offered evidence that learners' L2-related goals (or lack thereof) can play a role in learner attrition/retention, it is important to bear in mind that the comments learners made linking L2 learner attrition/retention to L2-related goals were neither as numerous nor as clear-cut as comments that linked L2 learner attrition/retention to non-L2 goals or to the L2 learning experience.

6.3.3.2.2 The ought-to L2 self and L2 learner attrition/retention.

The ought-to L2 self may represent aspirations held for the learner by any other individual. However, in practice, the ought-to L2 self has commonly been thought of as representing the influence of family. Indeed, Taguchi et al. (2009) identified a strong "relationship between parental encouragement and ought-to L2 self" (p. 107). Several comments made by interview participants may be viewed as indicating that family was one of the factors that led to their continuing L2 studies, and at least one participant cited feelings of obligation as leading him to continue. No interview participants cited a lack of encouragement or a lack of obligation as leading them to discontinue their L2 studies.

Interview data show that, while parental encouragement may contribute to learners' continuing, it may not be accurate to view this as the ought-to L2 self in action. The ought-to L2 self as concerns "the attributes that one believes one ought to possess to meet expectations and to avoid possible negative outcomes" (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 29).

Although a conversation with her parents was a factor in Cat's decision to continue with French at school (see section 6.3.2.1), there was no evidence that feelings of obligation or expectation played a role. Similarly, although Henry's parents played an active (financial) role in his decision to continue learning

Russian, Henry said nothing to suggest that his parents *expected* him to continue (see section 6.3.2.1); rather, he suggested that financial assistance from his parents made it more practical to continue with something that he was personally finding interesting and satisfying.

Of the three participants who cited family as a reason why they continued their L2 studies, the situation of only one, Marama, can be confidently described as an example of the ought-to L2 self playing a role: It seems evident from a number of Marama's comments (see section 6.3.2.1) that her dad's expectations played a significant part in keeping her learning te reo, particularly during high school.

The expectations or feelings of obligation that comprise the "ought-to" of the ought-to L2 self do not need to come from learners' immediate families: A learner can conceivably experience "ought-to" feelings if they simply perceive that others are expecting something of them. Kahu made little reference to parental expectations, but his references to feeling "obliged" and "requested" by his ancestors to learn te reo and pass it on (see section 6.3.2.1) show how expectations that are perceived as opposed to articulated—and tied to a culture or ethnolinguistic group rather than to individual family members—can inform an ought-to L2 self that may, as it appeared to do in Kahu's case, drive a learner to continue studying an L2 (see further, chapter 7).

6.3.3.2.3 L2 learning experience and L2 learner attrition/retention.

Dörnyei (2009) describes the L2 learning experience as encompassing factors as diverse as "the teacher, the curriculum, the peer group, the experience of success" (p. 29), and many such factors are represented in reasons given by interview participants as to why they continued or discontinued L2 studies. In fact, all of the reasons for continuing and discontinuing that were categorized in this study as "factors related to L2 classes" (see sections 6.3.1.1 and 6.3.2.2) may be viewed as representing learners' L2 learning experiences. Comment after comment from interview participants indicated that negative L2 learning experiences contributed to learners discontinuing L2 studies and that positive L2 learning experiences contributed to learners continuing. The volume of comments that exhibited the L2

learning experience playing a role in L2 learner attrition/retention was notably greater than the volume of comments linking learner attrition/retention to other L2MSS components, such as L2-related goals (ideal L2 self) and the ought-to L2 self; in fact, an examination of participants' comments regarding why they continued their L2 studies show that a full half of such comments may be categorized as relating to learners' L2 learning experiences. It would thus seem that L2 learning experience is perhaps the most important factor in determining whether learners continue or discontinue L2 studies.

While some interview participants' comments required a certain degree of interpretation in order to be seen as representative of L2-related goals or the ought-to L2 self playing a role in learner attrition/retention, such interpretation was seldom required in the case of comments linking L2 learning experience to learner attrition/retention. Many participants' comments constitute straightforward examples of an L2 learning experience driving learners to continue studying, or to quit. Comments made by learners such as Cat, Maddie, Hayley, and Henry (see sections 6.3.2.2.1, 6.3.2.2.2, and 6.3.2.2.3) with regard to teacher, enjoyment, and success make it clear that different aspects of learners' L2 learning experience combine to keep learners learning an L2. Cat's comments regarding disliking her teacher and receiving low marks (see sections 6.3.1.1.1 and 6.3.1.1.2) show that different components of the L2 learning experience can also work together to lead learners to discontinue L2 studies.

The present study's qualitative finding that L2 learning experience is perhaps the most important factor in determining whether learners continue or discontinue their L2 studies is consistent with a number of previous studies; in fact, a review of previous studies of L2 learner attrition and retention reveals that factors closely related to L2 learning experience—particularly attitudes and intrinsic motives— have shown up as important variables in virtually every study that has sought to identify variables associated with learner attrition/retention (e.g., Bartley, 1970; Gardner et al., 1976; Ramage, 1990; Noels et al., 2001).

6.3.3.2.4 Non-L2 goals and L2 learner attrition/retention.

This study is the first to empirically examine the role of non-L2 goals within the L2MSS, but it is not the first study to find that other aspects of learners' lives can play a role in whether learners continue or discontinue L2 studies. At least two earlier studies (Ramage, 1990; Kondo, 1999) indicated that some learners discontinued L2 studies in order to devote time to other studies or activities.

In the present study, a large number of participants' comments indicated that the existence and/or pursuit of non-L2 goals led learners to abandon their L2 studies; there were, however, no obvious examples in the interview data of learners who cited a lack of non-L2 goals as actively leading them to continue their L2 studies.

Non-L2 goals can be said to have contributed to a learner's quitting an L2 if a learner's reasons for quitting are related to pursuing such goals, and the large number of learners whose reasons for discontinuing their L2 studies were categorized as relating to "priorities and other goals" (see section 6.3.1.2) may be seen to exemplify this phenomenon.

In some cases, plans that may be viewed as non-L2 goals were distant and related to specific careers, and, in other cases, participants' goals were more proximal. Examples of more distant non-L2 goals contributing to learners' quitting include the case Finn, who had "a better idea" of what he would do with a science degree than he would with Chinese (see section 6.3.1.2). Examples of more proximal non-L2 goals contributing to decisions to quit include learners such as Lara, who quit Chinese so that she would have time to focus more on her university major (anthropology) and obtain her degree (see section 6.3.1.2), and Sophie, who considered dropping French at high school because she "knew I wanted to do something with science [at university]" (see section 6.3.1.2). Examples such as these suggest that possessing and pursuing goals that do not involve using or learning an L2 can lead learners to make decisions in which they prioritize studies relevant to their non-L2 goals over (L2) studies that are not relevant to their non-L2 goals. The real-world manifestation of such prioritizing may well involve discontinuing one's L2 studies.

6.4 Synthesis: Research Question 2

This section discusses the extent to which qualitative and quantitative data offer evidence that each of the L2MSS-related constructs investigated in this study plays a role in learner attrition/retention. This section then summarizes the extent to which an adapted L2MSS might serve as a model of L2 learner attrition retention, before looking at how another theory—SDT—might also explain learner attrition/retention in the study context. The final section of this chapter suggests that there may be benefits to having one model for theory and another, simpler model for informing L2 teaching practice.

6.4.1 Learner Attrition/Retention and the L2MSS

6.4.1.1 Motivation and learner attrition/retention.

The learner attrition/retention component of this study was, to a large extent, aimed at determining whether the three central constructs of the L2MSS could account for learner attrition/retention in a manner similar to that in which Dörnyei (e.g., 2005, 2009) and others (e.g., Taguchi et al., 2009) claim that the constructs can account for L2 motivation. Previous studies (e.g., Bartley, 1970; Kondo, 1999; Noels et al., 2001; Ramage, 1990) have found L2 learner attrition/retention to be associated with a number of the same variables as those with which motivation has been associated in previous studies (e.g., Gardner, 1985; Noels et al., 2003). Whether learners continue or discontinue L2 studies has been found to be related to variables such as intrinsic motives (Noels et al., 2001; Ramage, 1990), instrumental motives (Holt, 2006; Kondo, 1999), and L2 learning attitudes (Bartley, 1970), and these same variables have been found to be determiners of motivation (e.g., Gardner, 1985; Noels et al., 2003). Given that motivation and learner attrition/retention share a number of antecedents, it is perhaps unsurprising that *t*-tests identified significant differences between continuing and discontinuing learners on measures of motivation (see sections 6.1.1 and 6.2.2). The question, however, is whether the statistical association identified between intended effort

and learner attrition/retention represents a causal relationship and, if so, in what direction(s) causation might flow.

In fact, in interviews, no participants made comments that could be viewed as demonstrating the existence of a causal relationship, in either direction, between motivation (in the sense of intended effort) and their continuing or discontinuing studies. At least one participant did, however, make a comment that may be seen as showing that the same factors can influence learners' motivation and whether learners continue. As shown in section 6.3.1.3.1, Carla commented that not knowing whether she would "ever" use French "didn't help with, yeah, motivation" and helped her to "make a choice to drop the paper."

Carla's comments, along with the dearth of interview data indicating the existence of a causal relationship, suggests that the t-test identification of an association between intended effort and learner attrition/retention may be explained by the fact that both constructs are subject to similar antecedents. Stronger support for this view may be found in the fact that a large number— perhaps even a majority—of the factors that were identified in sections 6.3 as playing a role in learner attrition/retention were also identified as playing roles with regard to motivation (e.g., L2-related goals, L2 learning experience, teacher).

Given that there is little to suggest a causal relationship between motivation and learner attrition/retention, it makes sense to focus attentions on other variables, whose relationships with learner attrition/retention could be reasonably expected to be more causal in nature.

6.4.1.2 The ideal L2 self/L2-related goals.

T-tests showed that continuing learners scored significantly higher than discontinuing learners on ideal L2 self measures (see sections 6.1.1 and 6.2.3), and a number of comments made by learners in interviews were in line with the statistical data in that they indicate a relationship between the ideal L2 self and learner attrition/retention. However, as discussed in sections 5.3.1, 5.4.1.2, and 5.4.2, there is good reason to question (a) the degree to which learners' comments regarding their L2-related goals are representative of the ideal L2 self, and (b) the degree to which this study's quantitatively measured "ideal L2 self" matches

Dörnyei's (2009) definition of the construct. With this in mind, this section generally talks about *L2-related goals* rather than the ideal L2 self, although the term *ideal L2 self* is still used in certain situations.

Many comments made by learners that indicate the existence of a relationship between L2-related goals and learner attrition/retention clearly show that it is the ideal L2 self that influences whether or not learners continue or discontinue. Comments made by learners such as Lauren, who didn't see a reason to continue with German "if I wasn't actually going anywhere with it" (see section 6.3.1.3.1) may be seen to echo Kondo's (1999) finding that students of Japanese "are willing to continue learning academic Japanese if they see it as a part of their investment in academic and/or career goals" (p. 80).

Given the comments of learners such as Lauren, and given that previous studies (e.g., Kormos et al., 2011; Taguchi et al., 2009) have found the ideal L2 self to be a significant predictor of motivation, one could be forgiven for surmising that the causal effect exerted by the ideal L2 self upon learner attrition/retention satisfactorily explains the significant association observed in *t*-tests. However, a minority of comments from participants indicated that—with regard to the relationship between L2-related goals and learner attrition/retention—causality can also proceed in the opposite direction: Whether or not a learner intends to continue with her L2 studies can affect the nature, strength, and perhaps even the very existence of her L2-related goals. When Maddie began taking Japanese at university, she intended to take it for just one semester, and she had relatively little in the way of long-term L2-related goals; however, she developed such long-term L2-related goals when she decided to continue with Japanese:

> "Um, and then, when I decided to make [Japanese] my minor, I decided that I was going to go to Japan in second year, second semester, and study overseas in Japan for a semester, which was going to be awesome."

Maddie's comment strongly implies that her decision to continue with Japanese led to the development of Japanese-related goals, rather than the converse.

A comment made by Carla also demonstrated that ceasing L2 studies could have the effect of eliminating L2-related goals or rendering them implausible. When Carla was asked about future career plans—in particular, where she planned to live—she said that she would "love" to live in Europe, "but then there's the language thing, so I think that something like America seems like an easier option." When the interview took place, Carla had already discontinued her French studies, and it would not be unreasonable to suggest that "the language thing" might have seemed less of a barrier—and that living in a European country such as France might have seemed more plausible—had she not made the decision to quit French. Carla's comment is not a cut-and-dried example of L2 attrition negatively affecting L2-related goals; however, when the comment is considered along with Maddie's comment, it is evident that causality in the relationship between L2-related goals and learner attrition/retention is not consistently mono-directional. Rather, each variable has the ability to affect, and does affect, the other.

The combination of t-test results and qualitative findings discussed in the preceding paragraphs demonstrate that L2-related goals can certainly play a role in determining whether or not learners continue studying their L2. However, because qualitative data show that the causal relationship between L2-related goals and learner attrition/retention may be to some extent bi-directional, it is necessary to be cautious when making conclusions about the relative importance of L2-related goals in influencing learner attrition/retention. In fact, although the effect size of the ideal L2 self difference (between continuing and discontinuing learners) was greater than that for any other construct investigated, the apparent existence of bi-directional causality suggests that this large effect size should not be viewed as evidence that the ideal L2 self is a more important determiner of learner attrition/retention than are other constructs. Rather, the following sections of this dissertation demonstrate that L2 learning experience and non-L2 goals may be more significant predictors of attrition/retention outcomes.

6.4.1.3 The ought-to L2 self and learner attrition/retention.

T-tests found that continuing learners scored higher than discontinuing learners (see sections 6.1.1 and 6.2.4), indicating that a weaker ought-to L2 self is associated with learner attrition, and that a stronger ought-to L2 self is associated with learner retention. In the interview data, there was nothing to indicate that a lack of ought-to L2 self (or similar) actively led learners to quit; however, at least two learners interviewed did indicate through their comments that a strong sense of expectation, or obligation to others, played a role in their decisions to continue L2 studies. Marama, for example, unequivocally stated, more than once, that her father's encouragement led her to continue with te reo during high school (see section 6.3.2.1). Similarly, Kahu described being "obliged" to continue, and cited his (Māori) ancestors as sources of this obligation (see section 6.3.2.1).

Such examples show that the ought-to L2 self can play a role in learner attrition/retention, and indicate that causation proceeds *from* the ought-to L2 self *to* learner attrition/retention. However, it is important to note that only 2 of 21 interview participants articulated examples that can be confidently described as exemplifying the ought-to L2 self playing a role in learner attrition/retention. It is also important to note that the only two participants whose reasons for continuing learning an L2 could be clearly linked to the ought-to L2 self were Māori learners of te reo. This reiterates the fact that Māori learners of te reo may represent atypical L2 learners, both with regard to motivation and with regard to the issue of learner attrition/retention. The roles that heritage and may play with regard to learner attrition/retention are addressed in chapter 7.

The relatively small statistical difference identified on ought-to L2 self measures (between continuing and discontinuing learners) perhaps reflects the fact that, with regard to learner attrition/retention, the ought-to L2 self may an important factor for some learners (e.g., Māori learners of te reo), but much less so for the majority of learners (learners of FLs and non-Māori learners of te reo). Finding that the ought-to L2 self does not play a major role in determining whether learners continue or discontinue their L2 studies may also be seen as in line with the fact that previous studies of L2 learner attrition/retention do not appear to have identified feelings of obligation or family influence as playing a

role in determining whether learners continue or discontinue (e.g., Noels et al., 2001).

6.4.1.4 L2 learning experience and learner attrition/retention.

On measures of L2 learning experience, continuing students scored significantly higher than did discontinuing students, suggesting that a positive, more enjoyable L2 learning experience is associated with learner retention, and that a negative, less enjoyable L2 learner experience is associated with learner attrition. With regard to L2 learner experience, qualitative data reflect the statistical association identified between the variable and L2 learner attrition/retention to a far greater extent than for any of the other L2MSS-related variables that were found to be statistically associated with learner attrition/retention.

There was nothing in the qualitative data to indicate the existence of a two-way causal relationship; rather, it seems that the statistical association identified can be more than satisfactorily accounted for by learners' manifold comments linking their L2 learning experiences to their decisions to continue or discontinue (see sections 6.3.1.1 and 6.3.2.2).

Finding that aspects of a learner's L2 learning experience can determine whether or not she continues with her L2 studies reflects the findings of a number of previous studies on L2 learner attrition/retention. Bartley (1970) found that continuing L2 learners had higher scores on measures of *foreign language attitude* than did discontinuing learners, and the *Foreign Language Attitude Scale* employed by Bartley included items relating to the teacher and to intrinsic motivation. Ramage's (1990) finding that intrinsic motives were associated with continuation of L2 studies may also be viewed as indicating the importance of L2 learning experience, as may Noels et al.'s (2001) identification of a high level of correlation between L2 learners' intrinsic motivation and their persistence in L2 learning. These earlier studies of L2 learner attrition/retention were largely statistical and reliant on inferential statistics that are suboptimal for indicating causality. However, the relevant qualitative findings of the present study may be seen to suggest that the statistical associations identified in these earlier studies may have represented a causal relationship in which the nature of learners' L2

learning experiences contributed to their continuing or discontinuing their L2 studies.

6.4.1.5 Non-L2 goals and learner attrition/retention.

T-tests demonstrated that discontinuing learners scored higher on measures of non-L2 goals than did continuing learners—i.e., higher non-L2 goals scores were associated with learner attrition, and lower non-L2 goals scores were associated with learner retention. The statistical difference observed was backed up by comments made by interview participants, many of whom reported ceasing their L2 studies partly because something else (often other studies) was prioritized, and such here-and-now prioritizing often appeared to derive from the pursuit of non-L2 goals. For example, Finn indicated through his comments that he would probably cease studying Chinese in favour of a vocational science course, and further showed that he considered the science course more "professionally" important partly because he had "a better idea" of what he would do with it in the future (see sections 6.3.1.2 and 6.3.1.3.1).

