16

Motivation and Chinese second language acquisition

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Motivation has been recognized as one of the determinant factors that shape learning engagement and influence the rate of foreign/second language (L2) acquisition. It constitutes one of the most appealing and complex variables in human behavior. Studies of L2 motivation were originally intended to explain individual variations in L2 achievement. Gardner and Lambert (1959) identified two significant factors in L2 attainment: aptitude and motivation. Their seminal work on L2 motivation has produced a research agenda that has thrived ever since. Dörnyei (2005) underscored the critical role of motivation in L2 learning. Without sufficient motivation, even individuals with the most remarkable abilities cannot complete L2 learning tasks and accomplish long-term goals.

Historical perspectives

Research on L2 motivation has evolved from the social-psychological approach initiated by Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972). Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) discovered that achievement in the L2 is largely a function of two variables: (1) language aptitude and ability, and (2) attitudes and motivation. Gardner and his associates (Gardner, 1985; Tremblay & Gardner, 1995) subsequently developed the socio-educational model based on a series of empirical studies. Research on L2 motivation has shifted from social perspectives in a Canadian bilingual context to more situated analysis in specific L2 learning settings at the beginning of the 1990s. In the following two decades, L2 motivation research has been mainstreamed by general motivational psychology with cognitive-situated perspectives, such as self-efficacy, expectancy-value, and self-determination theories, to broaden the theoretical framework. In this section, the research perspectives and models that reflect the historical development of L2 and Chinese L2 motivation research are reviewed.

Social-psychological perspective

One of the earliest studies investigating L2 learning motivation was conducted by Gardner and Lambert (1959) in Montreal, a bilingual city. As social psychologists, Gardner and Lambert were interested in socially aligned study of language learning. They argued that language is more than

a symbolic system that facilitates communication among individuals; it is a defining feature of self-identity linked directly to the very social existence of the individual. Language acquisition, regardless of the first or second language, requires learners to develop a strong sense of bonding to the target language speakers and a positive attitude toward the language. They discovered that there are two dichotomous orientations, integrative and instrumental. Those who scored high on integrative orientation were more highly motivated and were more successful at learning French.

Gardner and Lambert continued French motivation research with samples from Franco-American homes in the US in their subsequent studies. They further defined their two motivation orientations: integrative and instrumental, with the former referring to positive attitudes toward the target language group and potential for integrating into that group, such as meeting and interacting with native speakers. The latter refers to more instrumental and functional reasons for learning the language, such as opportunities for obtaining a job or career advancement.

Based on over two decades of work on L2 motivational constructs, Gardner and his associates published the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) (Gardner & Smythe, 1981; Lalonde & Gardner, 1985). The AMTB was one of the most widely adopted scales, primarily in the twentieth century. Five composite indices are computed based on 11 sub-tests (originally 19 sub-tests in the early version) in the AMTB. Table 16.1 summarizes the constructs and scales by Gardner (2009).

Gardner and his associates further developed a theoretical framework, the socio-educational model of L2 acquisition (Gardner, 1985, 2010; Gardner, Lalonde & Pierson, 1983). The model emphasizes two factors, the cultural context and the educational setting. The cultural component concerns interest in and openness to another cultural group whereas the educational setting consists of a broad spectrum, from the school environment to the specific classroom setting (Gardner, 2010). The socio-educational model was developed in different phases. In the early phase, the focus was on the relationship between L2 achievement and various measures of language attitudes and motivation. Motivation was operationally defined as (1) effort exerted, (2) wanting to achieve a goal, and (3) the affective reactions toward learning (see Table 16.1). A motivated individual is one who desires to achieve a goal, works hard, and enjoys learning activities. Motivation has a direct effect on second language achievement (Gardner & Smythe, 1981). In the late phase, attention was directed to understanding "the process underlying second

Table 16.1 Constructs and scales from the AMTB

Construct	*Scales*
Motivation	Motivational intensity
	Desire to learn the language
	Attitudes toward learning the language
Integrativeness	Integrative orientation
	Interest in foreign languages
	Attitudes toward the target language community
Attitudes toward the learning situation	Language teacher evaluation
	Language course evaluation
Language anxiety	Language class anxiety
	Language use anxiety
Instrumentality	Instrumental orientation

Source: Gardner (2009, p. 4)

language acquisition" (Gardner, 2010, p. 48). Students who are integratively motivated are more likely to actively participate in class activities, and want to further their language learning in future years (Gardner & Lysynchuk, 1990; Gliksman, Gardner, & Smythe, 1982).

The socio-educational model of L2 acquisition and the AMTB have inspired many empirical investigations in Canada and beyond. Gardner's theoretical work was supported by subsequent studies. Some studies, however, found results conflicting with those of Gardner and his associates (Lukmani, 1972; Oller, 1981; Pierson, Fu & Lee, 1980). Clément and Kruidenier (1983), for example, postulated that certain motivation factors are context specific and may not be discovered and analyzed by using the integrative-instrumental approach. Indeed, the social-psychological approach does not address how L2 learners relate to the target language community if there exist few available native language speakers, as is the case in many foreign language learning settings (Dörnyei, 1990). Such a foreign language learning environment requires a shift in research focus from a social-psychological perspective grounded in social milieu to a cognitive-situated perspective aiming at foreign language classrooms. Such a shift leads researchers to investigate the internal nature of L2 learning motivation in a wider scope. There was a call for "reopening the research agenda" (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991), "expanding the theoretical framework" of language learning motivation (Oxford & Shearin, 1994), and adding mainstream psychology to broaden the horizon of L2 motivation research (Dörnyei, 1990, 1994).

Cognitive-situated perspective

With an effort to gain a more comprehensive understanding of L2 learning motivation, a growing number of scholars have brought L2 motivation theories in line with mainstream psychology and educational theories to keep pace with their significant developments. In particular, mainstream motivation theories describe the cognitive aspects of motivation in learning, and view motivation as a function of a person's thoughts and beliefs rather than of some instinct, need, drive, or states (Dörnyei, 1994). The theoretical framework has been expanded to examine the factors highly relevant to foreign language instructional settings. The research focuses on goal-related motivation and need for achievement, as well as self-concept-related motivation (self-confidence, self-efficacy, and self-determination theory). Investigations also expanded to the areas of general motivation psychology such as expectancy-value related motivation (attainment value, intrinsic value, and extrinsic value) and causal attributions (attributions about past failure and success).

Young (2013) commented on the cognitive-situated perspective, stating that the nature of the L2 class and how components and variables of the context interacted with each other to influence learning motivations comprised the "situated" aspect of this perspective. In order to discover the array of motivation factors, Dörnyei and his associates (Dörnyei, 1994, 2000; Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998) examined specific learning situations from the cognitive-situated perspective. The concept "situated" refers to the L2 learning context and classroom-specific motives such as classroom climate and group cohesion, which interact with instructional related factors such as course content and teacher feedback. Motivation is regarded as a situated construct. Dörnyei and his associates reconceptualized motivation in foreign language learning and willingness to communicate in a situational model (Dörnyei, 1990; MacIntyre, Dörnyei Clément, & Noels, 1998). Dörnyei (1994) further examined a wide range of situated issues and proposed an education-centered approach. His motivational construct comprises three levels: the Language Level, the Learner Level, and the Learning Situation Level, corresponding to the three aspects of language: the social, the personal, and the educational subject matter dimensions.

