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and Globalisation:
A Hungarian Perspective

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SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION 18

Series Editor: David Singleton, *Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland*

Motivation, Language Attitudes and Globalisation

A Hungarian Perspective

Zoltán Dörnyei, Kata Csizér and
Nóra Németh

MULTILINGUAL MATTERS LTD

Clevedon • Buffalo • Toronto

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue entry for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 1-85359-886-0/ EAN 978-1-85359-886-9 (hbk)

ISBN 1-85359-885-2/ EAN 978-1-85359-885-2 (pbk)

Multilingual Matters Ltd

UK: Frankfurt Lodge, Clevedon Hall, Victoria Road, Clevedon BS21 7HH.

USA: UTP, 2250 Military Road, Tonawanda, NY 14150, USA.

Canada: UTP, 5201 Dufferin Street, North York, Ontario M3H 5T8, Canada.

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Typeset by Techset Composition Ltd.

Printed and bound in Great Britain by MPG Books Ltd.

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Introduction

Many conditions are needed to learn a second language (L2) successfully but most teachers and researchers would agree that motivation is one of the key factors that determine learning achievement. Therefore, defining and exploring L2 motivation and researching the characteristics of motivated learners have traditionally occupied an important place on the research agenda of both applied linguists and language educators. This volume contains the results of the largest ever L2 motivation survey, involving over 13,000 language learners on three successive occasions: in 1993, 1999 and 2004. The survey took place in one particular country, Hungary, and the sample represents young teenagers from the whole cross-section of the nation. The examined period covers a particularly prominent time in the country's history, the transition from a closed, Communist society to a western-style democracy that became a member of the European Union in 2004, just weeks after we completed the third phase of our investigation. Thus, our study provides a 'motivational flow-chart' describing how the significant sociopolitical changes affected the various language attitudes prevailing amongst Hungarians and their motivation to learn five different target languages: English, German, French, Italian and Russian.

The results of the three phases of the survey have provided a wealth of data and we have been reporting various aspects of our findings in several publications over the past 10 years, both in Hungarian and English. We covered a variety of issues ranging from the changing perception of specific target languages to the attitudinal impact of intercultural contact, from the effects of schooling on motivation to the different language profiles of successful and unsuccessful learners. However, these results have not been brought together in a single volume to allow readers to consider them in relation to each other and therefore providing such a summary has been the main purpose of writing this book. Having said that, the material in this volume is far

from being a mere compilation of already published results. We have included in the analyses new data, the results of the third phase of the survey (2004), and thus this volume extends all our previous studies by adding almost 5000 new learners to the sample. We have made various predictions and formed certain hypotheses in our earlier publications about the possible or likely directions of future changes in Hungary and now, with the 2004 data available, comparing these predictions to the actual changes has been an exciting and intellectually enjoyable task.

Why Hungary? Why is this Relevant for Non-Hungarians?

Although the target of these investigations is a small European country, Hungary, we believe that the obtained results are not confined to this specific context but have wider implications. In many ways, Hungary can be seen as a laboratory in which, for various political/historical reasons, certain processes took place with unusual intensity and speed, completing a transformation much faster than in other contexts. Therefore, observing the L2-specific consequences of this transformation can shed light on broader and longer-term tendencies worldwide. More specifically, there are two aspects that make this context worthy of general interest. First, as will be elaborated on below, the large-scale socio-political changes that took place in Hungary (along with other East European countries) after the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989 had a substantial and pervasive language impact, the like of which has never been documented empirically in the L2 literature. Second, we found that the collected data provided valuable insights into the actual operation of language globalisation, an area which has attracted much attention in the L2 literature over the past decade but in which conceptual discussions have been far more numerous than studies backed up by empirical data. Let us look at these two issues in a bit more detail.

(1) *Language impact of the socio-political changes:* The collapse of the Communist rule in Hungary in 1989 initiated unprecedented changes in the history of the country. After the first free elections for some 40 years in 1990, the closed, Communist society was radically transformed into an open, market-oriented democracy. By the end of the 1990s the process had been completed: the privatisation of the economy had been finalised, resulting in a proportion of private enterprise that is comparable to the situation we find in Western Europe, and Hungary had also joined the NATO. Furthermore, in May, 2004, Hungary – along with several other post-Communist countries – was accepted as a full member of the European Union, thereby joining a very elite ‘club’.

Such a huge transformation had considerable language-related consequences, particularly in view of three powerful processes that took place:

- Russian, the compulsory first foreign language taught at every level of the Hungarian educational system before 1990, was replaced by a variety of western languages for the schools to choose from.
- Foreign television channels (mainly German-speaking but also some in English), as well as international videos and films became widespread within a few years after the changes.
- The country opened up its borders and there was a dramatic increase in foreign (mainly West European) influence both in terms of two-way tourism and economic relationships; the latter can be well characterised by the fact that in the 1990s many job advertisements in Hungarian papers were published in English or German because the multinational corporations which moved into the country wanted to screen out applicants who had insufficient foreign language proficiency.

Each of these three processes would have been expected to make a considerable impact on the population's language disposition, but the fact that they occurred in concert created a particularly intensive course of transformation.

(2) *Language globalisation*: The second issue of interest, the discovery of obvious manifestations of the process of language globalisation, was an unexpected finding in our research programme. When we initiated the project, our main research interest concerned the transformation of post-Communist Hungary and therefore we gave little thought to any potential variance within the emerging new western orientation. However, because of the consistency of the data that we had obtained we could not help noticing that one of the most salient aspects of our findings concerned a powerful process whereby the primary world language, English, gradually sidelined all the other foreign languages traditionally present on the Hungarian language learning scene, including the primary regional *lingua franca*, German. The most recent data gathered in 2004 confirmed the existence of this globalisation process and thus we believe that the Hungarian findings provide a unique blueprint of how and why language globalisation takes place in an actual language learning environment.

There is a third aspect of our study that may warrant wider interest, although this has nothing to do with the location but rather with the sample size. The exceptionally large dataset allowed us to conduct a range of sophisticated multivariate statistical procedures, including cluster analysis and structural equation modelling, and because our investigation involved a multi-occasion (i.e. repeated measures) and multi-language (i.e. the five target languages) design, the data lent itself

to such state-of-the-art analyses. As a result, many of our findings offer novel insights into the area of L2 motivation research.

The Brief History of the Project

Because the collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Block in 1989/1990 was so unexpected, we could only react to the events in a *post hoc* manner: although we soon became aware of the unprecedented social psychological curiosity of the emerging situation, it was only by 1992 that we had obtained sufficient funding to launch the first phase of our data collection. The project was initiated by Zoltán Dörnyei and he invited Richard Clément to act as a consultant in designing the main survey questionnaire. Richard also provided invaluable advice with regard to the whole first phase of the survey that finally took place in 1993. During the first round of data collection the Hungarian research team was aided by two Research Assistants, Emese Nyilasi and Krisztina Kertész. Although this first survey took place somewhat later than we would have liked – about three years after the events started to unfold in earnest – we found that at the time of the data collection the country was still very much in the initial transition period: our data showed, for example, that in 1993 over 50% of the learners in our sample still had to study the Russian language at school, not because it was a compulsory L2 any more but simply because there were not enough trained teachers of western languages available to fill the obligatory L2 slot in the school curricula.

At the very end of the 1990s, we considered the time ripe to conduct the second phase of the survey to assess the longer-term impact of the socio-political changes, and in the last few months of the millennium we launched the second round of data collection. This time Zoltán was aided by (i.e. most of the work was done by) Kata Csizér and Nóra Németh. At this stage the teaching of Russian had been completely abandoned – we did not find a single student who still learnt Russian at school – and the teaching of English and German had become typical. Because the second round of data collection targeted exactly the same population as the first one and utilised the same instrument, the resulting combined dataset provided unique longitudinal insights into the critical first decade of political freedom in Hungary.

In 2004, Hungary faced yet another historic change as in May it was to be accepted as a full member of the European Union. In this case we did have sufficient advance warning and therefore we timed the third phase of the survey for the Spring before the joining took place in order to be able to take stock of the nation's language attitudinal/motivational state prior to this significant event. This round of data collection was conducted by the same research team as the one carrying out the 1999 survey and we

had just completed the data processing before starting to write this book. The logic of our research design suggests that we should have a future, fourth wave of data collection – planned for around 2010 – which will document the effects of Hungary's re-integration into Western Europe.

The Main Focus of our Survey and of this Book

The main focus of our survey was language attitudes and language learning motivation. These two factors have traditionally been examined in their inter-relationship in L2 studies because it was recognised already in the late 1950s (Gardner & Lambert, 1959) that due to the considerable social loading of language, the motivation to learn another community's language is not merely an individualistic affair but is strongly related to various social attitudes prevailing in the learner's community concerning the target language group and towards the sociocultural 'baggage' the L2 carries. The research perspective taken in our book is 'macro-motivational': in order to obtain comparable measures from a large number of diverse locations, only those motivational dimensions were targeted that were generalisable across various learning situations. Thus, we did not assess situation-specific motives rooted in the L2 learners' immediate learning environment (e.g. attitudes towards the L2 teacher; the appraisal of the syllabus and the teaching method; or peer influences); instead, we focused on more stable and generalisable motives that stemmed from a succession of the student's past experiences in the social world.

A second point we would like to make here is that our main objective in this book is not to offer a comprehensive review of past research on L2 motivation or language globalisation and neither is it to provide detailed theoretical analysis of these complex issues. We will, of course, present a great deal of theoretical discussion in the following chapters but this will be based on our own findings rather than that of others. Readers are referred to recent reviews of the relevant literature – for example, Dörnyei (2005) on L2 motivation and individual differences in general or Maurais and Morris (2003b) on language globalisation – that can serve as starting points in exploring the broader domains. Thus, our book is intended to be an extended research report, one that reports on an exceptionally large-scale study conducted at a special time in a special place. In accordance with this aim, the material presented in the following chapters will contain a great amount of data; however, because we realise that not everybody shares our enthusiasm for figures and statistics, we have made a real attempt in this book to translate our results into the language of the more normal, non-mathematically inclined majority: readers will find dozens of diagrams and schematic illustrations throughout the chapters and the statistical concepts will also be explained in simple terms.

The Structure of the Book

We structured the material in this book loosely around four key studies written by us – Dörnyei and Csizér (2002, 2005) and Csizér and Dörnyei (2005a, 2005b) – but we need to reiterate that these publications only analysed the data gathered in the first two phases of the survey, without covering the 2004 findings. After a relatively brief theoretical overview (Chapter 1), which also describes the research site, Hungary, we present a detailed methodological summary of our investigation (Chapter 2), and this is followed by five discussion chapters: Chapters 3 and 4 provide a general description of the main findings of the survey, and in the subsequent chapter (Chapter 5) we introduce a new L2 motivation theory, the ‘L2 Motivational Self System’, that was inspired and empirically supported by our findings. In the last two analysis chapters (Chapters 4 and 5) we examine two novel issues in the L2 motivation literature: (1) the motivational profiles of successful and unsuccessful language learners and how learning one language can interfere with another; and (2) the motivational impact of increased intercultural contact between members of the L1 and the L2 communities. Finally, the Conclusion draws the various lines together, thereby outlining the bigger picture.

Acknowledgements

The research programme that we discuss in this book was supported by several grants from the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA; Nos F4739, T014839, T022078, T047111), the Fund for Research and Development in Tertiary Education in Hungary and the Hungarian Ministry of Education. We gratefully acknowledge their financial support and would like to express our special thanks to Péter Medgyes for advising us on funding opportunities. We also thank the Department of English Applied Linguistics at Eötvös Loránd University for hosting the project and providing the research infrastructure.

Such a huge enterprise could not have been carried out without the contribution of a great number of research assistants and contracted field workers. Special thanks are due to Emese Nyilasi and Krisztina Kertész, who were Senior Research Assistants during the first phase of the survey, to Valéria Szabó, János Hos and Miklós Nagy, who were particularly active at the various data collection stages of the project, and to Robert Nagy for his help with the data entry. We are indebted to Richard Clément (University of Ottawa, Canada) for his role in ‘co-launching’ the project in 1992 and his ongoing help during the 1990s. We would also like to acknowledge the generous help by Eszter Dombóvári and Mátyás Gede (Eötvös University, Budapest) in preparing the maps in Figures 1.1 and 2.1.

We are grateful to the Principals and Heads of the schools in our sample for allowing us access to the teachers and pupils in their schools. We thank the patience and cooperation of those teachers whose lessons we disrupted with the administration of our questionnaire and the more than 13,000 students who completed the instrument (with much enthusiasm, especially when class quizzes were cancelled because of our arrival). Without their invaluable support this book could not have been written.

As mentioned earlier, we have published several papers and book chapters analysing various aspects of the survey and some of the data was also used in Kata Csizér's PhD dissertation (2004). We would like to thank all the colleagues in the field who, anonymously or not, reviewed our earlier relevant articles and book chapters and also parts of the manuscript of this book – we have learnt a lot from their comments and the current text has improved greatly as a result of their suggestions. Last but not least, we would like to thank Marianne Nikolov, who as an external examiner of Kata's dissertation provided detailed and insightful comments.

Finally, we are grateful to Tommi Grover from Multilingual Matters, who supported our book project right from the beginning, and David Singleton for his help and encouragement as Series Editor. It may sound banal, but without such committed publishers and editors there would be no academic books, particularly not of this research kind!

Chapter 1

Background Information and Theory

In accordance with the profile of this book, this chapter cannot offer a comprehensive review of the theory and research associated with the complex issues addressed. Instead, we first provide some background information about the research site, Hungary, and then introduce certain key theoretical constructs to help to contextualise the topics addressed later. For a more detailed account of the particular topics, please refer to the works cited in the text.

A Thumbnail Description of Hungary

Hungary is a relatively small country in Central Europe with a population of around 10 million (for a map, see Figure 1.1). Situated largely in the Danube Valley and surrounded by the Carpathian Mountains, the greatest internal distance within the country does not exceed 320 miles. Hungary has had a rather turbulent history. Founded by the Magyar tribes migrating from the East in the 10th century, the country soon adopted Christianity and became a thriving feudalist kingdom, reaching its peak in the 15th century. Hungarians like to remember this 'Golden Age' when, for a brief period, the illusion of grandeur was within arm's reach and the Hungarian army achieved success after success – something that is so difficult for us to imagine because Hungarian forces have not won a single major battle or war since then. After these glorious days Hungary became a buffer state between the expanding Ottoman and Hapsburg Empires (the Danube Valley offered an ideal battle ground) and in 1526 the country was conquered by the Turks. They were expelled by the Hapsburgs after 150 years but this 'liberation' did not lead to freedom but rather to a 400-year Hapsburg domination with regular and consistently unsuccessful Hungarian uprisings.

Being on the losing side in World War I meant that the territory of Hungary was reduced substantially, to about one-third of its original size. Partly to regain the lost land, Hungary allied with the Germans in World War II and when our allegiance became too reluctant in 1944,

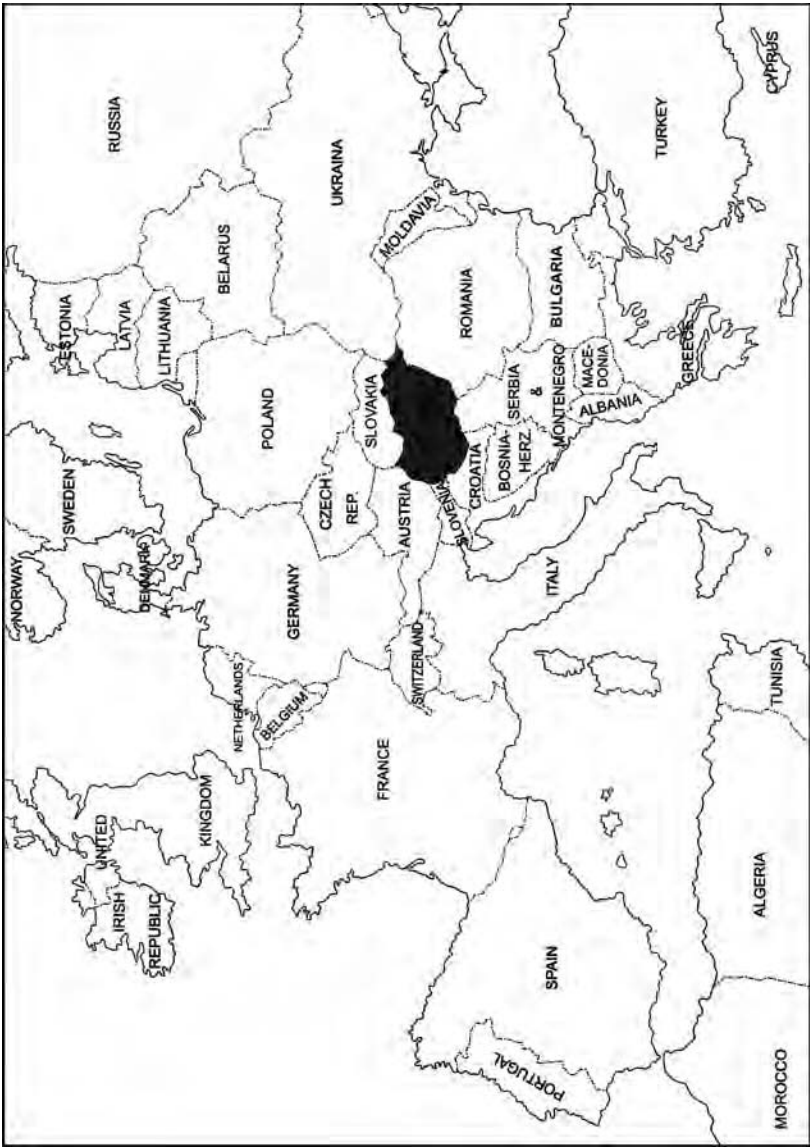


Figure 1.1 Map of Hungary within Europe

German forces occupied the country. Hungarians experienced another curious 'liberation' in 1945 by the Russian Red Army, which led to further occupation of the country and to yet another failed uprising in 1956. Then in 1989, completely out of the blue as far as Hungarians were concerned, the Soviet Union collapsed and to our great surprise we found ourselves free! This was the beginning of a whole new chapter in Hungarian history, and nothing illustrates better the dramatic changes than the fact that the first president of the country, Árpád Göncz, had been formerly sentenced to life imprisonment by the previous Communist regime for his role in the 1956 revolution; interestingly he learned English so well in prison that he later translated Tolkien's 'Hobbit' and part of 'The Lord of the Rings' trilogy into Hungarian. The last Russian soldiers withdrew from Hungary in 1991 and the country joined the NATO at the end of the decade and the European Union in 2004.

Hungary's location on the latent geopolitical/cultural border separating Eastern and Western Europe is rather special: this borderline has been in evidence for the past two thousand years, with the Roman Empire having its eastern border, the Turkish Empire its western border, the Hapsburg Empire its eastern border, and recently the Soviet Union its western border (the 'Iron Curtain') in Hungary. In addition, the country also lies at the dividing line between Western and Eastern (Orthodox) Christianity, which reflects the country's position being halfway between Rome and Byzantium (Istanbul), the two religious centres that determined Christian orientation in the Middle Ages. Hungary's 'halfway' position is reflected in the strikingly different characteristics of the eastern and western parts of the country, separated by the River Danube. While the east of the country has more rural, traditional and relatively poor areas, the west of the country (adjacent to Austria) is more developed and westernised.

The capital of Hungary, Budapest, is situated along the Danube in the centre of the country. It is a modern metropolis, forming a 'state within the state' with a quarter of the total Hungarian population living there. It is the most developed area in the country and constitutes the undisputed economic centre, which is augmented by the fact that none of the other Hungarian cities have more than 10% of Budapest's population. Budapest is also the primary tourist destination in Hungary because it is both a lively regional cultural centre and an attractive city, with the waterfront of the River Danube dividing the city into Buda and Pest being part of the UNESCO World Heritage (an exclusive list of fewer than 800 cultural and beauty spots in the world).

Language learning situation

As Hungary is almost exclusively populated by Hungarians, the country is one of the rather rare examples of a national context in which

there are no significant ethnolinguistic minorities: According to the 2000 census, 92.3% of the population claimed to be ethnic Hungarian and the proportion of people with Hungarian as their mother tongue was even higher, 98.2% (Central Statistical Office, 2004a). Accordingly, people do not speak languages other than Hungarian unless they learn them at school. From 1949 to 1989, for obvious political reasons, Russian was taught as the first foreign language at all levels of the school system; as a result, by the time of graduation from university, one had studied Russian for a minimum of 10 years. However, the learning of Russian in Hungary was a perfect illustration of Gardner's (2001) claim that language learning without sufficiently positive language attitudes to support it is a futile attempt: Hungarians were very reluctant to learn Russian because it represented the oppressive power, and, consequently, in the years of 1979–1982, not more than 2.9% of the Hungarian adult population spoke Russian, which number decreased by 1994 by almost 1% (Terestyéni, 1996).

From the 1970s onwards, certain modern Western languages, primarily English and German, started to reappear in the national curriculum, although in a rather limited way. Their significance at the primary level remained minimal: for example, in the 1988/89 school year nearly 100% of primary pupils learnt only Russian. The picture was more positive at the secondary level: by the end of the 1980s, more than half of the secondary school students were offered a second foreign language besides Russian (Enyedi & Medgyes, 1998).

Due to the sweeping changes taking place in the country, the reform of state education began in earnest at the very end of the 1980s and one of the first and most important steps in this modernisation process was the abolition of the compulsory status of Russian in the national curriculum. The gap was filled with a variety of western languages, primarily with English and German, for the schools to choose from, but due to the unavailability of enough trained English and German teachers the transition was gradual: as already mentioned in the Introduction, according to our data, in 1993 still over 50% of the final-year primary school population (i.e. the target age group of our study) learnt Russian; however, by the end of the 1990s Russian had completely disappeared from the primary school system, and the disappearance of Russian at secondary level was even quicker (Vágó, 2000).

Currently, as Fodor and Peluau (2003) summarise, the L2 proficiency level of Hungarians is rather poor. The overwhelming majority of Hungarians are monolingual; only about 10–12% of the population claim to be able to speak a foreign language and less than 5% can express themselves in two languages. The main languages learned are English and German with about 500,000 learners each; the third foreign language, French, is way behind these two frontrunners with only about 50,000 learners.

International integration

The new political setup of the country brought along a rapid increase of both direct and indirect contact with foreign businessmen and tourists, as well as with foreign cultural and commercial products. As can be seen in Table 1.1, over a period of 12 years (between 1989 and 2001) the number of foreign enterprises in Hungary multiplied 20 times, with the actual capital being invested multiplying over 100 times! A similar tendency can be observed in the total amount of foreign trade as over the same period there was a 19–20 time growth (see Table 1.2). These figures illustrate well the extent of the rapid integration of the country into the international economic network in the 1990s.