A large number (over 30) of further comments from learners (covered in sections 6.3.1.2 and 6.3.1.3.1) clearly demonstrate that the existence and/or pursuit of non-L2 goals led learners to cease their L2 studies, either because the L2 was simply not relevant to their future goals, or because learning the L2 was actually proving a hindrance to attaining non-L2 goals. Interview data in fact exhibited few examples of situations where the mere existence of a non-L2 goal (or goals) led a learner to quit their studies; rather, most relevant situations described by learners were those where working towards a non-L2 goal conflicted with the pursuit of an L2, forcing the learner to prioritize. This observation echoes Kondo's (1999) finding that time-management issues (with regard to other classes and part-time jobs) played a role in many learners' decisions to continue or discontinue their university Japanese studies.

Regarding the question of direction of causality, there was little evidence in the interview data that learner attrition/retention could affect non-L2 goals, and it thus seems that the causal relationship between the two variables is generally

mono-directional: Non-L2 goals can, by one means or another, lead learners to cease their L2 studies.

The combination of statistical and qualitative data suggests that non-L2 goals are a more important determiner of whether learners continue or quit than either the ought-to L2 self or the ideal L2 self/L2-related goals. It is less clear, though, whether there is any major difference between L2 learning experience and non-L2 goals in terms of their ability to determine whether learners continue or discontinue. With regard to this question, though, it is important to note that qualitative data indicate that the nature of a learner's L2 learning experience can lead a learner to either continue or discontinue (all else being equal), whereas qualitative data relating to non-L2 goals only provide evidence that non-L2 goals can lead learners to *dis*continue—there was no evidence that a lack of non-L2 goals could actively lead a learner to continue. This could be taken as evidence that the L2 learning experience is a more all-round determiner of learner attrition/retention, rather than simply a cause of discontinuation, as may be the case with non-L2 goals.

6.4.1.6 Integrativeness, instrumentality, and learner attrition/retention.

Integrativeness and instrumentality were both shown in the *t*-tests conducted to be significantly associated with whether or not learners intended to continue their L2 studies: On both measures, continuing learners scored higher than did discontinuing learners.

A number of comments made by interview participants in relation to their thoughts or decisions regarding quitting or continuing their L2 studies may be seen as relating to integrativeness and instrumentality. Of particular relevance are a number of participant comments that were categorized as "future-related factors" (section 6.3.2.3) or "investment-related factors" (6.3.2.4). However, the vast majority of comments made by learners that may be seen as relating to either integrativeness or instrumentality can to some extent also be viewed as representative of L2-related goals: Integrativeness and instrumentality relate to a desire to realize integrative or instrumental hopes or desires, and, as such, the constructs may be broadly described as L2-related goals. Additionally, given that

L2-related goals have much in common with the ideal L2 self (see sections 5.3.1, 5.4.1.2, and 5.4.2), Dörnyei's (2009) statement that "traditional integrative and internalized instrumental motives" belong to the ideal L2 self may be taken as further support for the idea that L2-related goals largely subsume integrativeness and instrumentality. Furthermore, integrativeness and instrumentality were both found to be relatively highly correlated with ideal L2 self (see section 4.2).

Given the body of evidence—from previous studies and from both statistical and qualitative components of the present study—indicating that integrativeness and instrumentality are largely subsumed by the ideal L2 self or by L2-related goals, it makes sense for the researcher wishing to examine the roles of integrativeness and instrumentality in learner attrition/retention to address the role of L2-related goals (see section 6.4.1.3), rather than looking at what appear to be, in practice, two subordinate components thereof.

6.4.2 What Theories Explain L2 Learner Attrition/Retention?

This section discusses theories that might account for the present study's findings with regard to learner attrition/retention. Section 6.4.2.1 discusses how an adapted version of the L2MSS, based on the findings of the present study, may be able to account for L2 learner attrition retention. Following this, section 6.4.2.2 looks at how SDT might also provide a good fit for the study's data. Finally, section 6.4.2.3 suggests that simpler model than either of these might serve as an effective model for informing L2 teaching practice.

6.4.2.1 An adapted L2MSS as a model of L2 learner attrition/retention.
Part B of Research Question 2 (see section 2.6) specifically asked to what extent Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS might be able to explain the phenomena of L2 learner attrition and retention. The data discussed so far in this chapter allow this question to be answered to some extent.

The combination of statistical and interview data collected and analysed in this study demonstrate that all three of the motivational antecedents within the

L2MSS *can* play causal roles with respect to learner attrition/retention. However, the combined statistical and qualitative findings of this study also demonstrate two further points: (a) that a fourth, related variable—non-L2 goals—can also act as an important determiner of learner attrition/retention, and (b) that certain variables are more frequent and stronger determiners of learner attrition/retention than others. Specifically, data strongly indicate that L2 learning experience and non-L2 goals are more important determiners of learner attrition/retention than are the ideal L2 self/L2-related goals and the ought-to L2 self. Of the latter two constructs, there were indications in both statistical and qualitative findings that L2-related goals may play a more major role than the ought-to L2 self.

The schematic in figure 6.1 uses the size of text and of causation arrows to visually symbolize the (approximate) relative importance of different variables as determiners of learner attrition/retention in this study's participant population. The relative importance of the antecedent variables is not numerically measurable; rather, relative sizes are simply a visual representation the statistical and qualitative findings discussed so far in this chapter.

Figure 6.1.   A Model of L2 Learner Attrition/Retention Based on the L2 Motivational Self System and the Findings of the Present Study
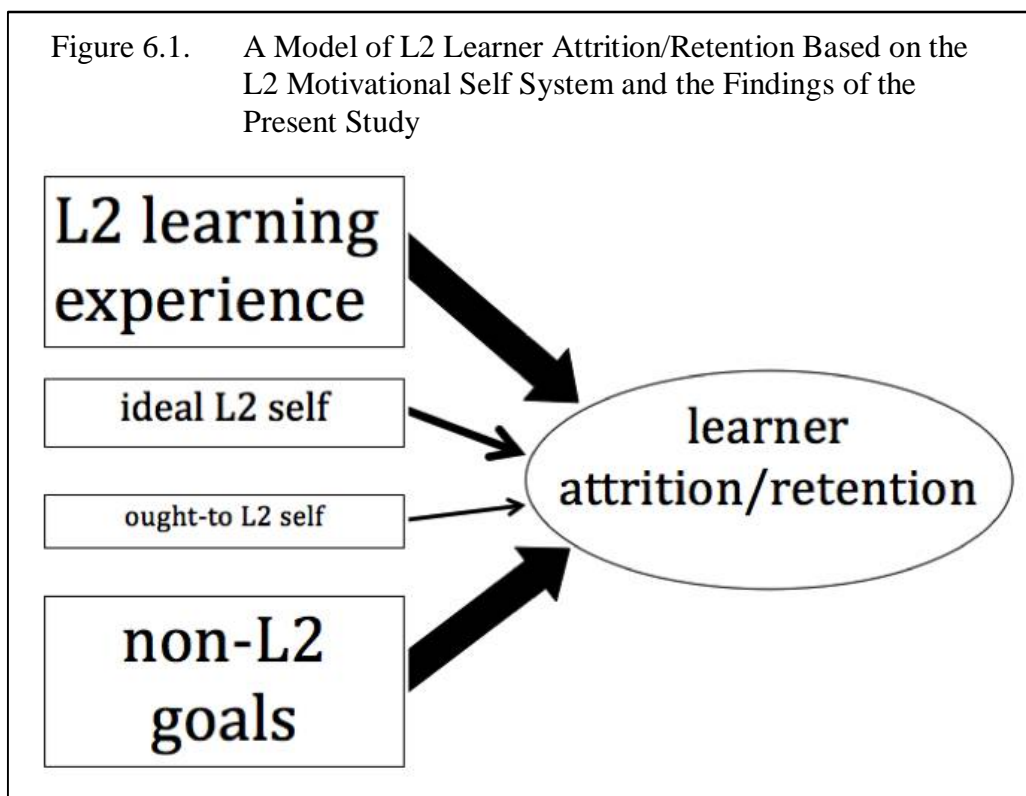
Given that non-L2 goals are to a large extent the opposite of L2-related goals/ideal L2 self, it can perhaps be said that an adapted version of the L2MSS (as shown in figure 6.1) can to a large extent account for L2 learner attrition/retention—i.e., the above adapted L2MSS can provide a theoretical explanation as to why some learners discontinue their L2 studies while others continue.

However, a further examination of both the qualitative and quantitative data collected and analysed in this study reveals that the L2MSS (or, more precisely, an adapted version thereof) is not the only model that can broadly account for this study's findings regarding learner attrition/retention.

6.4.2.2 Self-determination theory and learner attrition/retention.

This study's findings regarding L2 learner attrition/retention may also be understood from an SDT (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Noels et al., 2001) perspective. As shown in section 2.4.9, Noels et al. (2001) clearly explain how different SDT-related motivational subtypes/orientations (external regulation, introjected regulation, identified regulation, intrinsic motivation, and amotivation) can—like the adapted L2MSS in the previous section (6.4.2.1)—account for learners' continuation or discontinuation of L2 studies.

The ways in which the L2MSS and SDT may account for learner attrition/retention are very different: While the L2MSS components may be seen as acting together to affect the likelihood of a learner continuing or discontinuing studies, SDT motivational orientations characterize a learner's motivation; the orientation that most closely characterizes a learner's motivation may be seen to determine the learner's likely levels of persistence in engagement in an activity, as well as the circumstances that would lead to that learner dropping out and the likelihood of that occurring. Thus, while the components of the L2MSS may be seen to directly predict learner attrition/retention, SDT motivational orientations are better thought of as determining a learner's disposition with regard to persistence. Despite these major differences in the angles of the L2MSS and SDT,

however, both may be seen to fit relatively well with the quantitative and qualitative data collected and analysed in the present study.

There were relatively few examples in the present study of learners' whose situations exemplified external regulation (e.g., Noels et al., 2001), and this orientation does not closely correspond to any of the statistical categories investigated in the study; however, some learners' continuation of studies in order to finish a university degree could be considered examples of such situations. One interview participant, Cara, clearly exhibited the effects of external regulation on persistence: When she completed this study's initial survey, Cara was continuing to study Spanish because she was under the impression that it was necessary for her degree, but when she realized, the following semester, that a further Spanish class was *not* necessary for her degree, Cara wasted no time in quitting:

"It took me about two weeks. Once I learned that I didn't need to do [Spanish], then I decided [to quit]."

Introjected regulation (e.g., Noels et al., 2001) has clear parallels with the ought-to L2 self in that both relate to a situation in which the source of a learner's motivation and persistence is external pressure that has been to some extent internalized, such that the learner may experience feelings of guilt or obligation. Marama and Kahu (see section 6.3.2.1) plainly exemplified this when they talked about the pressure they felt from parents (Marama) and ancestors (Kahu). Noels et al.'s (2001) understanding of SDT would predict that such learners might cease their studies if these external pressures were removed; however, these internalized pressures were not removed in the cases of Marama and Kahu, and the continued presence of these pressures could, from an SDT perspective, account for the fact that Marama and Kahu did not cease studying their L2 (te reo).

All learner comments that could be seen to represent L2-related goals causing a learner to continue their L2 learning could also be viewed as examples of identified regulation (e.g., Noels et al., 2001) accounting for learners' persistence. Situations where learners persisted in order to achieve L2-related goals (such as getting a degree that involves L2 classes) could also be considered examples of

identified regulation in action. Statistical data indicating an association between a stronger ideal L2 self and learner retention could also be viewed as supporting a view that identified regulation can be associated with learner persistence in an activity. The claim made in Noels et al. (2001) that "As long as that goal is important, the learner can be expected to persist in L2 learning" is upheld particularly by the situation of one interview participant—Cat—who described (see section 6.3.1.1.1) how French-related goals motivated her to persist in French, but how, when those goals were replaced by Spanish-related goals (i.e., when the French goals were no longer important), her persistence in French waned, and she eventually stopped studying French altogether (see section 6.3.3.2.1).

Identified regulation (e.g., Noels et al., 2001) is also relevant to non-L2 goals in that the degree to which non-L2 goals become personally salient for an individual might well correspond with the degree to which L2-related goals become less salient and less important to the individual, which Noels et al. (2001) would predict could lead to disengagement in an activity in the case of a learner exhibiting identified regulation.

The closest parallel between an SDT motivational orientation and an L2MSS motivational antecedent is between the L2 learning experience and *intrinsic motivation*. L2 learning experience concerns the degree to which a learner's experience of learning a language is a positive one, and, as such, attempting to gauge a learner's L2 learning experience is very much akin to gauging the extent to which that learner is intrinsically motivated. SDT—and specifically Noels et al. (2001)—suggests that an intrinsically motivated individual can be "expected to maintain their effort and engagement in the L2 learning process" (Noels et al., 2001, p. 426). The fact that *t*-tests in the present study showed that continuing learners had higher L2 learning experience scores than discontinuing learners certainly upholds Noels et al.'s statement. Furthermore, qualitative data show both that intrinsically motivated learners do persist, and that learners whose intrinsic motivation evaporates often quit their L2 studies. Bryony, for example (see section 6.3.2.2.2), talked about continuing in a subject that she was intrinsically motivated to study (French), and ceasing studying something that she was not

intrinsically motivated to study (science). Similarly, Cat (see section 6.3.1.1.1) described quitting French after a change of teacher led to what could be described as a total evaporation of intrinsic motivation—"I hated it!"

It is significant that, in Noels et al.'s (2001) study, the SDT motivational orientations that have the clearest associations with learners' intentions to continue were identified regulation and intrinsic motivation. Given that the former broadly corresponds with L2-related goals and non-L2 goals, and that the latter corresponds closely to the L2 learning experience, Noels' et al.'s finding in this regard is to a large extent corroborated by the present study's findings that the variables most relevant to learner attrition/retention were non-L2 goals and L2 learning experience.

6.4.2.3 A model for theory and a model for practice.

Section 6.4.2.1 has shown that an adapted version of the L2MSS can provide an effective theoretical framework for understanding why some learners quit their L2 studies while others continue, and the previous section (6.4.2.2) demonstrates that SDT—on which Dörnyei (2005, 2009) drew in proposing the L2MSS—can also account for the present study's findings with regard to learner attrition/retention. Regardless of whether the present study's findings are approached from an L2MSS or an SDT perspective, however, the broad conclusions are essentially the same.

The study's findings clearly show that two broad, real-world factors are the greatest determiners of whether learners continue or quit their L2 studies: L2 learning experience and goals. In other words, whether or not learners continue studying an L2 depends on the degree to which they are enjoying learning their L2, and on the extent to which learning the L2 is congruent—or incongruent—with their personal goals.

For the researcher attempting to understand the phenomena of learner attrition and retention, a model such as the adapted L2MSS proposed in section 6.4.2.1 is a valuable framework; however, a theoretical model does not necessarily lend itself to practical application, and, in this case, it may be that certain components of the

model lend themselves better than others to real-world application in L2 learning and teaching situations.

Given that the major factors that affect learner attrition/retention appear to be non-L2 goals and L2 learning experience, it follows, logically, that the likelihood of learners continuing L2 studies can be increased through one or both of the following: (a) eliminating or reducing the prevalence/salience of learners' non-L2 goals, and (b) improving learners' L2 learning experience—i.e., making the L2 learning process more enjoyable for learners.

In the field of L2 motivation, research has been undertaken to investigate whether L2 practitioners might have the ability to influence the strength or motivational power of learner goals. For example, Magid and Chan (2012) showed that it was possible to boost motivation through an intervention programme aimed at boosting the strength of learners' ideal L2 selves/L2-related goals. Many studies aimed at boosting learners' goals—and learners' self-regulation with regard to achieving those goals—have also been undertaken in the wider field of motivational psychology (e.g., Hock, Deshler, & Schumaker, 2006; Locke & Latham, 1990; Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2006), and it is now established that certain intervention programmes can have positive effects on the strength of learners' goals.

Although some learners in the present study identified L2-related goals as contributing to decisions to continue their L2 studies (see section 6.3.2.3), there were many more examples of learners who cited the existence and importance of non-L2 goals as contributing to their decisions to quit their L2 studies (see section 6.3.1.2). This being the case, any goal-focused intervention intended to boost L2 learner retention and reduce learner attrition would have an aim that would be essentially the opposite of the aims of previous goal-focused intervention studies (e.g., Magid & Chan, 2012; Oyserman et al., 2006): Rather than seeking to boost L2-related goals, such an intervention would need to weaken or eliminate learners' non-L2 goals so that these were not prioritized at the cost of engagement in L2 learning.

The fact that it is possible to strengthen learners' goals through intervention programmes (Hock, Deshler, & Schumaker, 2006; Magid & Chan, 2012) does not

necessarily mean that it would be similarly possible to actively *change* learners' goals and priorities. Even if it were possible to do so, such an undertaking might rightly be viewed as ethically questionable. Although educational institutions engage in marketing, many would agree that educational institutions and language teachers have little business actively interfering with learner agency or actively attempting to change learners' long-term personal goals.

While both non-L2 goals and L2 learning experience clearly play important roles in determining whether or not learners continue in their L2 studies, the difficulties and potential ethical concerns inherent in any attempt to manipulate learners' non-L2 goals perhaps mean that, while non-L2 goals should remain an important component of a theoretical model of L2 learner attrition/retention, the construct may not be fit for practical, real-world application to the end of boosting learner retention. Rather, if the findings of this study are to be applied in order to boost learner retention, attention must be turned to the other major antecedent of learner attrition/retention: L2 learning experience. In other words, if L2 teachers and educational institutions cannot—or should not—attempt to change learners' long-term goals, then the most fruitful means by which to boost L2 learner retention and reduce learner attrition is to focus on improving learners' short-term, here-and-now sense of satisfaction with their L2 learning—in other words, to make L2 learning more *enjoyable* (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014, 2016) for learners.