Learning an L2 requires a relatively long process. Many factors influence learning in the cognitive and affective domains. In this process, motivation fluctuates over time and varies based on the learning experience. For example, successful language learning itself leads to improved motivation (Ushioda, 1993). Dörnyei and his associates (Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994; Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998) postulated a process-oriented approach to the analysis of L2 motivation. The process model (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998) reflects the multifaceted aspects of L2 learning, e.g., motivational sources, action sequences, and motivational influences. The model studies L2 motivation in temporal structure, with a first step identifying motivation to engage in L2 learning and a second step examining the motivation during the learning engagement. Learners make choices at the pre-action phase to embark on an activity, then act upon these choices, and finally assess their performance at the post-action phase. The post-action assessments, in turn, serve to inform subsequent behavioral choices. The temporal changes and fluctuation of motivation proposed in the process-oriented approach recognize the dynamic aspect of motivation.

Socio-dynamic perspective

A new shift to the socio-dynamic perspective has evolved in recent years. The socio-dynamic perspective aims to capture the complexities of motivation in a classroom setting. Studies (Dörnyei *et al.*, 2015; Waninge *et al.*, 2014) explored the relationship between individuals and context in terms of internal, social, and contextual factors. Dörnyei *et al.* (2015) argued that straightforward linear cause–effect relationships failed to offer a realistic account of the motivational phenomena; for example, an explanation that increased input does not necessarily lead to a proportionate increase in output. More dynamic contextual paradigms for the analysis of motivation are needed. One such paradigm is Ushioda's (2009) concept, "Person-in-Context Relational View of Motivation". The model analyzes the complexity of motivation, self, and context, with special reference to the "organic whole" of the individual. Ushioda's paradigm highlights the agency of L2 learners as individuals, and takes into account the fact that these individuals are located in particular social, cultural, and historical contexts that directly impact and shape their motivations and identities.

Learning an L2 is one part of the identity that reflects how one envisions oneself in a society. Dörnyei's (2009) "L2 Motivational Self System" views motivation and learner identity as emergent through interaction and ongoing situated processes that shape motivation. Drawing upon the theory of possible selves (Carver *et al.*, 1994; Markus & Nurius, 1986) and the concept of future self-guides from the self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987), supported by empirical evidence (Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Ryan, 2009; Taguchi *et al.*, 2009), the L2 Motivational Self System consists of three components. First, Ideal L2 Self refers to the attributes one would ideally like to possess to fulfill one's own desire and aspirations. This is a powerful and positive motivator to reduce the discrepancy between actual and ideal selves. Second, Ought-to L2 Self refers to the attributes one believes one ought to possess to meet social expectations and to avoid possible negative consequences. This is a prevention tactic related to extrinsic motivation. Third, L2 Learning Experience refers to situated, "executive" motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience. Dörnyei (2009) argues that if proficiency in the target language is integral to one's ideal or ought-to self, the self system will serve as a powerful motivator to learn the language because of our psychological desire to reduce the discrepancy between current and future self states. The L2 motivational self system consonantly supports Ushioda's "Person-in-Context Relational View of Motivation". Both take the socio-dynamic approach to examine the interaction of language, agent, and environment in terms of a social/contextual dimension to the formation of identity and self system. As Young (2013) commented, identities emerge in

the process of socialization and participation in social interactions. Language use and L2 motivation are derived and reflect certain value systems and social predispositions.

According to Ushioda and Dörnyei (2012), the socio-dynamic perspective is characterized by dynamic systems and contextual interactions. Dynamic Systems approaches concern the behavior of complex systems that emerge and evolve in response to contextual processes, and in turn, contribute to reshaping context. As such, Dynamic Systems perspectives on motivation represent a holistic approach that allows the combined and interactive operation of a number of different factors relevant to a specific situation (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2012). This approach is different from the traditional practice of examining cause–effect relations between isolated variables. Ushioda and Dörnyei (2012) postulated that "processes of motivation, cognition, and emotion and their constituent components continuously interact with one another and the developing context, thereby changing and causing change, as the system as a whole restructures, adapts, and evolves" (p. 400). A number of studies conducted under the Dynamic Systems framework explore individual learner characteristics, particularly L2 learning motivation situated in a classroom setting. The study by Waninge *et al.* (2014) operationalized the dynamic relationship between motivation and learning, and combined novel research methodology on a micro level and a questionnaire on a macro level. The study explored the nature of three key aspects of the dynamics of motivational development: change, stability, and contextual dependency.

Chinese L2 motivation theoretical framework

Studies of motivation complexities in Chinese L2 learning hardly existed until the 1990s, when China started to play a significant role on the international economic and political stage. China's prominence has had a great impact on the rapid increase of Chinese language course enrollment globally. In the past two decades, research on Chinese L2 learning motivation has acquired a theoretical framework largely approximating the development of general L2 motivation research. It should be noted that there is a severe dearth of Chinese L2 motivation research. After an inclusive literature search for empirical studies on Chinese L2 learning motivation in August, 2015, only sixteen articles were identified (see the articles marked with * in the References section, including a dissertation). Among the fifteen studies, thirteen were devoted to Chinese language learning motivation, whereas two were comparative studies of Asian language motivations including the Chinese language.

Wen (1997), one of the earliest motivation studies in the Chinese L2 context, employed a framework complementary to the socio-educational model together with intrinsic motivation and the expectancy-value theory, investigating the motivational factors of students at the university level in the U.S. Rueda and Chen (2005) expanded Wen's approach to test the robustness of the motivational process in language acquisition across different ethnic subgroups (Chinese Americans, non-Chinese Asian Americans, Asian students, and non-Asians). A majority of the research in Chinese L2 motivation takes a combined theoretical approach, adopting the socio-educational model with different theoretical frameworks. Studies by Sung and Padilla (1998) and Yang (2003) investigated motivation in learning Asian languages (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) and whether Asian heritage students' motivational beliefs differ from those of non-Asian students. Wen (2011) drew upon a later version of the socio-educational model and Csizér and Dörnyei's (2005) motivation constructs to compare heritage and non-heritage learners' motivation at the college level. The studies of Yu and her associates (Yu, 2010; Yu & Downing, 2012; Yu & Watkins, 2008) used Gardner's AMTB and the socio-cultural and academic adaptation theories to examine language attitudes and motivation in studying abroad settings in China. Lu and Li's (2008) research was conducted under the frameworks of Gardner's

integrative-instrumental motivation and Dörnyei's situated motivation to compare the effect of motivational factors on heritage and non-heritage college students' L2 learning in mixed Chinese language classes.