The significant financial and economic foreign influence was accompanied by a great deal of direct contact with tourists visiting Hungary. Table 1.3 presents statistics of the foreign visitors coming to Hungary over the examined period. Besides the total number of tourists, we also included in the table specific figures concerning the L2 communities that our survey focused on, but we restricted the list to western nations only because figures describing East European visitors are unreliable from our perspective as they also include members of the Hungarian minority in neighbouring countries visiting the motherland. As can be

Table 1.1 Direct foreign investment in Hungary: the number of foreign enterprises and the invested capital (Central Statistical Office, 2003)

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Total capital^a</i>	<i>Foreign capital^a</i>
1989	1,350	124.4	30.0
1993	20,999	1113.2	662.9
1999	26,445	3155.5	2624.5
2001	26,832	3601.9	3130.4

^aBillion Hungarian Forints

Table 1.2 Total amount of Hungarian foreign trade (Central Statistical Office, 2004b)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Import^a</i>	<i>Export^a</i>
1989	523,507	517,323
1993	1,162,491	819,915
1999	6,645,562	5,938,525
2001	10,695,408	9,643,710

^aMillion Hungarian Forints

Table 1.3 Number of foreign visitors in Hungary (Central Statistical Office, 2005)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Germany & Austria</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>UK</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Italy</i>
1989	24,919	7739	160	69	64	250
1993	40,599	9881	253	158	227	508
1999	28,803	8738	323	218	205	384
2003	31,412	7745	304	208	249	466

Note: Figures in thousand people

seen in the table, there was a significant (60%) increase of visitors between 1989 and 1993, after which the number has subsided and although recently there have been signs of the recovery of the tourist industry, the number of visitors is still behind the 1993 level. The statistics show clearly that German-speaking tourists make up by far the greatest portion of the total number of western tourists, with any other nationalities (and even the combined US/UK group) amounting only to less than 10% of this figure. Thus, there is a dominance of German-speaking visitors, which is well reflected by the fact that in the Hungarian tourist industry the primary foreign language is German.

Language Globalisation

Globalisation refers to the 'way in which, under contemporary conditions especially, relations of power and communication are stretched across the globe, involving compressions of time and space and a recomposition of social relationships' (Mohammadi, 1997: 1). In an article analysing the psychology of globalisation, Arnett (2002) points out that in the broad sense globalisation has existed for many centuries as a process by which cultures influence one another and become more alike through trade, immigration and the exchange of information and ideas. The reason why the current phenomenon is different from this ongoing process is, he argues, that in recent decades the degree and intensity of the interplay of different cultures and world regions have accelerated dramatically because of advances in telecommunications and a rapid increase in economic and financial interdependence worldwide. This is well reflected by the fact that, according to figures cited by Arnett, international travel has increased by 700% since 1960. In conclusion, he states:

In many cultures today, people who are middle-aged or older can remember a time when their culture was firmly grounded in enduring traditions, barely touched by anything global, Western, or American. However, few young people growing up today will have such

memories in the decades to come. Young people in every part of the world are affected by globalisation; nearly all of them are aware, although to varying degrees, of a global culture that exists beyond their local culture. Those who are growing up in traditional cultures know that the future that awaits them is certain to be very different from the life their grandparents knew. (Arnett, 2002: 781)

Although globalisation is strongly linked to economic factors such as the increasingly global reach of multinational corporations and the growing inter-relatedness of local economies, it also has a significant linguistic dimension. Due to their geopolitical significance, certain languages appear to be gaining relative influence, often at the expense of other languages, resulting in a new linguistic hierarchy. As Maurais and Morris (2003a: 9) point out, 'Language shift is not new, but the contemporary global scope of linguistic competition is'. Thus, in today's world we can see winners and losers on a scale never experienced before, and this phenomenon has accelerated recently.

Because of its prominent linguistic relevance, the impact of globalisation has been the subject of a great deal of research in applied linguistics in the past and the importance of the topic is also reflected by the fact that several journals are specifically dedicated to it, for example *English Today* and *World Englishes*. The titles of these two journals also indicate that the key issue in the language globalisation literature concerns the spread of English, with scholars taking two broad stances: they subscribe either to the *Diffusion of English* paradigm or the *Ecology of Language* paradigm, depending on whether they see the present rate of spread of English as a second/foreign language as a blessing or a threat (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997). The first paradigm involves a 'free-market' view of the natural selection/survival of the fittest (and especially 'Global English', as Graddol (1997), called it), whereas ecological theorists represent a 'green' view stating that diminished language diversity is a tragedy and an irrevocable loss.

It is easy to see why the seemingly unstoppable spread of English has generated strong emotional overtones to the topic. Some scholars have gone as far as speaking about a 'linguistic genocide' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001) and this view has been expressed – although perhaps less starkly – by a number of leading researchers during the past decade (e.g. Crystal, 1997; Fishman, 1992; Graddol & Meinhof, 1999; Kachru, 1992; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). However, some other theoreticians have taken a more cautious approach; for example, Tonkin (2003) emphasised that because technology is making the world smaller and the population growth is making it more crowded, we must acknowledge the indisputable need for direct communication and thus for a *lingua franca*, which for the foreseeable future is likely to be English. Indeed, many if not most

scholars would agree that there is a certain need for a global language, but at the same time most would also emphasise that there are certain dangers of having a single global medium of communication. The main task, then, is not so much to try and fight this process as to develop ways of preventing English from encroaching on the domains of other languages by balancing its spread with the maintenance of linguistic diversity (Maurais & Morris, 2003a; Tonkin, 2003).

In any case, language globalisation has become part of the linguistic landscape and most scholars reflecting on the future fate of English seem to have arrived at the conclusion that rather than diminishing, the position of English as a global language is becoming stronger (Crystal, 1997). We can only speculate about the future of other traditionally prominent languages such as French and German, let alone languages of smaller speech communities, but the prospects are not bright. A study by Truchot (1997: 76), for example, found that the use of English is spreading even within France, concluding that 'languages which were protected by borders are now challenged on their own territory as their users are faced with demands of world communication'. It is also uncertain as to whether there will be any new challenges to English in the near future by Chinese, Hindi, Spanish or Arabic, reflecting emerging new power centres in the world, as it seems increasingly clear that for various reasons none of them can offer a viable alternative at present.

From a European perspective it is particularly noteworthy that scholars have started to speak about a special variety of English, 'Euro-English', referring to an educated European English variety used by Continental European business people and other professional administrators to communicate together (Strevens, 1992). The status of Euro-English is often debated because, as McArthur (2003: 57) points out, the term has often been used to mean 'bad English perpetrated in Brussels', associated with an 'even more hybridised and dubious phenomenon known as *Eurospeak*'. Others, however, see it as an emerging variety, which will eventually serve as a European *lingua franca*. Projects have been, and are being, carried out in order to describe Euro-English in a systematic way; see, for example, the work on the phonology of the Euro-English accent (Jenkins, 2000, 2001); English as a *lingua franca* in the Alpine-Adriatic region (James, 2000); and the Vienna-Oxford EFL Corpus-building project capturing Euro-English (Seidlhofer, 2001).

The increasing use of English for international purposes calls for the reinterpretation of the 'ownership' of English (see Widdowson, 1994, 1997). Although English is the language of the uncontested super-power of the world, the USA, the notion of Global English is less and less associated with any specific L2 community and is linked increasingly to a cosmopolitan, technologically advanced, westernised 'imagined community', to use Norton's (2001) term. In other words, English is

rapidly losing its national cultural base and is becoming associated with a global culture – for many it now represents the language of the ‘world at large’. This broadening view of ownership has had major consequences on L2 motivation research because the lack of a well-specified target language community undermines the attitudinal base of Gardner’s (1985) traditional concept of integrative motivation. We will come back to this issue in the next section.

Language Attitudes and Language Learning Motivation

Motivation is a highly complex term, widely used not only in everyday life but also in many areas of social sciences, for example in various branches of psychology (e.g. differential, organisational, social and educational), in educational studies and in applied linguistics. It is intended to explain nothing less than the reasons for human behaviour. Because of this ambitious aim, there is no general consensus on the definition of the notion, although most motivation researchers would agree that it concerns the direction and magnitude of human behaviour, that is, the choice of a particular action, the persistence with it and the effort expended on it (Dörnyei, 2001).

For reasons already mentioned, we do not intend to provide a detailed summary of the complex issue of motivation here. A recent overview of several advances can be found in the motivation chapter of Dörnyei (2005: chap. 4). Instead, in the following we would like to introduce the main motivational concepts that will be used in describing our research results, and then outline two conceptual areas that are closely related to the analyses: (1) Dörnyei’s recent theory of the ‘L2 Motivational Self System’, and (2) the impact of intercultural contact on attitudinal/motivational change.

Main attitudinal/motivational factors in the study

Our study has grown out of the social psychological tradition of L2 motivation research associated with the work of the founder of the field, Robert Gardner. When devising the main assessment instrument used in our survey, we drew heavily on the advanced measurement practice developed by Gardner and his colleagues in Canada. Richard Clément, who contributed to the questionnaire design, had been a close associate of Gardner’s, and was therefore in a good position to situate Gardner’s traditional concepts of Integrativeness, Instrumentality, Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers and the Linguistic Milieu, as well as his own concept of Linguistic Self-Confidence, within the Hungarian context. To this well-established theoretical background we added a prominent emphasis on Indirect Contact Through Cultural Products, which was motivated by the fact that Hungary represents a so-called ‘foreign

language learning situation' where students learn languages as school subjects with very little (if any) direct contact with members of the L2 communities, and also the construct of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles & Byrne, 1982), which was useful to understand the differential appraisal of the various target languages that we included in the survey.

Thus, in our study we conceptualised the generalised aspects of L2 motivation in terms of seven components: Integrativeness, Instrumentality, Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community (formerly labelled by Dörnyei & Clément (2001), as 'Direct Contact with L2 Speakers'), Milieu, Linguistic Self-Confidence, Cultural Interest (formerly, 'Media Usage') and Vitality of the L2 Community. These seven motivational constituents are amongst the most common dimensions investigated in past L2 motivation research and, as will be described in Chapters 3 and 5, they received empirical validation in our study as well. A brief description and review of the content areas they cover follow.

Integrative dimension

The notion of integrative motivation was introduced into L2 studies by Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) in an attempt to explain variation in L2 motivation in multicultural environments. Subsequently, integrative orientation/motivation has become a pivotal part of Gardner's motivation theory and it has also been used by many other researchers, although as Gardner (2001: 1) points out, the term has 'slightly different meanings to many different individuals'. Integrativeness denotes a positive outlook on the L2 and its culture, to the extent that learners scoring high on this factor may want to integrate into the L2 culture and become similar to the L2 speakers. It is among the most often researched concepts in the field and a great number of empirical investigations connected it to various aspects of the learning process and to the intensity of L2 learners' work in a statistically significant way. Yet, in spite of this popularity, the notion has remained somewhat of an enigma (Dörnyei, 2003a): it has no obvious parallels in any area of mainstream motivational psychology and its exact nature is difficult to define.

The most elaborate conceptualisation of the integrative dimension has been offered by Gardner's (1985) theory of integrative motivation, in which there are as many as three integrative components: Integrative Orientation, Integrativeness and Integrative Motivation/Motive. Figure 1.2 presents a schematic representation of the construct. As can be seen, the integrative components appear at three levels of abstraction. Integrative orientation feeds into integrativeness, which is in turn one of the three main constituents of integrative motivation. 'Orientations' in Gardner's terminology involve the reasons behind learning an L2; more precisely they 'represent ultimate goals for achieving the more immediate goal of learning the second language' (Gardner, 1985: 11). Gardner's

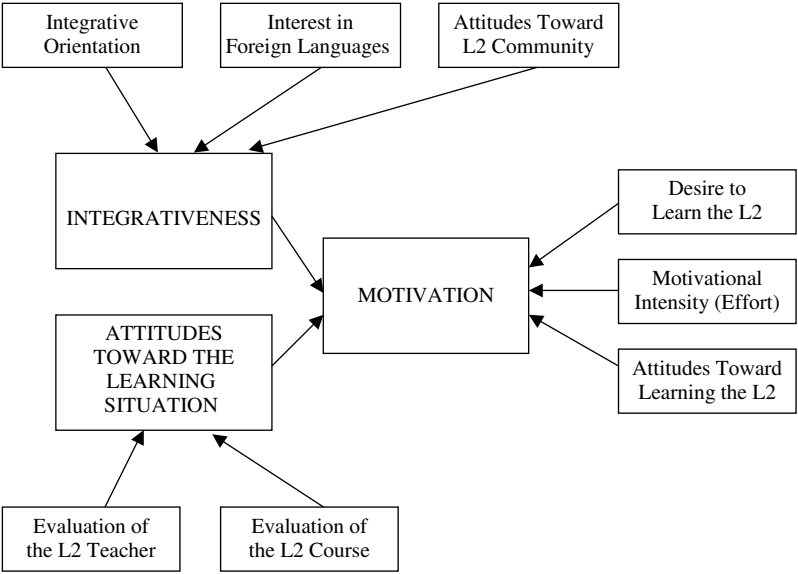


Figure 1.2 Schematic representation of Gardner’s integrative motive (based on Gardner, 1985)

integrative orientation not only ‘stresses an emotional involvement with the other community’ but also ‘reflects a positive non-ethnocentric approach to the other community’ (Gardner, 1985: 133–134).

Integrativeness is defined by Gardner (1985) as a composite construct made up of the following variables: interest in foreign languages, integrative orientation and attitudes towards Canadian/European French. As a result of this operationalization, this concept:

reflects a genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer to the other language community. At one level, this implies an openness to, and respect for other cultural groups and ways of life. In the extreme, this might involve complete identification with the community (and possibly even withdrawal from one’s original group), but more commonly it might well involve integration within both community. (Gardner, 2001: 5)

The integrative motive is composed of attitudinal, goal-directed and motivational variables. It subsumes integrativeness (as defined above), attitudes towards the learning situation (evaluation of the L2 teacher and the L2 course) and ‘motivation’. The latter concept is defined as a latent concept comprising (1) the desire to learn the L2, (2) motivation intensity (or effort), and (3) attitudes towards learning the L2.

The investigation of integrativeness/integrative motivation has remained one of the most important issues in Gardner and his associates' work and the concept has also been used as a key building block in other researchers' theoretical models of L2 learning, for example in Clément's (1980) notion of the 'Primary Motivational Process', Schumann's (1986) acculturation theory, Dörnyei's (1994a) extended L2 motivation model and MacIntyre *et al.*'s (1998) construct of willingness to communicate (WTC). However, the success story of integrativeness also has a less rosy side. If we look at the L2 motivation literature carefully, we find a certain amount of ambivalence about the notion, which sometimes amounts to a 'love-hate' relationship in researchers outside Gardner's Canadian circle.

Investigating language learning in Japan, for example, McClelland (2000: 109) called for a definition of 'integrativeness' that focuses on 'integration with the global community rather than assimilation with native speakers', highlighting a 'need to reappraise Gardner's concept of integrativeness to fit a perception of English as an international language'. This point, also expressed by Irie (2003), Lamb (2004) and Yashima (2000), is related to the process of language globalisation discussed previously. Other studies, such as Warden and Lin (2000), did not succeed in identifying a prominent integrative motive, which questioned the generalisability of the concept. In light of these findings and because our own Hungarian data did not point to a traditionally conceived integrative motive either, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) called for alternative and potentially new interpretations of the concept. The 'L2 Motivational Self System' provides one possible such approach.

Instrumental dimension

Besides integrativeness, Instrumentality has been the other most frequently highlighted variable in L2 motivational research. It refers to the perceived pragmatic benefits of L2 proficiency and reflects the recognition that for many language learners it is the usefulness of L2 proficiency that provides the greatest driving force to learn the language. Thus, instrumental orientation subsumes such utilitarian goals as receiving a better job or a higher salary as a consequence of mastering an L2. Gardner (1985) discussed instrumentality strictly as a type of orientation rather than motivation, that is, as a reason/goal for L2 learning. In Tremblay and Gardner's (1995) extended model of L2 motivation, instrumental orientation (along with other factors such as integrative orientation) was subsumed by a broadly conceived component labelled 'Language Attitudes' outside the immediate domain of motivation. In their actual research, Gardner and his associates have largely ignored instrumentality; its role was explored only in one laboratory study conducted by Gardner and MacIntyre (1991), in which instrumental

motivation was aroused by offering monetary reward to participants for achieving well in a vocabulary acquisition task.

Despite the fact that Gardner and his associates working in Canada played down the importance of the instrumental dimension, researchers working outside the Canadian context (e.g. Dörnyei, 1990; Shaaban & Ghaith, 2000; Warden & Lin, 2000) highlighted the significance of the utilitarian dimension of L2 motivation. At the same time, however, in some other studies, no clear-cut instrumental dimension emerged (Clément *et al.*, 1994; Dörnyei, 2002; Dörnyei & Kormos, 2000) as items measuring traditional utilitarian values attached to the instrumental dimension of L2 learning (e.g. receiving better jobs, or a higher salary) loaded onto a factor that also subsumed other incentives (e.g. travelling, making foreign friends). As an extreme, Kimura *et al.* (2001) have identified a motive that they labelled the 'Intrinsic-Instrumental-Integrative Motive'. We will come back to the conceptual ambiguity of instrumentality in Chapter 5.

Attitudes towards the L2 speakers/community

Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community has been a central component in Gardner's motivation theory, feeding into integrativeness (see Figure 1.2). The concept goes back to the genesis of Gardner's work in Canada. Facing an ethnolinguistically split society, Gardner's main interest in motivation was its potential impact on the relationship between the Francophone and Anglophone communities, in the sense that learning the other community's language – which is driven by L2 motivation – is a central process leading to interethnic affiliation and reconciliation. Using a social psychological approach, one of the main tenets Gardner built his theory around stated that success in language learning was a function of the learner's positive attitudes towards the linguistic cultural community of the target language. This was in accordance with Spolsky's (1969) conclusion that one of the most important attitudinal factors affecting L2 acquisition is the learner's attitude towards the language and its speakers.

Gardner (1985) presented a review of several studies conducted in varied contexts that produced evidence that the attitudes towards members of the L2 community were indeed key constituents of the L2 motivation construct and, accordingly, almost all past studies on L2 motivation have included a salient component focusing on such attitudes. In our study this component was associated with attitudes towards meeting L2 speakers and travelling to their country, that is, attitudes towards having direct contact with them.

Milieu

The term 'milieu' is used in L2 motivation research to refer to the social influences stemming from the immediate learning environment as

opposed to the broader macro-context, and it is usually operationalised as the perceived influence of significant others, such as parents, family and friends. It is important to point out that the standard conceptualisation only covers the 'civil sphere', that is, milieu does not usually encompass education-specific motives such as the role of the teachers – such motives are typically discussed with regard to the learning situation. There is a general consensus in the L2 field that the impact of the views of significant others is an important constituent of the motivational complex and researchers have been particularly interested in examining the role of the parents in shaping L2 motivation. Gardner (1985), for example, distinguished between active and passive parental roles. An active role is played when parents encourage and monitor L2 learning and reinforce success, while the passive role involves the attitudes parents possess and manifest in connection with the L2 community. As Gardner concluded,

the children's perception of their parents' support is not directly related to their performance in class, though it is related to their willingness to continue language study and in their own assessment of how hard they work to learn the second language. (Gardner, 1985: 122)

Colletta *et al.* (1983) confirmed Gardner's theory and found the parental support affected linguistic self-confidence, while Gardner *et al.* (1999) verified that parental support was related to attitudes towards the learning situation and language learning effort as well. In addition, Spolsky (2000) also stressed that we should not underestimate the socialisation effect of another component of the milieu, the learners' peer group, either; this theme was elaborated on by Dörnyei (2001, *in press*; see also Dörnyei & Murphey, 2003).

Linguistic self-confidence

Linguistic Self-Confidence, introduced into L2 motivation research by Richard Clément (Clément, 1980; Clément *et al.*, 1977), reflects a confident, anxiety-free belief that the mastery of a L2 is well within the learner's means. It subsumes the individual's perceptions of his or her abilities to reach goals successfully or to finish tasks, and it usually concerns a generalised appraisal of one's coping potential, relevant to a range of tasks and subject domains. According to Clément's (1980) theory, self-confidence is seen as a key component in determining subsequent language attitudes and language learning motivation, fuelled by two primary antecedents, the quality and the quantity of previous intercultural contact with members of the L2 community (the role of contact will be further analysed later in this chapter). The model received empirical validation by Clément and Kruidenier (1985), with the results supporting the causal sequences proposed. Interestingly, Labrie and Clément (1986: 279)

found that even negatively seen contact if frequent enough had a positive impact on self-confidence, probably due to the fact that 'experience in aversive contacts develops the individual's expectations regarding the capacity to face successfully second language usage in such situations'. Clément *et al.* (1994) also demonstrated that linguistic self-confidence was not only relevant in multicultural contexts, but it was also significant in a unicultural environment where the prominent form of contact was *indirect*. Based on their investigation in Hungary, they proposed a tricomponential complex of L2 motivation, made up of integrativeness, linguistic self-confidence and the appraisal of the classroom environment.

Cultural interest

In certain language learning environments direct contact with L2 speakers is minimal and the L2 is typically taught as a school subject; such context are sometimes referred to as 'foreign language learning environments' and are contrasted with 'second language learning contexts', in which L2 attainment takes place at least partially embedded in the host community. Although in foreign language learning environments learners do not have the opportunity to establish contact-based attitudes towards L2 speakers, they may still be familiar with the L2 community through indirect contact with it, that is, through the learners' exposure to a range of L2 cultural products and artefacts, such as films, videos, books, magazines and music. In their seminal investigation of various L2 learning orientations, Clément and Kruidenier (1983: 285) isolated a factor that tapped into the 'social-cultural' dimension of L2 motivation, which covered 'an interest in the way of life and the artistic production of the target language group'. Clément *et al.* (1994) investigated different motivational orientations in the relatively unicultural Hungarian context and they also identified a component called 'English Media' that concerned English cultural products. This factor received strong endorsement from the Grade 11 students participating in the study, and similar results were obtained in our current project. These results highlight the salient role that L2 cultural products play in familiarising learners with the L2 community and thus shaping their L2 attitudes.

Ethnolinguistic vitality

Giles and Byrne's (1982) 'intergroup model' offers a situated social psychological framework for examining the conditions under which the members of minority ethnic groups in a multicultural setting successfully acquire and use the dominant language. A key factor in this model is ethnolinguistic vitality, referring to a particular ethnic group's distinctiveness as a collective entity. It is defined by three sociostructural factors: status factors (economic, political, social, etc.), demographic factors (size and distribution of the group), and institutional support

factors (representation of the ethnic group in the media, education, government, etc.). Because of its importance in offering a 'starting point from which to explore the difficult link between sociological (collective) and social-psychological (individual) accounts of language, ethnicity and intergroup relations' (Johnson *et al.*, 1983: 258), the concept has been used in a considerable amount of subsequent research and several instruments have been developed for the assessment of both the objective and subjective (i.e. perceived) vitality conditions of a given ethnolinguistic situation (*cf.* Allard & Landry, 1994; Bourhis *et al.*, 1981; Harwood *et al.*, 1994).

In a recent study, Lawson and Sachdev (2004) examined the relationship between multilingual behaviour, ethnolinguistic vitality, contact and identity, and argued that the combination of vitality, contact and language competence variables forms a 'language resource base', which in turn plays a motivational role in influencing linguistic behaviours. Their results, obtained from a questionnaire study of second-generation Sylheti–Bangladeshi trilinguals in London, not only supported this argument for the two minority languages, Sylheti and Bengali, but also indicated that minority language vitality had an additive impact on the majority language, English. In another recent study, Clément *et al.* (2003) examined the relationship between ethnolinguistic vitality and language learners' 'willingness to communicate' (WTC) in a second language, and found a significant vitality effect on a host of variables, including subjective norms, contact, linguistic confidence, identity and WTC. In the present research programme, questionnaire items representing the perceived importance and wealth of the L2 communities concerned were included to measure ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions.

The 'L2 Motivational Self System'

In a recent overview of the L2 motivation field, Dörnyei (2005) proposed a new theoretical approach to the understanding of L2 motivation, conceived within an 'L2 Motivational Self System', which attempts to integrate a number of influential theoretical L2 constructs with findings of self research in psychology. Chapter 5 provides more details about how this theory was related to the results of our survey, so here we offer only a brief outline of the main constituents of the proposed construct. The central theme of the new conception is the equation of the motivational dimension that has traditionally been interpreted as 'integrativeness/integrative motivation' with the Ideal L2 Self. The latter refers to the L2-specific facet of one's 'ideal self', which is the representation of all the attributes that a person would like to possess (e.g. hopes, aspirations, desires). If one's ideal self is associated with the mastery of an L2, that is, if the person that we would like to become is

proficient in the L2, we can be described – using Gardner’s (1985) terminology – as having an ‘integrative’ disposition.