Focusing on L2 learning experience at the cost of not addressing the factor of non-L2 goals does not necessarily represent ignoring the role of non-L2 goals in determining learner attrition/retention. In fact, comments from some learners suggest that a positive L2 learning experience can lead learners to change their longer-term goals such that L2-related goals become more important and non-L2 goals become less important. Bryony, for example, was majoring in science at university and took French as a one-off interest paper, but when she "did well in French and enjoyed it," she decided to continue, changed her university major to French, and decided not to continue with her science degree (see section 6.3.2.2.2). This is clearly an example of a learner's L2 learning experience influencing a change in focus from non-L2 goals (the science degree, which

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Bryony abandoned) to L2-related goals (Bryony's degree in French). In a similar way, Maddie, who had planned to take Japanese for only one semester, developed L2-related goals "because of the teacher and how much fun I was having in the class." Maddie went from not planning to continue with Japanese to making it her university minor and planning to study abroad in Japan—both of which could be seen as L2-related goals.

Interview data also indicate that a negative L2 learning experience can in some instances lead to the development or strengthening of non-L2 goals, with some learners abandoning L2-related goals and focusing on non-L2 goals after negative L2 learning experiences. For example, when Melanie decided to cease studying French at university after finding it "stressful" and "boring", she abandoned an L2-related goal—a BA majoring in French—in favour of pursuing a newly-developed non-L2 goal—a BA in politics. Examples such as those of Bryony, Maddie, and Melanie show that while it may be difficult or inappropriate for researchers or L2 practitioners to *actively* attempt to influence learners with regard to their personal goals, improving a learner's L2 learning experience may—in addition to having a direct effect on a learner's desire to continue her L2 studies—have effects on the learner's non-L2 and L2-related goals, which may exert their own effects on learner attrition/retention.

A learner's L2 learning experience comprises a number of separate but related factors, including the teacher, the teaching methods, the experience of success or progress, stress, and boredom. However, with minor exceptions, it is possible to categorize almost all elements of a learner's L2 learning experience as relating to enjoyment. Indeed, when learners cited aspects of their L2 learning experiences that had contributed to their decisions to continue or discontinue their studies, many of the experiences they related were similar to episodes that were identified as exemplifying FL enjoyment in Dewaele and MacIntyre's (2014) study of anxiety and enjoyment in L2 learning. Dewaele and MacIntyre identify factors such as "teacher skills" (p. 259) and "realisation of progress" (p. 258) as important factors in enjoyment, just as the present study found the teacher (see sections 6.3.2.2.1 and 6.3.2.2.1) and the experience of success (see section

6.3.2.2.3) and failure (see section 6.3.1.1.2) to be important factors in determining whether learners continued or discontinued.

To state the implications of this study's learner attrition/retention findings from a utilitarian perspective (e.g., Bentham, 1781/1996), it seems that the greatest gains (in terms of learner retention) will be made if L2 teachers and educational institutions focus on a single antecedent of learner attrition/retention—that is, if L2 teachers and institutions work to make the experience of learning an L2 something enjoyable.

While the adapted L2MSS model outlined in section 6.4.2.1 is of value for L2 theorists and researchers (i.e., for those interested in the psychology that underlies L2 learner attrition/retention) such a model may consist of more components than is necessary for a teacher or institution wishing to boost L2 learner retention. The adapted L2MSS model may thus be thought of as a model for theory, while a simpler model may be proposed as an applied model, or a model for action. In fact, a model for action may look far simpler than either an adapted L2MSS or a version of SDT, and may in fact be virtually identical in principle to ideas that existed in psychology long before the birth of the L2 motivation field. To the end of boosting L2 learner retention rates, L2 teachers and educational institutions might do well to think in terms of a simple principle, the sources of which may be traced back as far as the Greek philosopher Epicurus: namely, the principle of hedonic motivation. This simple idea was plainly articulated by Jeremy Bentham (1781/1996), who stated the following:

> "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, *pain* and *pleasure*. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do." (p. 1)

Bentham's (1781/1996) statement was intended to indicate how people *should* act, but pain and pleasure may also be seen to determine how people *do* act. Analogous principles have been addressed at length by many in the field of psychology, such as Freud (1920/1952), who describes the idea as the "pleasure principle" (p. 356) and who states that "our entire psychical activity is bent upon

procuring pleasure and *avoiding pain*" (p. 356). Although scholars such as Csikszentmihalyi (e.g., 2004) have pointed out that enjoyment and pleasure are not exactly the same, it is perhaps not too much of a stretch to argue that L2 learners who discontinue their L2 studies because of negative L2 learning experiences are simply acting to avoid pain or suffering, and it could equally be argued that learners who continue studying an L2 because they enjoy it are acting to procure pleasure or enjoyment. Thus, perhaps the best hopes for boosting student retention and reducing student attrition lie not in a complex, L2-specific, theoretical model, but rather in an age-old principle. If learners are to continue studying an L2, the L2 learning process must be pleasurable, or enjoyable—not painful.

CHAPTER 7: ADDRESSING RESEARCH QUESTION 3

This chapter addresses differences between HL and non-HL learners with regard to (a) motivation- and L2MSS-related variables, and (b) learner attrition/retention.

The chapter begins by presenting relevant statistical results (section 7.1) before moving on to qualitatively examine four focal learners of te reo—two HL learners and two non-HL learners (section 7.2). Finally, in section 7.3 the qualitative and quantitative findings are brought together and discussed with reference to previous studies.

7.1 Statistical Results: Research Question 3

Research Question 3 concerned the role of HL learner status with regard to both motivation and learner attrition/retention. This section begins by providing the results of t-tests that tested for L2MSS-related differences between HL and non-HL learners (see section 7.1.1). The section then presents and compares learner attrition rates with regard to whether learners were HL or non-HL learners (see section 7.1.2). Because the situations of FLs and te reo differ in many regards, t-tests and comparisons of HL and non-HL learner attrition rates are conducted separately, and presented in separate tables, for learners of te reo and learners of FLs.

It should be noted that, while this chapter addresses differences between HL and non-HL learners, it focuses on attrition/retention rates and what might be described as learners' "motivational profiles" (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005, p. 613). The chapter does not closely examine inter-construct relationships between motivation- and L2MSS-related constructs in different groups of learners; however, correlation matrices showing the strength of relationships between such constructs among HL and non-HL learners are provided in appendix I.

7.1.1 HL Learner Status, Motivation, and L2MSS-Related Variables

The results of independent samples *t*-tests comparing HL and non-HL (Māori and non-Māori) learners of te reo show that, on average, HL learners scored significantly higher than non-HL learners on all measures positively correlated with motivation, although not on measures of motivation itself. Non-HL learners scored higher than HL learners only on measures of non-L2 goals—a construct negatively correlated with motivation. Effect sizes were largest for ideal L2 self and integrativeness and smallest for L2 learning experience. Table 7.1 shows the *t*-test results.

Results of Wilcoxon rank-sum tests for the non-parametrically distributed ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self were in line with the *t*-test results. On ideal L2 self measures, Māori learners of te reo (*Mdn* = 4.43) scored higher than non-Māori learners of te reo (*Mdn* = 3.14), W = 227, *p* < .001, *r* = 0.61. On ought-to L2 self measures, Māori learners of te reo (*Mdn* = 2.14) scored higher than the non-Māori learners (*Mdn* = 1.71), W = 513.5, *p* = .008, *r* = 0.30.

The pattern of differences identified between HL and non-HL learners of FLs echoed the differences observed between HL and non-HL learners of te reo; however, differences among FL learners were less extensive. While HL and non-HL learners of te reo differed significantly on all but one of the variables investigated, HL and non-HL learners of FLs differed significantly on only four variables: ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, non-L2 goals, and instrumentality (see Table 7.2). HL learners of FLs scored higher than non-HL learners on measures of ideal L2 self, ought to L2 self, and instrumentality; non-HL learners scored higher on measures of non-L2 goals. Effect sizes for ought-to L2 self and non-L2 goals were large; effect sizes for instrumentality and ideal L2 self were medium. No significant differences were identified on measures of motivation, L2 learning experience, or integrativeness.

The results of Wilcoxon rank-sum tests conducted for the non-parametric variables of ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self were broadly in line with the *t*-test results. On ideal L2 self measures, HL learners of FLs (*Mdn* = 4.63) surpassed non-HL learners of FLs (*Mdn* = 4.17), W = 4036, *p* = <.001, *r* = 0.13; on ought-to L2 self measures, HL learners of FLs (*Mdn* = 2.53) also surpassed non-HL learners (*Mdn* = 1.57), W = 3311.5, *p* = <.001, *r* = 0.17.

Table 7.1

HL and Non-HL Learners of Te Reo: Descriptive Statistics and Results of Independent Samples T-Tests

Variable	Non-HL learners of te reo (*n* = 45)		HL learners of te reo (*n* = 35)					95% CI		Effect size
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*LL*	*UL*	*r*
Motivation	3.21	0.72	3.45	0.57	-1.61	77.96	.11	-0.52	0.05	0.18
Ideal L2 self	2.94	1.11	4.37	0.70	-7.04	75.20	<.001	-1.83	-1.02	0.63
Ought-to L2 self	1.79	0.61	2.29	0.82	-2.95	60.90	.004	-0.83	-0.16	0.35
L2 learning experience	3.98	0.82	4.33	0.58	-2.22	77.42	.03	-0.66	-0.04	0.24
Non-L2 goals	3.39	0.87	2.70	0.60	4.15	77.01	<.001	0.36	1.02	0.43
Integrativeness	3.47	0.88	4.45	0.61	-5.88	76.99	<.001	-1.32	-0.65	0.56
Instrumentality	3.28	1.20	4.09	0.75	-3.66	74.89	<.001	-1.24	-0.37	0.39

Note. CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

Table 7.2

HL and Non-HL Learners of FLs: Descriptive Statistics and Results of Independent Samples T-Tests

Variable	Non-HL learners of FLs (*n* = 585)		HL learners of FLs (*n* = 23)		*t*	*df*	*p*	95% CI		Effect size
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*				*LL*	*UL*	*r*
Motivation	3.11	0.67	3.34	0.78	-1.40	23.29	.17	-0.57	0.11	0.28
Ideal L2 self	4.05	0.80	4.49	0.78	-2.65	23.84	.01	-0.78	-0.10	0.48
Ought-to L2 self	1.76	0.73	2.55	0.95	-3.92	23.04	<.001	-1.20	-0.37	0.63
L2 learning experience	4.01	0.62	3.97	0.64	0.30	23.66	.77	-0.24	0.32	0.06
Non-L2 goals	3.10	0.82	2.53	0.72	3.65	24.25	.001	0.25	0.88	0.60
Integrativeness	3.68	0.81	3.93	1.00	-1.20	23.14	.24	-0.69	0.18	0.24
Instrumentality	3.61	0.97	4.15	1.01	-2.53	23.62	.02	-0.99	-0.10	0.46

Note. CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

7.1.2 Te Reo and FL Learner Attrition Rates by HL Learner Status

Tables 7.3 and 7.4 show the number and proportion of HL and non-HL learners who did and did not intend to continue studying their L2 in the semester following the administration of the study's initial survey. The tables also show how many learners selected "haven't thought about it" in response to the question in the initial survey that asked whether they intended to continue studying their L2 the following semester. Table 7.3 shows the figures for learners of te reo, and table 7.4 shows the figures for learners of FLs. In both cases, the proportion of learners who intended to continue was higher among HL learners than among non-HL learners, indicating that rates of learner attrition are lower among HL learners than among non-HL learners. The difference between HL and non-HL learners is particularly apparent among learners of te reo, in which the proportion of learners who did not intend to continue studying te reo the following semester was over four times higher among non-HL learners than among HL learners. The proportion of learners from each group who *did* in fact continue is not provided here, as a lower level of responses from participants meant that the *n* values were too low to provide meaningful results; however, as explained in section 6.2.1, learners' intentions to continue or discontinue studies was a relatively accurate way of gauging learners' real-world actions in the semester following the initial survey

Table 7.3

Learners of Te Reo: HL and Non-HL Learners' Intentions Regarding Continuation of L2 Studies the Following Semester

	Planned to continue L2 studies the following semester	Planned to discontinue L2 studies the following semester	"Haven't thought about it."	Total
HL learners	29 (82%)	4 (11%)	2 (6%)	35
Non-HL learners	15 (34%)	20 (45%)	9 (20%)	44

Note. Numbers show the number of learners who indicated each intention in the initial survey. Percentages in parentheses indicate the proportion of (HL or non-HL) learners who indicated each of the three possible intentions.

Table 7.4

Learners of FLs: HL and Non-HL Learners' Intentions Regarding Continuation of L2 Studies the Following Semester

	Planned to continue L2 studies the following semester	Planned to discontinue L2 studies the following semester	"Haven't thought about it."	Total
HL learners	20 (87%)	2 (9%)	1 (4%)	23 (100%)
Non-HL learners	443 (76%)	92 (16%)	50 (9%)	585 (100%)

Note. Numbers show the number of learners who indicated each intention in the initial survey. Percentages in parentheses indicate the proportion of (HL or non-HL) learners who indicated each of the three possible intentions.

7.2 Qualitative Findings Pertaining to Research Question 3: Four Focal Learners

In order to qualitatively examine the ways in which learners' HL or non-HL learner status may have related to motivation, L2MSS constructs, and learner attrition/retention, the examples of four focal learners of te reo were examined. Due to a lack of HL learner interview participants among learners of FLs, learners of FLs were not included in this qualitative analysis, but the four learners whose stories are described in the following sections comprise two HL (Māori) learners of te reo—Kahu and Marama—and two non-HL (non-Māori) learners of te reo— Eva and Rhianna. Although there four non-HL learners of te reo among interview participants, the cases of only two are discussed in this section: Of the other two, one was not studying te reo at the beginning of this study, and had only just begun at the time of her interview; the other was not a New Zealander and was thus perhaps atypical of a non-HL New Zealand university learner of te reo.

Although the following presentations of the four focal learners of te reo (see sections 7.2.1–4) resemble case studies, coding of data was in fact undertaken using the same three-level coding system (see section 3.4.3.2) employed to address Research Questions 1 and 2. Due to Research Question 3's focus on differences between types of learners, however, it made sense to present qualitative findings by participant, rather than by theme.

The following presentation of findings focuses on how these te reo learners' Māori heritage (or lack thereof) was tied to motivation, to learner attrition/retention, and to other L2MSS-related variables. There is a particular focus on what roles learners' families played with regard to te reo learning, and, in the cases of the focal non-HL learners, attention is paid, in certain cases, to an absence of certain heritage-related factors which are present in the cases of the focal HL learners.

It should be noted that certain interview extracts presented in the following sections have been presented and discussed in previous chapters. The inclusion of such extracts in this chapter is intentional, however, and reflects the fact that

certain participant comments were relevant to more than one of this study's research questions.

7.2.1 Eva

Age: 22
Gender: Female
HL learner status: Non-HL learner

Like most young New Zealanders, Eva had had some te reo classes in her early years of school, but hadn't taken any such classes at school after "maybe year nine or ten" (around age 13 or 14). During Eva's second year of university, however, she decided to take a 100-level (first-year) class on Māori culture. She really enjoyed the class and decided to make Māori studies her university minor. Most classes that she took as part of the requirements for this minor were culture classes—as opposed to language classes—but, in her last year of university, Eva took a 100-level te reo class. Although she enjoyed the class, Eva did not take a follow-on class the following semester, because she "didn't have any room for it" in her timetable, but she thought that her future career plans could provide opportunities for further study of te reo.

Eva said that she "really enjoyed" her te reo class, and she commented that this may have been because the teacher "used to be a school teacher," which meant that "it was like being in a classroom, rather than just like in a lecture where you're kinda just told the facts." Eva also received a high mark in the class, which she was "really happy with," and she further commented that "just overall I enjoyed the paper because of, I think, I like the Māori language." Such comments could justify describing Eva's L2 learning experience as positive overall.

In response to a question about her motivation over the course of the semester, Eva indicated that she might have become slightly more interested over the course of the semester, but that her level of interest "mostly stayed the same, cause I was already pretty interested." The short time that Eva was studying te reo (one

semester) makes it difficult to draw any solid conclusions about what factors may have affected her motivation levels.

Eva indicated that she had L2-related goals—which may be seen as similar to the ideal L2 self—with regard to te reo. Throughout her interview, she talked about her career plans, and she explained how te reo, and Māori studies in general, were relevant to these. Eva planned to become a corrections officer (prison warden) after graduating from university, and she had already applied for a position at the time of her interview. Eva described how this job related to Māori culture and te reo:

> "Obviously, the prison population of New Zealand is highly over-represented by Māori, and so I'd be working with them a lot. And so I think having an understanding of the language would be good. And there may be times when I have to, you know, introduce myself, um, in Māori with a mihi [traditional greeting], so that's, like, really important."

Eva's comments suggest that she had no plans to become a fluent speaker of te reo; rather, they suggest that te reo might play a minimal role in her future life.

When she was asked what her family's attitudes were to her studying te reo and Māori studies, she described her family as "really supportive of what I do." There was, however, nothing in Eva's comments to indicate that her friends or family actively pushed her to study te reo, and nothing that Eva said indicated that she felt any obligation to study either te reo or Māori studies in general. This lack of obligation suggests that it might be inaccurate to describe Eva as having anything akin to an ought-to L2 self.

Although Eva was no longer studying te reo at the time of her interview, her comments suggested that she might not have permanently abandoned hopes of improving her ability in the language. When asked whether she might consider studying te reo at a later date, Eva described this as "definitely a possibility" and suggested that it could be a part of professional development in a corrections position:

"I know, like, the Corrections Department offer, like, quite a wide range of things for their employees to do. So I don't know if that's something they would offer. I would be keen to take that up."

7.2.2 Rhianna

Age: 21
Gender: Female
HL learner status: Non-HL learner

Rhianna studied te reo for three years at high school, but she stopped studying it at the end of her third year of high school. Then, not having studied the language for five years, she took it up again during a gap year from medical school. Rhianna's plan was to take two semesters of te reo while taking a year off from medical studies; however, she ended up taking te reo for just one semester during this period. Her interview took place shortly after she had decided not to continue with a second semester of te reo.

Rhianna described enjoying her first year and a half of high school te reo, when she had a "fabulous teacher, who was really encouraging," but she then "got a different teacher, who I didn't like at all, and that's probably a factor in why I stopped." This shows that, at least in the past, Rhianna had had varied L2 learning experiences, and her second comment indicates that, for Rhianna, her L2 learning experience to some extent determined whether she continued or discontinued her te reo studies.