Several studies have applied different theoretical models with relatively limited reference to Gardner's framework. In light of self-determination theory along with concepts of social, ethnic, and individual identities, Comanaru and Noels (2009) examined the motivation of college students from varied ethnic backgrounds. Wang (2014) adopted the expectancy-value theory and the L2 motivation research framework (Dörnyei & Clément, 2001; Wen, 2011) to investigate motivation, intended effort, and continuation of study of Chinese language at the secondary school level. In the past five years, more researchers embraced Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) model of L2 Motivational Self System. Campbell and Storch (2011) analyzed learners' motivation in choosing and continuing to learn the Chinese language over time in a longitudinal study. Xie (2014) used a quantitative survey-based method to compare the motivation constructs of Chinese heritage and non-heritage language learners. Cai and Zhu (2012) and Ruan, Duan, and Du (2015) investigated the effects of an online learning project and task-based activities on learning motivation, whereas Sung (2013) tested Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System and his seven motivational constructs (Dörnyei *et al.*, 2006).

Core issues and key findings

In Chinese L2 motivation research, there is interest in using theoretical models to develop constructs that validly and reliably measure learning motivation and explain how motivation is generated, influenced, and sustained. Research foci are on the interactions among instructional environments, learning situations, learner's motivation, and motivated behavior. Another research interest is investigation of the relationships among subsets of attitudes and motivation factors such as personal goals, beliefs, and desires in relation to language use, self-regulated strategies, and engagement in learning. Still another interest is to examine, via comparative analysis, the learner factors of ethnic backgrounds and socio-cultural differences. Empirical evidence from these studies demonstrates that motivation interacts with multiple learning variables in the context and directly influences learning engagement, which leads to Chinese L2 acquisition.

Initial motivation, sustained motivation, learning experience

Advancement in L2 motivation research called for widening the research scope in the 1990s. Several Chinese L2 motivation studies addressed fundamental issues such as motivational sources and orientations: (1) how motivation emerges in relation to personal goals, intentions, and social context; (2) motivational force that converts motivation into motivated behavior; and (3) variables that play significant roles in the learning process. For example, individual self-regulatory strategies and learning experience from classroom interactions may promote learning engagement and sustain learners' motivation. Wen (1997) investigated the initial motivation of learning the Chinese language and sustained motivation beyond the elementary level. The study also examined the interaction between motivation and desired learning outcomes. One hundred and twenty two university students from Asian and Asian American backgrounds at the elementary and intermediate language proficiency levels participated in the study. The results indicate that intrinsic interest in Chinese culture and the desire to understand one's own cultural heritage are the initial motivations for students to start taking Chinese courses. Expectations of learning strategies and efforts are the motives that retain students for the intermediate level. Those students

who are interactive in class, make a time commitment, and learn from feedback are likely to continue to the second year Chinese courses. Furthermore, motivational factors correlate significantly with desired learning outcomes from the expectancy theory.

Wen's more recent study (2013) adapted Gardner's (2001) socio-educational model and the theoretical framework of Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) and Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) to investigate motivational constructs in learning Chinese L2. Three hundred and seventeen university students at three proficiency levels (elementary, intermediate, and advanced) participated in the study. Factor analysis procedures identified six factors. Table 16.2 (Wen, 2013, p. 79) illustrates the six factors in relation to students' intention for future Chinese study across the proficiency levels. *Instrumentality* is a significant predictor for the elementary group, together with *positive learning experience* and *social milieu*, accounting for 30% of the variance in *intended future Chinese study*. *Instrumentality* continues to be a robust and significant predictor for the intermediate group. For the advanced group, *self-confidence* is a significant factor predicting *intended future Chinese study*. The finding that *instrumentality* is a significant factor for both elementary and intermediate groups suggests that those who desire a certain level of language proficiency for the purpose of perceived usefulness will start and continue learning the Chinese language until reaching that level. There seems to be a relatively stable phase between enrolling in elementary courses with a short-term goal of achieving functional proficiency and the completion of the intermediate course. The dynamics of students' motivation, however, change at the advanced level. Linguistic self-confidence becomes more robust. Learners at the advanced level have developed linguistic self-confidence during the learning process. They become autonomous learners who will continue Chinese studies at the advanced level, and most likely beyond.

Their motivation, therefore, seems to go through changes from more extrinsic oriented motives such as *instrumentality* to more intrinsic motivation such as *self-confidence* (vo-reference, Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Noels *et al.*, 2000). *Instrumentality* is not the only significant factor motivating students to continue their learning. Those who had *positive learning experience*, e.g., "actively participated in class activities" and "interacted with their classmates" would continue their learning in the initial stage. However, those who enrolled in Chinese elementary courses largely because of their family members' or friends' encouragement would likely end learning because *social milieu* is significantly and negatively related to *intended future Chinese study* (see Table 16.2). The results suggest that intrinsic motivation such as *positive learning experience* and *self-confidence* sustains learning whereas *instrumentality* functions as a stable and utilitarian

Table 16.2 Multiple regression analyses: *future studies* across proficiency levels

	Elementary		*Intermediate*		*Advanced*	
Coefficients	*Beta*	*T*	*Beta*	*t*	*Beta*	*t*
Self-confidence	.13	1.67	–.03	–.26	.28	2.18*
Positive learning experience	.25	2.69**	.17	1.56	.29	1.94
Instrumentality	.27	3.04**	.42	3.62***	–.21	–1.49
Social milieu	–.28	–3.07**	–.20	–1.73	–.05	–.33
Intended strategic efforts	.06	.75	.02	.16	.05	.42
Integrative	.08	.92	.19	1.70	.24	1.59
R^2	.30		.27		.28	
F	10.50***		5.08***		4.18***	

Source: Wen (2013, p. 79)

*** p ≤ .001, **p ≤ .01, * p ≤ .05

motivator, which may phase out when students consider themselves to have reached their proficiency level goal.

Several studies investigated initial motivation and sustained motivation under a different theoretical framework in the Chinese L2 context (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Wang, 2014; Wen, 1997, 2013). Comanaru and Noels' (2009) study revealed that a more self-determined orientation (i.e., identified, integrated, and intrinsic orientations) predicts greater motivational intensity and a stronger intention to pursue Chinese studies in the future. Learners chose to learn Chinese as a means to achieve a goal that was personally meaningful to them. In the process, they discovered that class activities and tasks were stimulating and enjoyable. Wang (2014) conducted a study under the framework of the expectancy-value theory to examine the relationship between motivation and motivational behaviors such as intended effort and continuation of study. The study revealed that *expectancy/ability beliefs*, *intrinsic value-linguistic interests*, and *utility/attainment value* significantly predicted the continuation of study. In other words, students who expect to do well in Chinese language classes and attach a high value to the task tend to exert more effort and continue to enroll in courses related to Chinese language and culture in the future.