Following the work of Higgins (1987, 1998), Dörnyei (2005) proposed the existence of another possible self dimension, the Ought-to L2 Self, which concerns the more extrinsic (i.e. less internalised) types of instrumental motives. This self guide refers to the attributes that one believes one *ought to* possess (i.e. various duties, obligations or responsibilities) and which therefore may bear little resemblance to the person’s own desires or wishes. Finally, the L2 Motivational Self System also contains a third major dimension of the L2 motivation complex labelled L2 Learning Experience, which concerns executive motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience.

Intercultural contact and change in motivation

An indisputable fact of life in the 21st century is that people will increase their contact with individuals from other cultural backgrounds (Brislin, 2001). As we saw earlier, globalisation affects every aspect of our social life and the resulting exposure to intercultural contact has significant bearings on a host of issues, including interethnic attitudes and L2 motivation. Therefore, the investigation of the impact of intercultural contact is an important issue, particularly in a country such as Hungary that has been characterised by a period of an unprecedented high level of foreign contact. Accordingly, in Chapter 7 we examine how this ‘contact flood’ affected our survey participants’ language disposition. To create the theoretical background of this complex issue, here we draw on two separate but related lines of research within the social sciences, the study of the ‘Contact Hypothesis’, particularly in the context of tourism, and the examination of host attitudes towards visitors in tourism research. Please also refer to the aforementioned description of Clément’s model of self-confidence because it also has a featured contact component.

The study of the effects of intercultural/interethnic contact has a long history in social psychology, and the resulting ‘Contact Hypothesis’ has been a high-profile and much-researched theory in the field. The theory is based on the general observation that contact changes the attitudes and behaviour of groups and individuals towards one another and those changes, in turn, will influence any further contact (Allport, 1954). However, it is clear that contact in itself does not guarantee *positive* changes in the individual’s attitudinal disposition; already Allport pointed out that in order for favourable changes to take place, certain essential intergroup conditions must be met, most notably equal status between the groups within the contact situation; the shared pursuit of common goals; the perception of common interests; and institutional

support for the contact. Allport's seminal work inspired a wide variety of research projects ranging from naturalistic field work through highly controlled laboratory studies to representative surveys employing national samples (e.g. Cook, 1985; Desforges *et al.*, 1997; Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Stephen, 1987), and in an attempt to update Allport's original contact conditions, in his comprehensive review of the literature Pettigrew (1998) outlined five conditions for optimal contact: equal group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, authority support and friendship potential. The last condition, which Pettigrew considered particularly important, was an addition to Allport's original framework, involving opportunities for members of one group to share of themselves and empathise with others, thereby increasing the possibility for more intimate contact than is found in casual relationships. Such an intimate relationship was, then, assumed to lead to the generalisation of positive attitudes through a three-step process by promoting cross-group empathy, cross-group identification and finally ingroup reappraisal.

Two recent theoretical contributions to the Contact Hypothesis are particularly relevant to our current study. First, van Dick *et al.* (2004: 211) introduced a new construct to mediate optimal contact conditions, the perceived importance of contact, and proposed that this construct was the 'best proximal predictor of contact's reduction of prejudice'. As the researchers argue, superficial contact experiences that are personally unimportant (i.e. that have no value in themselves and are not instrumental in reaching a valued goal) will not bring about a significant improvement of intergroup relations. Second, in an integrative theory of intergroup contact, Brown and Hewstone (2005) proposed two dimensions of optimal contact conditions: intergroup and interpersonal salience. They argue that assigning significance to intimate intermember relationships is not incompatible with maintaining some category salience in interactions between in-group and out-group members; in other words, the intergroup and the interpersonal levels of contact are not functionally antagonistic. According to the researchers' proposed model, cross-group friendship/closeness and group salience are orthogonal dimensions, and the optimal conditions occur in contact situations that are 'high' on both the interpersonal and the intergroup dimensions.

While the main principles of the Contact Hypothesis are certainly generalizable to diverse contact situations, the typical contexts in which they were conceptualised and researched have been rather different from the Hungarian contact situation that our study focuses on. Although the disappearance of the Iron Curtain expedited business and professional contacts, the dominant form of direct intercultural contact for most Hungarians during the past decade has been meeting foreign tourists in the country. This is particularly true because, as Ward *et al.* (2001) point out, from the perspective of members of the visited society,

all the people who are visibly foreign will be categorised as 'tourists', regardless of the real purpose of their visit. Ward *et al.* (2001: 129) therefore argue that 'it is vital to include research on the affective and behavioural responses of hosts to the tourists in their midst, and there is a growing literature that deals with this issue'.

From a general Contact Hypothesis point of view the prospective impact of contact via tourism is questionable at best. Tourist-host interactions are characterised by brevity and superficiality, offering very little friendship potential, and there is little room for real cooperation between the two groups for common goals. Tourists also tend to have a higher economic status than the host members with whom they come in touch. Therefore these intercultural encounters are very often asymmetrical in nature, with the only condition to counterbalance this situation being the authority support which usually characterises tourist environments. The negative aspects of host-tourist encounters have been well summarised by Jaworski *et al.* as follows:

As far as the tourist-host relationship is concerned, the orthodoxy of current tourism research literature seems to be strongly biased towards the view of the one-sided, asymmetrical and exploitative 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 2002), in which powerful tourists are free to visually 'consume' local people, much as they do any 'site', with little reflection on, or regard for, the needs, concerns and identities of the local people. (Jaworski *et al.*, 2003: 156)

Thus, the overall conditions in host-tourist contact do not encourage attitude-improving interactions and this situation often results, as Ward *et al.* (2001) point out, in an orientation towards immediate gratification on the part of both hosts and tourists, with salient commercial, contrived and even exploitative overtones. No wonder then that Amir and Ben-Ari (1985: 112) have come to the general conclusion that the 'intergroup contact provided by tourism does not guarantee positive attitude change'. Ward *et al.* go even further when they conclude:

The attitudes of host society members towards tourists have been found to vary from mildly positive to hostile reactions, depending on self-interest, tourist densities and the socioeconomic status of the tourists relative to their hosts. Our reading of this literature leads us to the view that from the perspective of the visited societies, mass tourism is at best neutral with respect to increasing mutual understanding and intergroup harmony and, more than likely in some circumstances, it has adverse psychological consequences. (Ward *et al.*, 2001: 141)

The theoretical considerations outlined above indicate that the relationship between hosts and tourists is far from straightforward in terms of its attitudinal consequences. This warrants a closer look at relevant

studies conducted within a growing subdiscipline in the social sciences, 'tourism research'. In a comprehensive review of psychological studies of tourism, Pearce and Stringer (1991: 143) emphasised that tourism is 'essentially a *social* psychological phenomenon' and called for more research in this area. The 1990s did indeed see an increase of scientific investigations of a wide range of tourism-related issues, with the dominant approach focusing on the tourists' (rather than the hosts') views and behaviour. More recently, however, several studies have examined the residents' attitudes (e.g. Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2003; Lawson *et al.*, 1998; Smith & Krannich, 1998; Tosun, 2002; for a review of the social impacts of tourist–host interactions, see Brunt & Courtney, 1999) and a focal issue in these studies has been the variation in host attitudes according to the total number of visitors in a particular region. In this respect, a somewhat simplistic yet powerful observation has been that with the increase of the tourist industry in a region, residents' reactions become steadily more negative, moving from euphoria to apathy, annoyance and then antagonism (see Butler, 1980; Smith & Krannich, 1998). That is, the local people's attitudes towards tourists are directly related to the amount of the presence of visitors in the community, with the residents' perception of the negative aspects being in a linear relationship with the level of tourism in a community. Smith and Krannich note, however, that the community's degree of economic dependence on tourism modifies this relationship somewhat.

While it makes intuitive sense that the rising number of tourists can increase negative resident perceptions, in an analysis of the situation in Malta, Bramwell (2003) warns us that community responses to tourism are more complex than this linear relationship and need to be considered in the light of the contextual and historical features of the particular location. Gursoy and Rutherford (2004) list several specific factors that affect the host community's attitudes, including the state of the local economy and possible social and cultural benefits and costs. For our current investigation one study in particular, by Akis *et al.* (1996), deserves special attention. In examining the perceptions of Greek and Turkish Cypriot residents of coastal tourism development, they found that two aspects of the local people's tourists-related attitudes, their support for tourism and the locals' friendliness, showed a differing pattern. While the data tended to confirm 'the fewer, the merrier' hypothesis in that residents of towns with comparatively little exposure to tourism were more pro-tourism than people living in areas where experience of tourism was more extensive, the same trend was not true of the 'friendliness' factor. The researchers found that contrary to the expectations that as tourism grows, and therefore as interactions between tourists and residents increase, residents will show more resentment and hostility to the visitors, those who had more exposure to tourists tended to regard

the interactions with them as positive. Furthermore, as the frequency of contact with the tourists increased, the proportion of respondents seeing the contacts as positive also increased. Based on these findings, the authors proposed that in the examined localities tourism was still at the development or 'welcome' stage and resentment has not yet begun to appear. Thus, the support for tourism and the residents' attitudes towards the tourists were characterised by two contrasting trends, highlighting again the complexity of the question.

Chapter 2

Method

The research reported in this book has utilised three datasets: (1) survey data collected from the students by the main instrument, the Language Disposition Questionnaire; (2) teacher data collected by a short questionnaire while the student questionnaire was being administered; and (3) expert and census data concerning the level of exposure to intercultural contact in the various settlements where the student questionnaire was administered. In this chapter we provide detailed information about the participants, the instruments (all of which have been included in the Appendices) and the procedures used to collect and analyse the data. Let us start with a brief reiteration of the research design.

Research Design and Focus Areas

The main study followed a repeated cross-sectional design, consisting of three national surveys conducted in the spring of 1993, towards the end of 1999 and in early 2004. The three rounds of data collection targeted the same population and the sampling of the participating schools was almost identical; therefore, the project can be considered partially longitudinal in nature. It was not a classic ‘panel study’ in which the same participants are investigated on two or more occasions to assess their changing behaviour, but it qualifies as a ‘trend study’ that provides information about changes over time within a particular population (see Keeves, 1994; Menard, 1991).

The focus of the research was the language level and some aspects of the learner level of L2 motivation as defined by Dörnyei’s (1994a) motivational framework. Thus, we did not assess any motives pertaining to the classroom learning situation for a number of practical reasons. On the one hand, for the sake of better comparability across the diverse samples, it was more advisable to focus on generalisable motives that stem from a succession of the learners’ past experiences rather than targeting highly situation-specific motives such as the attitudes towards the L2 teacher. On the other hand, because we needed to gain access to a large number

of schools, we needed to present a relatively short and 'neutral' questionnaire, the latter aspect referring to the lack of any evaluative components that would have made the participating teachers or principals uneasy. If we had asked questions about, say, the quality of the teaching practice, let alone the competence of the language teachers, many schools would have pulled out, thereby creating a self-selected sample.

Our project involved the examination of Hungarian school children's disposition towards five target languages: English, German, French, Italian and Russian. As described in Chapter 1, these were selected because they were the five most widely taught L2s in the country at the start of our research programme. They also offered an interesting variety in terms of their status in Hungary. Although English is the indisputable world language, Central Europe, which Hungary is part of, has traditionally been dominated by German as the regional *lingua franca*. Russian was imposed on the Communist Eastern Block as a compulsory first foreign language for 40 years (1949–1989) but never became popular or widely used. French is not only an important world language but it used to be – besides German – the language of the Hungarian aristocracy, and it has been one of the additional foreign languages offered in many Hungarian secondary schools. The fifth language in our survey, Italian, was included as a control for the other four socioculturally 'important' languages. Although usually associated with happy memories of summer holidays and a rich culture, it is by no means viewed as a 'world' or 'international' language by Hungarians.

Participants

Student participants

The student participants (i.e. the respondents who filled in the student questionnaire) involved a total of 13,391 13–14-year-old Year 8 pupils. In the Hungarian educational system this was the oldest cohort of the primary school system, representing about 3% of the total population. The basic parameters of the sample, including the various locations and gender information, are presented in Table 2.1. This population was selected in 1993 because at that time this was the most mature age group in the Hungarian educational system that studied within a more or less homogenous curricular and organisational framework (i.e. the national primary school system). Therefore, by sampling students from this cohort, it was not necessary to be concerned with the modifying influence of various specialised secondary school types. At the same time, these learners were in the final year of their primary school studies and were just about to decide on their secondary education and to choose L2(s) for their future studies. This lent particular relevance and validity to our question concerning language choice.

Table 2.1 The distribution of the sample according to dwelling types and gender

	<i>Schools</i>					<i>Classes</i>					<i>Students</i>							
											<i>Total</i>				<i>Boys</i>			
	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004
<i>Total</i>	77	82	103	212	188	242	4765	3828	4798	2377	1847	2406	2305	1907	2320			
Budapest	15	13	14	38	32	32	792	685	586	406	346	293	372	325	287			
City	32	33	42	94	77	110	2112	1581	2292	1033	753	1155	1051	796	1099			
Town	14	17	22	48	44	61	1165	943	1259	584	438	604	550	499	636			
Village	16	19	25	32	35	39	696	619	661	354	310	354	332	287	298			

Note: Gender sometimes remained unidentified in the questionnaire

The selection of the investigated locations was based on a stratification frame. The main dimensions of the frame were: (1) dwelling type, making sure that a wide range of locations (in terms of their size and status) was selected; (2) geographical distribution, making sure that we sampled participants from each region of the country – see below for further detail; (3) exposure to international tourism, making sure that we sampled a balanced mixture of touristically frequented and unfrequented places. We selected multiple schools in each stratum combination and all Year 8 students from those schools were included in the sample. In bigger cities, particularly in Budapest, we tried to select a variety of schools from different parts of the particular locality. In order to ensure the compatibility of the three rounds of data collection, we tried to select the same locations and even the same schools for all the three occasions. Some smaller variations did occur – partly because of technical problems, partly because some schools pulled out of the survey and partly because due to the decreasing population we added a few extra schools in the last survey to increase the student sample – but still the vast majority of the research sites were the same.

With regard to the geographical distribution of the investigated locations, we followed a regional stratification. Following a system that is well established in Hungary, we divided up the country into six regions: Budapest, Northern Transdanubia (i.e. north-west), Southern Transdanubia (south-west), Duna-Tisza Valley (central and southern part), the Great Plain (east and south-east) and Northern Hungary. Table 2.2 presents the breakdown of the participants according to these regions, and Figure 2.1 shows the selected locations geographically on the map of Hungary.

Teacher sample

In each class where the student questionnaire was administered, the survey administrator asked the class teacher to fill in a short test

Table 2.2 Sample distribution according to the main regions in Hungary

	1993	1999	2004
Budapest	792	685	586
Northern Transdanubia (north-west)	855	668	880
Southern Transdanubia (south-west)	783	586	787
Duna-Tisza Valley (centre and south)	678	493	679
Northern Hungary	657	555	606
The Great Plain (east and south-east)	1000	841	1260

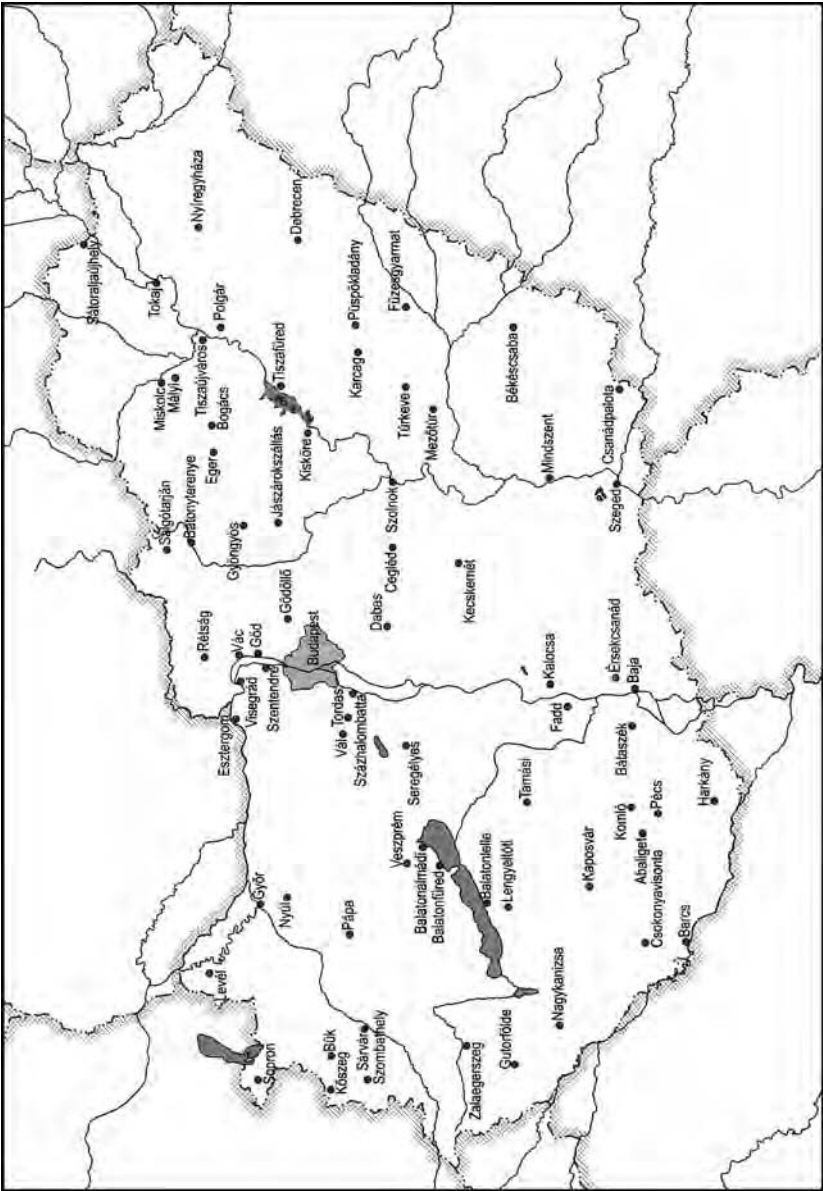


Figure 2.1 The locations (i.e. research sites) of the survey within Hungary

administration record. Thus, the total number of the teacher respondents coincided with the total class number, 642. The breakdown of this sum according to survey time and region is shown in Table 2.1.

Tourism expert panel

In order to obtain reliable information about the touristic exposure of the research sites, we asked a panel of tourism experts to evaluate the number of tourists visiting each locality. A total of 25 experts participated in our survey, 13 in 1999 and 12 in 2004. Regrettably, we do not have any expert data from 1993, and therefore the impact of contact on cross-cultural relations will be discussed only on the basis of the last two phases of the survey in Chapter 7. The experts were made up of senior executives of Hungarian travel agencies and civil servants in the Ministry of Trade and Tourism.

Instruments

The student questionnaire

The questionnaire that the students were asked to fill in, the Language Disposition Questionnaire (see Appendices 1 and 2), was developed by Zoltán Dörnyei with the help of Richard Clément and their research associates responsible for the first round of data collection. In order to make the comparison of the obtained variables possible, the same instrument was used in all three phases of the project.¹ When designing the questionnaire a trade-off had to be achieved. On the one hand, L2 motivation is a complex, multi-dimensional construct and therefore in order to obtain a comprehensive motivation measure one needs to administer a rather elaborate (and therefore long) instrument with every variable assessed by multi-item scales. On the other hand, the practical constraints inherent to the survey (namely that in order to get permission to administer the questionnaire in hundreds of classes across the country we had to make sure that the course of teaching was disrupted as little as possible) imposed a significant limitation to the time we could have access to the students. Rather than narrowing down the scope of the instrument, it was decided to cut down on the number of items focusing on each variable. In order to ensure that the instrument had appropriate psychometric properties, the items were adopted from established motivation questionnaires (some of which had been specifically developed for use in Hungary), with sufficient validity and reliability coefficients (e.g. Clément *et al.*, 1994; Dörnyei, 1990; Gardner, 1985).

As described in Chapter 1, the Language Disposition Questionnaire was a product of the social psychological research tradition established

by Gardner and his associates. It covered all the established non-situation-specific L2 motives. It was piloted in 1992 in a sample of 199 students, following which the questionnaire was fine-tuned by changing the wording of several items and introducing an additional language to focus on, Italian (see Nyilasi, 1994). The final version of the questionnaire consisted of 37 items. Twenty-one of these items asked respondents to consider independently – in a grid format – each of the five target languages or six L2 communities (the USA, the UK, Germany, France, Italy and Russia), also asking about various aspects of the students' language learning environment and background. Because of the multiple responses these items generated, even this relatively short instrument yielded a total of 139 variables.

More specifically, the Language Disposition Questionnaire was divided into four main sections:

- (1) Items concerning the five target languages (five-point rating scales):
 - Orientations, that is, the students' various reasons for learning a given language (5 items).
 - Attitudes towards the L2 (2 items).
 - Intended effort, that is, the amount of effort the student was willing to invest into learning the given language (1 item).
 - Parents' language proficiency (2 items).
- (2) Items concerning the six target language communities (five-point rating scales):
 - Attitudes towards the L2 community, that is, the extent to which students felt positively towards the particular countries and its citizens (2 items), and the international importance they attached to these communities (2 items). The UK and the USA were mentioned separately to explore differences in the evaluations of the two communities, in spite of their common language.
 - Contact with the L2 and its speakers; both the quantity (2 items) and the quality (5 items) of the contact (e.g. watching L2 TV programmes, meeting tourists) were assessed.
- (3) Items that were not specific to a particular L2 (five-point Likert scales):
 - Attitudes towards L2 learning at school (1 item).
 - Contact with foreign languages through watching satellite TV (1 item).
 - Fear of assimilation, that is, the extent to which students believed that learning and using foreign languages might lead to the loss of the native language and culture (1 item).
 - Self-confidence in L2 learning and use (3 items).
 - Language learning milieu, that is, the extent of the parents' support (1 item) and the friends' attitudes towards L2 learning (1 item).

- (4) Background questions (open-ended and multiple-choice items):
- Language choice: students were asked to name three languages they were intending to learn in the next school year (1 item).
 - Personal variables, such as the student's gender and language learning background (7 items).

The questionnaire items were used to compute several multi-item scales. These will be presented, along with their internal consistency reliability coefficients (i.e. Cronbach Alpha) in Chapter 3.

Test Administration Record

The Test Administration Record (see Appendices 3 and 4) was designed to serve several, largely technical purposes. First, it provided further data on classes and schools in the sample: the name and address of the school; the specialisation of the class; the number of students attending the class; the number of students present; the number of foreign languages available for students. Second, it provided data on the touristic profile of the locality by asking teachers to assess the number of tourists visiting the area on a five-point rating scale. Third, the availability of cable and/or satellite television was recorded. Finally, the test administrator had to note down the date of administration and the name of the data collector, and some space was provided for teachers and/or data collectors to record any comments.

Tourist Exposure Questionnaire

The Tourist Exposure Questionnaire (see Appendix 5) was a short instrument that we used to collect the expert panel's rating of the touristic exposure of the various research sites. The respondents were asked to provide their answers on a simple five-point scale ranging from 'very few' to 'very many' by describing the estimated number of tourists visiting each location.