With regard to the semester of te reo that she had just taken at university, Rhianna said that she "really enjoyed the class," and the only concern she mentioned was having a lot of assessments "squished into the very end [of the semester]."

Neither of Rhianna's parents were Māori, but Rhianna said that they had "both been learning Māori for the last two years or so." She also said that her parents

"want our whole family to become fluent in Māori," and, when asked about why that might be, Rhianna answered as follows:

> "Um, respect. The Māori language is, ah, the Māori people were in this country first, and it's important to acknowledge that and important to respect their culture."

With regard to family, Rhianna also mentioned having some Māori relatives, and said that she hoped to have more connection with them and their iwi [tribe, people, or nation] in the future.

In addition to stating that her parents thought te reo was important to learn, Rhianna's comments made it clear that she had similar views:

> "I would like for Māori to become a more common part of New Zealand culture. Um, as a medical student, I think it's important to understand at least basic Māori, because of, um, patients who are going to be Māori. I would also like to learn some basic sign language at some point. It, kind of, it's a mark of respect—they're [unclear] people who live in this country."

Rhianna's description of her parents' desire for their children to speak te reo, combined with Rhianna's own views that it was "important" for her to understand some te reo, perhaps indicates the existence of an ought-to L2 self; however, Rhianna's ought-to L2 self would have to be described as relatively weak, given that there is no clear indication that her parents actively pushed her, or that she felt in any way obliged to learn te reo. Rhianna's plans to use te reo in her future work as a doctor show the existence of some L2-related goals, although it seems that Rhianna did not foresee herself making extensive use of the language in the future.

Rhianna indicated that her day-to-day motivation to learn te reo had to do with whether there were external pressures. These may be viewed as an aspect of the L2 learning experience, but could also be viewed as relating to L2-related goals.

Rhianna said that she was more motivated in her third year of high school, when "there was external pressure from the exams," than the year before that, when "there wasn't really any external pressure. She also commented that she was less motivated when "the, um, new teacher had come that I didn't like." Although Rhianna believed that it was important for her to learn at least *some* te reo, and although her parents wanted her and her siblings to become fluent in the language, there was nothing in her comments to indicate that these factors played any role with regard to her motivation—at least in terms of the amount of effort she put into learning te reo. Similarly, it seemed that Rhianna's beliefs about the importance of te reo in New Zealand did not lead her to continue her studies as planned during the second semester of her gap year.

As well as studying te reo while taking a year off her medical studies, Rhianna was taking a university music class and doing an internship with a campus Christian group. She found that her schedule was too full, and, although "it was a hard decision," she decided to "drop the Māori paper." Rhianna's decision could perhaps be seen as an example of a learner discontinuing in order to pursue non-L2 goals. Notably, though, Rhianna said that the choice to drop te reo rather than music was due to the music class being a full-year class that she didn't have the option to drop; she said that, if that weren't the case, she would have chosen te reo over music. Rhianna's discontinuation of te reo studies at university did not necessarily represent an abandonment of the language, as she had plans to continue studying te reo in another way:

> "I'm already planning this: Next year I'm moving to [a New Zealand city], and I'm going to do evening classes, which my parents […] both did last year and my sister is doing at the moment."

7.2.3 Marama

Age: 20
Gender: Female

HL learner status: HL learner

Out of all interview participants in the present study, Marama was perhaps the participant who had had the longest experience of learning an L2. Even before she began primary school, Marama attended a kōhanga reo (te reo immersion kindergarten); when she did begin primary school (at a mainstream school), she was placed in a bilingual (te reo and English) class. Marama thus had constant exposure to, and education in, te reo from a young age. This continued until she began intermediate school at a school where there were "no language options," and where the only exposure to te reo was just "maybe one or two hours a week when the teacher just did like real basic […] stuff." Not having the option to study te reo at intermediate school did not spell the end of te reo learning for Marama, however: At high school, Marama was in a te reo homeroom (the class in which announcements are made and attendance is recorded), and she took te reo classes throughout her time at high school. After high school, Marama continued to take te reo classes at university, and, at the time of her interview, she was enrolled in what she believed would be her final te reo class: She planned to graduate from university at the end of the semester.

In addition to studying te reo, Marama had also studied Japanese and Spanish. She studied Japanese for four years, from her second year of high school until she finished high school, but she did not continue with Japanese after finishing high school and entering university. Marama began studying Spanish when she entered university, and she continued for a year and a half (three semesters), after which she ceased her Spanish studies.

Looking at Marama's comments in terms of the L2MSS, it was clear that Marama possessed what might be described as a strong or highly-developed ought-to L2 self. Other people in Marama's life played a significant role in her learning of te reo, and Marama particularly emphasized her dad's desire for her to speak te reo, which manifested itself in his constant "pushing" and "encouragement." Marama described herself as being "dad-driven" with regard to her te reo learning, and she described her dad's encouragement as "definitely

active," adding that "there definitely was a time when I felt like he was just forcing it on me."

Marama's description of her dad's encouragement does not necessarily indicate that Marama's ought-to L2 self was tied to her Māori heritage, but further comments that Marama made suggested that aspects of her Māori family history may well have led to her dad's determination that she would learn te reo. She described how, when her dad was growing up, "when they spoke Māori at school, that's when, you know, they were, like, punished for it," and she suggested that "like, because of how he had his schooling with Māori, he really wanted, like, me to be immersed […] and, like, to learn the language." With regard to this, Marama also said herself, "I want to do it [learn te reo], like, for my dad, who, like, wanted to use the language but was punished for it."

Marama also described receiving encouragement from friends to "learn your language," and also from her mum, who pointed out to Marama that te reo was "part of your culture." It seemed that cultural identity may have played a role in Marama's learning of te reo, and, indeed, when Marama was asked why she chose to study te reo at high school, the first thing she said was, "Well, I'm Māori." She also described her te reo learning as being not only "dad-driven" but also "identity-driven." The idea that Marama might have been learning te reo because it was *her* language, and part of *her* culture has much in common with Dörnyei & Csizér's (2002) talk of reconceptualising integrativeness as an "*identification process* within the individual's *self-concept*" (p. 456). Given that Dörnyei (2009) cites such an idea as partly giving rise to the ideal L2 self, perhaps Marama's description of being "identity-driven" may be taken as an indication of the existence of an ideal L2 self tied to her Māori heritage.

Marama also described what might be considered a more conventional ideal L2 self—or L2-related goals—when she talked about her future family plans:

> "[…] like, in the future, like, when I have children, I definitely want them to be bilingual and speak, like, I want to speak to them only in te reo."

Marama also clearly showed that her Māori heritage played a role in her plans to raise her children speaking te reo:

> "Yeah, I definitely want [my children] to learn [te reo] as well. Just cause, yeah, just for me it's like a cul— a cultural identity thing."

When she was asked about the times when she was most motivated and putting in the most effort to learn te reo, Marama cited two periods: her later years of high school, and her later years of university. With regard to this first period, Marama made it clear that aspects of her L2 learning experience (in this case her teacher) played a substantial role in making her more motivated. She described her teacher as "really interactive," "really engaging," and "just really passionate about the language." With regard to her later years of university, Marama indicated that learning about the history and endangerment of te reo made her more determined to learn:

> "[…] like, learning the history of the language and, like, how in decline it is, and, exactly, like, how important it is, like, to the culture—I'd just be, like, oh my gosh, like, I want to learn the language more."

This last comment perhaps indicates that Marama was motivated by a desire to help te reo and Māori culture.

In contrast to these more motivated times, Marama described being least motivated at the beginning of high school, when her teacher (a different teacher) "wasn't very interested, or didn't seem very passionate about it." She also described lacking motivation in her first and second years of university, when "I did it […] but I just felt like it wasn't, yeah, wasn't engaging."

When Marama was asked about her more motivated and less motivated periods of learning Japanese, it was evident that her Japanese-learning motivation was affected by similar factors to those that affected her te reo-learning motivation, suggesting that her motivation depended on "the teachers I had." She described putting in a lot of effort when she had an "amazing" Japanese teacher,

but feeling "ooh, I don't want to do this anymore" when she had a teacher who she enjoyed less and found less engaging.

It seems, then, that aspects of classes, and of what Marama was learning, may have impacted on her motivation to learn both te reo and Japanese, but her comments about why she continued learning te reo, even at times when she was lacking motivation, suggest that her reasons for continuing may have been quite different from her reasons for being more motivated or less motivated.

In addition to responding, "Well, I'm Māori" when asked why she chose to study te reo at high school, Marama indicated that family and identity may also have played a role in her continuing with te reo at times when she was deriving less enjoyment from learning the language. When Marama was asked what kept her going when she was lacking motivation to learn te reo at high school, she responded, "definitely my dad, always my dad," and added that friends and her mum also played a role. With regard to her less motivated time at university, Marama also said that "family" kept her going, but added "and I think, more-so, me." In particular, it is interesting to note that Marama described saying to herself, "you've done it this long—it's a part of who you are," and added "like, I want to do it for me. Keep going; keep trooping through."

Marama's comments—in particular her comment that te reo was a part of who she was—suggest that identity, or cultural heritage, may have played a notable role in Marama's continuation of te reo learning even if more prosaic factors, such as those related to classes and the teacher, may have been more relevant to her day-to-day L2 learning motivation. Her descriptions of the roles of family and identity keeping her going with te reo could also be seen to indicate that it was through the ideal and ought-to L2 selves that Marama's Māori heritage led her to continue her te reo studies.

Perhaps the clearest example of how Marama's Māori heritage led her to continue studying te reo can be found in her description of choosing to continue te reo while simultaneously choosing to stop studying Spanish at university. Marama said that a lack of opportunities to use Spanish outside the classroom played a significant role in her decision not to continue, but, interestingly, it seemed that Marama had a similar lack of opportunities to use te reo outside the classroom. Of

this, though, Marama said that she wanted to learn te reo "even though I'm not using it outside [the classroom]." When asked further about why she continued te reo but not Spanish, even though there were limited opportunities for using either outside the classroom, Marama's response included the following, which clearly indicates that her Māori heritage was a crucial factor:

> "Like, the Māori versus Spanish: Like, it, yeah, for me it comes down to Māori is my culture. Te reo Māori is a part of that culture. Like, it, I have to do it. I have to do it for me. I want to do it for me. Compared to Spanish, it's like, oh, it would be cool to do it. Like, you know, but it's like, oh, well […]"

7.2.4 Kahu

Age: 20
Gender: Male
HL learner status: HL learner

Kahu started "really learning" te reo when he was twelve. Although his grandmother was a native speaker of te reo "she didn't pass it on to her kids," and, when Kahu was growing up, te reo was spoken neither by Kahu's Māori father nor by his New Zealand European mother. Kahu said that, of his te reo-speaking grandmother's "about 27" grandchildren, he was the only one who had "picked up the mantle to continue learning [the language]."

Kahu's journey of learning te reo began before he started high school—before he began taking formal classes in the language:

> "it just manifested within you, and all of a sudden—bang! You have this curiosity about who you are, the language of your, of your tūpuna, of your ancestors—and the journey just starts from there."

Kahu sought out exposure to te reo through TV and books until he began high school the following year and had "a great kaiako [teacher]," who he described as "definitely an inspiration." From the beginning of high school, Kahu's te reo learning comprised formal classes at school, but also wānanga reo (short-term Māori language and culture camps) that he attended around New Zealand. After finishing high school, Kahu began studying te reo at university, taking 200-level (second-year) classes, and he was taking 300-level (third-year) te reo classes at the time of his interview.

Kahu's description of the processes that led to him starting to actively learn te reo clearly indicate that his Māori heritage and identity provided the impetus for him to begin studying; however, his description of a curiosity about his identity and his ancestors cannot easily be classified as relating to any particular L2MSS-related construct.

Like non-HL learners of te reo and of FLs, Kahu's motivation levels were affected by aspects of his L2 learning experience—in particular, experiences of progress and failure. Kahu described how realizing that he was making progress with te reo "keeps you motivated," and he also described being frustrated by the lack of commitment to te reo learning shown by other learners in his university classes. While a number of interview participants indicated that academic success was important to them and acted as a source of motivation, Kahu stated that academic success was not a concern for him and that, rather, he was motivated simply to use the language:

"I don't care about marks. You know, the motivation for me is to speak Māori."

Kahu's comments unequivocally demonstrated the existence of a strong and highly developed ought-to L2 self tied to his Māori heritage: In contrast with the majority of interview participants in the study, Kahu spoke openly about feeling obliged to learn his L2. Of his determination to improve his knowledge of te reo, and to "pass it on," Kahu said, "I do believe I'm obliged to do that," and further

comments suggest that his sense of obligation may not have been to particular individuals, but, rather, to his family heritage:

> "So I see myself as, um, sort of requested by my ancestors to learn it now, pass it on to my kids as soon as possible, and to pass it on before it dies. So I do see myself as being obliged and requested."

In fact, Kahu's belief that his ancestors wanted him to learn te reo appeared to feature a somewhat spiritual element:

> "Bro, you know, you can think of me as being crazy or whatnot, but, you know, just the— a few of the dreams I've had, bro, um, all of, um, some of the dreams I've had, everything has just been in te reo Māori. Um, but yeah, I-I'm a firm believer that, um everything has happened for a reason—where I am now, um, and the, the language that I've acquired over the last few years, and the skills that I have and I'm passing on now, I do believe I'm obliged to do that, and I see it as a sign, that that's- that's the- that's the gift that was given to me, is to be able to learn and acquire what I have. And that's the motivation to do it, and to pass it on."

Like Marama, Kahu had plans to raise his future children to speak te reo, and his plans in this regard may be viewed as clear L2-related goals, and perhaps even as an example of an ideal L2 self:

> "when I pass that language on to my children, they won't have the worry and stress of having to learn a second language […] From day one, from being a baby, you know, from being an infant, that's all they'll hear in the household. that'll be the dominant— that'll be the only language of the household, I hope."

It seems clear that Kahu's Māori heritage was important in his reasons for beginning to learn te reo, and it also seems clear that his heritage was closely tied

to feelings of obligation that he experienced with regard to learning the language and wanting to "pass it on." Whether Kahu's Māori heritage was a significant factor with regard to his day-to-day motivation and the efforts he put into learning te reo is less clear, but comments he made later in his interview made it plain that such factors were crucial in his continuing to learn te reo.

Kahu spoke several times about wanting to keep te reo alive. He emphasized that "the language is still in the state of, you know, where it could die," and he described how not only he, but also others, learn te reo "because they want the language to survive." This, too, could be seen as an example of an ought-to L2 self, but one in which the learner's sense of obligation is to the language as a whole, rather than to particular individuals external to the learner.

It seems that Kahu's Māori identity acted through intermediary constructs such as the ideal and ought-to L2 selves in leading him to continue; however, certain comments that Kahu made appear to indicate that his Māori identity also *directly* led him to keep on learning te reo—not merely in order to achieve particular goals or to fulfil obligations, but simply because it was his "destiny." When Kahu was asked whether he could imagine anything stopping him from learning or speaking te reo, he responded as follows:

> "No. No. And I've thought of that before. But no. Purely because it's my destiny to learn it. I'm obliged to learn it and pass it on to help my people."

7.3 Synthesis of Qualitative Findings and Qualitative Results: Research Question 3

The following sections bring together and discuss this study's qualitative findings and quantitative results with regard to links between learners' HL learner status and the following: motivation, L2MSS-related variables, and learner attrition/retention. These sections also discuss how the qualitative and quantitative findings of the present study relate to relevant findings of previous studies.

Sections 7.3.1.1 to 7.3.1.6 discuss how motivation and each L2MSS-related construct may be associated with whether or not a learner is an HL or non-HL learner of an L2; section 7.3.2 discusses links between HL learner status and learner attrition/retention.

7.3.1 HL Status, Motivation, and L2MSS Variables

7.3.1.1 HL status and motivation.

The statistical finding that HL and non-HL learners did not differ on measures of motivation (see section 7.1.1) is in line previous studies that have investigated this (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Noels, 2005; Oh & Nash, 2014; 2005; Xie, 2014).

Motivation, as it was measured in the statistical component of the present study, referred to learners' day-to-day intended and actual effort with regard to learning an L2. Although the two focal HL learners of te reo whose cases are presented in section 7.2 clearly indicate that their heritage, identity, and family played roles with regard to their persistence in te reo learning (and with regard to their decisions to begin studying the language), there are no clear indications in their comments that such factors affected the levels of day-to-day effort that they put into their te reo learning.

When Kahu talked about having dreams in which "everything was in Māori" and described his ability to learn te reo as "a gift," he indicated that these were "the motivation" to learn te reo, but it seems that he was using the term *motivation* to mean his *motive* for studying te reo; it did not seem that he was talking about how much effort he was putting in to learning the language on a day-to-day basis. Later, when he said that making progress "keeps you motivated," it seemed more likely that Kahu was talking about day-to-day motivation, in the sense of effort, but the source of that motivation was an aspect of his L2 learning experience, as opposed to an ought-to or ideal L2 self related to his Māori heritage.

While there is perhaps little evidence that HL learner status affected learners' motivation levels in the context of this study, it is important to consider that HL learners such as Kahu, who might be described as having a "heritage motivation"

(Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003), might not study their L2 at all if it was not an HL for them (see further section 7.3.2). It is also significant that, although manifested motivation levels may be not differ between HL and non-HL learners, the relative roles that different processes and antecedent constructs play in informing learners' motivation levels may differ between HL and non-HL learners.

7.3.1.2 HL status and ideal L2 self.

Among learners of te reo and learners of FLs, ideal L2 self scores were significantly higher among HL learners than among non-HL learners. This finding is in line with Xie's (2014) finding that HL and non-HL learners of Chinese differed with regard to ideal L2 self scores, and an examination of the cases of the four focal learners lends weight to this statistical finding. All four of the focal learners of te reo (see section 7.2) articulated plans to use te reo in their futures, but the extent to which the two HL learners planned to use te reo was notably greater than the extent to which the two non-HL learners planned to do so.