Campbell and Storch (2011) and Cai and Zhu (2012) applied the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009) to the Chinese L2 context. Campbell and Storch (2011) analyzed the temporal dimension of motivation in learning Chinese L2 over a semester. One of their foci was to examine the factors that shape the choice of learning Chinese and ongoing (executive) motivation to learn the language. Campbell and Storch reported that the choice to learn the Chinese language was closely related to personal goals and beliefs about China's future, which might bring potential job opportunities, as well as identity factors linked to ideal and ought-to L2 self. They argued that the desires to be able to work internationally and to become members of a multilingual workforce, although instrumental, were linked to an ideal L2 self, which sustained learning throughout the course. Their data showed that factors related to the learning environment had a great impact on motivation in both a positive and a negative sense (i.e., both motivating and demotivating). When confronting demotivating contextual factors, the participants were not always demotivated because they had developed a strong future L2 self-identity to stabilize their motivational state. In the process, participants received greater ongoing motivation from language-related enjoyment for continuing their language study, as this was stated by all second year participants compared to only two of the first year students. The enjoyment and satisfaction were usually linked to teachers and the lessons. This finding is consistent with previous studies (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Wang, 2014; Wen, 2011, 2013): *Positive learning attitudes and experience* is a significant predictor of intended learning efforts and continuation of Chinese language studies.

Cai and Zhu (2012) explored the differences in students' motivation before and after an online project that lasted four weeks. The study focused on which specific features of the online project impacted students' learning motivation. Results from the quantitative data indicated a significant difference in the L2 learning experience, but no significant differences in the motivation related to the ideal L2 self and the ought-to L2 self before and after the online project despite the fact that instructional intervention was designed to strengthen the participants' self-images in learning Chinese. It is possible that the period of four weeks is too short to reveal significant differences. The authors considered the fact that the ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self remain stable as supportive evidence for the "fairly robust" nature of the self system proposed by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009). By contrast, the significant change in the learning experience aspect of motivation indicates that learning experience is more fluid and dynamic. Along a similar line, Ruan *et al.* (2015) examined task-based teaching and learning (TBTL), specifically, the impact of task-based instruction on beginning Chinese language students' motivation at a Danish university. The interest was to discover what kinds of tasks were perceived as motivating from

the students' perspective. The results showed that although students liked almost all of the designed tasks, those that integrated cultural elements and required group work gave students the most enjoyable experience. In other words, the activities that provide students with social interaction as well as a sense of challenge and accomplishment are vital to increase learner self-efficacy and learner autonomy. These findings are consistent with the findings of previous studies (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wang, 2014; Wen, 2011, 2013).

In summary, the empirical evidence from the studies discussed above demonstrates that motivation is characterized with temporal variation, ongoing change, and stability (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Campbell & Storch, 2011; Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Wen, 1997, 2013). Learners enrolled in Chinese language courses may be largely inspired by cultural identity, social milieu influence, and personal short- and long-term goals (Campbell & Storch, 2011; Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Wen, 1997, 2013). They continue their Chinese language study largely because of their positive learning experience constructed through interactions between external factors, such as instruction and classroom variables, and individual facets such as engaged learning, regulatory strategies, and personal goals. In the process, they may discover that the task of learning Chinese is challenging yet interesting, and develop positive learning attitudes and strategies from their learning experience (Campbell & Storch, 2011; Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Ruan *et al.*, 2015; Wang, 2014; Wen, 1997, 2013). There is consensus from the studies' findings, i.e., the more learners feel that they are learning Chinese because it is personally valuable, the more they engage in the learning process, the more likely their motivation becomes motivated behaviors through their effort and learning strategies, and the more likely they are to continue their Chinese study in the future.

Learner factors and motivation

Studies on the relationship between learner factors and Chinese L2 motivation compare learners' ethnic/socio-cultural backgrounds, gender, and age in relation to their learning attitudes and motivation in instructional settings (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Lu & Li, 2008; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Sung & Padilla, 1998; Wen, 2011; Yang, 2003; Yu & Watkins, 2008).

The U.S. Censuses show that the population of U.S. residents born in China rose from 0.53 million in 1990 to 2.231 million in 2011, an annual increase of 7.08% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). The U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (Gryn & Gambino, 2012; U.S. Census Bureau, 2008) indicates that the number of persons who speak Chinese at home (incorporating all dialects of Chinese) increased from 2.19 million in 2003 to 2.47 million in 2007, an annual increase of 3.05%. The increasing Chinese population in the U.S. has a direct impact on the student body of Chinese language learners. In addition, the information above suggests that Chinese native speakers and communities are more accessible to Chinese L2 learners in the U.S. than before.

Heritage learners vary in their learning goals and motivations (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Lu & Li, 2008; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Sung & Padilla, 1998; Wen, 2011; Yang, 2003). One of the early studies (Sung & Padilla, 1998) reported that *ethnic heritage-related motivation* emerged in their investigation of heritage language learners' motivation. This motivation played an important role in influencing learning Asian languages, particularly Chinese and Korean. The motivation consists of items such as "It is my heritage language", "I want to converse with my relatives", and "my parents encouraged me to study the language". *Ethnic heritage-related motivation* was further investigated with large samples of heritage learners (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Lu & Li, 2008; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wen, 2011). Findings reveal that learning one's own heritage language is an integral part of self-identity. Chinese ethnicity and heritage are central to the sense of "self" for heritage language learners. Furthermore, heritage learners feel more pressure to learn Chinese than non-heritage learners, either because of social pressures or because of a self-imposed feeling that they ought to learn the language due to their sense of belonging and community

connection. Therefore, heritage language learners experience social and psychological dynamics in their motivation and in their L2 learning (Comanaru & Noels, 2009).

Studies also analyzed the similarities and differences within a large heritage group. Although within the heritage learner category learners can be further differentiated, we generally group them into two categories, a heritage language group who speak Chinese or at least understand the language at home, and a heritage culture group who have little access to the language at home but are culturally connected and motivated (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003; Wen, 2011). The two subgroups of heritage learners are more alike than different in terms of their Chinese L2 learning motivation compared to the non-heritage group (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wen, 2011; also Chapter 14, Li & Duff, this volume).

Wen (1997, 2011) reported that *instrumentality* is a significant factor in Chinese learning motivation and a significant predictor for the continuation of Chinese studies with heritage learners. Lu and Li (2008) and Yu and Watkins (2008) observed that heritage language students are more influenced by instrumental motivation than non-heritage language students, although non-heritage students also highly value *instrumentality*. Learners, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds, all indicated that they were driven by the desire to be able to become members of international communities. Knowing Chinese makes them better qualified job candidates.