Data Collection Procedures

Language Disposition Questionnaire and Test Administration Record

Data collection was conducted in a similar way in 1993, 1999 and 2004. On all the three occasions, first the selected schools were approached by an official letter from Eötvös University, Budapest, which hosted the project. This letter provided information about the purpose of the survey and details of the administration of the questionnaires. Once the Principal/Head of a school had granted the informed permission, the form-masters of the selected classes were contacted individually,

asking for their co-operation. The Language Disposition Questionnaire was filled in during class time, with a representative of the university always being present to provide the introduction and to oversee the procedure. Answering the questions took the students approximately 20 minutes on average and during this time the test administrator and the class teachers completed the Test Administration Record.

Students were informed that the participation was voluntary, that the questionnaire was anonymous, and that their teacher would not be shown any of their answers. To ensure this, the questionnaires were put into an envelope and sealed in front of the students. Individual participants could not be and were not identified within the dataset. Because of the low level of sensitivity of the questionnaire and because of the schools' support, in the end no students were unwilling to co-operate.

Data collectors involved in the fieldwork were carefully selected. They were informed about the aim and scope of the research and were trained and paid. Their work was supervised by the Research Assistants keeping contact with school representatives and monitoring incoming batches of questionnaires.

Following the data collection we sent a letter to the Principals/Heads thanking them for their co-operation. They were also kept up-to-date of the results of our study: as soon as the first articles describing our project were available, schools were sent complimentary copies.

Tourist Exposure Questionnaire

Each member of the expert panel that was asked to fill in the Tourist Exposure Questionnaire was individually approached. They were given a copy of the instrument and this was later collected by a member of the research team.

Data Analysis

All the data obtained were computer-coded and negatively worded items were recoded positively. In processing the student questionnaire data we followed Gardner's (1985: 78–79) recommendation to form unitary groups from heterogeneous sources (as was the case in our study with students sampled from different schools and classes) by computing standard scores (*z* scores) within each class and using these rather than the raw scores for all the correlation-based analyses. For the purpose of comparing subsample means – through *t*-tests and ANOVA – we used the raw scores. Where the classes were not large enough (i.e. did not have more than 20 students), pooled data within the particular school with more parallel classes were standardised.

With regard to the tourism data, we computed the mean score of the ratings of the expert panel and used this composite score throughout.

We also collected official tourist turn-over statistics to each of the locations included in our survey. Further details of the various contact variables will be given in Chapter 7.

Throughout the data analysis we used a variety of statistical analyses, ranging from straightforward correlation analyses and *t*-tests to various multivariate statistics such as cluster analysis and structural equation modelling. Details about the different data analytical procedures will be given in the corresponding analysis chapters (Chapters 3–7).

Note

1. Although we added seven extra questions in 1999 and 2004, because they were not included in the 1993 instrument, they were in the end not submitted to any analyses.

Chapter 3

Language Attitudes and Motivation in Hungary: From 1993 to 2004

Having outlined the theoretical background of our study and the methodological details of the data collection, let us start exploring our findings in this chapter by looking at the various attitudinal and motivational dimensions and how they evolved over the 12-year period of our survey. The four following chapters (Chapters 4–7) will provide further analyses of the data using various complex statistical procedures. In this chapter we first describe the seven main motivational scales that we formed and their psychometric properties, and then examine how the various language dispositions compared to each other and how they changed over time.

Computing Attitudinal and Motivational Dimensions

The first step in any project that draws on survey data is to reduce the number of variables assessed by the instrument by identifying broad dimensions underlying the data and then by computing multi-item scales that correspond to these dimensions (for an overview of questionnaire theory, see Dörnyei, 2003b). In doing so, researchers typically rely on three sources of information:

- (1) *The initial theoretical design of the questionnaire:* Questionnaires used as research instruments are developed following a theoretical framework and the item response pattern typically corresponds to some extent to this initial theoretical structure, particularly if the questionnaire has been properly piloted. However, this correspondence tends not to be perfect and therefore we need to conduct *post hoc* item analysis and pattern verification before we can start working with the reduced set of variables.
- (2) *Factor analysis:* Factor analysis is rather complex mathematically but fairly straightforward conceptually. In order to uncover the latent structure that underlies large datasets, it reduces the number of variables submitted to the analysis to a few values that will still

contain most of the information found in the original variables. The outcome of the procedure is a small set of underlying dimensions, referred to as 'factors' or 'components'. If the questionnaire was based on a straightforward and valid theoretical framework and appropriate piloting, the resulting factors should correspond to the initial theoretical structure. However, as mentioned above, there is usually a difference between our initial conceptualisation and what we find in our specific sample, and in such cases factor analysis can highlight the discrepancies. For example, we might find that an item that we thought was related to a particular dimension did not load onto the corresponding scale or that two dimensions/scales that we separated on theoretical grounds merged in our dataset.

- (3) *Reliability analysis*: Whichever method we use to identify clusters of items that need to be summed because they are related to the same underlying theoretical dimension, we need to carry out a final test of the homogeneity of the items in each cluster – or, as these are referred to in questionnaire theory, each 'scale' – to see if they indeed measure the same target area. In psychometric terms this means that each item on a scale should correlate with the other items and with the total scale score, which has been referred to as Likert's criterion of 'Internal Consistency'. Internal consistency is generally seen as the psychometric prerequisite for any scientific survey instrument. It does not guarantee the validity of a scale – as in extreme cases we can imagine a scale where all the items consistently measure the same thing but this 'thing' is different from the scale's intended purpose – but the intuitive contention is that if several items *seem* to measure a particular construct and they can be proven to measure the same thing, then this 'same thing' *must be* the targeted construct.

Our questionnaire was based on an established theoretical construct and therefore we expected for factor analysis to produce a relatively simple structure, largely reproducing the theory-based framework. As we shall see in the next section, this was indeed the case.

Factor analysis of the attitudinal items concerning the L2s/L2 communities (Items 1–21)

In order to reduce the number of variables in the student questionnaire by identifying broader underlying dimensions, we submitted the attitude items concerning the L2s and L2 communities (i.e. Items 1–21) to factor analyses; separate analyses were conducted for each language and for each survey phase. A maximum likelihood extraction method was applied and, because the factors were assumed to be intercorrelated, we used subsequent oblique rotation. As is well known, it is not always an unambiguous task to decide how many factors should be extracted in factor analysis. The final solutions were arrived at after applying Cattell's

(1966) scree test and making sure that the factor matrix had a 'simple structure' (i.e. each variable had salient loadings only on one factor without any cross-loadings). The high ratio of cases to variables ensured the stability of the solutions.

The final pattern matrices obtained in the factor analyses met our requirements and contained relatively easily interpretable clusters of variables determining each factor. A five-factor solution explained our data adequately for all the target languages and survey phases. The emerging factors in the different solutions were similar, though not identical. Table 3.1 presents a summary of the variable clusters for the first, 1993, survey, while the actual factor pattern matrices for all the three phases of the survey are included in Appendix 6. One striking feature of the factor matrices is the stability of the patterns across the three data collection phases. Therefore, we are going to base our analysis on the 1993 data described in Table 3.1, mentioning the occasional changes in the later surveys.

English and German

As can be seen in Table 3.1, the factor matrices for English and German are very similar, with the only real differences found in the matrix concerning English/US, which can be attributed to the fact that the mean scores for some US-related items were so high that the resulting insufficient variance depressed some of the correlations underlying the analysis. Looking at the English/UK and German matrices, Factor 1 is associated with Items 14, 17 and 11. These all concern the appraisal of direct contact with members of the L2 community, and therefore this factor is labelled Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community.

Factor 2 received salient loadings from four items (Nos 3, 2, 6 and 7). They are all associated with the pragmatic, instrumental values of knowing a world language and will therefore be labelled Instrumentality.

Factor 3 shows salient loadings from two variables (Nos 12 and 13), both concerning the perceived importance and wealth of the L2 communities; accordingly, this factor will be referred to as Vitality of L2 Community.

The four items loading onto Factor 4 (Nos 15, 16, 21 and 19) all have to do with the appreciation of cultural products (films, TV programmes, magazines and pop music) associated with the particular L2, and therefore this factor will be termed Cultural Interest.

The last factor, Factor 5, has salient loadings from three items, Nos 10, 1 and 4. These concern a general positive outlook on the L2 and its culture, to the extent that learners scoring high on this factor would like to become similar to the L2 speakers. Because of the strong resemblance with Integrativeness in Gardner's (1985) motivation theory, this factor will be labelled accordingly.

French and Italian

Two of the factors in the matrices obtained for French and Italian (Cultural Interest and Vitality of L2 Community) are similar to the

Table 3.1 Results of the factor analyses of the attitudinal items: variable clusters determining each factor for each target language (for the actual factor matrices, see Appendix 3; variables in the table are referred to by short labels rather than the full item wording)

	<i>Factor 1</i>	<i>Factor 2</i>	<i>Factor 3</i>	<i>Factor 4</i>	<i>Factor 5</i>
English (US)	12 Country: developed	10 Similar to L2 speakers 4 Get to know culture 1 Like L2	3 L2 important in world 2 Become knowledgeable 6 Useful for travel 7 Useful for career 13 Country: important	16 Like TV programmes 15 Like films 19 Like magazines 21 Like pop music	14 Meet L2 speakers 17 Like L2 speakers 11 Travel to country
English (UK)	14 Meet L2 speakers 17 Like L2 speakers (11 Travel to country)	3 L2 important in world 2 Become knowledgeable 6 Useful for travel 7 Useful for career	12 Country: developed 13 Country: important	16 Like TV programmes 15 Like films 19 Like magazines 21 Like pop music	10 Similar to L2 speakers 4 Get to know culture 1 Like L2
German	14 Meet L2 speakers 17 Like L2 speakers 11 Travel to country	3 L2 important in world 6 Useful for travel 2 Become knowledgeable 7 Useful for career	12 Country: developed 13 Country: important	15 Like films 16 Like TV programmes 21 Like pop music 19 Like magazines	10 Similar to L2 speakers 1 Like L2 4 Get to know culture

(continued)

Table 3.1 Continued

	<i>Factor 1</i>	<i>Factor 2</i>	<i>Factor 3</i>	<i>Factor 4</i>	<i>Factor 5</i>
French	14 Meet L2 speakers 1 Like L2 17 Like L2 speakers 10 Similar to L2 speakers 11 Travel to country 4 Get to know culture (19 Like magazines)	2 Become knowledgeable 3 L2 important in world	16 Like TV programmes 15 Like films 21 Like pop music	12 Country: developed 13 Country: important	6 Useful for travel 7 Useful for career
Italian	14 Meet L2 speakers 17 Like L2 speakers 1 Like L2 10 Similar to L2 speakers 11 Travel to country 4 Get to know culture	2 Become knowledgeable 3 L2 important in world	12 Country: developed 13 Country: important	16 Like TV programmes 15 Like films 21 Like pop music (19 Like magazines)	6 Useful for travel 7 Useful for career
Russian	10 Similar to L2 speakers 7 Useful for career 1 Like L2 4 Get to know culture	16 Like TV programmes 15 Like films 21 Like pop music 19 Like magazines	14 Meet L2 speakers 17 Like L2 speakers 11 Travel to country	12 Country: developed 13 Country: important	3 L2 important in world 2 Become knowledgeable 6 Useful for travel

corresponding factors for English and German, the only difference being that the media factor does not receive salient loading from 'magazines', most probably because in the early 1990s French and Italian magazines were not widely accessible in Hungary; in the 1999 and 2004 matrices the loading is already there. With respect to the other three factors, an interesting variation can be observed: Integrativeness and Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community merge into one factor and Instrumentality splits into two factors. The former change may be related to the fact that the number of French and Italian visitors coming to Hungary has been rather low compared to the other language communities, and therefore direct contact with them takes place primarily when visiting France and Italy, which have been traditional tourist destinations for Hungarians. Therefore, the positive outlook on the community (as reflected by Integrativeness) is very closely associated with qualitative aspects of the time spent in these countries (as reflected by Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community).

The split of Instrumentality into two constituents (determined by Items 2 and 3, and 6 and 7, respectively) reflects the specific perception of French and Italian as foreign languages in Hungary. The first subcluster concerns the importance of these languages in the world and the contribution their proficiency makes to being an educated person. The second is related to the pragmatic values associated with competence in these languages. For English and German, these two subclusters formed one unified cluster, indicating that, for Hungarian learners, these latter languages represent at the same time rich cultural heritage and pragmatic values stemming from their being seen as international languages. In contrast, although Italian and French are associated with definite cultural values, they are not considered of primary importance for instrumental purposes, which resulted in the separation of the two subclusters.

Russian

The factor matrix obtained for Russian is similar to the ones describing English and German in every main respect except for one, but this difference is quite revealing. Item 7, concerning the capacity of the L2 in furthering one's career, is not associated with Instrumentality but with Integrativeness. This is likely to have a historical explanation. After the dramatic political changes in Eastern and Central Europe at the end of the 1980s, Hungary consciously opened up toward the western world, thereby replacing the traditional Russian orientation of the Communist times. Consequently, even though the knowledge of Russian has without any doubt major pragmatic potential in the region, only those learners are willing to recognise this who do not have a negative integrative predisposition toward the language. Interestingly, in the 1999 and 2004 datasets the career item clustered together with the usefulness of travelling, thereby approaching but not quite achieving yet the English and German pattern.

Summary of the factor analyses

In terms of their underlying attitudinal/motivational structure, the five languages investigated in our study can be divided into three groups: (1) English and German, the two dominant languages in the Central European region; (2) French and Italian, which are two important languages associated with a lively culture and rich historical heritage, but without playing the role of *lingua francas*; and (3) Russian, which functions like an 'ex-colonial' language, with political and experiential considerations tainting the learners' perceptions. We need to acknowledge, however, that the pattern differences between the three groups were not significant and do not point to a markedly different perception structure (e.g. in the case of French and Italian, the correlation between the two subclusters of Instrumentality was 0.59 and 0.61 in 1993, respectively). Thus, we may conclude that Hungarian teenage language learners appraise different target languages through the same mental framework or schema, in terms of five broad and interrelated dimensions: Integrativeness, Instrumentality, Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community, Cultural Interest and Vitality of the L2 Community. As we will see in Chapter 5, structural equation modelling provided confirmation of the goodness of fit of this pattern across the different L2s.

The pattern presented above seems to represent the most important dimensions of L2 motivation well, but we should add one important point here: the boundaries of the observed dimensions are not rigid and the different factors show strong intercorrelation, attesting to a fairly homogeneous disposition – this is well illustrated by the intercorrelations of the five motivational dimensions concerning English/US in 1993, 1999 and 2004, presented in Appendix 7.

Factor analysis of the items not related to specific the L2s/L2 communities (Items 22–29)

The student questionnaire contained eight items (Nos 22–29) that concerned the learners' generalised perceptions related to the learning milieu surrounding them and their linguistic self-confidence, without being linked to specific L2s. To these eight items we added a ninth, the mean of the variables concerning the language proficiency of the learners' parents across the five languages (Items 8 and 9) and conducted factor analyses similar to the ones performed for the L2-specific items. The factor matrices in Table 3.2 present a simple, two-factor solution with hardly any variation across the three survey phases. Factor 1 has salient loadings from items related to the general appreciation of foreign languages in the learners' immediate environment, like the school context and friends' and parents' views. This factor is labelled therefore Milieu. The items loading on Factor 2 are in accordance with Clément's (1980) conceptualisation of Linguistic Self-Confidence, and therefore this factor will be termed accordingly.

Table 3.2 Factor analysis of the non-L2 specific items (maximum likelihood extraction, oblique rotation; only loadings above 0.30 are shown)

<i>Variables^a</i>	<i>1993 Factor</i>		<i>1999 Factor</i>		<i>2004 Factor</i>	
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
I don't think that foreign languages are important school subjects.	0.65		0.62		0.62	
My parents do not consider foreign languages important school subjects.	0.62		0.68		0.70	
People around me tend to think that it is a good thing to know foreign languages.	−0.43		0.37		0.37	
Learning foreign languages makes me fear that I will feel less Hungarian because of it.	0.35		0.35		0.38	
I think I am the type who would feel anxious and ill at ease if I had to speak to someone in a foreign language.		0.47		0.40		0.38
Learning a foreign language is a difficult task.		0.42		0.50		0.44
I am sure I will be able to learn a foreign language well.		0.34		0.49		0.48
Parents' mean language proficiency.						

^aNegatively worded items have been reversed

It is interesting that there was no appreciable loadings by the parents' mean L2 proficiency on either of the factors, suggesting that the parents' language proficiency does not play an important role in shaping the students' L2 motivation. One reason for this finding may be that the participants' perception of their parents' L2 competence was not reliable enough, which would have depressed the results. Alternatively, the parents' proficiency may not be directly related to the milieu factor (to which it was expected to belong) but is mediated by the parent's socialising behaviour, in which case this indirect relationship would not show up in this analysis.

Computing multi-item scales

Because the factor analytical results described above made good theoretical sense and did not contradict our initial conceptual framework that guided the development of the questionnaire, we used this pattern of underlying dimensions to form the basis of computing seven multi-item scales. These motivational facets were characterised in detail in Chapter 1; Table 3.3

Table 3.3 The composition of the multi-item scales and the Cronbach Alpha coefficients for each scale

		<i>Cronbach Alpha</i>		
		1993	1999	2004
Integrativeness <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak these languages? • How important do you think learning these languages is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers? • How much do you like these languages? 	English	0.66	0.72	0.69
	German	0.72	0.78	0.77
	French	0.70	0.77	0.77
	Italian	0.73	0.79	0.78
	Russian	0.60	0.70	0.72
Instrumentality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How much do you think knowing these languages would help you when travelling abroad in the future? • How much do you think knowing these languages would help your future career? • How much do you think knowing these languages would help you to become a more knowledgeable person? • How important do you think these languages are in the world these days? 	English	0.73	0.81	0.77
	German	0.75	0.78	0.81
	French	0.73	0.76	0.80
	Italian	0.77	0.78	0.80
	Russian	0.81	0.78	0.79
Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers/Community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How much do you like meeting foreigners from these countries? • How much do you like the people who live in these countries? • How much would you like to travel to these countries? 	English/UK	0.67	0.71	0.74
	English/US	0.71	0.74	0.74
	German	0.74	0.77	0.77
	French	0.72	0.77	0.75
	Italian	0.73	0.77	0.76
	Russian	0.77	0.75	0.74
Vitality of L2 Community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How rich and developed do you think these countries are? • How important a role do you think these countries play in the world? 	English/US	0.56	0.62	0.60
	English/UK	0.59	0.66	0.63
	German	0.60	0.62	0.61
	French	0.54	0.65	0.61
	Italian	0.61	0.63	0.60
	Russian	0.41	0.55	0.59

(continued)

Table 3.3 *Continued*

		<i>Cronbach Alpha</i>		
		<i>1993</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>2004</i>
Cultural Interest				
• How much do you like the films made in these countries?	English/US	0.66	0.67	0.66
	English/UK	0.70	0.76	0.73
• How much do you like the TV programmes made in these countries?	German	0.67	0.71	0.72
	French	0.68	0.75	0.73
	Italian	0.71	0.77	0.75
	Russian	0.78	0.77	0.74
• How much do you like the magazines made in these countries?				
• How much do you like the pop music of these countries?				
Milieu		0.61	0.61	0.63
• People around me tend to think that it is a good thing to know foreign languages.				
• My parents do not consider foreign languages important school subjects.				
• I don't think that foreign languages are important school subjects.				
• Learning foreign languages makes me fear that I will feel less Hungarian because of it.				
Linguistic Self-Confidence		0.41	0.48	0.47
• I am sure I will be able to learn a foreign language well.				
• I think I am the type who would feel anxious and ill at ease if I had to speak to someone in a foreign language.				
• Learning a foreign language is a difficult task.				
Overall mean Cronbach Alpha		0.67	0.71	0.71

contains the complete list of the scales, the constituent items and the Cronbach Alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients for each L2 and each survey phase.

As can be seen, most of the scales display good reliability. The mean reliability coefficient of the scales across the different languages was 0.67 in 1993, 0.71 in 1999 and 0.71 in 2004, which is admittedly not too high but still acceptable for short scales such as ours (ranging from 2 to 4 items). Furthermore, most of the items used in our survey were

taken from instruments that had proven to work in previous research conducted in similar environments; this, coupled with the extensive size of the sample is believed to make our findings fairly robust.

Motivational Dimensions: Language Rank Order and Changes over Time

Having computed composite variables for the main motivational dimensions, we are in a position to start the actual analyses. Let us first look at how the various motivational factors changed over the 12-year period under investigation (1993–2004). Table 3.4 presents descriptive statistics describing the seven scales in the three phases of the survey and ANOVA statistics comparing the data across time. Figure 3.1 provides visual representation of the results.

As can be seen, all the variables show a very consistent rank order across the various languages in all the three years, with English obtaining the top and Russian the bottom scores. The figures unambiguously indicate that English is indeed a very popular language in Hungary, with every aspect of it highly appraised. Interestingly, even though the dominant English variety taught in Hungarian schools has traditionally been British English, in the items where the UK and the US were separated, US-based attitudes tend to be more positive. In other words, according to the Hungarian learners' perceptions, Global English is more closely associated with the US than the UK.

German appears to be still widely endorsed among Hungarian teenagers although the ratings here show an imbalance towards the instrumental aspects, reflecting the importance of German economic influence in the region. With respect to French, the third language in the rank scale, the figures reveal that it is not considered to be in the same 'league' as English and German by the respondents. It is rated considerably lower than German, and the appraisal of Italian – which was included in the survey as a non-world language control – not only approaches the average French ratings, but in some scales actually exceeds them. Finally, the ratings of Russian are very low; even the strongest aspect, its vitality rating in 2004, barely exceeded the mid-point of '3', on a five-point scale, and the average rating across the dimensions (2.34) reflects a general dislike.