In her planned career as a corrections officer, Eva thought that "having an understanding of [te reo] would be good," and suggested that there might be times when she would "have to, you know, introduce myself." Similarly, Rhianna felt that, as a future doctor, it would be important "to understand at least basic Māori." While these comments clearly represent L2-related goals (which could perhaps be construed as ideal L2 selves), they contrast strongly with the focal HL learners' plans to use te reo extensively and on a daily basis in their futures: Kahu hoped that te reo would be "the only language" of his future household, and Marama planned to speak to her future kids "only in te reo."

Both Kahu and Marama could perhaps be described as possessing ideal L2 selves in the sense that, for them, learning te reo appeared to involve, to some extent, a certain realization of their cultural identity: Kahu talked about a "curiosity about who you are," and Marama described continuing learning te reo because it was "my culture." In contrast, and perhaps unsurprisingly, neither Rhianna nor Eva indicated that learning te reo was in any way connected with their cultural identity.

When Dörnyei (2009) talks about the "construction of the ideal L2 self" (p. 33), he suggests that a possible self such as the ideal L2 self may originally stem from the views of others, "from students' peer groups," or from "the impact of role models." It is possible that HL learners, who may have relatives who speak their L2, may have greater access than non-HL learners to L2-speaking role models. Additionally, given that the ideal L2 self (or L2-related goals) relate to the extent to which a learner can imagine herself using her L2 in the future, it is important to consider that, purely by virtue of her ethnic or cultural background, a learner may have greater opportunities for both current and future use of her L2 than would a non-HL learner. This in turn could make the construction of a plausible ideal L2 self easier for an HL learner than for a non-HL learner. This is a particularly relevant point with regard to te reo: Whereas non-HL learners of FLs may have the option of traveling to a country where their L2 is spoken, the domains in which te reo is most extensive are Māori cultural contexts such as hui [traditional meetings] and marae [Māori meeting houses] (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006), and it is likely that such contexts might be more accessible to those with a Māori family background than to non-HL learners with no such background.

7.3.1.3 HL status and ought-to L2 self.

Among learners of both te reo and FLs, HL learners scored higher than non-HL learners on quantitative measures of ought-to L2 self. Among learners of FLs, the effect size of the difference between HL and non-HL learners was greater than the difference on any other measure investigated, although this was not the case among te reo learners. Statistically finding that the ought-to L2 self was stronger among HL learners than among non-HL learners corresponds directly with Xie's (2014) identical finding among learners of Chinese in the United States, and the finding may also be viewed as in line with a number of other previous studies (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Oh & Nash, 2014). Dörnyei (2009) states that the ought-to L2 self concerns meeting expectations, and the current findings may thus be seen to align with Oh and Nash's (2014) finding that HL learners scored higher than non-HL learners on measures of parental influence. The present findings also echo Comanaru and Noels' (2009) findings that HL learners scored higher on

measures of introjected regulation (a motivational orientation associated with feelings of guilt and obligation)—a finding that the authors of that study took to indicate that HL learners "felt more pressure to learn Chinese than the non-HL group, either because of pressures from others or because of a self-imposed feeling that they *ought* [emphasis added] to learn the language" (p. 151). The present finding could, however, be seen to contrast with the findings of Noels' (2005) study, which found that HL and non-HL learners did not differ on measures of introjected regulation.

The study's statistical findings regarding the ought-to L2 selves of HL and non-HL learners were reflected in the study's qualitative data. In fact, among the four focal HL and non-HL learners of te reo whose cases were examined (see section 7.2), the ought-to L2 self was the most salient factor discriminating HL learners from non-HL learners. Kahu's description of himself as feeling "obliged and requested," and Marama's descriptions of her dad "pushing" and "forcing" her stand in stark contrast to an relative absence of such phenomena in comments made by Eva and Rhianna. Although Rhianna did state that her parents wanted her whole family to speak te reo, there was nothing in her comments to indicate that they actively pushed her to do so or that she experienced any sense of obligation or expectation.

It is perhaps also worthy of note that Marama spoke of how te reo was "in decline" and Kahu talked about wanting to save the language "before it dies," while neither Eva nor Rhianna made any mention of the endangered (May, 2005) state of te reo. Marama and Kahu's comments regarding the language's endangerment perhaps indicate that HL learners of minority indigenous languages may experience a further pressure or feeling of responsibility that HL learners of immigrant languages may not experience: They may feel a responsibility or obligation towards their L2 and culture as a whole, rather than simply to themselves and their families. This sense is particularly conveyed in Kahu's comments regarding being "requested by my ancestors," and wanting to "pass [the language] on to help my people."

7.3.1.4 HL status and L2 learning experience.

On measures of L2 learning experience, statistical differences between HL and non-HL learners existed only among learners of te reo—not among learners of FLs. Even among learners of te reo, an examination of effect sizes shows that the difference between HL and non-HL learners on L2 learning experience measures was small, and the effect size was in fact smaller than that for significant differences identified on any other measures.

There are no obvious reasons why HL learners of te reo might, broadly speaking, enjoy the L2 learning process more than non-HL learners. One possibility, however, is that HL learners of te reo might have had greater prior exposure to te reo than non-HL learners, and this could perhaps mean that they are more academically successful in classes, which might in turn make for a more positive overall L2 learning experience. The identification of a significant difference between HL and non-HL learners on a measure such as L2 learning experience contrasts with the findings of at least two previous studies—Noels (2005) and Comanaru and Noels (2009)—both of which found that HL and non-HL learners did not differ on measures of intrinsic motivation, a construct described by Dörnyei (2009) as "a close match" (p. 30) to the L2 learning experience. The finding does, however, align with Wen's (2011) finding that HL learners of Chinese in the United States scored higher than non-HL learners of a construct that Wen termed "positive learning attitudes and experience" (p. 341).

Qualitative data from the four focal learners of te reo did not closely align with the statistical findings regarding HL learner status and the L2 learning experience. In fact, while both of the non-HL focal learners reported that they "really enjoyed" learning te reo during the semester prior to their interviews, Kahu went into some detail in reporting aspects of his L2 classes that he didn't enjoy—in particular, negative attitudes and a lack of dedication on the part of other students.

7.3.1.5 HL status and non-L2 goals.

Among learners of both te reo and FLs, non-HL learners scored significantly higher than HL learners on measures of non-L2 goals. This finding cannot easily be compared with the findings of previous statistical studies, as the present study

is the first to examine such a variable among HL and non-HL language learners; however, qualitative data from the four focal learners (see section 7.2) can shed light on this finding.

Items employed in the initial survey to measure the level or strength of learners' non-L2 goals asked about the extent to which learners could imagine themselves *not* using or needing their L2 in their futures. All four focal learners had ideas for how they *could* use te reo in their futures; however, for Eva and Rhianna, it seemed that their future plans for using te reo involved occasional use of the language in their work. Eva, for example, said that there "may be times" when she will use te reo for introductions, and Rhianna described knowledge of "basic Māori" as "important" and "a mark of respect" in her planned career as a doctor. Given a slight change of career or location, however, it is conceivable that neither Rhianna nor Eva would make much use of te reo in their future lives. In contrast, for Kahu and Marama, who both planned to bring up their children to speak te reo, it is significantly more difficult to imagine future lives that would not involve the language. If te reo was a household language in each of their future families, a change of career or location would be unlikely to result in te reo ceasing to be a part of their lives.

7.3.1.6 HL status, integrativeness, and instrumentality.

As discussed in section 6.2.7, the ideal L2 self was proposed by Dörnyei (2005, 2009) as a construct that could to a large degree subsume integrativeness and instrumentality. Additionally, Dörnyei (2009) suggested that the ought-to L2 self could subsume "prevention" (p. 31) aspects of instrumentality. Like this study's quantitative measurement of the ideal L2 self, Likert-type items employed to measure integrativeness and instrumentality gathered data on learners' L2-relevant goals. Thus, the significant statistical differences identified between HL and non-HL learners on measures of instrumentality (among learners of te reo and FLs) and integrativeness (only among learners of te reo) may be seen to reflect ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self differences already discussed in sections 7.3.1.2 and 7.3.1.3.

Finding HL/non-HL differences on measures of integrativeness and instrumentality can be related to more previous studies than can findings regarding ideal L2 self-related differences. The statistical findings of the present study with regard to integrativeness and instrumentality differ from those of Noels (2005), who found no significant differences on either measure between HL and non-HL learners of Chinese in Canada, and Oh and Nash (2014) also failed to find differences among Spanish learners in the United States. Xie's (2014) findings, too differed from those of the present study in identifying no significant difference in integrativeness scores between HL and non-HL learners of Chinese in the United States. In contrast, Lu and Li's (2008) study—undertaken in a similar context to that of Xie—did produce findings that align closely with those of the present study: HL and non-HL learners of Chinese did not differ on measures of integrative orientation, but HL learners scored higher than non-HL learners on instrumental orientation. The present study's findings with regard to integrativeness differences among learners of te reo also echo Wen's (2011) finding that HL learners expressed greater "interest in current [L2] culture" (p. 341), although the extent to which Wen's construct is analogous to integrativeness is perhaps arguable.

These somewhat disparate findings could indicate a need for further research to better understand the relationship between these variables and HL learner status, but the disparate findings could also be taken as an indication that the existence of a relationship between HL learner status and the variables is context-specific. Among learners of both te reo and FLs in the present study, the difference between HL and non-HL learners on ideal L2 self measures was larger than the difference on either integrativeness or instrumentality measures, and this could perhaps be taken as an indication that a measure similar to the ideal L2 self—which covers a number of learners' L2-related goals—may indeed function effectively as a construct that subsumes integrativeness and a significant portion of the instrumentality construct, as claimed by Dörnyei (2005, 2009).

Given that instrumentality was statistically measured in the present study with Likert-type items such as "Learning [L2] will help me to do things I want to do in the future," qualitative data from the four focal learners (see section 7.2) give

some good indications of why HL learners might score higher than non-HL learners on such measures. As mentioned in the previous section (7.3.1.5), Eva and Rhianna had ideas about how te reo could be useful in their future lives, but there was nothing to indicate that te reo would be required for them to achieve major life goals, such as becoming a corrections officer (Eva) or a doctor (Rhianna). For Kahu and Marama, on the other hand, a high level of proficiency in te reo would almost certainly be necessary if they were to speak with their future children "only in te reo."

The relationship between integrativeness and whether or not learners are HL learners of a language is somewhat fraught in the context of learners of te reo. Gardner (2001) describes integrativeness as reflecting "a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer to the other language community" (p. 5); he adds that the concept "implies an openness to and respect for other cultural groups" (p. 5) and further adds that it "might involve complete identification with the [L2] community" (p. 5). Perhaps such a concept could make sense for non-HL learners of te reo, such as Rhianna, who talks about wanting to know some te reo as a "sign of respect," but it perhaps makes less sense for learners such as Kahu and Marama who clearly identify themselves as Māori, and who would most-likely feel a part of the Māori community even if they *didn't* speak te reo. Given that integrativeness items employed in the present study's initial survey asked about a desire to learn about the L2 culture and become involved in the community, however, it perhaps makes sense that Māori learners of te reo would more highly endorse such items than non-HL learners. Even though they might already consider themselves members of the target language community, it seems reasonable that endorsement of such items might seem more congruent with their (Māori) identity than it might for a non-HL (non-Māori) learner.

7.3.2 HL Status and Learner Attrition/Retention

Statistics on learner attrition and retention rates from both te reo and FL classes in the present study clearly show a difference between HL and non-HL learners, and qualitative data from the four focal HL and non-HL learners also strongly indicate that HL learner status played a role in the focal HL learners' continuation of their L2 studies, whereas, by virtue of its non-existence, no such factor influenced the focal non-HL learners in their decisions regarding continuation and discontinuation of studies.

As pointed out in section 7.1.2, the rate of non-HL learners of FLs who did not intend to continue their L2 studies (16%) was notably higher than the rate for HL learners (9%). The difference among learners of te reo was much more marked, with the attrition rate for non-HL learners (45%) over four times greater than the rate for HL learners (11%). These findings contrast with those of Noels (2005) and Comanaru and Noels (2009), who found no difference between HL and non-HL learners' with regard to intentions to continue among learners of German and Chinese in Canada. The finding does, however, align with Pratt's (2010) finding that the rate of high school Spanish students who intended to continue with Spanish at university was higher among Hispanic learners than among learners of other ethnicities.

With regard to the focal learners (see section 7.2), Kahu and Marama's Māori heritage appeared to contribute to their choosing to continue studying te reo by means of both the ideal L2 self and the ought-to L2 self. Marama clearly linked her continuing to her view of te reo as a part of her own identity when she said, "Māori is my culture. Te reo Māori is a part of that culture. Like, it, I have to do it." Kahu could also be seen as showing that continuing to learn te reo was part of realizing a hope when he described continuing to learn and speak the language as his "destiny." Both also indicated that encouragement or pressure from others also contributed to their choosing to continue. Marama described how family helped her to continue when she was lacking motivation, and Kahu indicated that he was "obliged" to continue: Although these pressures to continue were from family in Marama's case and from ancestors in Kahu's case, both sources of pressure or expectation may be seen as tied to the learners' Māori heritage.

Neither of the focal non-HL learners made any comments that indicated that they felt an obligation to continue learning te reo, or that doing so was important to them for identity-related reasons. Also, given that neither Eva nor Rhianna had an ethnolinguistic affiliation with te reo, it is perhaps significant that both had ceased studying te reo at the time of their interviews (although Rhianna did have plans to continue at a later date).

Comments made by Marama and Kahu regarding how their Māori heritage contributed to their decisions to continue learning the language help to explain HL/non-HL difference in attrition rates identified in both the present study and in Pratt's (2010) study, and the lack of such comments from Eva and Rhianna also shed light on this issue. The fact that the difference in attrition rates between HL and non-HL learners of te reo in the present study was greater than among learners of FLs or among learners of Spanish in Pratt's (2010) study could perhaps indicate that learners' HL learner status is a more powerful predictor of L2 learner attrition/retention among learners of a minority (and endangered) indigenous language than among learners of other languages. Further studies, however, would be needed in order to draw any robust conclusions in this regard.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This section begins by outlining how this study's findings address its three research questions, and by noting the study's limitations with regard to the conclusions drawn. The dissertation then concludes with a discussion of broad theoretical and pedagogical implications arising from this study's findings, and of what these indicate with regard to future research priorities.

8.1 Conclusions: Research Question 1

Research Question 1:
Part A: To what extent does the L2MSS function as an effective model of L2 motivation in the study context?
Part B: To what extent do non-L2 goals affect learners' motivation levels?

With regard to the Part A of Research Question 1, it can be said the L2MSS *does* broadly function as an effective model of L2 motivation in the context of the study; however, this response must be qualified. It can be said that the L2MSS functions as an effective model of motivation because both SEM and qualitative data analysis showed that two components of the L2MSS—L2 learning experience and ideal L2 self—had substantial effects on learners' L2 learning motivation. This response is qualified (a) because the ought-to L2 self appeared to have little effect on motivation for the vast majority of learners, and (b) because findings indicated that there is reason to question whether the "ideal L2 self" in this study genuinely represented the construct proposed by Dörnyei (2005, 2009), or whether it rather represented L2-related goals that lacked the visualization component that Dörnyei (2009) argues distinguishes ideal selves from mere goals.

With regard to Part B of Research Question 1, the answer must be "to a minimal extent." SEM indicated that the addition of non-L2 goals (as a motivational antecedent) to a model based on the L2MSS did not increase the model's ability to account for learners' motivation levels, and qualitative data

indicated that non-L2 goals had only minimal impact on learners' motivation levels.

A significant aspect of this study's response to Research Question 1 was the proposal of an alternative model of L2 motivation (see section 5.4.6). This model holds that learners' L2 learning motivation is subject to both the learners' L2-related goals and their L2 learning experience, but the model also holds that L2 learning experience is a substantially more important motivational antecedent than are L2-related goals. Furthermore, the discussion around the proposal of this alternative model suggests motivational gains might best be realized through improving learners' experiences of L2 learning—in other words, through making L2 learning more enjoyable.

8.2 Conclusions: Research Question 2

Research Question 2:
Part A: What factors contribute to learner attrition and learner retention in the study context?
Part B: To what extent do L2MSS-related constructs and non-L2 goals affect learner attrition/retention?

Research Question 2 consisted of two parts; however, Part B may be seen, to a large degree, as simply a more specific version of Part A. The combination of the study's qualitative and quantitative results pertaining to learner attrition/retention indicated that a number of factors were relevant to whether learners continued or discontinued their L2 studies. Two factors, L2 learning experience and non-L2 goals, emerged as the most important determiners of learner attrition/retention; a third factor, L2-related goals, emerged as a more minor but nonetheless notable antecedent variable. The discussion of the findings indicated that SDT (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Noels et al., 2001) could account for the findings as well as could a model involving L2MSS-related constructs and non-L2 goals, and this discussion indicated that there could be value in having two somewhat distinct models of L2

learner attrition/retention: One model for the purposes of theory, and one for practical application.

A more theoretical model could involve either SDT theoretical constructs (intrinsic motivation, introjected regulation, etc.) or the constructs investigated in the present study (L2 learning experience, non-L2 goals, etc.) as antecedents of motivation. A model for practical, classroom application, on the other hand, could perhaps be something as simple as the age-old principle of hedonic motivation, whereby it is understood that individuals act to maximize pleasure and minimize suffering. In other words, it may be expected that learner retention rates will increase if L2 learning can be made more enjoyable for learners.

8.3 Conclusions: Research Question 3

Research Question 3:
What differences, if any, exist between HL and non-HL learners of te reo and FLs with regard to motivation, L2MSS-related variables, and learner attrition/retention?

In line with the findings of Xie (2014), the present study found a number of L2MSS-related differences between HL and non-HL learners of both FLs and te reo, and there were also notable differences in attrition rates between HL and non-HL learners. The combination of qualitative and quantitative findings did not, however, indicate that HL and non-HL learners differed in their day-to-day motivation levels.

When statistical results and qualitative findings were brought together, it was evident that the most notable ways in which HL learners differed from non-HL learners were that HL learners had stronger ought-to L2 selves and ideal L2 selves/L2-related goals. In particular, comments made by two focal HL learners of te reo demonstrated that their L2 learning was tied up with feelings of obligation—to close family members, to ancestors, and even to the language itself. Both focal HL learners also indicated a strong desire to realize specific

goals related to their L2 and indicated that their HL was a part of who they were. In contrast, in comments made by two focal *non*-HL learners of te reo, there was little to indicate feelings of obligation, plans for extensive future use of the L2, or that the L2 was related to the learners' identities.