Wen's study (2011) revealed that the Chinese heritage subgroups (heritage language and heritage cultural subgroups) differed significantly from the non-heritage group in terms of four motivation factors. The heritage subgroups were more highly influenced by *social milieu*, *cultural interest in the target language*, and *language requirement*, whereas the non-heritage group had a high level of *positive learning attitudes and experience*. Heritage learners received strong encouragement from their family members, which may also be an initial motivation for them to start learning Chinese as discussed previously. However this motivation did not intrinsically support the continuation of learning (Wen, 2013). Studies (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wen, 1997, 2011) have shown that heritage groups were highly interested in their own cultural heritage and their self-identity, which were the primary intrinsic reasons for them to learn Chinese; whereas the non-heritage group viewed learning the Chinese language as a challenge and a part of self-fulfillment. There were more heritage learners taking Chinese courses for the foreign language requirement or for a relatively easy class than non-heritage learners (Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wen, 1997, 2011). Rueda and Chen (2005) reported that for Asian heritage subgroups, *self-efficacy* was negatively correlated with *effort* devoted to learning, but it was positively correlated with the effort factor for the non-heritage group, suggesting that heritage learners believed that they were capable of obtaining good grades with minimum effort in Chinese courses. Non-heritage learners are particularly motivated in two aspects: (1) positive learning attitudes and experience and (2) intended strategic efforts, both of which lead to language use and continuation of Chinese language studies (Wen, 2011, 2013). Yu and Watkins (2008) reported that non-heritage learners had higher levels of motivation, *integrativeness*, and *socio-cultural adaptation* than the Asian student group in a study abroad setting.

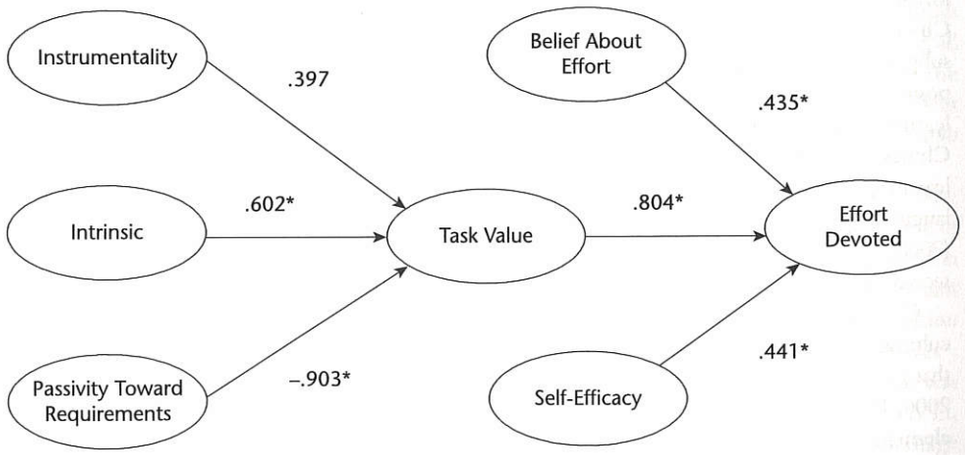
Gender difference in L2 motivation is a complex issue, subject to the impact of social and cultural factors if the difference is not so much neurobiological. A number of studies indicate that there are differences between male and female students in L2 motivation (Dörnyei *et al.*, 2006; Ryan, 2009; Williams *et al.*, 2002). Sung and Padilla (1998) studied the motivation of elementary and secondary school learners and Yang (2003) studied university-level learners of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese languages. The results revealed that female students had significantly higher instrumental and integrative motivation than did male students (Sung & Padilla, 1998). Female students also showed a significantly higher level of *heritage-related motivation* and *integrative motivation* than male students (Yang, 2003). Yu and Watkins (2008) reported that

gender is a major variable predicting Chinese language proficiency in a study abroad setting. These findings, however, are not consistent with recent findings. Both Sung (2013) and Wang (2014) investigated the gender effect on motivation of Chinese L2 learners at the elementary and high school levels. Gender did not show any significant influence on motivational variables. The inconsistency of the findings may be explained by different samples' demographic backgrounds, instructional settings, and the L2 investigated, since both Sung and Padilla (1998) and Yang (2003) examined three Asian languages. Further research on this issue is needed.

L2 Chinese motivation constructs and inconsistency of findings

As Ushioda and Dörnyei (2012, p. 398) well stated, "throughout the history of L2 motivation research to date, a central preoccupation has been to develop a theoretical analysis of motivation and its role in SLA." Research in Chinese L2 motivation has identified several motivation constructs that account for learning engagement, and subsequently, Chinese language attainment. As stated previously, researchers frequently have diverse objectives, draw upon different theories, and conduct studies in varied social and cultural contexts. Rueda and Chen's study (2005) employed the cultural variation perspective to investigate motivational constructs with participants classified into two major groups, non-heritage and Asian heritage groups. The latter was further divided into three subgroups. Factor analysis yielded seven factors as illustrated in Figure 16.1.

Rueda and Chen's study confirmed Wen's (1997) constructs on instrumentality, intrinsic motivation, passivity toward requirements, and expectations/belief about efforts. Expectations/belief about efforts directly contributed to the motivated learning behaviors: effort devoted. Rueda and Chen's study expanded Wen's constructs by identifying more variables to create broader motivational constructs related to learning effort, the key for tapping into how motivation shapes learning engagement. Rueda and Chen's model demonstrated that instrumentality, intrinsic motivation, and passivity are mediated by the task value perceived by learners, which directly contributes to learning effort. In other words, instrumentality, intrinsic motivation, and language requirements are initial factors that influence learners to start learning the Chinese



*$p < .05$.

Figure 16.1 Structural equation modeling of the seven factors

Rueda and Chen (2005, p. 211)

language. Comanaru and Noels (2009) used a different theoretical framework (the self-determination theory), and their results lent support to Rueda and Chen's model. Comanaru and Noels' (2009) study showed that self-determined orientation (identified and integrated regulations and intrinsic orientations) predicted motivational intensity/learning engagement and intention to pursue Chinese studies in the future. Importantly, motivational intensity predicts positive learning outcomes (see Masgoret & Gardner, 2003, for a review).

Sung's study (2013) tested Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System and the seven motivational constructs identified in the study of Dörnyei *et al.* (2006). Wen (2011) and Wang (2014) also adopted the motivational constructs proposed by Dörnyei and his associates (Dörnyei *et al.*, 2006; Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005) and motivational constructs from other theoretical models. Dörnyei and his associates' motivation constructs were adopted because their studies did not focus on investigating "situation-specific motives that are rooted in the L2 learners' immediate learning environment" but "more stable and generalized motives that stem from a succession of the student's past experiences in the social world" (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002, p. 20). Four of the seven motivational constructs were confirmed in Sung's study: *instrumentality*, *attitudes toward the L2 speakers/community*, *milieu*, and with the original *integrativeness* item dispersed in instrumentality and attitudes toward the L2 speakers/community. The three motives *vitality of L2 community*, *self-confidence*, and *cultural interest* did not emerge in Sung's study. Similar to Sung's findings, *instrumentality* and *milieu* were identified in Wen's study (2011). Unlike Sung's results, three more motivation constructs were confirmed: *self-confidence*, *cultural interest*, and the items from *attitudes toward the L2 speakers/community* in *milieu* (Wen, 2011). The different findings may be explained by a number of possible variables such as different learning settings, participants' factors such as age (Sung's participants were elementary and secondary students while Wen's were college students), and the socio-cultural environment where the participants were recruited. Sung proposed that the Language Disposition Questionnaire may need to be revised to better fit the U.S. context of Chinese L2 learning. Further empirical studies are needed for the development of a broader assessment approach.