Although the rank order of the five languages appears to be very stable across variables and over time, we find some important changes in the magnitudes over the investigated period. The last two columns of Table 3.4 contains ANOVA statistics comparing the three phases of the survey. Most of the *F* scores are significant, which indicates definite changes over time, and the sequence markings (based on *post hoc* comparisons) reveal where the actual changes occurred. Dörnyei and

Table 3.4 Descriptive information about the seven main motivational dimensions and ANOVA statistics comparing the three survey phases

			<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sequence^a</i>
Integrativeness	English	1993	4.20	0.80	13.471***	1 ns 2 ns 3 ^b
		1999	4.21	0.85		
		2004	4.12	0.87		
	German	1993	3.67	0.94	257.541***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	3.51	1.05		
		2004	3.21	1.07		
	French	1993	3.39	0.93	108.585***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	3.23	1.05		
		2004	3.08	1.06		
	Italian	1993	3.32	1.00	62.771***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	3.13	1.11		
		2004	3.08	1.11		
	Russian	1993	2.04	0.86	24.593***	1 > 2 < 3
		1999	1.93	0.88		
		2004	2.06	0.92		
Instrumentality	English	1993	4.65	0.55	68.838***	1 < 2 ns 3
		1999	4.75	0.52		
		2004	4.77	0.50		
	German	1993	4.41	0.63	84.961***	1 ns 2 > 3
		1999	4.39	0.67		
		2004	4.24	0.77		
	French	1993	3.58	0.77	56.220***	1 > 2 ns 1
		1999	3.43	0.84		
		2004	3.42	0.88		
	Italian	1993	3.19	0.86	24.935***	1 > 2 ns 1
		1999	3.07	0.89		
		2004	3.09	0.91		
	Russian	1993	2.52	1.00	89.615***	1 > 2 < 3
		1999	2.26	0.90		
		2004	2.35	0.92		

(continued)

Table 3.4 *Continued*

			<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sequence^a</i>
Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers/Community	English (US)	1993	4.49	0.67	483.527***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	4.39	0.78		
		2004	3.98	1.01		
	English (UK)	1993	4.20	0.76	50.863***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	4.09	0.88		
		2004	4.02	0.94		
	German	1993	3.97	0.86	307.248***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	3.81	1.01		
		2004	3.49	1.06		
	French	1993	3.97	0.85	161.273***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	3.82	0.98		
		2004	3.62	1.03		
	Italian	1993	4.01	0.85	94.911***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	3.86	0.99		
		2004	3.74	1.03		
	Russian	1993	2.42	1.02	31.774***	1 > 2 < 3
		1999	2.36	1.02		
		2004	2.53	1.03		
Vitality of L2 Community	English (US)	1993	4.84	0.40	26.885***	1 ns 2 > 3
		1999	4.85	0.41		
		2004	4.79	0.051		
	English (UK)	1993	4.28	0.62	25.054***	1 ns 2 < 3
		1999	4.30	0.68		
		2004	4.37	0.68		
	German	1993	4.19	0.62	61.990***	1 < 2 > 3
		1999	4.24	0.66		
		2004	4.08	0.74		
	French	1993	3.95	0.62	0.079	—
		1999	3.95	0.73		
		2004	3.94	0.74		

(continued)

Table 3.4 Continued

			Mean	SD	F	Sequence ^a
Vitality of L2 Community	Italian	1993	3.49	0.74	21.974***	1 < 2 ns 3
		1999	3.57	0.70		
		2004	3.58	0.75		
	Russian	1993	2.81	0.85	79.941***	1 < 2 < 3
		1999	2.94	0.91		
		2004	3.04	0.88		
Cultural Interest	English (US)	1993	4.56	0.59	536.108***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	4.42	0.71		
		2004	4.07	0.88		
	English (UK)	1993	3.90	0.79	117.536***	1 > 2 < 3
		1999	3.62	0.95		
		2004	3.69	0.97		
	German	1993	3.74	0.79	677.750***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	3.55	0.92		
		2004	3.08	0.98		
	French	1993	3.42	0.90	237.019***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	3.12	1.03		
		2004	2.99	1.03		
	Italian	1993	3.44	0.93	377.483***	1 > 2 > 3
		1999	3.10	1.04		
		2004	2.86	1.05		
	Russian	1993	1.74	0.79	235.387***	1 < 2 < 3
		1999	1.86	0.91		
		2004	2.15	1.00		
Milieu and Linguistic Self-Confidence	Milieu	1993	4.43	0.70	5.764**	1 ns 2 ns 3 ^b
		1999	4.47	0.65		
		2004	4.46	0.66		
	Self-confidence	1993	3.32	0.75	1.805	—
		1999	3.30	0.75		
		2004	3.33	0.75		

^aPost hoc LSD comparison. Numbers refer to the phases of the survey. 'ns' indicates non-significant differences between two values, whereas '<' or '>' denote significant differences.

^bThere was a significant difference between the first and the third survey scores.
* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

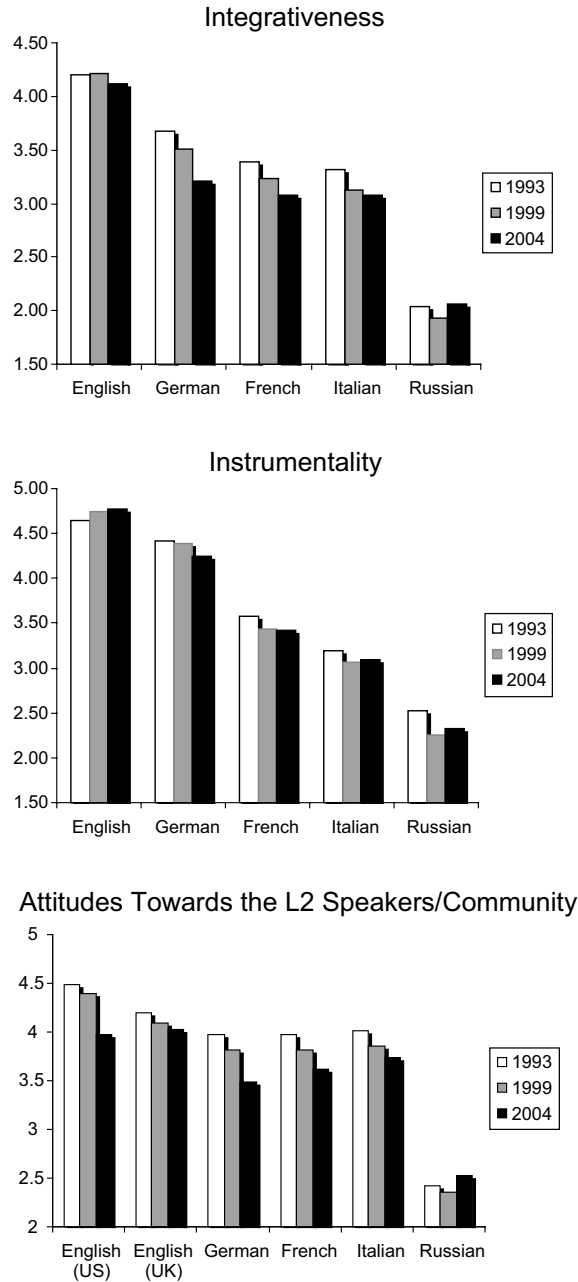


Figure 3.1 Visual representation of the changes in the various attitudinal/motivational measures between 1993 and 2004



Figure 3.1 Continued

Csizér (2002) provided an analysis of the transformation between 1993 and 1999, and it is remarkable that the vast majority of the trends we identified have continued over the past five years. This confirms that our survey has indeed succeeded in tapping into robust processes and that the measurement was reliable. Let us look at the main processes in detail.

The main story Table 3.4 is telling us is about decline over time across the board. As illustrated visually in Figure 3.1, the decrease is most prominent with the scores on Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community and Cultural Interest, where all the scores except for some related to Russian display a significant decrease – with Russian the scores were so low to start with that what we can see is only some readjustment within the negative sphere. Note the particularly dramatic drop in the 2004 US scores – the war in Iraq had undoubtedly played a role here.

As far as the Integrativeness scores are concerned, the only positive change is associated again with Russian (for the same reason as mentioned above), otherwise the scores are on a downhill course; this is true even of English, which appeared to be unaffected in the 1990s. Analysing the changes in the 1990s, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) also highlighted a negative trend characterising the Instrumentality scores, although they noted that the decrease in German did not reach significance and – what was noteworthy – the English score had actually increased. The 2004 scores reveal that even though the decline in German did not reach statistical significance in the 1990s, it was a valid trend because we find a further significant decrease between 1999 and 2004. The English Instrumentality score, on the other hand, appears to have stabilised at a very high level (above 4.7 on a five-point scale). We can see a similar stabilisation effect with the French, Italian and Russian Instrumentality scores – in fact, Italian has increased slightly and reassumed the starting level of 1993.

The Vitality scores are the least affected by changing perceptions, which is logical because these scores reflect a relatively objective and stable factor, the importance and wealth of the particular L2 communities in the world. Accordingly, although we can observe some shift, by and large the scores tend to stay at the same level. The only salient trend is the increase of the rating of Russia in this respect, which is understandable given the significance of the country in world politics. Finally, the non-language-specific Milieu and the Linguistic Self-Confidence score did not change significantly, indicating that in spite of the L2-specific changes reported above, Hungary is still a country where learners feel an overall social support for studying foreign languages.

Negative trend in intercultural attitudes

The general tendency of decline in the various language attitudes (described above) is striking given that we are talking about a period in Hungary that has been characterised by increased importance attached to relations with the outside world and subsequently by increased intercultural and interethnic contact. The tendency is all the more marked because the most negative changes were observed with regard to the appraisal of foreigners and foreign cultural products (see Figure 3.1), implying a growing level of ethnocentrism. One cannot help thinking that the worsening attitudes are somehow related to the increase of direct and indirect contact with the L2 communities, and this rather worrying suspicion has motivated us to conduct a follow-up study focusing specifically on the impact of intercultural contact. The results of this investigation are reported in Chapter 7.

Globalisation effects on language attitudes

Although we have stated that our data shows an overall L2-related decline, a careful examination of the results reveals that the picture is not as straightforward as it seems at first sight and therefore we may need to qualify our conclusion. On the basis of the first two phases of the survey, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) argued that:

the five languages examined can be divided into two distinct groups with regard to their overall endorsement: *world language* (or 'World English') and *other foreign languages*. Our results point to the conclusion that the declining interest in foreign languages only applies to non-world languages, whereas world language learning has maintained its high popularity. It is also clear from the table that for Hungarian learners there is only one world language, English... (Dörnyei and Csizér, 2002: 437–438)

These are potentially significant claims, so let us examine if the 2004 data confirmed the emergence of a growing gap between Global English and the other languages.

Although we can see some decrease in certain English scores, these are mainly related to the appraisal of Americans, probably due to the war in Iraq. For example, the Cultural Interest (US) score dropped from 4.42 to 4.07 by 2004, which is a massive decrease, but the corresponding UK score showed a significant increase. On the other hand, Integrativeness, where the US and the UK were not separated, remained virtually at the 1993 level (4.20 → 4.12) and Instrumentality and Vitality increased and reached record levels (4.77 and 4.79 for US). Thus, it seems that the endorsement of English is steady – a view that will also

be supported by data concerning the participants' language choice later in this chapter.

Let us now look at the other extreme, Russian. Although some readjustment has been taking place and the 2004 scores show an increase, the average 2004 score is still only 2.43, which is considerably below the neutral threshold of 3.0. Thus, Russian can more or less be discounted when analysing the Hungarian L2 situation.

As discussed earlier, French and Italian are considered by Hungarian as non-world-languages and therefore it is interesting to compare how they have fared relative to Global English. If we consider the data from the 1990s, a conclusive case emerges, showing the marginalisation of the two languages. Although the initial level of the attitudinal/motivational factors associated with French and Italian in 1993 was not very high, there was a marked and highly significant decrease in all the parameters (except for Vitality) between 1993 and 1999. Looking at the third round of data in 2004, the declining trend is unbroken with regard to three motivational facets, Integrativeness, Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community and Cultural Interest. The Vitality scores do not show much difference, but in the light of our earlier discussion of the steadiness of vitality appraisals this is not a surprise. The only area where the overall decrease is not observable, is Instrumentality: both languages seem to have stabilised at the 1999 level.

So far the picture has been fairly unambiguous, with English doing well and the other L2s suffering to various degree. However, the real test of the generalisability of our claim is the case of German. Given that German has traditionally been the dominant *lingua franca* in Central Europe and Germany is the main economic power in the region, which is also reflected by the fact that by far the greatest group of western visitors to Hungary come from German-speaking countries, German could be expected to withstand the pressure of Global English. However, this expectation turned out to be false in the face of reality. Appraisals of German declined significantly in all aspects over the examined period and the gap between English and German has widened; for example, even in the strongest area of German, Instrumentality, the difference between the English and German scores have more than doubled since 1993 (0.24 in 1993 and 0.53 in 2004), and the difference is highly significant ($t = 19.43$, $p < 0.001$).

Thus, with regard to the various language attitudes, the five examined languages can be divided into two distinct groups: global language and other foreign languages. The results presented so far point to the conclusion that the declining interest in L2s only applies to non-world languages, whereas global language learning has maintained its popularity. It is also clear from Table 3.4 that for Hungarian learners there is only

one global language, English, and even the traditional regional *lingua franca*, German, is rapidly slipping into the 'other foreign languages' category. These findings appear to provide strong support for the 'Englishisation' process discussed by Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999).

Analysis of the Two Criterion Measures: Intended Effort and Language Choice

The student questionnaire included two items that targeted criterion measures: the level of effort that the students intended to expend in their future language studies (Item 5) and the participants' language choice for future studies (Item 30). These two criterion measures concern two key aspects of motivated human behaviour, its direction and its magnitude. Let us examine whether the trend that we observed with the language attitudes above is reflected in these motivated behavioural measures.

Table 3.5 presents the 'popularity' index of all the languages mentioned by the students in the questionnaire as one of the three L2s that they would like to study in the future and Figure 3.2 provides visual representation of the results. The indices in Table 3.5 were computed in the following way: if a language was marked as the student's first choice, it was assigned 3 points, if it was the second choice, 2 points, and if it was the third choice, 1 point. Non-ranked languages received a score of 0. The table confirms the rank order of the five target languages that we found in Table 3.4: English is indisputably the most popular foreign language among Hungarian teenagers, with its preference unchanged between 1993 and 2004. The endorsement of the second most preferred language, German, is still considerable, but it is noteworthy that it decreased significantly during the examined period. Thus, these findings confirm the conclusion we drew about the language globalisation effects above (in the previous section).

The figures in Table 3.5 are also in accordance with our previous characterisation of French, Italian and Russian. Although French is the third most popular language, it did not have much general appeal in Hungary at any of the data collection points and is basically in the same preference range as Italian, which was included as a control for the 'important' L2s. Interestingly, in line with our attitude figures, Italian has been showing an increase in popularity since 1993, narrowing the gap between itself and French. Given that very few students are likely to learn more than two L2s, the moderate figures for French and Italian indicate that these languages play only a rather marginal role in the Hungarian language learning scene. Finally, although Russian had

Table 3.5 The learners' language choice preferences

	Scores ^a			Means			F	Sequence ^b
	1993	1999 ^c	2004 ^c	1993	1999	2004		
English	11,352	11,306	11,437	2.38	2.37	2.40	1.025	—
German	8,466	8,012	7,426	1.78	1.68	1.56	48.962***	1 > 2 > 3
French	3,921	4,056	3,975	0.82	0.85	0.83	1.092	—
Italian	2,485	2,613	3,104	0.52	0.55	0.65	30.633***	1 ns 2 < 3
Russian	684	451	605	0.14	0.10	0.13	12.836***	1 > 2 < 3
Spanish	369	608	858					
Latin	229	295	182					
Japanese	94	108	87					
Chinese	49	56	43					
Portuguese	21	26	23					
Dutch	17	20	17					
Greek	15	42	24					
Arabic		17	21					
Romanian		15	17					
Slovakian		16	23					
Romany		12	38					
Croatian		12	38					
Finnish			38					
Swedish			16					
Hebrew			13					

^aOnly languages with a score greater than 10 are listed.

^b*Post hoc* LSD comparison. Numbers refer to the phases of the survey. 'ns' indicates non-significant differences between two values, whereas '<' or '>' denote significant differences.

^cBecause of the different sample sizes, the raw scores obtained from the two phases of the survey are not directly comparable; therefore the 1999 and 2004 scores have been adjusted to present the score that would have been obtained if the sample sizes had been equal.

*** $p < 0.001$

regained some ground by 2004, it still had not reached the 1993 level, which was very low to start with.

Looking at the learners' Intended Effort indices in Table 3.6 and their visual representation in Figure 3.2, we find exactly the same pattern as in the previous tables but in a more pronounced manner. While the

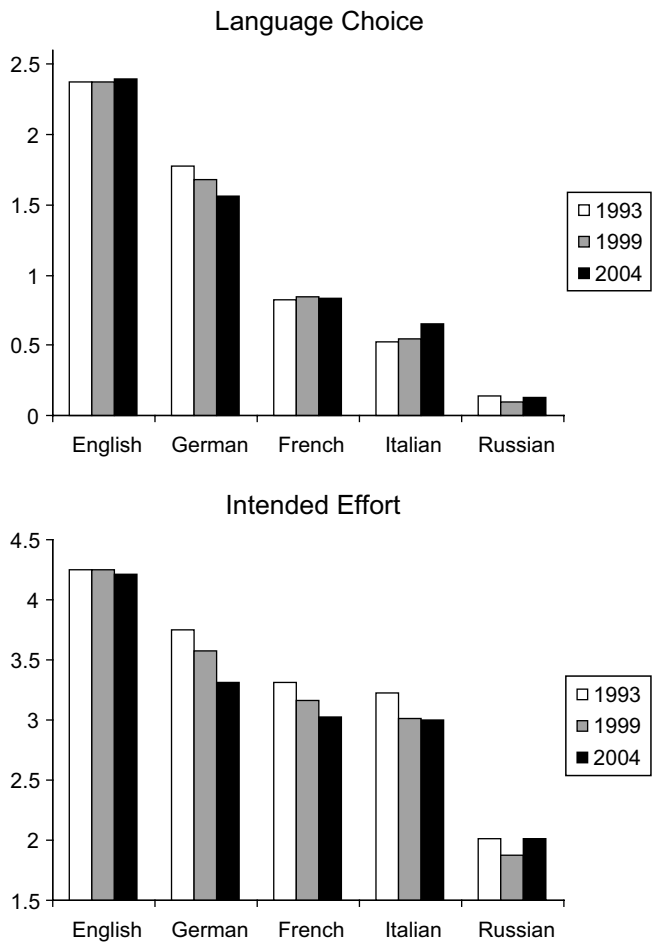


Figure 3.2 Visual representation of the changes in Language Choice and Intended Effort between 1993 and 2002

superior position of English remained unchanged over the examined 12-year period, the figures for German and French show a steady decline. Italian seemed to stabilise in 1999 and by 2004 it had succeeded in catching up with French. Russian displayed a slight increase, but this is not more than a minor readjustment because the endorsement level is still deep in the negative realm.

Thus, the analysis of the criterion measures provides strong support for the hypothesis we arrived at on the basis of the results in Table 3.4, namely that non-world language learning in Hungary is on the decline,

Table 3.6 Descriptive statistics and ANOVA comparisons of Intended Effort across the three phases of the survey

	<i>Mean</i>			<i>F</i>	<i>Sequence^a</i>
	<i>1993</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>2004</i>		
English	4.25	4.25	4.21	2.938	—
German	3.75	3.57	3.31	167.053***	1 > 2 > 3
French	3.31	3.16	3.02	68.693***	1 > 2 > 3
Italian	3.22	3.01	3.00	46.780***	1 > 2 ns 3
Russian	2.01	1.87	2.01	22.474***	1 > 2 < 3

^a*Post hoc* LSD comparison. Numbers refer to the phases of the survey. 'ns' indicates non-significant differences between two values, whereas '<' or '>' denote significant differences.

*** $p < 0.001$

in contrast to Global English learning, which is generally and highly endorsed. Furthermore, even the regionally dominant language, German, has started to increasingly behave as a non-world language, particularly in terms of the declining pattern observed in the criterion measures associated with its learning. Figure 3.2 provides a visual representation of the evolution of the two criterion measures over time.

Chapter 4

Modifying Factors in Language Attitudes and Motivation: Gender, Geographical Location and School Instruction

The previous chapter presented a fairly straightforward picture of how the attitudinal/motivational endorsement of the examined target languages has evolved in Hungary over the years, and because of the extensive sample size in all the three phases of the survey, we believe that the outlined processes provided an accurate description of what has been going on. The robust processes and the significant results do not mean, however, that the participants' responses were entirely uniform – within the general trends we do find certain systematic variation. In this chapter we examine three sources of such variation. Based on findings reported in the literature as well as our own experience in Hungary, we assumed that it would make a difference what gender the participants were, where they lived within the country and what L2 they were studying at school at the time of the survey. As will be shown in this chapter, these modifying factors have indeed turned out to be significant. Thus, a closer look at their impact elaborates on the overall picture and further explains our findings.

Gender Differences

We do not think that there are many quantitative studies in the L2 literature that examined boys' and girls' attributes or achievement and did not find any salient differences. It seems that when it comes to foreign language learning, boys and girls behave in a strikingly different way and the results of our survey produce strong evidence for this claim. Unfortunately, because our instruments were not geared that way, we can only report the differences without offering any explanations.

However, our data at least delineate a conclusive picture that will hopefully inspire further, more focused analyses and theorising in the future.

Table 4.1 presents the L2-specific data described in Chapter 3 but this time broken down by gender, and Figure 4.1 provides a visual illustration of the gender comparison. As can be seen very clearly, there is a consistent tendency for girls' scores to be significantly higher than boys'. Out of the 120 mean scores presented in the table (i.e. the scores for each L2/L2 community and for each of the three phases of the survey), there are only 22 instances when girls did not outscore boys, with the mean differences sometimes exceeding 0.50 in favour of girls. The attitudinal variable that displays the fewest gender differences is Vitality: almost half of the 22 scores where girls did not display higher results than boys can be found here. This indicates that the observed general female superiority does not really stem from a differential perception of the importance of the target languages and communities.

Perhaps the most important results in the table are related to Language Choice because on this variable boys outscored girls with regard to two L2s (German and Russian), and we also find significantly higher scores for boys for English in 1999 and 2004. Based on the first two phases of the survey, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) concluded that English, German and Russian were endorsed more by boys than girls, whereas French and Italian could be seen as more 'feminine' languages. The 2004 data confirms the 'masculine' nature of German and the 'feminine' nature of French and Italian. English presents a special situation: in 1993 it did not display any gender difference, which was consistent with the fact that the global perception of English was so robust that everybody – boys and girls alike – endorsed it. However, quite surprisingly a significant difference emerged in 1999. Dörnyei and Csizér suggested that the male preference might be due to the increasing use of computer games and the Internet, which in Hungary usually came in English at that time. The 2004 data confirm that the gender difference in 1999 was part of a more enduring trend because in 2004 boys still outscored girls. However, if we look at the results, the boys' scores did not increase between 1999 and 2004 and the gap between boys and girls is smaller in 2004 than it was in 1999. Our prediction is that the global nature of English will cause this gap to disappear completely because English will become the first L2 choice for virtually everybody, regardless of their sex.