Learner attrition rates were higher among non-HL learners than among HL learners. It was particularly notable that these attrition rate differences were much greater among learners of te reo than among learners of FLs. It is perhaps symbolic that, among four focal HL and non-HL learners of te reo, the two HL learners were still studying te reo at the time of their interview, whereas the two non-HL learners had both chosen not to continue with their te reo studies (at least at that time). It is also significant that the two focal HL learners cited factors such as their heritage, their identity, family encouragement/pressure, and feelings of obligation as contributing to their continuation.

In summary, the findings pertaining to HL and non-HL differences indicate that HL status is tied to differences in learners' motivational profiles (e.g., Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005) and to differences in attrition/retention rates. It would seem, however, that learners' HL status has little effect on learners' motivation in the sense of the amount of day-to-day effort that learners put into learning their L2.

8.4 Limitations

Although every effort was made to ensure that this study was as methodologically robust as possible, there are limitations to any research that involves people.

A mixed-methods study design was employed in the hope that doing so would minimize the limitations inherent in many L2 motivation studies—most of which are purely statistical in nature. The design of the study responded particularly to Ushioda's (2009) comment that statistical research "can tell us very little about particular students […] and how they are motivated or not motivated and why" (p. 216), and to Hashemi and Babaii's (2013) call for more applied linguistics studies in which qualitative and quantitative research methods truly complement each other. The mixed-methods approach employed did indeed serve to compensate for

various deficits of purely quantitative or qualitative methodologies, but this approach also served to expose certain limitations which might otherwise have gone unnoticed.

Collection and analysis of statistical survey data in the present study had a number of limitations. First, despite being put through several stages of piloting, it is possible that individual participants may have found some survey items ambiguous. Also, given the large number of participants who took part in the initial survey, it is entirely possible that there may have been participants who completed their survey carelessly or randomly; however, such a possibility is the case with virtually any survey-based study.

With particular regard to measures of motivation—which was measured as intended and actual effort—there is also a need to acknowledge that learners' statements about their L2 learning efforts may not always have corresponded closely to reality. Indeed, Papi and Abdollahzadeh (2012) found no significant correlation between students' self-reported motivation and their observed levels of motivated behaviour in the classroom.

Qualitative data raised questions about the extent to which the study's quantitative measurement of the ideal L2 self genuinely represented Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) construct (see section 5.4.2), and this raises the possibility that there may also have been issues with quantitative measurement of other constructs investigated in the study. Fortunately, qualitative data were able to mitigate the consequences of this limitation through informing the interpretation of quantitative results and through providing reference points for data triangulation. However, the fact that Likert-type items do not always measure precisely what researchers intend them to measure is a limitation that must be acknowledged with regard to all constructs measured through Likert-type items in this study.

Limitations relating to participants in the present study must also be acknowledged. In addition to the selection bias that exists in any study in which participants are not forced to take part, there exists the possibility that participants who volunteer are not entirely representative of the greater population. Such a bias is perhaps more worthy of consideration with regard to interview participants, who gave up a greater amount of their own time in order to take part in the

project. It is also important to note that females outnumbered males among survey participants and even more so among interview participants. Statistical analyses, however, indicated that there was very little difference between males and females on measures of the central variables investigated in the study (see appendix H).

Interviews themselves were also subject to limitations. Although every effort was made to ensure that the study's semi-structured interviews were as uniform as possible, it is necessary to recognize that interviews proceeded differently with different participants. Additionally, while some participants may have felt comfortable sharing anything relevant with an interviewer, it is also possible that others may not have felt comfortable sharing certain points or making negative comments about teachers. Ethnic and gender differnces between participants and the interviewer may also have played a role in determining what participants felt comfortable sharing in interviews. The fact that only one interview was conducted with each participant is also a limitation: It could be argued that conducting multiple interviews would allow participants to develop greater rapport (or whakawhānaungatanga) with the interviewer, which might mean participants felt more comfortable sharing certain details about their L2 learning. Conducting only one interview with each participant could also mean that data gathered from a particular participant could be subject to how that participant felt on that particular day. With regard to interview participants' statements of causal belief (Stratton, 1997), it should also be acknowledged that people's beliefs about their reasons for feeling a particular way or doing particular things (e.g., being motivated or discontinuing studies) do not necessarily correspond with reality—constructs such as motivation can also be subject to what Dörnyei and Otto (1998) refer to as "unconscious/irrational factors" (p. 62), which may include mood states, self esteem factors, and even sexual motivation (Dörnyei & Otto, 1998).

Finally, it is important to recognize that any researcher brings to their research certain beliefs, hopes, and presuppositions that have the potential to influence virtually any stage of the research process. Despite all efforts having been made to achieve objectivity and "a measure of detachment" (Norris, 1997, p. 173), it cannot be claimed that the present study is immune from such sources of bias.

8.5 Themes and Implications

This study found that L2 learning experience and learners' goals (whether or not they appear related to an L2) are highly relevant to both motivation and learner attrition/retention. Such findings carry noteworthy theoretical and pedagogical implications and also point to certain future research priorities.

Two aspects of the study's findings relating to goals are worthy of particular note: The importance of non-L2 goals in determining learner attrition/retention, and the importance of proximal L2-related goals in determining motivation.

A number of scholars (e.g., Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001; Ushioda, 2009) have emphasized the need for researchers within both the L2 motivation field and the broader field of SLA to recognize that various aspects of a learner's life are relevant to their language learning. The present study's finding that that learners' non-L2 goals can play a substantial role in learner attrition/retention (and a more minor role in day-to-day motivation) provides a concrete example of precisely how aspects of a learner's life that appear unrelated to L2 learning can influence whether or not an individual continues learning an L2. This finding also indicates that non-L2-related aspects of learners' lives should be seen not simply as noise or as confounding variables; rather, such factors may in fact be more substantial determiners of a learner's ultimate L2 learning success than are a number of constructs that have been the subject of extensive SLA research.

This study indicated that, in order to have an effect on motivation (and learner attrition/retention), learners' goals do not need to feature a visualization or experiential component. However, the study also indicated that short-term goals can affect learners' motivation in much the same way as longer-term or life goals. Much research into L2 motivation research has involved examining motivational antecedents that could be broadly described as relating to learners' long-term goals. Integrativeness (e.g., Gardner, 1985, 2001), for example, could be best described as relating to a long-term goal of coming "closer to the other language community" (Gardner, 2001, p. 5). Similarly, Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) ideal L2 self appears to relate mainly to long-term goals, as it concerns "the person we

would like to become" (p. 29), and virtually all research that has looked at the ideal L2 self has viewed the construct as relating to long-term or life goals such as learners' future careers (Ryan, 2009; Taguchi et al., 2009; You et al., 2016), "living abroad and using English effectively" (Taguchi et al., 2009, p. 91), or "my future" (Ryan, 2009, p. 143). Qualitative data from the present study indicate that some learners did possess such long-term L2-related goals, but the historical focus on long-term goals in L2 motivation research contrasts with other goals cited by this study's participants as affecting their motivation, many of which were short-term and academic—e.g., getting a good grade or passing a course (see section 5.3.1.2). The relevance of such goals to motivation (and, to a lesser degree, to learner attrition/retention) in the present study indicates a need for motivation and SLA researchers to avoid overlooking learners' short-term concerns, which may be seen as more mundane than longer-term life-goals, but which are nonetheless relevant.

Although this study's findings with regard to learners' goals may be seen to have theoretical implications for L2 motivation and language learning research, perhaps the most significant theme to emerge from this study's findings is that there is a need for greater theoretical focus on the positive and negative nature of learners' experiences of learning an L2.

As has been pointed out at various points in this dissertation, Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 learning experience has much in common with constructs employed in L2 motivation research undertaken prior to, and since, the 2005 introduction of the L2MSS—constructs such as *attitudes toward the learning situation* (e.g., Gardner, 1985), *intrinsic motivation* (e.g., Noels et al., 1999), and particularly *foreign language enjoyment* (e.g., Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014). Scholars such as Dörnyei and Ryan (2015) and Dewaele et al. (2017) point out that researchers have paid relatively little attention to the role of learners' emotions in L2 learning, and yet both the qualitative and quantitative findings of this study indicate that the extent to which learners experience enjoyment substantially affects how motivated those learners are (see particularly section 5.4.6) *and* whether or not they continue their studies (see particularly section 6.4.2.3). Even this study's focal HL learners of te reo—who might be considered particularly atypical L2

learners—cited enjoyable and unenjoyable aspects of their L2 learning experiences as leading to their feeling more and less motivated (see sections 7.2.3 and 7.2.4), and the fact that L2 learning experience continued to be relevant among such atypical learners may be seen to emphasize the extent to which the factor should perhaps form the basis of scholars' understandings of L2 motivation. Just as this study's findings regarding goals indicated a need to focus not just on learners' long-term life-goals but also on short-term, mundane goals, the importance of L2 learning experience in determining motivation and (dis)continuation perhaps indicates a need to focus on another somewhat short-term factor—learners' here-and-now enjoyment of learning an L2.

As shown in section 5.4.6, the role of enjoyment in learner motivation is eloquently captured by Bryony's comment that "[…] when you enjoy things more at uni, you are more motivated with the study." Bryony also showed how enjoyment can lead to learner retention when she described her decision to continue with French rather than science as a decision to "just continue with something I enjoy rather than continue with what I planned to do but just wasn't enjoying."

In fact, Bryony's comments bring to attention another point that may be seen to arise from this study's more general findings. In both her comment about motivation and her comment about continuing studies, it appears that Bryony's generalizations about the role of enjoyment are in no way specific to language learning; rather, it seems that she was talking about university, or education, in general.

Since Gardner and Lambert's (1959) first study of motivation in L2 learning, L2 motivation scholars have, in the words of Dörnyei (2009), "Always believed that a foreign language is more than a mere communication code that can be learnt similarly to other academic subjects" (p. 9). At the same time, however, much recent research in the L2 motivation field has drawn heavily on theoretical developments in the wider field of motivational psychology (e.g., Noels et al., 2009; Dörnyei, 2009)—theoretical developments that were in no way specific to L2 learning. Despite the fact that the proposal of the L2MSS was informed by research on possible selves in general psychology (e.g., Markus & Nurius, 1986),

Dörnyei's system is nonetheless constructed such that it is specific to L2 learning: The system consists of the ideal *L2* self, the ought-to *L2* self, and the *L2* learning experience.

In the case of SDT, it could be argued that Noels and associates (e.g., Noels et al., 1999; Noels et al., 2001) effectively showed that a theory of motivation from the wider field of motivational psychology was able—with virtually no modification—to effectively explain motivational phenomena among L2 learners in Canada. Similarly, several findings from the current study indicate that—at least with regard to motivation and learner attrition/retention—learning a language may be little different from learning, say, maths or geography. Looking first at non-L2 goals, external priorities (such as needing to put in more work in geography classes) could surely lead someone to discontinue maths just as easily as it could lead a learner to discontinue French. With respect to the role of short-term academic goals in motivation, it would be difficult to argue that a desire to get an A-plus grade in a class is more motivating in German class than in biology class. Perhaps, even with long-term goals, a te reo student's goal of becoming a te reo teacher might have the same motivational effects as a computer science student's goal of becoming a professional programmer. And, with respect to learning experience, there is no reason to believe that the role of enjoyment in determining motivation or attrition/retention should differ significantly between students of Chinese and students of history. It is, of course, worth acknowledging that certain academic subjects may be considered more important or practical by students than studying an L2: Perhaps, for some students, a professional course with a clear career direction is clearly more deserving of their efforts than an L2, or perhaps a learner will be more willing to withstand an unenjoyable class if it is a requirement for a degree. But L2 classes are hardly alone in this regard—many, if not all, university courses are viewed by certain individuals as more objectively important than others.

The present study has identified several variables that substantially influence L2 motivation and L2 learner attrition (e.g., L2 learning experience, non-L2 goals, L2-related goals). The study has also shown that *these same variables* were relevant even among a group of atypical learners (HL learners, and particularly

HL learners of te reo) but that, among such atypical learners, the situation was a little bit different.

Perhaps it is the same with regard to the relationship between the L2 motivation field and the broader motivational psychology field. Maybe, rather than maintaining that motivation and learner attrition/retention in L2 learning is a special case (e.g., Dörnyei, 2009; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011), L2 learning should instead be viewed as something that is much the same as other academic learning, but which is simultaneously *a little bit different*.

While the theoretical implications of this study's findings are somewhat multi-layered, it could be argued that the pedagogical implications are much more straightforward. Research Questions 1 and 2 concern different outcomes (motivation and learner attrition/retention), and the combination of theoretical constructs that determines motivation differs somewhat from that which determines learner attrition/retention. However, both research questions come to near-identical conclusions with regard to what L2 teachers and educational institutions should do in order to boost motivation and learner retention—at least in the context of the present study. Although L2-related goals are relevant to motivation, and although non-L2 goals are relevant to learner attrition/retention, it is towards enjoyment that teachers and educational institutions should direct their attentions. Aside from being a crucial predictor of both motivation and learner attrition/retention, enjoyment is deserving of attention because it is something over which teachers and institutions have substantial control. Dewaele et al. (2017) recommend that "teachers should focus on making their classes enjoyable, because our findings noted a strong relationship between what teachers actually do in their classrooms and the extent to which FL students enjoy the FL learning" (p. 18), and the present study shows that such enjoyment—which is dependent on teachers—is crucial to the degree to which learners are motivated, and also to whether learners continue learning their L2 at all. Given that a learner who does not enjoy class can be led to discontinue her studies, and given that no individual succeeds in learning a language if she stops learning (either learning through formal study or learning by another means), it is not unreasonable to argue that making class enjoyable for learners should in fact be a teacher's primary concern.

Of course, the matter of precisely how classes can be made enjoyable is one that requires careful consideration, but literature does exist, and several works provide usable guidelines of what L2 learners find enjoyable. Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014, 2016) provide examples of experiences that L2 learners found enjoyable, and Dewaele et al. (2017) show that learners find L2 learning more enjoyable when the teacher spends more time using the L2 in class, when more class time is spent on speaking (up to approximately 60% of the time), when the teacher is less predictable, and when learners have a more favourable attitude towards the teacher (although this final factor is perhaps harder to control).

The present study is by no means the first to indicate that enjoyment is the central factor on which teachers should focus their attentions in order to boost motivation and learner retention, even if it is perhaps one of the first to describe the situation in precisely these terms. In fact the relationship between enjoyment (or L2 learning experience or intrinsic motivation) and these outcomes may be seen as being relatively well established (e.g., Kormos & Csizér, 2009, Noels et al., 2001). Although there is always a demand for replication studies and for studies undertaken in novel contexts, the findings of this study indicate that an important research priority for the near future should be to continue the work undertaken by Dewaele and colleagues (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014, 2016; Dewaele et al., 2017) and to further develop a clear understanding of what concrete actions can be taken by teachers and educational institutions in order to maximize learners' enjoyment of L2 classes. A greater understanding of precisely what makes classes enjoyable (or unenjoyable) will enable teachers and institutions to be informed in what may be seen as essentially the pursuit of a utilitarian ideal not dissimilar to the Greatest Happiness Principle (Mill, 1863)—in this case, the maximum possible enjoyment by the maximum possible number of L2 learners.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Research Approval from University of Otago Human Ethics Committee

14/169

Academic Services
Manager, Academic Committees, Mr Gary Witte

29 October 2014

Dr A Feryok
Department of English and Linguistics
Division of Humanities

Dear Dr Feryok,

I am again writing to you concerning your proposal entitled "**Multiple Possible Selves, Demotivation, and the L2 Motivational Self System**", Ethics Committee reference number **14/169**.

Thank you for your email response to the Committee of 28 October 2014, which provided a cover letter, updated application, the consultation letter from Ngai Tahu Research Consultation Committee, and a sample of the updated questionnaire to be used.

Thank you for advising that the project will no longer involve high school students. Please provide copies of the letter of approval from the other New Zealand universities, that they give permission for you to contact their students, when they come to hand.

Thank you for clarifying that ethnicity information will be collected on all participants, and for rewording the ethnicity question on the survey. Thank you for clarifying that the questionnaire provided is a sample only, and that for those studying, for example, Maori (and for those studying any other modern language), the word 'French' would be substituted for 'Maori' (or the other modern language being studied) throughout.

On the basis of this response, I am pleased to confirm that the proposal now has full ethical approval to proceed.

Approval is for up to three years from the date of this letter. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, re-approval must be requested. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing.

Yours sincerely,

Mr Gary Witte
Manager, Academic Committees
Tel: 479 8256
Email: gary.witte@otago.ac.nz

c.c. Dr C A Prentice   Department of English and Linguistics

Appendix B: Information Sheet For Participants

UNIVERSITY of OTAGO

Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo
NEW ZEALAND
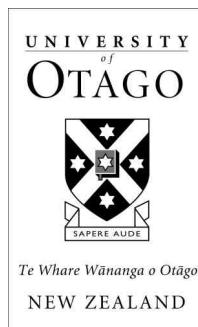
MOTIVATIONAL DYNAMICS IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING
INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the aim of the project?

The aim of this project is to learn more about what makes people more or less motivated when learning a second language. Specifically, the project will look at how motivation may be affected by the way people imagine themselves in the future, and at how motivation might be related to other factors, such as age, gender, and what language people are learning.

It is hoped that the findings of this study might influence teachers and teaching policy so that language students can be more motivated in future.

This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for Max Olsen's PhD in Linguistics.

What type of participants are being sought?

We are seeking university students of modern languages who are enrolled in language learning papers. The language participants are studying does not have to be the participants' university major. Participants must be over the age of 16.

We are seeking 180-500 participants.

Those who participate in the survey component of the project (see below) will have the opportunity to take part in a draw for a $50 book voucher, as a thank you for participating. Those who are asked and who agree to participate in the interview component of the research (see below) will receive a modest café voucher as a thank you for participating.