Research approaches

Motivation is difficult to measure due to its multifaceted and abstract nature. Data from L2 motivation research have largely consisted of learners' self-reporting, plus self-reflection and researchers' observations. Data collection has been conducted through survey questionnaires such as AMTB in the past decades, and more recently, through a variety of methods including survey questionnaires, observations, journals, and interviews. A widely and traditionally used measurement, AMTB is oriented toward measuring psychometric properties and is based on large-sample empirical evidence. Gardner (2009) summarized AMTB into five constructs measured by 11 scales: (1) motivation, composed of three components: motivational intensity, desire to learn the language, and attitudes toward learning; (2) integrativeness, consisting of attitudes toward speakers of the target language, integrative orientation, and interest in foreign language; (3) attitudes toward the learning situation: an index of the student's reactions to the teacher and the course; (4) language anxiety: classroom and language use anxieties; and (5) instrumentality derived from instrumental orientation. In addition, parental encouragement is a construct in AMTB. Researchers examine the relationships of these motivation indices with other independent or dependent variables via statistical procedures such as factor analysis, correlation, and regression analysis, as well as ANOVA and MANOVA methods.

The AMTB has been used in a variety of Chinese L2 contexts together with items from other motivation models (e.g., Rueda & Chen, 2005; Sung & Padilla,1998; Yang, 2003; Yu & Downing, 2012) to identify learning motivation and assess motivational factors in Chinese L2 learning. The four studies presented in Table 16.3 compare motivation differences across

Table 16.3 Studies adapting the AMTB to focus on comparisons of Asian background learners

Study	*Research focus*	*Sample*	*Design*	*Analysis*
Sung & Padilla (1998)	Motivational constructs among learner groups. Parents' attitudes and involvement.	591 K-8 learners of three Asian L2 languages, 50% heritage learners. 847 parents.	Survey questionnaire adapted from AMTB. Asian languages in the U.S.	Factor analysis; Group comparison t-tests; ANOVA.
Yang (2003)	Motivational orientation among learner groups. Learning differences in language modality. Motivation and learner variables.	341 university learners of three Asian L2 languages, 42.5% heritage learners.	Survey questionnaire adapted from AMTB, SLSAQ, and others. Asian languages in the U.S.	Factor analysis; Group comparisons MANOVA, ANOVA, t-tests.
Rueda & Chen (2005)	Motivational beliefs between learner groups. Intragroup differences among sub-Asian groups.	150 university learners of Chinese, 77% Asian heritage learners in 3 subgroups in the U.S.	Survey questionnaire adapted from AMTB; Ely (1986) and Wen (1997). Learning outcomes Wen (1997).	Group comparisons. Independent *t* tests. Factor analysis. Regression. SEM.
Yu & Downing (2012)	Motivation and Chinese L2 proficiency. Cultural grouping on socio-cultural and academic adaptations.	118 university learners of Chinese L2, 70% Asians in China.	Survey questionnaire adapted from AMTB. Socio-cultural adaptation scale. Persistence/ voluntary dropout decision. Self-rated proficiency.	Group comparisons. Hierarchical regression analyses.

subgroups of Asian heritage and non-heritage students. The results of the studies have been discussed in the previous section, "Core issues and key findings." One difference between Yu and Downing's (2012) and Rueda and Chen's (2005) studies is that the former used Chinese language proficiency as one of the variables whereas the latter focused on motivational processes, i.e., the motivational variables that directly and indirectly contribute to devoted effort and engagement in the learning process.

Along with the AMTB psychometric measurement, researchers also investigated Chinese L2 motivational constructs from mainstream theoretical models, e.g., the expectancy-value theory (Wen, 1997; Wang, 2014) and self-determination theory (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Ruan *et al.*, 2015; Rueda & Chen, 2005). Dörnyei's situated motivation model (1994) and the theoretical framework of the internal constructs of L2 motivation (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei *et al.*, 2006) have also been applied to the research (Lu & Li, 2008; Sung, 2013; Wang, 2014; Wen, 2011, 2013). These studies, and the studies cited in Table 16.3, analyzed data by using a quantitative approach. The strength of the quantitative approach, as Ushioda and Dörnyei (2012, p. 401) commented, includes "rigor and systematicity in data-gathering and analysis, as well as comparability and replicability of data, and generalizability to wider populations."

The L2 motivation research, including Chinese L2 motivation research, has traditionally used the quantitative psychometric measurement as the major methodology.

In the last decades, L2 motivation research has evolved from a social-psychological perspective to dynamic and situated perspectives. The former attempts to explain the relationship between motivation and language attainment, whereas the latter endeavors to account for the temporal and contextual nature of the motivation that emerges in the learning process. The traditional social-psychological models have a number of limitations. They examine motivation and learning variables in a comparatively static fashion, and analyze the relationship among variables in relative isolation. Such a research approach is not particularly sensitive to motivational experiences or individual-contextual interactions, and thus is unable to capture the fluctuation and multifaceted complexity of L2 motivational processes. An alternative paradigm, a holistic and dynamic approach, seeks to explore the processes and their dynamic interactions with contextual factors. Ushioda and Dörnyei (2012, p. 403) argued that motivation should be defined "not in terms of measurable attitudes, effort, or behavior, but in terms of how learners think about their learning and process relevant experience, and how their thinking affects their motivation and engagement in the learning."

A mixed-methods approach with both quantitative and qualitative perspectives has been adopted in recent years. Such an approach focuses on the temporal and contextual complexity of motivational processes to examine how motivation changes over time and in different contexts. It provides a more complete picture of the nature of L2 motivation. These mixed-methods designs have been employed in the Chinese L2 context to examine the self-identity, personal goals, and learning experience of heritage learners in comparison to non-heritage learners (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Wen, 2011), and to analyze how motivation changes over time, and the factors contributing to the change (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Campbell & Storch, 2011; Ruan *et al.*, 2015).

Still another alternative, qualitative inquiry, has emerged to address contextual factors and individual-contextual interactions. The advantages of qualitative approaches include allowing learners to self-identify important aspects of their motivation and to articulate the subtle details lost in a quantitative study (Campbell & Storch, 2011). The interview methods (e.g., open-ended individual or group interviews) elicit in-depth data on motivational experience over a period of time. The qualitative approach also allows researchers to analyze the data by using theme-oriented techniques, and discover emerging motivations in the learning process. Chinese L2 motivation studies conducted from the qualitative perspective examine motivation dimensions via a holistic approach (Campbell & Storch, 2011). Table 16.4 summarizes the studies conducted under a mixed-methods approach and a qualitative approach. The results of these studies were discussed in the previous section, "Core issues and key findings".