If we compare the temporal changes in the girls' and boys' L2 preferences, the last five years of the project (1999–2004) appear to have brought along a more homogeneous evolution than the previous period (1993–1999). In the first period, boys and girls displayed a different change pattern with regard to as many as three L2s (English, German and Italian), whereas all the observed changes in the latter period were gender-independent. It is tempting to speculate that this may be due to

Table 4.1 Gender comparison of the seven main motivational dimensions and the criterion measures^a

			<i>Mean^a</i>			
			<i>1993</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>F-value</i>
Integrativeness	English	Boys	4.07 ns	4.07 >	3.95	14.037***
		Girls	*4.33 ns	*4.36 >	*4.31	2.053
	German	Boys	3.66 >	3.38 >	3.13	163.552***
		Girls	3.70 >	*3.64 >	*3.28	110.374***
	French	Boys	3.12 >	2.87 >	2.78	77.502***
		Girls	*3.67 >	*3.59 >	*3.41	44.751***
	Italian	Boys	3.06 >	2.87 ns	2.84	32.182***
		Girls	*3.58 >	*3.39 ns	*3.35	31.815***
Instrumentality	English	Boys	1.98 >	1.90 <	2.04	11.640***
		Girls	*2.10 >	1.95 <	2.05	16.402***
	German	Boys	4.61 <	4.69 ns	4.71	22.581***
		Girls	*4.70 <	*4.82 ns	*4.83	56.225***
	French	Boys	4.37 >	4.32 >	4.15	61.773***
		Girls	*4.46 ns	*4.47 >	*4.34	28.019***
	Italian	Boys	3.48 >	3.30 ns	3.29	38.418***
		Girls	*3.68 >	*3.57 ns	*3.56	16.441***
Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/ Community	English (US)	Boys	3.07 >	2.95 ns	2.98	11.882***
		Girls	*3.31 >	*3.18 ns	*3.22	12.864***
	English (UK)	Boys	2.46 >	2.24 <	2.31	30.769***
		Girls	*2.58 >	2.27 <	*2.38	61.101***
	German	Boys	4.42 >	4.29 >	3.83	291.226***
		Girls	*4.56 >	*4.49 >	*4.15	191.853***
	French	Boys	4.10 >	3.96 >	3.83	55.482***
		Girls	*4.31 >	*4.24 ns	*4.24	6.208**
	Italian	Boys	3.96 >	3.70 >	3.39	203.910***
		Girls	4.00 >	*3.92 >	*3.59	114.672***
	Russian	Boys	3.77 >	3.55 >	3.36	105.471***
		Girls	*4.17 >	*4.09 >	*3.90	63.223***
	Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/ Community	Boys	3.83 >	3.65 >	3.53	53.989***
		Girls	*4.19 >	*4.06 >	*3.96	38.769***
	Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/ Community	Boys	2.34 ns	2.28 <	2.46	18.213***
		Girls	*2.50 >	*2.43 <	*2.60	15.649***

(continued)

Table 4.1 *Continued*

			<i>Mean^a</i>			
			1993	1999	2004	<i>F-value</i>
Vitality of L2 Community	English (US)	Boys	4.86 ns	4.84 >	4.79	16.686***
		Girls	4.83 <	4.86 >	4.79	14.557***
	English (UK)	Boys	4.28 ns	4.27 ns	4.31	1.970
		Girls	4.29 <	*4.33 <	*4.44	34.054***
	German	Boys	4.20 ns	4.23 >	4.07	36.732***
		Girls	4.18 <	4.25 >	4.10	27.804***
	French	Boys	3.90 ns	3.90 ns	3.89	0.320
		Girls	*4.00 ns	*4.00 ns	*4.01	0.116
	Italian	Boys	3.41 <	3.51 ns	3.52	15.776***
		Girls	*3.57 <	*3.63 ns	*3.64	7.153**
	Russian	Boys	2.87 <	2.96 <	3.07	30.797***
		Girls	*2.76 <	2.93 <	3.00	51.875***
Cultural Interest	English (US)	Boys	4.52 >	4.34 >	3.93	366.177***
		Girls	*4.61 >	*4.50 >	*4.23	184.666***
	English (UK)	Boys	3.79 >	3.42 ns	3.45	112.916***
		Girls	*4.02 >	*3.82 <	*3.95	29.397***
	German	Boys	3.72 >	3.42 >	2.99	398.056***
		Girls	*3.77 >	*3.68 <	*3.17	292.701***
	French	Boys	3.28 >	2.90 ns	2.86	124.810***
		Girls	*3.57 >	*3.33 >	*3.13	119.258***
	Italian	Boys	3.30 >	2.92 >	2.70	215.045***
		Girls	*3.58 >	*3.29 >	*3.05	162.439***
	Russian	Boys	1.70 <	1.83 <	2.06	90.738***
		Girls	*1.77 <	*1.89 <	*2.25	150.645***
Milieu		Boys	4.31 ns	4.34 ns	4.33	0.628
		Girls	*4.56 <	*4.62 ns	*4.61	7.879***
Self-Confidence		Boys	3.28 ns	3.29 ns	3.29	0.253
		Girls	*3.36 >	3.31 <	*3.36	3.855*
Language Choice	English	Boys	2.39 ns	2.44 ns	2.44	2.113
		Girls	2.39 >	*2.33 ns	*2.37	2.529
	German	Boys	1.94 >	1.77 >	1.65	48.962***
		Girls	*1.62 ns	*1.60 >	*1.45	15.556***

(continued)

Table 4.1 *Continued*

			<i>Mean^a</i>			
			1993	1999	2004	<i>F-value</i>
	French	Boys	0.70 ns	0.70 ns	0.70	0.010
		Girls	*0.97 ns	*1.01 ns	*0.99	0.815
	Italian	Boys	0.42 <	0.51 <	0.61	34.802***
		Girls	*4.64 >	*0.58 <	*0.70	9.182***
	Russian	Boys	0.16 >	0.12 <	0.16	4.019*
		Girls	*0.12 >	*0.07 <	*0.09	10.761***
Intended Effort	English	Boys	4.11 ns	4.10 >	4.02	5.649**
		Girls	*4.41 ns	*4.42 ns	*4.42	0.070
	German	Boys	3.70 >	3.41 >	3.18	117.202***
		Girls	*3.81 ns	*3.74 >	*3.45	60.389***
	French	Boys	2.97 >	2.78 >	2.67	41.984***
		Girls	*3.66 >	*3.54 >	*3.39	30.479***
	Italian	Boys	2.89 >	2.72 ns	2.69	18.279***
		Girls	*3.57 >	*3.30 ns	*3.32	32.638***
	Russian	Boys	1.90 >	1.83 <	1.93	4.826**
		Girls	*2.12 >	*1.92 <	*2.10	21.508***

^a*Post hoc* LSD comparison used: 'ns' indicates non-significant differences between two values, whereas '<' or '>' denote significant differences. An asterisk preceding a girls' mean score means that the score is significantly different (usually, but not always higher) from the corresponding boys' score.

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

the fact that the overall globalisation 'stream' is becoming more clear-cut and powerful, leaving no choice for people but to abide by it.

With regard to the reported measures of the other criterion variable, Intended Effort, the picture in Table 4.1 is very straightforward: all the girls' scores are higher than the boys'. This is an important finding because it indicates that although the initial language preferences might be affected by a certain amount of gender variation, once the language choice has been made, girls show more commitment than boys regardless of what the actual L2 is.

Geographical Variation in Language Attitudes and Language Preferences

As pointed out earlier, Hungary is a rather small country, with no internal distances greater than 320 miles. Is it reasonable, then, to talk

about any regional differences is such a small place? We believe so, because of two curious facts about the country mentioned in Chapter 1:

- (1) Hungary is situated on the latent geopolitical/cultural border separating Eastern and Western Europe and this borderline has been in evidence for the past 2000 years. As a result, there is a highly

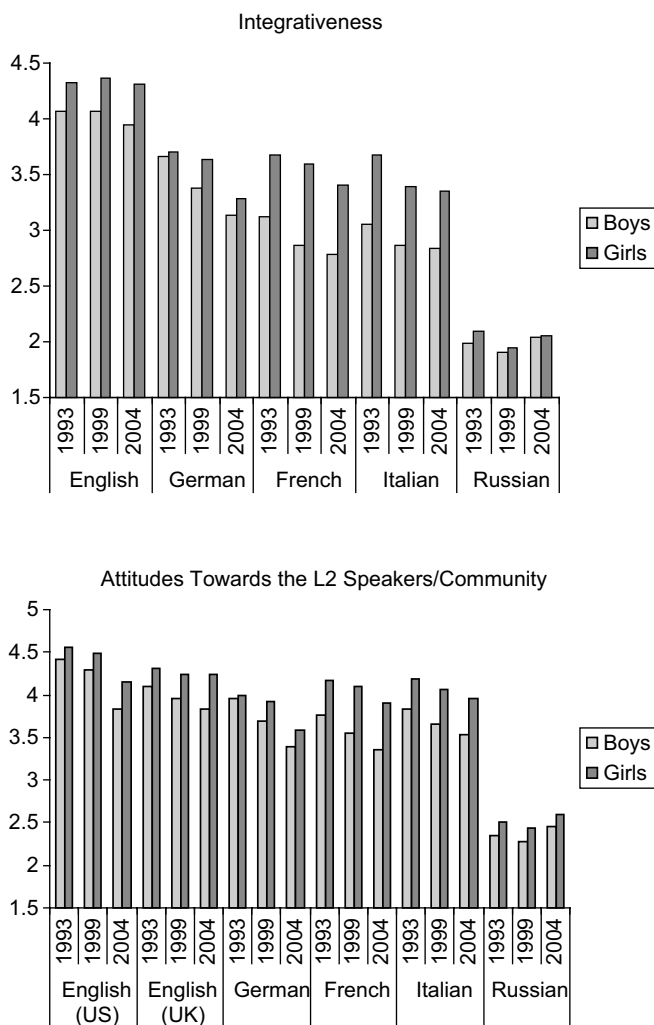


Figure 4.1 Visual representation of the differences in the boys' and girls endorsement of selected L2-related variables: Integrativeness, Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers, Language Choice and Intended Effort

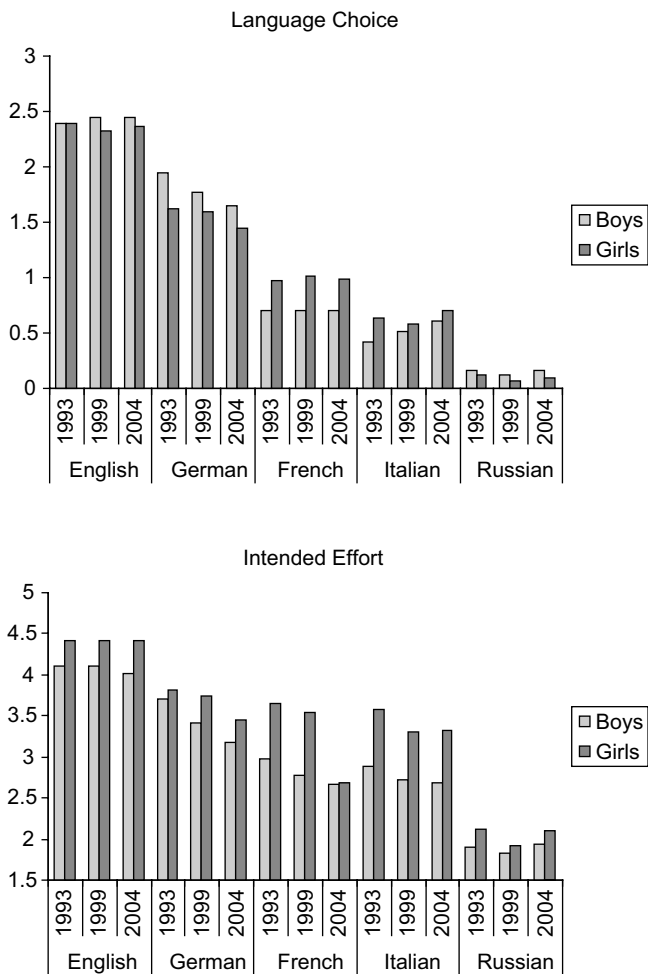


Figure 4.1 Continued

- marked difference in several aspects of life between the two halves of the country, separated by the River Danube.
- (2) With about a quarter of the total population living in the capital city, Budapest, and with the second biggest city having only less than 10% of Budapest's population, the country displays a very prominent capital versus rest of the country division.

Because of these two characteristics, this tiny country can be seen as made up of three different worlds: (1) a relatively developed western countryside, (2) a relatively poor and traditional, largely rural eastern part, and

(3) a highly developed metropolis displaying all the strong and weak points of such a conglomeration. This division foreshadows a certain amount of geographical diversity in the endorsement of different L2s, and Fodor and Peluau's (2003: 91) recent overview of the Hungarian L2 situation highlighted this point when they stated, 'The teaching of modern languages in Hungary has significant geographical variations'.

In a detailed geographical analysis of the 1993 phase of the survey, Dörnyei and Clément (2001) found that macro-contextual, geopolitical factors actively shaped language attitudes and language learning motivation in Hungary, particularly in terms of an east-west division. There was a marked preference for German in the west of the country, which is clearly related to the fact that Hungary's western neighbour is German-speaking Austria and that the number of German-speaking visitors in this part of the country is particularly high. Attracted by the cheaper prices, Austrians often come over to Western Hungary to do their shopping or even to go to the dentist and Lake Balaton has traditionally been a favourite tourist destination for Germans. On the other hand, Russian was preferred (or rather, less disliked) in the east of the country, which is in accordance with the fact that Hungary's eastern neighbour used to be the Soviet Union and is currently Ukraine.

Investigating the changes that happened between 1993 and 1999, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) confirmed the basic west/German versus east/Russian division but also noted certain interesting ongoing processes that pointed beyond the fairly straightforward geographical dichotomy. First, they highlighted the fact that already in 1993, Budapest, the cosmopolitan capital of the country, showed a lower level of attraction towards German than the rest of the country and the 1999 results revealed that the rather low 1993 scores were not accidental but were part of a larger process – by the end of the 1990s the gap between Budapest and the rest of the country in the evaluation of German further increased.

Second, even in its traditional stronghold of German, the west of the country, English was gaining and German was losing popularity in the towns (but not in the villages), which foreshadowed the possible collapse of the German 'defences'. If the 2004 results confirmed this trend, this would constitute further powerful evidence for the 'Englishisation' effect of language globalisation.

Third, although French and Italian showed a significant overall decline in terms of their appeal to school children across all regions and settlement types, there was a notable exception to this diminishing tendency, the capital, where the decrease did not reach significance and, in fact, with regard to language choice, both French and Italian had gained some popularity. Because Budapest appeared to be the L2 'trend-setter' in the country, the researchers concluded that the upward trend for French and Italian in Budapest might be followed by the rest of the

country. This hypothesis was supported by the observation that French and Italian had only decreased in villages rather than towns between 1993 and 1999 and in eastern towns the choice for Italian actually increased. The significance of this finding would be considerable because it would indicate that in cosmopolitan areas there may remain a certain amount of (limited) interest in less often taught languages.

Let us now examine how these three issues evolved between 1999 and 2004. We are going to analyse only two variables – Integrativeness and Language Choice – in detail; the latter is a key index of motivated learning behaviour, whereas Integrativeness – as has been shown in the first two phases of the survey and will also be explained in the next chapter – has turned out to be central within the Hungarian context, mediating most of the effects of all the other variables (and can be seen as corresponding to the Ideal L2 Self – see Chapter 5). Tables 4.2 and 4.3 describe the geographical variation of the two variables and Figure 4.2 provides a visual representation of the results concerning Integrativeness.

With regard to the first process, the disproportionate decrease of the endorsement of German in Budapest, we can draw two conclusions. On the one hand, the decline of German in the capital remained consistent in the 1999–2004 period, confirming that this has been a robust and long-term process. On the other hand, the gap between Budapest and the rest of the country did not increase because by 2005 the rest of the country followed suit and the German scores dropped even more sharply outside Budapest than in the capital itself. Thus, Budapest was indeed the ‘trend-setter’ in this respect.

The second issue concerns the German-English ‘confrontation’ in the traditional stronghold of German, in West Hungary. Figure 4.3 provides a visual representation of this contest and shows very clearly that by 2004 English had achieved a ‘knock-out’ victory: German lost ground while the choice of English showed an increase in both villages and towns in this area. In 1993, the difference between the English and German Integrativeness scores was 0.34 in towns and 0.33 in villages, whereas the same difference scores in 2004 were 0.83 and 0.69, respectively. As can be expected, the difference between these scores is highly significant (towns: $t = 11.41$; $p < 0.001$; villages: $t = 3.77$; $p < 0.001$). We find the same pattern with regard to Language Choice: the mean difference between the choice of English and German was 0.21 in towns and 0.26 in villages, whereas the same difference scores in 2004 were 0.69 and 0.48, respectively. Again, the difference between the two scores is highly significant in towns ($t = 8.45$; $p < 0.001$), whereas in villages we can talk about a trend ($t = 1.80$; $p = 0.072$).¹

What about French and Italian? Previous results indicated that by 2004 they had stabilised their position, although at a rather low level. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 show that this was indeed the case, particularly with regard to the

Table 4.2 Changes of Integrativeness across regions and types of settlement between 1993 and 2004

	English			German			French			Italian			Russian		
	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004
1. Capital	4.22 ns	4.26 >	4.16	3.46 >	3.19 >	2.92	3.29 ns	3.25 >	3.04	3.49 ns	3.40 ns	3.34	2.14 >	1.94 <	2.12
2. Western town	4.15 <	4.22 ns	4.16	3.81 ns	3.77 >	3.33	3.34 >	3.20 >	3.06	3.27 >	3.07 ns	3.06	1.86 ns	1.87 <	2.06
3. Western village	4.11 ns	4.02 ns	4.06	3.78 ns	3.77 >	3.36	3.35 >	3.15 >	2.91	3.19 >	2.83 ns	2.92	1.98 ns	1.92 ns	1.94
4. Eastern town	4.24 ns	4.24 >	4.12	3.65 >	3.45 >	3.16	3.47 >	3.29 >	3.13	3.31 >	3.16 ns	3.09	2.11 >	1.98 <	2.05
5. Eastern village	4.19 ns	4.10 ns	4.05	3.73 >	3.41 ns	3.34	3.43 >	3.06 ns	3.06	3.19 >	2.88 ns	2.88	2.12 >	1.87 <	2.08
<i>F</i>	3.766	6.419	2.06	18.95	39.18	19.72	6.214	4.324	3.43	8.776	21.55	13.20	20.89	2.484	1.77
<i>p</i>	0.005	0.000	0.085	0.000	0.0000	0.000	0.0001	0.002	0.008	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.042	0.132
<i>Post hoc</i> comparison ^a	4, 1, 5	1, 4, 2	—	2, 3, 5	2, 3	3, 5, 2	5, 4, 3, 2	4, 1	4	1	1	1	5, 1	4	—
	1, 5, 2	5, 3	—	5, 4	4, 5	4	1	1, 2, 3	2, 5, 1	2, 4, 5, 3	4, 2	4, 2	1, 4	1, 3, 2, 5	—
	5, 2, 3	—	—	1	1	1	—	3, 5	3	—	5, 3	2, 3	3	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3, 5	2	—	—

^aNumbers refer to the groups; numbers in the same line indicate non-significant mean differences, different lines indicate significant differences.

Note: *Post hoc* LSD comparison used: 'ns' indicates non-significant differences between two values, whereas '<' or '>' denote significant differences.

Table 4.3 Changes of Language Choice across regions and types of settlement between 1993 and 2004

	English			German			French			Italian			Russian		
	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004
1. Capital	2.51 >	2.40 >	2.20	1.55 >	1.20 ns	1.11	0.65 <	0.81 ns	0.86	0.67 <	0.79 <	0.90	0.14 >	0.09 <	0.18
2. Western town	2.27 <	2.38 <	2.46	2.06 >	1.97 >	1.77	0.73 ns	0.79 >	0.72	0.53 ns	0.47 <	0.62	0.10 >	0.07 <	0.11
3. Western village	2.23 ns	2.21 <	2.40	1.97 <	2.20 >	1.91	0.84 ns	0.80 ns	0.70	0.44 >	0.33 <	0.52	0.11 ns	0.09 ns	0.08
4. Eastern town	2.43 ns	2.38 ns	2.40	1.66 >	1.59 >	1.47	0.92 ns	0.93 ns	0.92	0.48 <	0.55 <	0.65	0.18 >	0.11 ns	0.13
5. Eastern Village	2.38 ns	2.42 ns	2.49	1.74 ns	1.84 >	1.68	1.01 >	0.77 ns	0.85	0.47 ns	0.45 ns	0.51	0.15 ns	0.13 ns	0.13
F	13.911	2.735	8.79	42.712	78.733	49.91	21.312	5.6325	12.54	9.2136	22.791	16.49	5.6325	2.0812	3.33
P	0.0000	0.0275	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0002	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0002	0.0808	0.0100
Post hoc comparison ^a	1, 4, 5	5, 1, 3, 4	5, 2, 3, 4	2, 3	3	3, 2	5	4	4, 1, 5	1	1	1	5, 4, 1	5, 4, 3, 1	1, 5
	2, 3	3	1	4, 5	2, 5	2, 5	4, 3	1, 3, 2, 5	2, 3	2	4	4, 2	3, 2	3, 1, 2	5, 4, 3, 2
				5, 1	4	4	2			4, 3, 5	2, 5	2, 3			
					1	1	1				5, 3	1, 5			

^aNumbers refer to the groups; numbers in the same line indicate non-significant mean differences, different lines indicate significant differences.
Note: Post hoc LSD comparison used: 'ns' indicates non-significant differences between two values, whereas '<' or '>' denote significant differences.

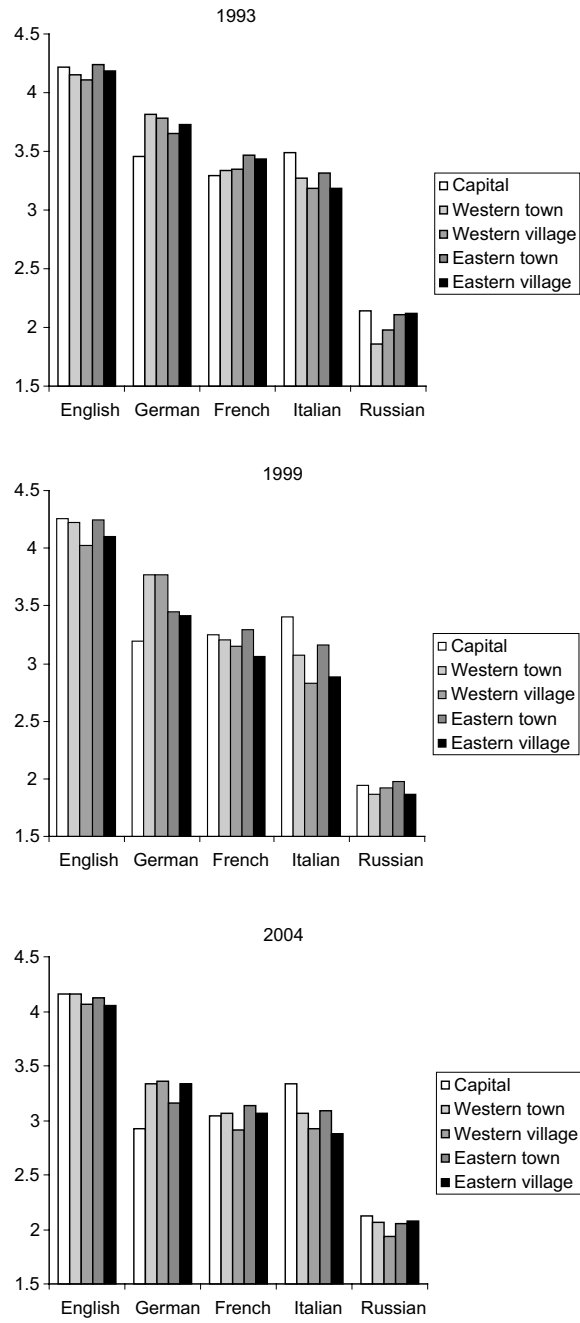


Figure 4.2 Visual representation of the regional differences in the endorsement of Integrativeness

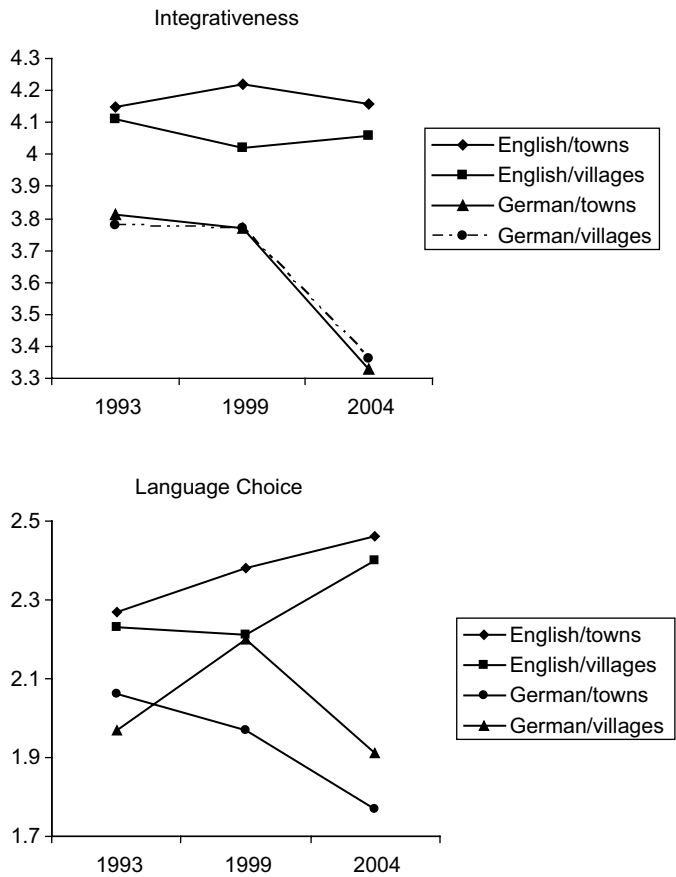


Figure 4.3 Visual representation of the ‘Englishisation’ process in West Hungary, the traditional stronghold of German: different trends of English and German Integrativeness and Language Choice

Language Choice index. The tables also illustrate the success story of Italian: in the most developed areas (i.e. the capital and the West), it has caught up with, or is in the process of catching up with, French. It is interesting to see that our findings concerning the relative strength of French in the east of the country and in Budapest have been confirmed by Fodor and Peluau (2003), who found the same geographical distribution.