What will participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to complete a 20-30 minute survey. Then, with your consent, you will be contacted by email several months later and asked to complete a very short online survey. This second survey should take no longer than two minutes.

Based on information in the surveys, you may, with your consent, be asked to participate in an interview of around 30 minutes with one of the researchers. Only 20-30 participants will be asked to take part in interviews.

Please note that taking part in the initial 20-30 minute survey does not oblige you to participate further if you do not wish to.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What data or information will be collected and what use will be made of it?
Most participants in this investigation will take part only in an initial survey and a brief follow-up survey; however, if you agree, you may be contacted to take part in an interview.

Surveys:

Data collected in the surveys will be used for statistical analysis to study the relationships between motivation and other factors. This data may also be used to select who is contacted for interview participation. Personal contact information collected in the initial survey will be used only to contact you, and only if you agree to be so contacted.

Interviews:

The interview component of this project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes language learning experience, motivation, future goals, career plans, and views on the importance of learning a second language. The precise nature of the questions that will be asked has not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used.

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable, you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Data collected in interviews will be audio recorded and then transcribed. Written quotations from interviews may be used for analysis and published; however, a pseudonym will be used in place of your real name.

General:

Data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only the student researcher and supervisors mentioned below will be able to gain access to it. Data obtained as a result of the research will be retained for **at least 5 years** in secure storage. Any personal information held on the participants, such as contact details and audio recordings, will be destroyed at the completion of the research even though the data derived from the research will, in most cases, be kept for much longer or possibly indefinitely. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand), but every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity.

Can participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

You may stop participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

It is not possible to withdraw survey data after it is submitted, but you may choose to withdraw your interview data within two weeks of the interview having taken place, or later if data analysis has not already taken place.

What if participants have any questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Max Olsen	OR	*Dr. Anne Feryok*
Department of English and Linguistics		Department of English and Linguistics
University Telephone: 03 479 8637		University Telephone: 03 479 8637
Email Address: papatowai@gmail.com		Email Address: anne.feryok@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph +643 479 8256 or email gary.witte@otago.ac.nz). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form
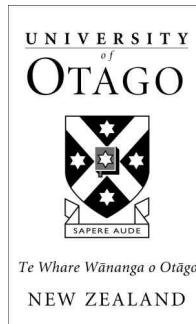
MOTIVATIONAL DYNAMICS IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING
CONSENT FORM FOR
PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.
I know that:

1.   My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2.   I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3.   Personal identifying information, contact details, and audio recordings, will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;

4.   If I take part in the interview component of this project, this involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes language learning experience, motivation, future goals, career plans, and views on the importance of learning a second language. The precise nature of the questions that will be asked has not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind;

5.   The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.

6.   I, as the participant: a) am willing to participate in both
                              the survey and interview components
                              of this project,

                              OR;

                              b) am willing to participate in only the
                              survey components of this project

I agree to take part in this project.

....
        (Signature of participant)   (Date)

....
        (Printed Name)

Appendix D: Evidence of Consultation with Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee

NGĀI TAHU RESEARCH CONSULTATION COMMITTEE
TE KOMITI RAKAHAU KI KĀI TAHU

Tuesday, 21 October 2014.

Dr Anne Feryok,
Department of English - Linguistics,
DUNEDIN.

Tēnā Koe Dr Anne Feryok,

Multiple Possible Selves Demotivation and the L2 Motivational Self System

The Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee (the committee) met on Tuesday, 21 October 2014 to discuss your research proposition.

By way of introduction, this response from The Committee is provided as part of the Memorandum of Understanding between Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and the University. In the statement of principles of the memorandum it states "Ngāi Tahu acknowledges that the consultation process outline in this policy provides no power of veto by Ngāi Tahu to research undertaken at the University of Otago". As such, this response is not "approval" or "mandate" for the research, rather it is a mandated response from a Ngāi Tahu appointed committee. This process is part of a number of requirements for researchers to undertake and does not cover other issues relating to ethics, including methodology they are separate requirements with other committees, for example the Human Ethics Committee, etc.

Within the context of the Policy for Research Consultation with Māori, the Committee base consultation on that defined by Justice McGechan:

"Consultation does not mean negotiation or agreement. It means: setting out a proposal not fully decided upon; adequately informing a party about relevant information upon which the proposal is based; listening to what the others have to say with an open mind (in that there is room to be persuaded against the proposal); undertaking that task in a genuine and not cosmetic manner. Reaching a decision that may or may not alter the original proposal."

The Committee considers the research to be of interest and importance.

As this study involves human participants, the Committee strongly encourage that ethnicity data be collected as part of the research project. That is the questions on self-identified ethnicity and descent, these questions are contained in the latest census.

The Committee encourages contact with Associate Professor Poia Rewi Te Tumu, the School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies, regarding this study.

The Committee suggests dissemination of the research findings to relevant National Māori Education organizations and Toitu te Iwi at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu regarding this study.

We wish you every success in your research and the committee also requests a copy of the research findings.

The Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee has membership from:
Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou Incorporated
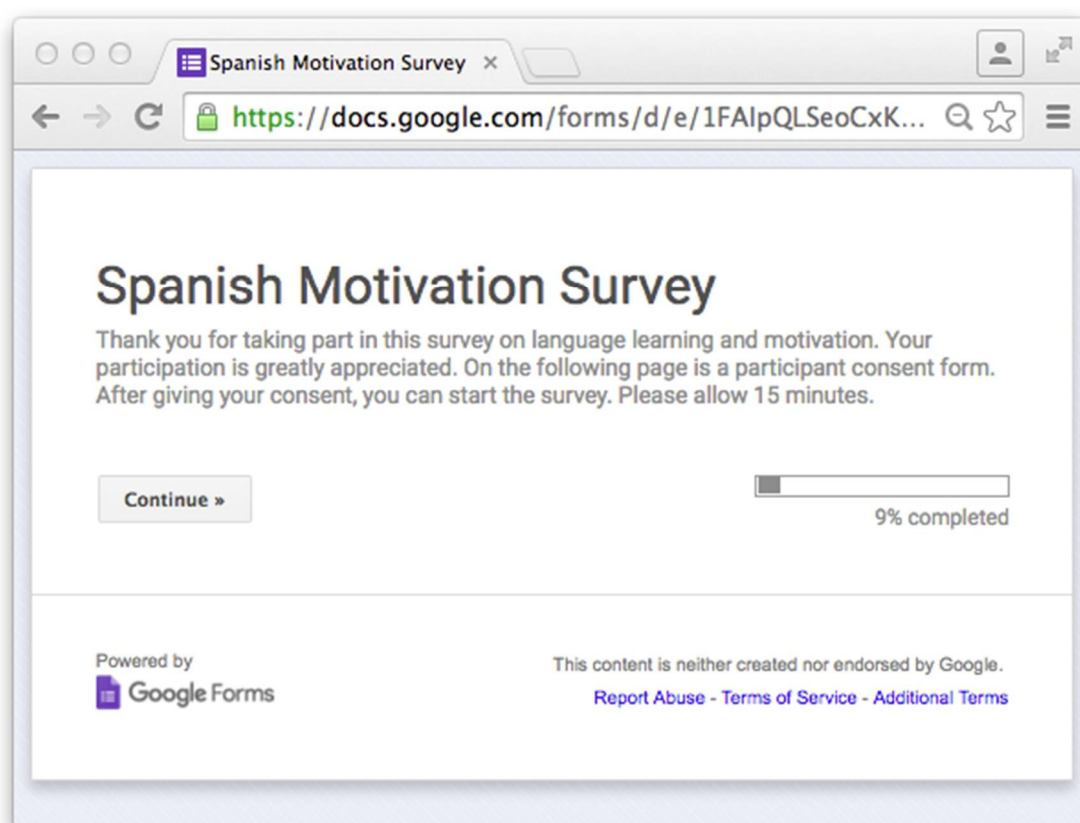Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki
Te Rūnanga o Moeraki

Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee
Te Komiti Rakahau ki Kāi Tahu

This letter of suggestion, recommendation and advice is current for an 18 month period from Tuesday, 21 October 2014 to 21 April 2016.

Nāhaku noa, nā

[signature]
PP NTRCC

Mark Brunton
Kaiwhakahaere Rangahau Māori
Research Manager Māori
Research Division
Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo
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Appendix E: Online Survey (As It Appeared Online)

Note: The survey provided in this appendix is the survey that learners of Spanish were directed to. Learners selected their L2 on the project website and were directed to a survey tailored to their L2.

Survey items in surveys relating to other FLs were identical to the survey shown in this appendix, but contained the name of another FL wherever the word *Spanish* appears in the following pages. In the te reo survey, "Māori" appeared wherever the word *Spanish* appears in the following pages.

All FL surveys contained an item asking whether participants had been on a study abroad programme to a country where their L2 was spoken; however, such an item was not included in the te reo survey, as there is no te reo-speaking country outside New Zealand where students can go on a study abroad programme.

Data from a number of background questions were beyond the scope of this dissertation, and have not been discussed at any point; however, data from such background questions may be used in future works.

Spanish Motivation Survey

Participant Consent Form

I have read the Information Sheet (http://languagemotivation.webs.com/about) concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

1.   My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2.   I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3.   Personal identifying information, contact details, and audio recordings, may be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;

4.   This project includes both a survey component and an interview component, but I can choose to take part in just the survey component by indicating this at the end of the online survey.

5.   The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.

Consent
By checking the box below, you consent to taking part in this project.

☐ I agree to take part in this project.

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph +643 479 8256 or email gary.witte@otago.ac.nz). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

[« Back]   [Continue »]   18% completed

337

Spanish Motivation Survey

How to answer

Please select the option that best describes how true each statement is for you.

1 = absolutely untrue

2 = mostly untrue

3 = neither true nor untrue

4 = mostly true

5 = absolutely true.

For example, if you really like bananas, but you're not a huge fan of apples, you would answer as shown in the box below.

I love bananas.

	1	2	3	4	5	
not true at all	○	○	○	○	⦿	absolutely true

I love apples.

	1	2	3	4	5	
not true at all	○	⦿	○	○	○	absolutely true

Ready to start?
Click "Continue".

« Back   Continue »

27% completed

Spanish Motivation Survey

Responses 1-10

Beside each statement, please select the option that best describes how true the statement is for you.

1 = absolutely untrue; 2 = mostly untrue; 3 = neither true nor untrue; 4 = mostly true; 5 = absolutely true.

1) I am working hard at learning Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

2) I can imagine myself in the future using Spanish effectively for communicating with Spanish speakers.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

3) A lot of my career ideas don't require Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

4) I study Spanish because other people think it is important.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

5) I think that learning Spanish is great.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSeo...

6) I learn Spanish in order to learn more about Spanish culture and art.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

7) For me, becoming fluent in Spanish is an unrealistic goal.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

8) I can honestly say that I am really doing my best to learn Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

9) I can imagine myself in the future speaking Spanish with Spanish-speaking friends or colleagues.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

10) Many of my future plans don't involve me using Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

« Back   Continue »

36% completed

340

Spanish Motivation Survey

Responses 11-20

Beside each statement, please select the option that best describes how true the statement is for you.

1 = absolutely untrue; 2 = mostly untrue; 3 = neither true nor untrue; 4 = mostly true; 5 = absolutely true.

11) I have to study Spanish because if I do not study it, I think other people will be disappointed with me.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

12) I really enjoy learning Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

13) Culturally, I would like to become more like native speakers of Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

14) Learning Spanish will help me to do things I want to do in the future.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

15) One reason why I learn Spanish is that people I respect think I should do it.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

16) If I don't succeed in learning Spanish, I have plenty of other options.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

17) I accept that I might fail to achieve a reasonable level of fluency in Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

18) I can imagine myself in the future speaking Spanish really well.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

19) If I had access to Spanish-speaking TV stations, I would try to watch them often.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

20) Spanish is unlikely to be important in my future.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

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Spanish Motivation Survey

Responses 21-30

Beside each statement, please select the option that best describes how true the statement is for you.

1 = absolutely untrue; 2 = mostly untrue; 3 = neither true nor untrue; 4 = mostly true; 5 = absolutely true.

21) I am the kind of person who makes great efforts to learn Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

22) When I think of my future career, I imagine myself using Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

23) I can imagine myself getting by in future without using Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

24) Studying Spanish is important to me to gain the approval of others.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

25) I really look forward to my Spanish classes.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

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26) I find learning Spanish really interesting.

1   2   3   4   5

not true at all ○   ○   ○   ○   ○   absolutely true

27) I would love to have lots of Spanish-speaking friends.

1   2   3   4   5

not true at all ○   ○   ○   ○   ○   absolutely true

28) Spanish would help with my future career.

1   2   3   4   5

not true at all ○   ○   ○   ○   ○   absolutely true

29) If Spanish wasn't taught at university, I would try to go to Spanish classes somewhere else.

1   2   3   4   5

not true at all ○   ○   ○   ○   ○   absolutely true

30) Things I want to do in the future will involve me using Spanish.

1   2   3   4   5

not true at all ○   ○   ○   ○   ○   absolutely true

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Spanish Motivation Survey

Responses 31-40

Beside each statement, please select the option that best describes how true the statement is for you.

1 = absolutely untrue; 2 = mostly untrue; 3 = neither true nor untrue; 4 = mostly true; 5 = absolutely true.

31) I would like to concentrate on studying Spanish more than any other topic.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

32) I can imagine myself writing Spanish emails fluently in future.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

33) Even if I don't learn Spanish, I will still be able to achieve many of my career goals.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

34) Studying Spanish is important to me because an educated person should speak more than one language.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

35) My parents might be disappointed if I do not work hard to learn Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

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36) I like the atmosphere in my Spanish classes.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

37) I would like to feel part of Spanish society and culture.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

38) Learning Spanish will help me to attain career goals.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

39) I often imagine myself in the future as someone who is able to speak Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

40) Compared to my classmates, I work relatively hard at learning Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

« Back   Continue »

63% completed

Spanish Motivation Survey

Responses 41-49

Beside each statement, please select the option that best describes how true the statement is for you.

1 = absolutely untrue; 2 = mostly untrue; 3 = neither true nor untrue; 4 = mostly true; 5 = absolutely true.

41) Studying Spanish is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have a knowledge of Spanish.

1   2   3   4   5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

42) I would like to have more Spanish lessons every week.

1   2   3   4   5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

43) I study Spanish because my parent(s) encouraged me to.

1   2   3   4   5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

44) If my Spanish teacher gave the class an optional assignment, I would volunteer to do it.

1   2   3   4   5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

45) I feel like time passes faster in Spanish classes than in other classes.

1   2   3   4   5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

347

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46) Only a few of my future plans involve using Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

47) I will never be able to speak Spanish well.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

48) When I think about my future, I imagine situations where I will use Spanish.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

49) A future in which I speak Spanish is only one option among many.

1 2 3 4 5

not true at all ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ absolutely true

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72% completed

Spanish Motivation Survey

Background Information

Age

[▼]

Gender

○ Female

○ Male

○ Other

Is English your first (native) language?

Answer 'yes' if English is one of the languages that you grew up speaking.

○ yes

○ no

At which university are you studying?

○ University of Otago

○ University of Auckland

○ University of Canterbury

○ Victoria University of Wellington

○ Other

What is your university major?

Please type your response in the box provided.

[ ]

Please enter the paper codes of Spanish classes you are currently taking.
For example, "SPAN131".

[ ]

Do you plan to continue studying Spanish next semester?

○ yes

○ no

○ haven't thought about it

Do you intend to reach fluency in Spanish?

○ yes

○ no

Have you ever been on a study abroad programme (school or university) in a Spanish speaking country?

○ yes

○ no

Which ethnic group(s) do you belong to?
Please check the box or boxes that apply to you.

☐ New Zealand European

☐ Māori

☐ Samoan

☐ Cook Island Maori

☐ Tongan

☐ Niuean

☐ Chinese

☐ Indian

☐ Other: [ ]

When you consider your future, in particular your career path, would you say that you have one main plan, or that you have multiple possibilities/options?

○ one main plan

○ multiple possibilities/options

○ too difficult to say

At this stage of your life, would you say that you are aiming for a particular objective(s), or are you trying to keep your options open?

○ aiming for a particular objective(s)

○ trying to keep options open

○ too difficult to say

« Back   Continue »

81% completed

Spanish Motivation Survey

* Required

Further Participation

Are you happy to be contacted next semester to answer just one question in relation to this study? *

If so, please enter your email address on the next page of this survey.

○ yes

○ no

Are you happy to be contacted to take part in a short interview about your language learning experience? *

If so, please enter your email address in the last text box in this survey. Those who take part in interviews will receive coffee or tea at a cafe as a small thank you for participating.

○ yes

○ no

○ maybe

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Spanish Motivation Survey

* Required

Contact details

If you are happy to be contacted for further participation, please provide a first name or nickname that can be used for contact purposes.

This will not be shared with anybody and will only be used in the event that you are re-contacted.

[   ]

Please enter your email address. *

Entering your email allows you to go into the draw for a $50 book voucher. If you do not wish to provide your email address, just enter "NA" in the box. You will not be contacted for further participation unless you have agreed to it.

[   ]

Thank you so much for participating in this survey.

Please tick the box below if you would like to hear about the findings of this study in 2017.

☐ send me the study findings in 2017

[« Back] [Submit]

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100%: You made it.

Appendix F: Likert-Type Items Used in Final Measurement of Constructs

The survey items shown in this appendix are those that were used in the final measurement of the seven constructs statistically investigated in this study (motivation, ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self, L2 learning experience, non-L2 goals, integrativeness, instrumentality). Appendix E shows all items that were present in the survey that participants completed, but this appendix shows only those items that the CFA (see sections 3.3.3.2 and 4.1) showed to accurately reflect the constructs that the Likert-type items were intended to measure. Data from 39 Likert-type items were used to calculate final construct scores.

In this appendix, Likert-type items are grouped under constructs that they measured; however, the numbering of the survey items reflects their position in the online survey that participants completed (see appendix E). As explained in the relevant sections of the methodology (see section 3.3.2), and as can be seen in appendix E, participants used five-point scales to respond to the Likert-type survey items. Appendix E also explains the meanings of each of the five points on the response scales.