Pedagogical and educational implications

Research findings discussed in this chapter have broadened our understanding of L2 motivation in general and Chinese L2 motivation in particular. The studies have important implications for learning, instruction, and educational administration.

Learning

The findings (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Campbell & Storch, 2011; Ruan *et al.*, 2015) have informed us that learners' experience in the Chinese L2 motivation process is fluid, dynamic, and significantly related to the learning context. Such findings have direct pedagogical implications, such as how motivation can be generated and facilitated. Specifically, as opposed to traditional teaching and

Table 16.4 Chinese L2 studies conducted under a mixed-methods approach

Study	*Research focus*	*Sample*	*Design*	*Analysis*
Comanaru & Noels (2009)	If intrinsic and extrinsic orientations predict motivated engagements.The relations between orientations and autonomy, competence, and social relatedness.	145 university students in 3 groups, 2 sub heritage groups and 1 non-heritage group in Canada.	A mixed design. Comparative studies between HL and non-HL learners. A questionnaire. An open-ended question.	Group comparisons: ANOVAs. Correlation and multiple regression analyses. Analysis of the open-ended question.
Wen (2011)	Motivational constructs. Comparative studies between HL and non-HL learners. Relations among the motivational factors.	317 university students, 2 sub heritage groups and 1 non-heritage group in the U.S.	A mixed design. A questionnaire. Interviews: *Reasons for Learning Chinese; Attributions for Success and Failure.*	Factor analysis. MANOVA ANOVA. Relations among motivational factors: multiple regression. Interview analysis.
Campbell & Storch (2011)	The temporal aspect of motivation. Factors that shape language choice and ongoing motivation are associated with motivation change and are related to developing proficiency.	9 university students with varied Chinese L2 proficiency levels in Australia.	Qualitative approach. Thematic framework for identifying and coding the data. Attributions and demotivation analysis.	Questionnaire for biographical data. Theme analysis of 3 round semi-structured interviews in 1 semester.
Cai & Zhu (2012)	Changes in motivation as conceived in the L2 self system resulting from an online project. Motivating and demotivating features.	44 university students at the elementary proficiency level in the U.S.	A mixed design. Pre- and post-questionnaire for the online project for 4 weeks. An open-ended question.	Three paired *t-tests.* Analysis of the open-ended question.
Ruan *et al.* (2015)	To what extent and how the selected tasks motivate learning Chinese L2. Challenges of using TBTL in CFL courses.	153 university students at the elementary proficiency level in Denmark.	A mixed design. Post-course survey for the feedback on TBTL. Group interviews. Participant observation.	Descriptive data, *t-tests.* Meaning-condensation method for theme analysis.

learning, the learning environment must be student-centered for the development of intrinsic motivation. When goals are personally meaningful and valuable to learners, positive learning attitudes are fostered and motivational experience will emerge. Student-centered learning will, consequently, help sustain motivation (Cai & Zhu, 2012; Campbell & Storch, 2011; Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Ruan *et al.*, 2015; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wen, 1997, 2011, 2013).

Positive learning attitudes and successful experience are a robust motivational force that influences learning efforts, self-regulated strategies, and learning engagement (Campbell & Storch, 2011; Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wang, 2014; Wen, 2011, 2013). Learners, regardless of their background, unanimously endorse a classroom with these features and activities: "opportunities to speak Chinese with classmates", "communicative activities in class" and "fun in learning" (Wen, 2011, 2013). The elements of "fun" include challenging tasks under the learner's control, grammar instruction through meaningful interactions, and practicing language skills via communicative activities. Language instructors must incorporate these research findings to accommodate learners' needs and stimulate their learning experience.

Studies (e.g., Campbell & Storch, 2011; Ruan *et al.*, 2015) described several types of activities in a task-based learning environment. These activities or tasks are perceived by learners as highly effective and motivating.

First, the task must provide enjoyment: a sense of challenge and satisfaction to learners (Ruan *et al.*, 2015). When learners find tasks to be interesting and challenging, they are developing a sense of competence, an important intrinsic motivation, and positive learning attitudes.

Second, the activity or task must be interactive by nature, promoting learners to communicate for meaning. A language class is effective because students are actively engaged in using language to fulfill a task and solve a problem. In particular, interactions in groups develop a learner's self-confidence linguistically and socially (Gass & Mackey, 2012). Group work with social interactions provides a "safe learning environment" where students learn from each other, and motivate each other to achieve greater proficiency (Ruan *et al.*, 2015). It is vital for a teacher to build an environment where learners can focus on negotiation for meaning in a series of well-structured activities, interpreting language form and expressing ideas through form-meaning associations.

Third, the activity or task should be designed to increase self-regulation, self-efficacy, and learner autonomy (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Ruan *et al.*, 2015; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wang, 2014). In designing curriculum and implementing instruction, the focus is on how learning can be fostered to reach optimal goals. An effort should be made to enhance students' confidence. Learning becomes effective if learners can constantly derive a sense of accomplishment and self-efficacy from learning (Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wang, 2014; Wen, 1997, 2011, 2013).

Learner

Chinese L2 learners have various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Regardless of their ethnic and socio-cultural differences, they have the desire to learn Chinese culture and be friends with Chinese people (*integrativeness*). Chinese language curriculum should integrate cultural elements. Furthermore, study abroad programs provide dynamic and stimulating experiences for learners, particularly non-Asian learners. This develops integrative motivation, understanding, and an appreciation of Chinese culture (Yu, 2010; Yu & Downing, 2012; Yu &Watkins, 2008).

Findings (Lu & Li, 2008; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wen, 1997, 2011, 2013) demonstrated that all learners endorsed *instrumentality* highly. *Instrumentality* is also a predictor for the continuation of Chinese studies for the first and second year Chinese L2 learner groups (Wen, 2013). Learners are motivated to reach their goal of functional proficiency, e.g., to be able to use the language for traveling and future career advancement. Therefore, one instructional focus should be to help learners use the language and develop their communicative competence. By doing this, a pedagogical shift is in order from predominantly teacher-fronted to student-centered classrooms. Class activities should be similar to the kinds of communicative interactions that learners may undertake with Chinese speakers outside the classroom. Materials introduced in the classes should reflect everyday out-of-classroom content.

One consistent finding among the studies (Campbell & Storch, 2011; Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Lu & Li, 2008; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Sung & Padilla, 1998; Wen, 2011; Yang, 2003; Yu & Downing, 2012; Yu & Watkins, 2008) is that learners from different ethnic and socio-cultural backgrounds significantly differ in some of their motivations. Although students are highly interested in Chinese culture and motivated to acquire communicative skills, heritage learners are more motivated to read and write as indicated in the data and interviews. Non-heritage learners have a lesser exposure to Chinese culture. Research evidence suggests that a broad spectrum of instructional conditions is necessary to accommodate learners' diverse needs. Instructors can address literacy development with heritage learners by providing level-appropriate assignments for reading and writing. Furthermore, it is important for instructors to inform heritage learners regarding their progress, and expected effort and commitment at the beginning of the course to help them form an accurate expectation. For non-heritage learners, a wide range of exposure to Chinese culture, both integrated into the curriculum and in the form of extra-curricular activities (e.g., Chinese ethnic festival events, film festivals, etc.), is crucial to help learners develop a sustained learning interest.