In conclusion, the geographical analysis produced further evidence to the earlier findings attesting to the ‘Englishisation’ process. Although we can observe geographical preferences for certain languages, language globalisation appears to have overridden these geographical effects. German has been the big loser as within a surprisingly short time it was relegated

from the regional *lingua franca* status to the 'also-ran' category, a process that was clearly observable even in the traditional stronghold of German, the west of Hungary. Although German is still the second most popular language in Hungary as a whole, the trends work against it: French and Italian have already partially overtaken it in Budapest and we have seen that in the past the Budapest trends were followed by the rest of the country with some delay. Having said that, we still assume that future results will show that German can maintain its second position but it will irreversibly lose its halfway position between Global English and the other L2s, and will simply become the most popular non-world (i.e. relatively marginal) language in Hungary.

Language Attitudes and Language Instruction

Over the past 15 years, L2 motivation research has highlighted the role of motives rooted in the learners' immediate classroom environment. Although, as stated in the Introduction, our survey did not specifically target situation-specific motives, we asked the participants what L2s they were studying at the time of the data collection. Using this information, we can examine as to whether there was any school effect influencing student motivation. This question is particularly relevant in the light of the findings of an important study in Israel. Examining the impact of learning modern spoken Arabic by Israeli students, Inbar *et al.* (2001) compared the L2 attitudes of learners who were studying and who were not studying the language at the time they were surveyed. They divided each group further into two subgroups depending on whether the learning versus not-learning situation was a result of their own choice or of the policy or provision of the school that they attended. The researchers found a consistent pattern: students who studied Arabic displayed higher motivation in all the dimensions measured than those who did not, and there were few differences between those who chose versus those who were assigned to study/not to study the language. Thus, the authors concluded that it was studying the language and not the 'choice versus assigned condition' that affected students' motivation, implying that being actively engaged in the learning of a foreign language in a school enhanced language attitudes and motivation.

With regard to our study, Table 4.4 breaks down the mean scores of the L2-related measures to two groups, the active learners and the non-learners of an L2, and also presents *t*-test statistics to assess the engagement and time effects. Note that for Russian we only have scores from 1993 because no students in our survey studied this language in 1999 or 2004. The results display a very straightforward pattern: students who were actively engaged in learning an L2 tended to have higher scores on every attitudinal/motivational variable related to the particular L2

Table 4.4 Mean scores of the motivational scales and the criterion measures for learners who were (1) engaged and (2) not engaged in studying the particular L2 at the time of the surveys

			<i>Learns the L2</i>	<i>Does not learn the L2</i>	<i>t-values learns/does not learn</i>
English	Integrativeness	1993	4.32	4.15	−6.90***
		1999	4.36	4.04	−11.71***
		2004	4.23	4.00	−9.10***
	Instrumentality	1993	4.83	4.59	−17.56***
		1999	4.85	4.64	−12.88***
		2004	4.85	4.67	−11.76***
	Direct Contact with L2 Speakers: US	1993	4.53	4.47	−2.51*
		1999	4.45	4.32	−5.05***
		2004	4.06	3.89	−5.55***
	Direct Contact with L2 Speakers: UK	1993	4.38	4.13	−10.77***
		1999	4.23	3.94	−10.27***
		2004	4.14	3.88	−9.75***
	Vitality of L2 Community: US	1993	4.88	4.83	−4.77***
		1999	4.87	4.82	−4.31***
		2004	4.81	4.75	−4.41***
	Vitality of L2 Community: UK	1993	4.36	4.25	−5.84***
		1999	4.34	4.25	−4.22***
		2004	4.41	4.33	−3.66***
	Cultural Interest: US	1993	4.56	4.56	0.11
		1999	4.46	4.37	−3.67***
		2004	4.12	4.01	−4.11***
	Cultural Interest: UK	1993	3.96	3.88	−3.01**
		1999	3.70	3.53	−5.35***
		2004	3.74	3.62	−4.21***
	Language Choice: English	1993	2.66	2.28	−14.37***
		1999	2.52	2.20	−10.74***
		2004	2.49	2.29	−7.22***
	Intended Effort	1993	4.46	4.18	−75.43***
		1999	4.41	4.06	−121.75***
		2004	4.32	4.07	−77.39***

(continued)

Table 4.4 *Continued*

			<i>Learns the L2</i>	<i>Does not learn the L2</i>	<i>t-values learns/does not learn</i>
German	Integrativeness	1993	3.95	3.59	-12.23***
		1999	3.85	3.16	-21.64***
		2004	3.59	2.87	-24.82***
	Instrumentality	1993	4.62	4.35	-15.31***
		1999	4.56	4.23	-15.91***
		2004	4.43	4.08	-16.18***
	Direct Contact with L2 Speakers	1993	4.16	3.92	-8.60***
		1999	4.05	3.57	-15.19***
		2004	3.73	3.28	-15.07***
	Vitality of L2 Community	1993	4.25	4.17	-3.43**
		1999	4.27	4.20	-3.09**
		2004	4.10	4.07	-1.47
	Cultural Interest	1993	3.81	3.72	-3.32**
		1999	3.67	3.42	-8.22***
		2004	3.20	2.97	-8.33***
	Language Choice: German	1993	2.13	1.66	-14.06***
		1999	2.07	1.30	-23.51***
		2004	2.00	1.18	-27.36***
	Intended Effort	1993	4.01	3.66	-83.78***
		1999	3.90	3.25	-305.76***
		2004	3.69	2.97	-430.53***
Russian	Integrativeness	1993	2.14	1.94	-8.17***
	Instrumentality	1993	2.60	2.44	-5.52***
	Direct Contact with L2 Speakers	1993	2.42	2.41	-0.22
	Vitality of L2 Community	1993	2.82	2.80	-0.75
	Cultural Interest	1993	1.75	1.73	-0.81
	Language Choice: Russian	1993	0.21	0.07	-9.94***
	Intended Effort	1993	2.13	1.88	-65.34***

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.000$

they were studying than students who were not engaged in the study of the particular language. The active learners also had significantly higher Language Choice and Intended Effort indexes for the language they were studying than the non-learners. The figures on Table 4.4 display a

remarkable consistency across L2s and survey phases, and this consistency is all the more remarkable because it even applies to the otherwise rather dispreferred Russian in 1993.

This consistent pattern can be explained in two ways: the scores of active learners of a language were higher than non-learners' either (1) because their engagement with the L2 resulted in some improvement, or (2) because they constituted a pre-selected sample in the sense that they had chosen to study the particular L2; in this latter case the observed attitudinal/motivational differences either merely reflected their original motivation or, alternatively, students scored higher on the items connected to their chosen language to justify their selection.

Although our data does not allow us to make an unambiguous choice between the two possible causes, there are strong indications that it is the first one which can be seen as primary. First of all, in the case of Russian in 1993 it was unlikely that anybody would have chosen to learn it voluntarily and yet, we find a significant difference in favour of the active learners. Second, in 1993 the study of English and German was not only, or even predominantly, the function of the students' personal choice as it hugely depended on the language provision offered by the schools, which in turn was dependent on whether a particular school could find any trained teachers of western languages to replace the Russian teachers (and our figures show that about half of the student cohort had to carry on learning Russian in 1993 for the lack of an alternative L2 course offered). Thus, in 1993 many learners could not be considered 'pre-selected' in the personal choice sense, and yet the pattern we find in their cases is identical to the one obtained in 1999 and 2004. This points to the conclusion that the higher scores observed with the active L2 learners are due to their active engagement with the L2, thus confirming Inbar *et al.*'s (2001) results.

Further evidence pointing to this explanation can be obtained if we compare the changes between 1993 and 2004 across the two subgroups (i.e. active learners and non-learners). Although, as was documented before, there is an overall decline in most variables, this drop is smaller amongst active learners than amongst non-learners. Let us take the case of German, where the decrease between 1993 and 2004 was the most dramatic. Figure 4.4 provides a clear visual representation of the fact that the decline of the average scores for those who were engaged in studying German was considerable less sharp than for those who were not engaged in German studies at school, and indeed, a 2×2 ANOVA confirms that the difference in the rate of decline between the active and the non-learners is highly significant ($F = 53.89$; $p < 0.001$). We find a similar pattern with all the L2s, indicating that the general decrease of the attitudinal/motivational scores observed between 1993 and 2002 is less pronounced amongst active learners of an L2, which again supports

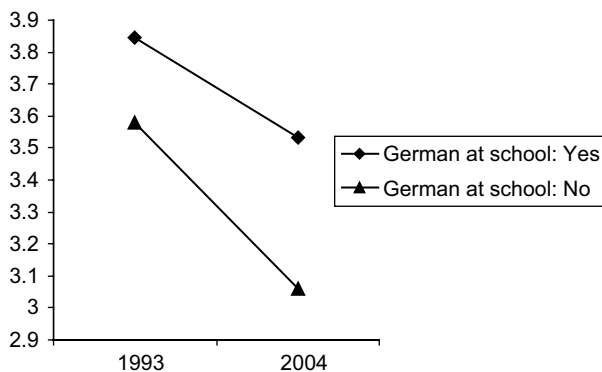


Figure 4.4 Visual representation of the decline of the mean German-specific scores between 1993 and 2004 amongst student who were and who were not engaged in the study of German at school

the thesis that, at a national level, active engagement in the study of an L2 exerts a positive effect on the learners' attitudes and motivation.

Thus, in spite of the fact that our study did not specifically examine executive motives (i.e. motives related to the immediate learning situation), the consistent difference between active learners and non-learners in terms of their attitudinal/motivational dispositions evidences the operation of an executive motivational system. It is noteworthy that in the examined population this subsystem appeared to have a positive effect regardless of the time of the survey or the nature of the target language.

Note

1. The reason for the less significant results in villages is partly the fact that the sample of students coming from villages was considerably smaller than that of coming from towns.

Chapter 5

The Internal Structure of Language Learning Motivation

In Chapter 3 we presented the results of the factor analysis of the various motivational measures. Such an analysis can help us to group the items into multi-item scales that consist of items that ‘hang together’, that is, measure the same target attribute. While this is an important step in processing the data, factor analysis can tell us little about the importance of the resulting clusters because it offers only a mathematical solution based on the items submitted to the analysis, which is of course dependent on the original design of the questionnaire. So, for example, if we have a questionnaire which only asks about two learner attributes, the colour of the learners’ hair and their sleeping habits, factor analysis is likely to produce two factors (‘hair’ and ‘sleeping’) even though these may not at all be important learner characteristics. The real test of a motivational factor is whether it is meaningfully and significantly related to various criterion measures, in our case to aspects of motivated learning behaviour (Language Choice and Intended Effort).

One way of determining the relationship between motivational factors and criterion measures is to compute correlations between them. This has indeed been done by Dörnyei and Clément (2001) and Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) using the 1993 and 1999 datasets. The results confirmed the validity of the factors in general and highlighted the unique importance of one factor in particular, Integrativeness. However, given that the various factors showed strong intercorrelation with each other (see Appendix 7), there was a considerable overlap amongst the impact of the factors and therefore it was not possible to determine the exact pattern of motivation–criterion relationships based on correlations, and nor was it possible to form an accurate picture of the inter-relationship pattern of the various attitudinal/motivational variables, that is, of the internal construct of the L2 motivation complex. Although the correlation tables showed us that almost all the variables were related to each other to some extent, there was no way of deciding whether these links were

'primary' or 'secondary', the latter meaning that two variables showed a relationship not because they themselves were connected but because they were both related to a third variable. Furthermore, because correlations cannot indicate cause–effect links, we could not determine either the direction of the relationships between the various variables, that is, which variable affected the other.

Questions like these cannot be answered by means of correlation or factor analysis. For testing relationships in multi-variable designs we need to apply a relatively new and rather complex statistical procedure, structural equation modelling (SEM). SEM is a multivariate statistical technique that is used, similarly to factor analysis, to interpret the relationship among several variables within a single framework. Its big advantage over factor analysis is that an SEM model also includes directional paths between the variables and not just information about how the variables hang together. Thus, as Dörnyei (2001) concluded, the technique is appropriate to test 'grand' theories, that is, comprehensive models made up of a number of complex, interrelated variables.

In accordance with the above, in this chapter we propose a model of L2 motivation and then submit the motivational data described in Chapter 3 to SEM using the software AMOS 4.0 to see if this model has empirical support. We then interpret the results within a new framework of L2 motivation, the 'L2 Motivational Self System', that was briefly described in Chapter 1. Because SEM is not a commonly used procedure in the L2 field, we start this chapter with a short statistical introduction to the procedure.

Structural Equation Modelling

SEM is a multivariate statistical approach that allows for hypothesis testing concerning the inter-relationship of multiple variables. It makes it possible to test cause–effect relationships based on correlational data, which makes SEM a powerful analytical tool as it combines the versatility of correlation analysis and the causal validity of experimental research. The structural relationships under investigation are tested by means of a series of regression equations (hence the words 'structural equation' in the name); the word 'modelling' simply suggests that the structural relations can be modelled pictorially. According to Byrne (2001), several aspects set SEM apart from the older generation of multivariate procedures: first, unlike exploratory factor analysis, SEM takes a confirmatory approach rather than a descriptive one; second SEM estimates the error variance patterns; third it can incorporate into the analysis both unobserved latent variables (that are identified on a theoretical basis) and observed concrete variables (corresponding, e.g. to specific questionnaire items); finally there are no widely and easily applied alternative

methods for modelling multivariate relations. Throughout the analyses we have found two publications very helpful, Arbuckle and Wothke's (1999) *Amos 4.0 User's Guide* and Byrne's (2001) *Structural Equation Modeling with AMOS*.

To start applying SEM to the data, researchers need an explicitly stated theoretical model in which the main variables are quantified and their directional relationship is clearly stated. The procedure is then used to confirm or reject the validity of this model – thus, SEM is not an exploratory but a confirmatory technique, although it is capable of suggesting certain adjustments to the model tested by providing 'modification indices' and tests of significance of estimated parameters. When setting up the model, researchers need to do two things:

- Describe the relationship between the *measured* variables and the hypothesised *latent* variables (e.g. specify that the theoretical construct of 'self confidence' is measured by, say, three variables: L2 use anxiety, perceived self-competence and a self-report confidence scale), which results in a 'measurement model'.
- Posit the casual links between the latent (theoretical) variables, which results in a 'full structural model'.

SEM then tests the adequacy of both models, provides goodness-of-fit measures for the full (i.e. combined) structural model, and produces modification indices for the purpose of improvement.

Applying SEM in our Study

In our study, the measurement models (i.e. the models that describe the relationship between the latent variables and actual questionnaire items) were drawn up in accordance with the factor analytical results reported in Chapter 3. For all the initial models we used the data from the 1993 survey and after we arrived at a model with adequate goodness-of-fit we analysed whether the data from the later phases of the survey were compatible with the initial models. Following the finalisation of the measurement models, the various latent variables were combined into a full structural model on the basis of theoretical considerations as well as the correlational and regression analyses conducted at previous phases of the research (Dörnyei & Clément, 2001; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). In order to gain testable models (i.e. models that are identified), several relationships were fixed at 1.0 in the measurement models, and therefore only standardised scores are given throughout the article.

To assess the overall model fit, several goodness-of-fit measures might be utilised (for a good summary, see Byrne, 2001). The most often used ones are the chi-square statistics and the CMIN/df (chi-square divided by the degrees of freedom). However, because these measures

are affected by sample size, it is extremely difficult to get the indices of fit based on the chi-square analysis to meet traditionally accepted levels if the sample size is as large as ours (Bentler & Bonett, 1980; Jöreskog, 1969). Therefore, we used the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) to gain information about the model-data fit. It has been suggested in the literature that in the case of the CFI, any values above 0.95 on the 0–1.0 scale are acceptable (see Fan *et al.*, 1999; Hu & Bentler, 1999). As it is useful to consult more than one index when deciding on the model fit, four further indices will also be reported: (1) the Bentler–Bonett normed fit index (NFI); (2) the Tucker–Lewis coefficient (TLI) (also known as the Bentler–Bonett non-normed fit index [NNFI]) – in both cases values close to 1 indicate a very good fit (Bentler & Bonett, 1980); (3) the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) – here a close fit is indicated by values not exceeding 0.1 (Browne & Cudeck, 1993) or even 0.07, as was more recently suggested by Fan *et al.* (1999) and Hu and Bentler (1999); and (4) the Parsimony-adjusted Comparative Fit Index (PCFI) that takes into account the degrees of freedom available for testing the model.

When working with questionnaire data, it is inevitable to be confronted with missing cases. As SEM does not tolerate missing data (i.e. only fully-crossed datasets can be used), steps had to be taken to handle missing data. Instead of using pairwise or listwise deletion, we have decided to input data using full information maximum-likelihood estimations. This state-of-the-art estimation results in both consistent and efficient estimates, and therefore relatively unbiased results (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999).

The Measurement Models

Based on the results of factor analysis, we set out to test three measurement models. The first model contains the non-language specific variables and consists of two latent variables labelled Milieu and Linguistic Self-Confidence in accordance with the analysis in Chapter 3. Figure 5.1 presents the model describing the 1993 data (for the 1999 and 2004 versions, see Appendix 8). The goodness-of-fit statistics presented in Table 5.1 provide strong evidence for the acceptance of this model, and it could also be concluded that all the loadings and covariances contributed to the model in a statistically significant way.

As can be seen from Figure 5.1, Linguistic Self-Confidence and Milieu strongly correlate with each other, a finding that will be replicated in the full structural model as well (see below). This result is very similar to Colletta *et al.*'s (1983) finding that parental support affected linguistic self-confidence. We would also like to note that in the schematic representation of this model and all the others presented in this chapter we will include error terms (variables in circles named 'e' plus a number). The

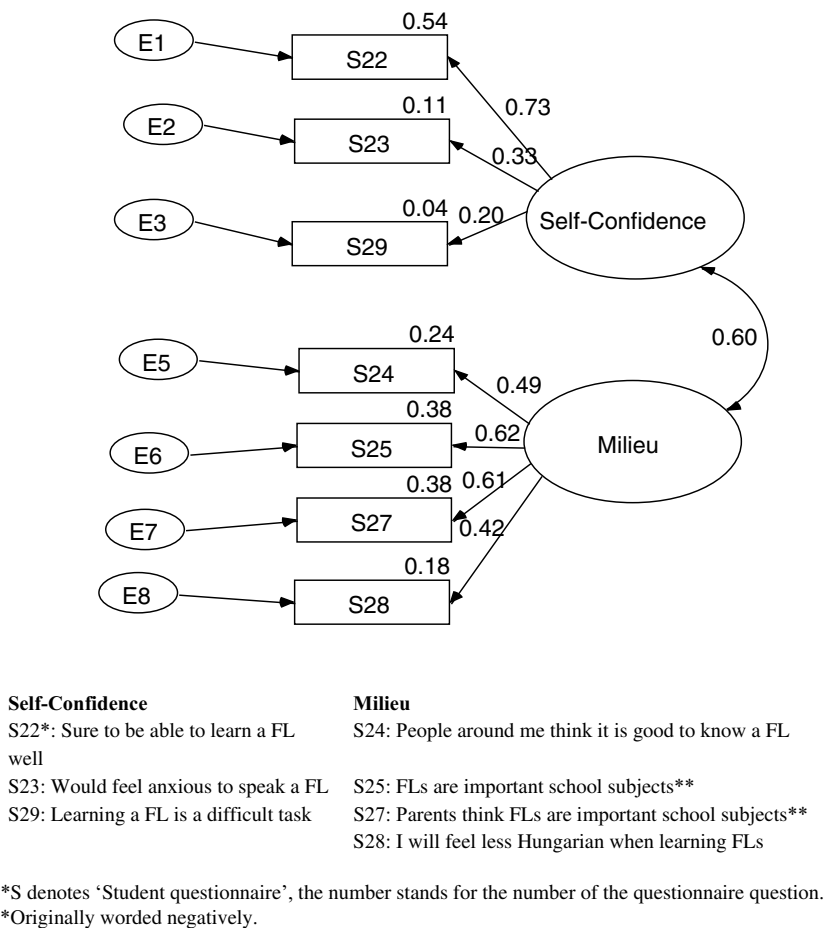


Figure 5.1 The two-factor measurement model of the non-language specific variables with standardised parameter estimates (1993)

Table 5.1 Goodness of fit summary of the two-factor measurement model of the non-language specific variables (1993)

Chi-square/degree of freedom	19.89
Bentler–Bonnet normed fit index	0.997
Bentler–Bonnet non-normed fit index	0.994
Comparative fit index	0.997
Parsimony-adjusted comparative fit index	0.463
RMSEA	0.063

inclusion of such error terms serves 'to absorb random variation in the [...] scores and systematic components for which no suitable predictors were provided' (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999: 15).

The second measurement model (Figure 5.2) displays the relationships between the country-specific variables. The figure only presents the model for English/US, 1993; the complete set of data is shown in Appendix 9.

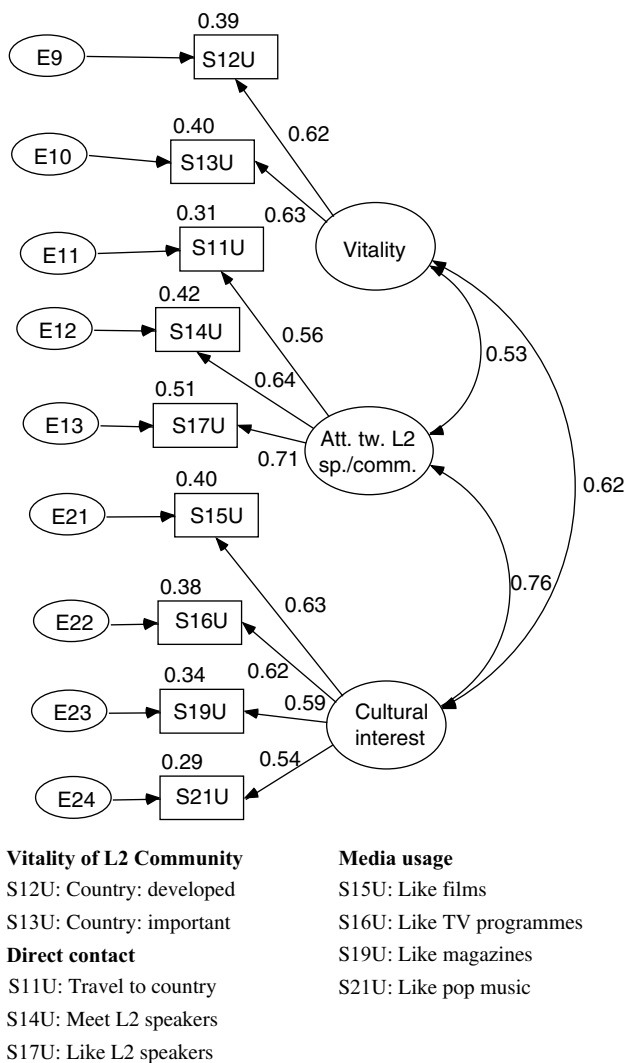


Figure 5.2 The three-factor measurement model of the country-specific variables with standardised parameter estimates (English/US, 1993)

Table 5.2 Goodness-of-fit summary of the three-factor measurement model of country-specific variables (English/US, 1993)

Chi-square/degree of freedom	8.55
Bentler–Bonnet normed fit index	0.999
Bentler–Bonnet non-normed fit index	0.998
Comparative fit index	0.999
Parsimony-adjusted comparative fit index	0.533
RMSEA	0.040

The statistics presented in Table 5.2 provide strong evidence for the acceptance of this measurement model, and it can also be concluded that all the loadings and covariances contributed to the model in a statistically significant way. The model presents three latent variables represented by nine questionnaire items. Again, the results are consistent with earlier findings (see Chapter 1). Figure 7.2 also indicates that these variables are highly intercorrelated: the higher the students place a country on the vitality scale, the more positive their attitudes towards the L2 speakers and the L2 cultural products are.