Like in Appendix E, the examples given are from the Spanish survey. In other surveys, the items were the same, but the name of a different language was substituted for *Spanish*.

Motivation
1) I am working hard at learning Spanish.
8) I can honestly say that I am really doing my best to learn Spanish.
21) I am the kind of person who makes great efforts to learn Spanish.
40) Compared to my classmates, I work relatively hard at learning Spanish.
44) If my Spanish teacher gave the class an optional assignment, I would volunteer to do it.

Ideal L2 Self
2) I can imagine myself in the future using Spanish effectively for communicating with Spanish speakers.
9) I can imagine myself in the future speaking Spanish with Spanish-speaking friends or colleagues.

18) I can imagine myself in the future speaking Spanish really well.

32) I can imagine myself writing Spanish emails fluently in future.

39) I often imagine myself in the future as someone who is able to speak Spanish.

48) When I think about my future, I imagine situations where I will use Spanish.

Ought-To L2 Self

4) I study Spanish because other people think it is important.

11) I have to study Spanish because if I do not study it, I think other people will be disappointed with me.

15) One reason why I learn Spanish is that people I respect think I should do it.

24) Studying Spanish is important to me to gain the approval of others.

35) My parents might be disappointed if I do not work hard to learn Spanish.

41) Studying Spanish is important to me because other people will respect me more if I have a knowledge of Spanish.

43) I study Spanish because my parent(s) encouraged me to.

L2 Learning Experience

5) I think that learning Spanish is great.

12) I really enjoy learning Spanish.

25) I really look forward to my Spanish classes.

26) I find learning Spanish really interesting.

36) I like the atmosphere in my Spanish classes.

42) I would like to have more Spanish lessons every week.

45) I feel like time passes faster in Spanish classes than in other classes.

Non-L2 Goals

3) A lot of my career ideas don't require Spanish.

10) Many of my future plans don't involve me using Spanish.

17) I accept that I might fail to achieve a reasonable level of fluency in Spanish.

20) Spanish is unlikely to be important in my future.

23) I can imagine myself getting by in future without using Spanish.

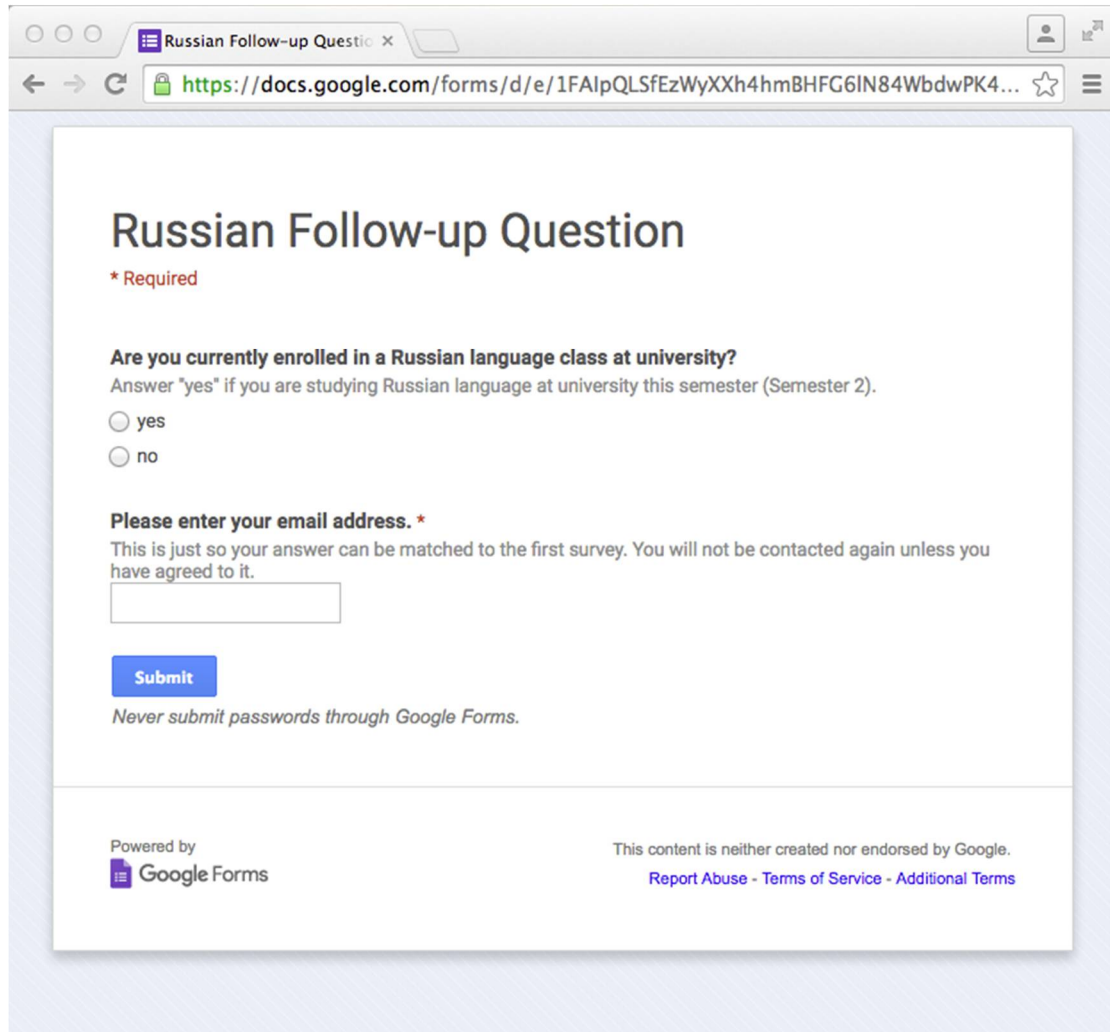49) A future in which I speak Spanish is only one option among many.

Integrativeness

6) I learn Spanish in order to learn more about Spanish culture and art.

13) Culturally, I would like to become more like native speakers of Spanish.

27) I would love to have lots of Spanish-speaking friends.

37) I would like to feel part of Spanish society and culture.

Instrumentality

14) Learning Spanish will help me to do things I want to do in the future.

28) Spanish would help with my future career.

30) Things I want to do in the future will involve me using Spanish.

38) Learning Spanish will help me to attain career goals.

Appendix G: The Follow-Up Question

Note: The follow-up question provided in this appendix is the question that learners of Russian were directed to. Learners of other L2s were directed to a follow-up question relating to their L2.

Appendix H: Comparison of Female and Male Participants on Measures of Constructs Investigated

Table H.1

Female and Male Participants: Descriptive Statistics and Results of Independent Samples T-Tests

| Variable | Females (n = 485) | | Males (n = 210) | | | | | 95% CI | | Effect size |
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*LL*	*UL*	*r*
Motivation	3.52	0.70	3.45	0.72	1.18	386.34	0.24	-0.05	0.19	0.06
Ideal L2 self	3.86	0.87	3.94	0.80	-1.12	427.43	.26	-0.21	0.06	0.05
Ought-to L2 self	1.97	0.71	2.12	0.78	-2.43	363.96	.02*	-0.28	-0.03	0.13
L2 learning experience	4.00	0.65	4.06	0.61	-1.14	423.94	.25	-0.16	0.04	0.06
Non-L2 goals	3.31	0.71	3.32	0.77	-0.12	368.40	.91	-0.13	0.12	<0.01
Integrativeness	3.74	0.82	3.63	0.86	1.59	380.88	.11	-0.03	0.25	0.08
Instrumentality	3.60	1.00	3.68	0.96	-1.05	411.17	.30	-0.24	0.07	0.05

Note. CI = confidence interval; *LL* = lower limit; *UL* = upper limit.

Appendix I: Strength of Inter-Construct Correlations Among HL and Non-HL Learners of FLs and Te Reo

Table I.1

HL Learners of Te Reo: Pearson's r *Values for Strength of Inter-Construct Relationships Between Variables Investigated*

	Motivation	Ideal L2 self	Ought-to L2 self	L2 learning experience	Non-L2 goals	Integrativeness	Instrumentality
Motivation	1.00**						
Ideal L2 self	0.34*	1.00**					
Ought-to L2 self	0.39*	-0.01	1.00**				
L2 learning experience	0.48**	0.47**	-0.12	1.00**			
Non-L2 goals	-0.03	-0.36*	0.10	0.08	1.00**		
Integrativeness	0.21	0.52**	0.02	0.51**	-0.31	1.00**	
Instrumentality	0.24	0.29	-0.07	0.04	-0.54**	0.13	1.00**

Note. $*p < .05, **p < .01; n = 35$

Table I.2

Non-HL Learners of Te Reo: Pearson's r *Values for Strength of Inter-Construct Relationships Between Variables Investigated*

	Motivation	Ideal L2 self	Ought-to L2 self	L2 learning experience	Non-L2 goals	Integrativeness	Instrumentality
Motivation	1.00**						
Ideal L2 self	0.47**	1.00**					
Ought-to L2 self	0.22	0.26	1.00**				
L2 learning experience	0.45**	0.49**	-0.10	1.00**			
Non-L2 goals	-0.17	-0.45**	-0.18	0.05	1.00**		
Integrativeness	0.41**	0.45**	0.12	0.52**	-0.15	1.00**	
Instrumentality	0.19	0.57**	0.26	0.06	-0.69**	0.07**	1.00**

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$; $n = 45$

Table I.3

HL Learners of FLs: Pearson's r *Values for Strength of Inter-Construct Relationships Between Variables Investigated*

	Motivation	Ideal L2 self	Ought-to L2 self	L2 learning experience	Non-L2 goals	Integrativeness	Instrumentality
Motivation	1.00**						
Ideal L2 self	0.33	1.00**					
Ought-to L2 self	0.39	-0.01	1.00**				
L2 learning experience	0.61**	0.60**	0.30	1.00**			
Non-L2 goals	-0.10	-0.36	0.00	-0.17	1.00**		
Integrativeness	0.19	0.42*	-0.19	0.64**	-0.26	1.00**	
Instrumentality	0.40	0.30	0.42*	0.63**	-0.34	0.19	1.00**

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$; $n = 23$

Table I.4

Non-HL Learners of FLs: Pearson's r *Values for Strength of Inter-Construct Relationships Between Variables Investigated*

	Motivation	Ideal L2 self	Ought-to L2 self	L2 learning experience	Non-L2 goals	Integrativeness	Instrumentality
Motivation	1.00**						
Ideal L2 self	0.42**	1.00**					
Ought-to L2 self	0.12**	0.07	1.00**				
L2 learning experience	0.51**	0.45**	-0.14**	1.00**			
Non-L2 goals	-0.35**	-0.61**	-0.16**	-0.28**	1.00**		
Integrativeness	0.29**	0.49**	0.08	0.44**	-0.39**	1.00**	
Instrumentality	0.27**	0.61**	0.23**	0.25**	-0.65**	0.38**	1.00**

Note. $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$; $n = 585$

Appendix J: Interview Guide

NB: The language(s) that participants are asked about will be the language(s) that they study, and will differ from participant to participant. In the case of participants who study/studied more than one language, many of the questions will need to be asked more than once, but in relation to different languages. In such situations, aim to get the whole story of one language before moving on to another language. After getting the story about both/all languages, ask how the languages compare to each other with regard to motivation, continuation, and ideas related to the L2MSS (future, obligation, experience of language learning).

Pre-recording:

- Greeting. Thanks so much for coming along.
- Ask what participant would like to drink.
- General "how are you?" stuff.
- "Now, the plan is to record this interview, is that OK with you?"
- "Great, so we'll check that my recorder is working." [TURN ON RECORDER]
- "So, have you got a lot on today?" [talk for up to 30 seconds].
- "I'll just check if that's working." [TEST RECORDER]. "Great, that seems fine." [START RECORDING].
- Something like the following: "So before we start, I'd just like to remind you that I'm not looking for any particular answers to questions. My study is about motivation and language learning, but I'm interested in the broader picture, so anything might be relevant. Really, I'm just aiming to learn lots from people who have been learning languages, so feel free to go into lots of detail about anything you like. The best thing is if you just ramble, and if we're getting off topic, I'll bring us back. And I'll also remind you that if you don't want to answer any question I ask, that's fine, and we can just move on to something else."

Early stages of interview (some easy factual questions to make participant feel that interview isn't too difficult):

- "So, just a few simple things to get us started. What year are you in at university?
- "OK, and what's your major here?" [Can have a minute or two of conversation around this.].

Actual questions that I'm interested in:

NB: Some of these questions apply only to learners who had discontinued, and some apply only to learners who had continued. It's clear which are which. Choose questions accordingly. Questions are not necessarily specific questions to be asked, word for word, but are rather a guide to topics that should be covered.

- "OK, so now, do you think you could tell me the story of your LANGUAGE learning so far, starting with how and why you started learning?"

- - Probes here should relate to the participant's feelings at various points of their language learning journey.
    - Probes might also relate to the "language learning experience" and reasons for starting to learn the language. Could also ask about what kept participant learning as long as they did.
    - "Why" or "tell me more" or word repetition probes could also work well.
  - "So far, what sorts of things would you say (have) kept you working at learning LANGUAGE (for as long as you did)?"
  - "So, now, can you tell me a bit about plans you might have for the future?"
  - After some probing, ask "And when you started university, what sort of plans did you have for the future? Were they the same, or were they different?"
  - "And how about back when you started learning LANGUAGE, what sort of future plans did you have then?"
  - "Did you ever imagine yourself using LANGUAGE in your future life?" What did that life look like?" [This question can be asked with regard to different stages of LANGUAGE learning—e.g., high school, first year university, second year university.]
  - "In your opinion, what sorts of things led to you giving up learning LANGUAGE, at least for the time being?"
  - "What do you think would have had to have been different for you to have continued studying it?"
  - "Would you say that other people had any influence on how you felt about learning LANGUAGE at various times?"
  - "When exactly did you first think of giving up learning LANGUAGE?"
  - "Can you see yourself picking up LANGUAGE or another second language again in future?"
  - "When you were learning LANGUAGE, what sorts of things made you more motivated to work hard and try to succeed?"
  - "Did you ever consider stopping learning LANGUAGE? When, and why?"
  - "What could have been different that would have made you continue/discontinue?"
  - "Were there times when you were more motivated or less motivated—times when you were putting in more effort or less effort? When? Why?"
  - "And what sorts of things made you less motivated?"

Final part of interview:

- So, is there anything else you'd like to add, or to ask me? Or is there anything I should have asked you that I didn't?

Remember to add affirmative prompts, such as telling participants that the interview is going really well. Remember to avoid interrupting participants unless they're getting *really* off topic. Let people speak.

General points that should be covered over the course of the interview.

- Experience of [LANGUAGE] learning so far.
- Attitudes with regard to [LANGUAGE] and learning [LANGUAGE].

- Reasons for starting to learn [LANGUAGE].
- Reasons for continuing learning [LANGUAGE].
- Reasons for giving up learning [LANGUAGE].
- Reasons for being more or less motivated at different times.
- Hopes and plans for the future.
- Extent to which participants can imagine themselves in the future.
- How hopes and plans for the future have changed over time.
- How [LANGUAGE] is involved in hopes and plans for the future.
- How hopes and plans for the future may have affected motivation or decisions to continue/discontinue learning [LANGUAGE].

Appendix K: Transcription Conventions Employed

The following transcription conventions, adapted from Richards (2003) guidelines, were employed in transcribing interview data. Interviews were broadly transcribed for content only, and only minimal detail on intonation and pauses was shown in transcriptions:

Table K.1
Notes on transcription conventions employed—adapted from Richards (2003)

Symbol	Meaning
.	Falling intonation
,	Continuing contour
?	Questioning intonation
!	Exclamation or emphasis
…	Pause of 1-3 seconds
-	Self interruption
[unclear]	Unable to transcribe

Appendix L: Example of Portion of Transcribed Interview

9   Ok. So what made you choose Māori when you went to high school, as a subject?

10   Umm ... well ... I'm Māori. Yeah, I'm Māori, um, descent, and yeah, it's definitely like, with my dad, um, like when he was growing up and like when they spoke Māori at school, that's when you know like they were like punished for it. So, um, i think because of him- like because of how he had his schooling with Māori, he really wanted, like, me to be immersed in that, and like to learn the language. Um, so that was yeah, so mainly like dad, like dad driven and like identity driven. Um, but yeah, there definitely was a time when I felt like he was just forcing it on me. And I was like no, Dad, I don't want to do it. Like, I'm just like i'm over it. Um, but i'm glad that, yeah, he kept pushing me to do it, because i think it's really important, like for me as like, yeah, as a Māori person, to like be able to speak the language and like, yeah, like definitely, like it's part of my culture, part of my identity. Like, without it, like, who would I be, kind of thing? So yeah, it's definitely like, yeah, definitely family based, I think. And just like culture and identity [unclear].

11   Ok, and when you, when you're talking about your dad encouraging you, was it like active encouragement? Or was it more just something you felt?

12   Um, no, definitely [laughs] definitely active [laughs]. Like, real like, oh, you know, like, hows it going? Like, how's your Māori going? Like, oh, what are you learning today? Or like, talk to me, say it to me. Like, so yes, no, very active. Very active, my dad. Um, yeah.

13   Oh, cool. And how's your dad's reo?

14   Um ... I think because of, yeah, like how he was kind of punished for speaking it, his is very, like he knows, kind of like karakia. Like prayers and like, um, mihi, um, which I think he just knows off by heart. But anything kind of beyond that, like conversational, he knows to a point, and then there's just like new words and like just the new structures, and stuff, he doesn't quite understand. Like I keep, when I talk about Māori, I think of it- like it's quite a new language. Like, even though it's been around since, you know, Māoris came to New Zealand. But how it's developed. And obviously it's like, very oral language, like wasn't written at all. So um, yes, so his is, yeah, quite basic, so I can't ... I think like maybe part way though high school there was a point where I tried talking to him and he, yeah, wouldn't be able to understand me and couldn't like converse back to me. So I was kind of kind of stuck there. And my mum's like a New Zealander, so she doesn't speak Māori, so then, kind of from that point onwards it was like yeah, just like I had to do it. I had to like do it at school. Make sure I spoke to like my friends and my teachers like in Māori, and yeah.