Teachers and administrators

Research has shown that teachers' motivational planning and context-appropriate strategies have an important and positive bearing on student motivation. Certain aspects of teaching performance (e.g., taking a democratic style, developing a constructive relationship between teacher and student, and fostering learners' autonomy) are significant in shaping students' intrinsic motivation and promoting their sustained learning engagement (Campbell & Storch, 2011; Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Noels *et al.*,1999; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wang, 2014; Wen, 1997, 2013). Dörnyei's (2001) framework of teachers' motivational strategies in L2 classrooms is constructed along the learning process: (1) creating the basic motivational conditions where an instructor builds a student-centered learning environment for a democratic classroom; (2) generating initial motivation based on learners' needs and goals; (3) maintaining and protecting motivation by helping learners use self-regulatory strategies to solve problems and engage in learning; and (4) encouraging positive retrospective self-evaluation to foster learners' autonomy.

As Wen (1997) observed, the expectations of self and of learning outcomes interact with motivation. Creating a flexible and facilitating learning environment is vital for students, encouraging them to reflect on their learning and develop a strong sense of self-efficacy. Strategies that positively shape students' motivation and help students develop a sense of accomplishment should be incorporated into instruction. For example, teachers can use simulations and games to promote students' interest and put grammar in action for awareness activities which enhance a successful learning experience.

Empirical evidence (Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wen, 1997) shows that passivity to Chinese L2 learning and to foreign language requirements correlates little or negatively with task value and learning effort. Foreign language requirements are generally measured by the number of classes or credit hours taken. Such a measurement does little to motivate students to actively develop communicative skills. To maximize effective learning, the language requirements should be changed to measure how well students can use the language to function as a competent communicator. If a foreign language requirement specifies not credit hours to be taken, but the language proficiency level to be attained, passivity may cease to be a factor. The usefulness of the foreign language becomes emphasized. Students can readily see the value of becoming proficient in the language.

Future research direction

One area of interest in Chinese L2 motivation research is the change in learners' motivation over time. One challenge confronting Chinese L2 learning and teaching is the low enrollment retention rate. According to the CLTA 2012 Survey of College-level Chinese Language Programs (Li, Wen, & Xie, 2014, p. 21), Chinese language enrollment decreases from the elementary to the intermediate level at the rate of 47% on average. The enrollment decrease continues at a similar rate (46.23%) from the intermediate to the advanced I level, and at the rate of 48.24% from the advanced I to the advanced II level. There are many reasons for the enrollment decrease. Motivation change is one of the factors, and is closely related to learning context and learning experience, the third aspect of motivation in the L2 Motivational Self System. It is essential to investigate practical questions (such as how learners' motivation changes as they progress to a more proficient level, what factors stimulate the change, and how motivation can be initiated, influenced, or sustained) in order to obtain insights for our understanding of Chinese L2 motivation. There is a scarcity of studies on motivation changes over time. Furthermore, the research approach in examining this issue may need a shift from an external reference group with relatively discrete motivational variables to temporal analysis of the internal individual self in interaction with social and classroom factors.

Another important area is the motivation of heritage learners. Heritage and non-heritage learners differ in their value constructs and motivation-related beliefs. Within the heritage learner category, learners vary to a great extent in their language and social backgrounds (Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Lu & Li, 2008; Rueda & Chen, 2005; Wen, 2011; Yu & Downing, 2012; also Chapter 14, Li & Duff, this volume). Furthermore, the enrollment retention of heritage learners decreases at a higher rate than non-heritage learners. Research may focus on possible factors that shape motivational beliefs, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, language contact outside of the classroom, and the driving force for the ongoing commitment to learning. The existing Chinese L2 motivation research in this area has largely been conducted under the social-psychological framework. There is a reason for using this approach: the social-psychological aspect of motivation is relevant to heritage learners (Comanaru & Noels, 2009). However, the key focus of the investigation should be self-identity and self-related aspects, which interact with motivation, motivation intensity, and learning context. Hence, an alternative research approach, a socio-dynamic approach, may be more sensitive at the micro level to capture the dynamic and complex motivational constructs.

Still another area is the study of interactions between motivation, learning experience, and instructional motivational strategies. Chinese is a challenging language for English-speaking learners. There may be a gap between learners' expectations of the learning task and their learning outcome (Wen, 1997). For example, Chinese characters look attractive and artistic, yet to recognize the meaning, read, and write them in context is a daunting task. In a classroom setting, the learner, the instructor, and the learning task interact to motivate or demotivate learning. Instructional factors and learner variables intertwine to influence learning engagement. Research findings on the interaction between the learning situation and individual motivation, such as goals, attitudes, and self-regulatory strategies, will broaden our understanding of not only Chinese L2 motivation development, but how motivation can be sustained and enhanced.

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17

Foreign language anxiety: the case of learning Chinese

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Historical perspectives

It is very common for foreign language (FL) students to freeze up, sweat, distort their sounds, or even tremble when called on to perform a task in front of the class. As Chinese is a relatively difficult language for FL learners, these uncomfortable experiences are even more common in Chinese language classrooms. Anxiety has long been recognized as a common emotional reaction associated with FL learning. In Krashen's (1976) Monitor Model, the Affective Filter Hypothesis contends that a number of affective variables play an important role in second language acquisition. Along with motivation and self-confidence, anxiety is one of these variables. A high level of anxiety can raise the affective filter and form a mental block that prevents comprehensible input from being used for acquisition. Therefore, learners with a low level of anxiety have a better chance to succeed in second language acquisition.

Early studies that investigated the relationship between anxiety and FL learning can be dated back to the 1970s. These early studies provided mixed results, suggesting that "anxiety itself is neither a simple nor well-understood psychological construct" (Scovel, 1978, p. 132). Scovel argued that the inconsistent results of the early research into the relationship of anxiety to FL learning may be due to the fact that researchers used various constructs and measures of anxiety. Since that time, researchers (e.g., Gardner, 1985; Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994) have suggested that FL anxiety should be viewed as a situation-specific anxiety unique to FL learning independent of other types of anxieties.

Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) defined FL anxiety as "a distinct complex set of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process" (p. 128). They also developed an instrument known as the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) to measure FL anxiety, which has been widely adopted in FL anxiety research.

After the introduction of the FLCAS, researchers were able to measure FL anxiety more precisely. Studies in a variety of language learning contexts have found that approximately one-third of FL students experience at least a moderate level of FL anxiety (Horwitz, 2001). A large number of studies have reported a consistent moderate negative relationship between language anxiety and language achievement (Horwitz, 2001; MacIntyre, 1999). In these studies, a wide