Figure 5.3 contains the third measurement models, made up of two latent variables and seven language-specific variables. The model in the figure describes the English data from 1993; for the whole dataset, see Appendix 10. The statistics presented in Table 5.3 confirm that the model fits the data well, and it was concluded that all the loadings and covariances were statistically significant at the 0.05 level. The correlation between the two latent variables indicates that higher scores on the Instrumentality scale go hand in hand with higher scores on the Integrativeness scale, and vice versa. This finding provides further evidence for the claim that these two variables are not mutually exclusive but can support each other in shaping student's motivation to learn an L2.

In sum, the three measurement models presented above appear to explain the data well. If we look at the statistical data in Appendices 8–10 for all the models computed (for all the L2s and survey phases), we find a remarkable consistency. These models appear to be valid for all the possible permutations of data collection times and target languages.

The Initially Tested Full Structural Model

The initially tested full structural model that forms the basis of the further discussion is presented in Figure 5.4. The model is based on the 1993 data concerning learning English and attitudes relating to the US as the primary L2 community with Language Choice being the criterion

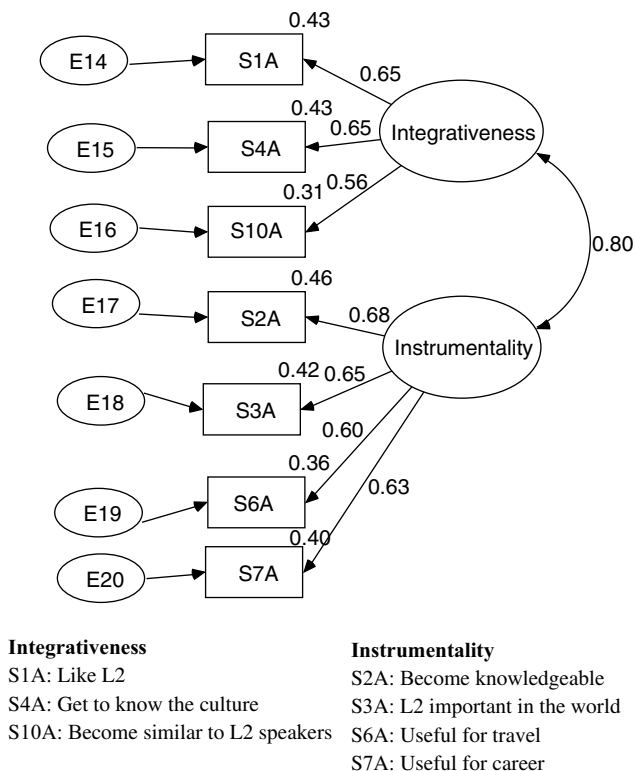


Figure 5.3 The two-factor measurement model of the language-specific variables with standardised parameter estimates (English, 1993)

measure. It is important to note here that this initial model is only one of the possible models to explain our data because from a theoretical statistical perspective ‘infinitely many models can fit any data set’ (Thompson, 2000: 277). Obviously, researchers cannot test all the possible models, which means, however, that one can never claim that a ‘true model’ has

Table 5.3 Goodness-of-fit summary of the two-factor measurement model of language-specific variables (English, 1993)

Chi-square/degree of freedom	12.99
Bentler–Bonnet normed fit index	0.999
Bentler–Bonnet non-normed fit index	0.999
Comparative fit index	0.999
Parsimony-adjusted comparative fit index	0.464
RMSEA	0.050

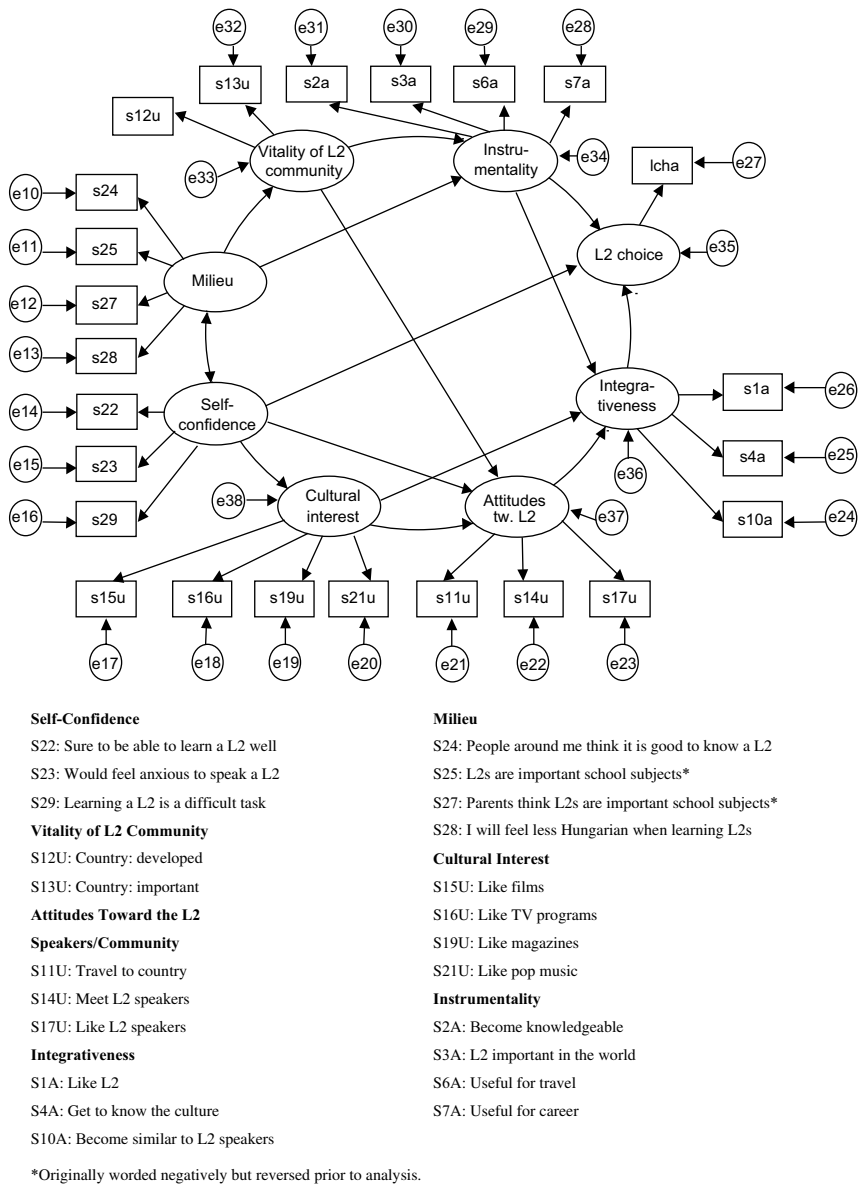


Figure 5.4 The initially tested full structural model (English/US, 1993)

been discovered; the most we can say is that a proposed model seems to adequately describe the data under investigation.

The proposed hypothetical relationships in the figure have been based on theoretical considerations and earlier analyses of the data

(see Chapter 3). Let us briefly reiterate our rationale. The fact that both Integrativeness and Instrumentality are hypothesised to be directly linked to motivated behaviour (i.e. Language Choice in this model) does not need much justification as these variables have been the most often researched concepts in the field in this respect. Based on Clément's (1980) theory, we have decided to include a further direct path leading to the criterion measure, linking Self-Confidence and Language Choice. Following the Canadian social psychological tradition of Gardner and his associates, we also hypothesised that two antecedents of Integrativeness would be Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community and Cultural Interest, and Cultural Interest was assumed to also lead to Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community. In accordance with Gardner's (1985) argument that integrativeness and instrumentality are *not* mutually exclusive factors but often occur in concert, the measurement model confirmed that Instrumentality was positively related to Integrativeness. Because the perceived utilitarian benefit of a language depends on a social agreement of its importance, we postulated that Instrumentality would be influenced by the Milieu. The direct paths from Vitality towards Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community and Instrumentality were suggested by Giles and Byrne's (1982) intergroup model. Finally, Clément's work warranted the links between Self-Confidence and Milieu, Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community and Cultural Interest.

The Final Full Structural Model

After the initial model had been submitted to evaluation using maximum likelihood estimation, we found that although the hypothetical model provided acceptable model-data fit indices (e.g. CFI = 0.988), the following four hypothesised relationships were not significant: Self-Confidence → L2 Choice, Self-Confidence → Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community, Instrumentality → L2 Choice, and Cultural Interest → Integrativeness. These were, thus, removed from the initial model. Figure 5.5 contains the schematic representation of the final model with the standardised estimates (for the actual AMOS output, see Appendix 11) and Table 5.4 presents various goodness-of-fit measures for the model.

As can be seen in Table 5.4, the chi-square/df ratio is well above the usually recommended value of 2 (Byrne, 1989); however, we pointed out earlier that it is extremely difficult to get an acceptable level of this index if the sample size is large and therefore we have focused on alternative fit indices. These all indicate a very good fit and thus we can conclude that the model in Figure 5.5 provides an adequate representation of our English/US 1993 dataset.

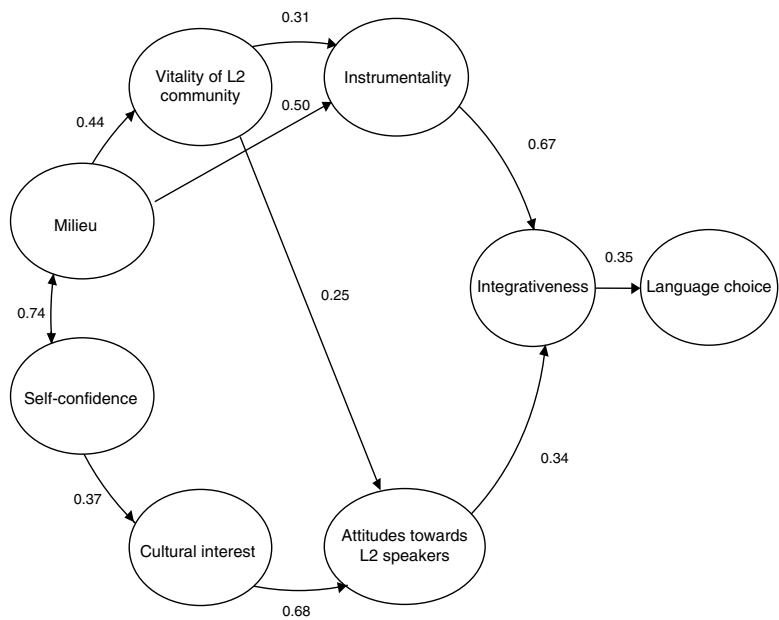


Figure 5.5 The schematic representation of the final model (English/US, 1993) with the standardised estimates among the latent variables

The model, then, was also evaluated for (1) all the examined L2s/L2 communities, (2) the three phases of the survey, and (3) both criterion measures. The permutations of these parameters produced a total of 36 solutions, whose results are tabulated in Tables 5.5 and 5.6. Csizér and Dörnyei (2005b) examined the SEM models computed to explain the 1993 and 1999 datasets and concluded that the goodness-of-fit measures and the standardised estimates of the various relationships indicated that the final model was stable across the various target languages

Table 5.4 Selected goodness-of-fit measures for the final full structural model (English/US, 1993)

Chi-square/degree of freedom	19.4
Comparative fit index	0.988
Bentler–Bonnet normed fit index	0.988
Bentler–Bonnet non-normed fit index	0.986
RMSEA	0.062
Parsimony-adjusted comparative fit index	0.804

Table 5.5 The inter-relationship of the various variables and Language Choice in the final full structural models and model-data fit measures

	English/UK			English/US			German			French			Italian			Russian		
	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04
Milieu $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ Self-Conf.	0.84	0.76	0.77	0.74	0.75	0.75	0.67	0.63	0.63	0.64	0.62	0.65	0.63	0.63	0.64	0.60	0.59	0.61
Milieu $\rightarrow$ Vitality	0.52	0.49	0.52	0.44	0.49	0.44	0.39	0.33	0.39	0.43	0.35	0.38	0.14	0.23	0.33	0.30	-0.01	0.10
Milieu $\rightarrow$ Instrm.	0.48	0.54	0.44	0.50	0.51	0.45	0.25	0.22	0.07	-0.05	0.11	0.02	0.06	0.07	-0.06	-0.05	-0.09	-0.09
Self-Conf. $\rightarrow$ Cult. Int.	0.54	0.53	0.56	0.37	0.47	0.44	0.26	0.29	0.24	0.21	0.27	0.27	0.20	0.27	0.29	0.001	-0.11	-0.01
Cult. Int. $\rightarrow$ Att. Tw. L2 Sp.	0.64	0.68	0.69	0.68	0.75	0.77	0.68	0.66	0.70	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.67	0.59	0.59	0.57	0.60	0.64
Vitality $\rightarrow$ Att. Tw. L2 Sp.	0.40	0.42	0.40	0.25	0.21	0.20	0.35	0.32	0.36	0.51	0.48	0.50	0.40	0.55	0.57	0.71	0.59	0.52
Vitality $\rightarrow$ Instrm.	0.30	0.19	0.31	0.31	0.25	0.34	0.46	0.45	0.55	0.71	0.55	0.65	0.66	0.65	0.74	0.74	0.68	0.64

(continued)

Table 5.5 Continued

	English/UK				English/US				German				French				Italian				Russian			
	93	99	04	04	93	99	04	04	93	99	04	04	93	99	04	04	93	99	04	04	93	99	04	04
Att. Tw. L2 Sp. → Integr.	0.36	0.34	0.39	0.36	0.36	0.34	0.31		0.56	0.58	0.58		0.64	0.59	0.58		0.59	0.51	0.59		0.36	0.40	0.51	
Instrm. → Integr.	0.61	0.62	0.58	0.67	0.67	0.65	0.65		0.44	0.52	0.46		0.40	0.49	0.50		0.50	0.57	0.46		0.57	0.67	0.58	
Integr. → Choice	0.35	0.30	0.26	0.35	0.35	0.30	0.27		0.45	0.44	0.46		0.33	0.34	0.37		0.31	0.33	0.36		0.12	0.11	0.14	
Selected fit measures																								
Chi-sq/df	19.7	14.5	16.1	19.4	14.0	16.1	19.2	14.7	18.0	21.8	17.1	21.4	23.9	20.5	23.0		23.9	20.5	23.0		36.5	38.1	42.2	
NFI	0.987	0.988	0.989	0.988	0.989	0.989	0.986	0.986	0.986	0.982	0.982	0.982	0.980	0.978	0.980		0.980	0.978	0.980		0.961	0.949	0.956	
NNFI	0.984	0.986	0.987	0.986	0.988	0.988	0.984	0.984	0.983	0.979	0.979	0.979	0.976	0.974	0.976		0.976	0.974	0.976		0.953	0.939	0.947	
CFI	0.987	0.989	0.990	0.988	0.990	0.990	0.987	0.987	0.987	0.983	0.983	0.983	0.981	0.979	0.981		0.981	0.979	0.981		0.962	0.950	0.957	
PCFI	0.803	0.804	0.805	0.804	0.805	0.805	0.803	0.803	0.802	0.800	0.800	0.799	0.798	0.796	0.798		0.798	0.796	0.798		0.782	0.773	0.779	
RMSEA	0.063	0.059	0.056	0.062	0.058	0.056	0.062	0.060	0.060	0.066	0.065	0.065	0.069	0.071	0.068		0.069	0.071	0.068		0.086	0.099	0.093	

Table 5.6 The inter-relationship of the various variables and Intended Effort in the final full structural models and model-data fit measures

	English/UK			English/US			German			French			Italian			Russian		
	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04
Milieu $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ Self-Conf.	0.85	0.76	0.78	0.74	0.76	0.75	0.68	0.63	0.63	0.65	0.62	0.65	0.63	0.62	0.64	0.60	0.59	0.61
Milieu $\rightarrow$ Vitality	0.52	0.49	0.52	0.44	0.49	0.44	0.39	0.33	0.39	0.43	0.35	0.38	0.14	0.24	0.34	0.30	-0.01	0.10
Milieu $\rightarrow$ Instrm.	0.49	0.54	0.44	0.50	0.52	0.45	0.25	0.23	0.08	-0.05	0.11	0.02	0.07	0.07	-0.06	-0.05	-0.09	-0.09
Self-Conf. $\rightarrow$ Cult. Int.	0.54	0.53	0.56	0.37	0.47	0.44	0.26	0.29	0.24	0.21	0.28	0.28	0.20	0.27	0.29	0.001	-0.11	-0.01
Cult. Int. $\rightarrow$ Att. Tw. L2 sp.	0.65	0.68	0.69	0.68	0.75	0.77	0.68	0.66	0.70	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.67	0.60	0.59	0.57	0.60	0.64
Vitality $\rightarrow$ Att. Tw. L2 Sp.	0.40	0.42	0.40	0.25	0.21	0.19	0.35	0.32	0.37	0.51	0.48	0.50	0.40	0.55	0.57	0.71	0.59	0.52

(continued)

Table 5.6 Continued

	English/UK			English/US			German			French			Italian			Russian		
	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04
Vitality → Instrm.	0.30	0.18	0.30	0.30	0.25	0.35	0.46	0.44	0.55	0.71	0.54	0.65	0.66	0.64	0.74	0.74	0.68	0.64
Att. tw. → L2 Sp. → Integr.	0.36	0.34	0.39	0.35	0.33	0.31	0.55	0.57	0.58	0.63	0.58	0.57	0.58	0.51	0.58	0.35	0.39	0.51
Instrm. → Integr.	0.62	0.63	0.59	0.68	0.66	0.67	0.46	0.53	0.47	0.42	0.50	0.51	0.51	0.57	0.47	0.68	0.68	0.58
Integr. → Effort	0.53	0.55	0.56	0.52	0.55	0.55	0.58	0.63	0.65	0.60	0.65	0.66	0.62	0.68	0.68	0.57	0.54	0.57
Selected fit measures																		
Chi-sq/df	23.2	21.0	24.1	22.9	20.5	24.2	22.4	18.8	22.7	21.5	17.6	21.8	21.4	19.4	22.3	21.0	19.5	23.2
NFI	0.984	0.983	0.984	0.986	0.984	0.984	0.984	0.983	0.983	0.983	0.982	0.982	0.983	0.980	0.981	0.978	0.975	0.977
NNFI	0.982	0.980	0.981	0.983	0.982	0.981	0.981	0.980	0.980	0.980	0.979	0.979	0.980	0.977	0.978	0.975	0.971	0.973
CFI	0.985	0.983	0.985	0.986	0.985	0.985	0.985	0.984	0.983	0.984	0.983	0.983	0.983	0.981	0.982	0.979	0.979	0.978
PCFI	0.801	0.800	0.801	0.802	0.801	0.801	0.801	0.800	0.800	0.800	0.800	0.799	0.800	0.798	0.799	0.797	0.794	0.795
RMSEA	0.068	0.072	0.069	0.068	0.071	0.070	0.067	0.068	0.067	0.066	0.066	0.066	0.065	0.069	0.067	0.065	0.070	0.068

and the two criterion measures, as well as over time. The 2004 dataset allows us to replicate this investigation. Looking at Tables 5.5 and 5.6, we can see that the various indices characterising the 12 new solutions that were added to Csizér and Dörnyei's results are consistently good, indicating that the inter-relationships portrayed in Figure 5.5 remained just as valid in 2004 as they were in the 1990s.

The decreasing link between Integrativeness and Language Choice

As stated above, the figures in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 indicate a stable relationship pattern. While this is true, the standardised estimate values (which can be thought of as correlation coefficients) describing the strength of the different relationships did not remain constant over the years. Particularly one tendency is interesting and somewhat surprising: the gradual decrease of the magnitude of the relationship between Integrativeness and Language Choice for English. Looking at Table 5.5 we find that between 1993 and 2004 the coefficient decreased from 0.35 to 0.27 for English/US and from 0.35 to 0.26 for English/UK, and this drop is particularly conspicuous if we compare the 2004 figures to the corresponding figures for German, French and Italian (0.46, 0.37 and 0.36, respectively). Does this marked difference contradict our previous observations concerning the 'Englishisation' process? Not necessarily. Already Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) noticed a substantial decrease in the correlation of Integrativeness with Language Choice between 1993 and 1999, and we claimed that this was in fact a sign of the globalisation effect. As we argued, when people learn a subject because its knowledge is seen as a basic educational requirement, then the choice of the subject will become less a function of the students' personal attractions and preferences: learners will take up the subject not necessarily because they are motivated to do so but because it seems a prerequisite to everyday functioning, just like reading, writing and arithmetic. Thus, in the case of such fundamental subjects the correlation between the learners' subject-related attitudes/motivation and the choice of the subject becomes depressed, which is exactly what we find in our data with regard to English.

The changes between 1999 and 2004 confirm Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) speculation because the Integrativeness–Language Choice relationship further decreased in the case of English. However, we know from the Language Choice data presented earlier (see Table 3.5) that English has been by far the most popular language in Hungary throughout the whole period of our project and contrary to the other L2s its endorsement did not decrease at all between 1993 and 2004. Therefore, the observed decline does *not* mean that English was doing worse than the other L2s, which is also confirmed by the fact that the magnitude of the relationship

between Integrativeness and Intended Effort (described in Table 5.6) does not show the slightest degree of decrease. Rather, the pattern we see in the case of English Language Choice indicates that motivation is becoming less of a determinant for choosing Global English; we believe that more and more people do not make a motivated decision to learn English but study the language as an obvious and self-evident component of education in the 21st century. If our hypothesis is correct then we would expect to find the opposite pattern with the non-world languages because their study is becoming less and less expected and increasingly the result of an individual's personal motivation – and this is exactly what Table 5.5 shows: with all the other languages the role of integrative motivation in making a language choice is increasing.

The Proposed Theoretical Construct

Because of the stability of the structural equation models explaining the attitudinal/motivational antecedents of Intended Effort and Language Choice across all the parameter combinations, we propose a combined model to describe the internal structure of L2 motivation. This construct is based on the SEM models discussed above and displays satisfactory goodness-of-fit. We would like to reiterate at this point, however, that the range of motives addressed in this study is confined to non-situation-specific, stable and generalised motives that stem from a succession of the student's past experiences in the social world. That is, situation-specific motives associated with the executive stage of the motivational process (see Dörnyei, 2000, 2001) are not included in the model. Figure 5.6 presents the schematic representation of the proposed construct.

The most important feature of the model in Figure 5.6 is that the criterion measures are directly affected by Integrativeness only. Placing integrativeness in such a core position is in accordance with the importance attached to the concept by Gardner (e.g. 1985, 2001), but the fact that it also subsumes instrumentality warrants an explanation. Although instrumentality and integrativeness have been seen by several L2 scholars as antagonistic counterparts, this claim has been strongly rejected both by Gardner and other researchers (see, e.g. Gardner & Tremblay, 1994; Clément *et al.*, 1994). We would like to go one step further and propose that instrumentality can not only complement integrativeness but it can also feed into it as a primary contributor. However, in order to achieve an accurate understanding of this relationship, we need to reconsider the content areas of the two concepts. This will be done within a new theoretical framework, the 'L2 Motivational Self System', in the next section and we will also discuss there the other antecedent of Integrativeness in our model, Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community.

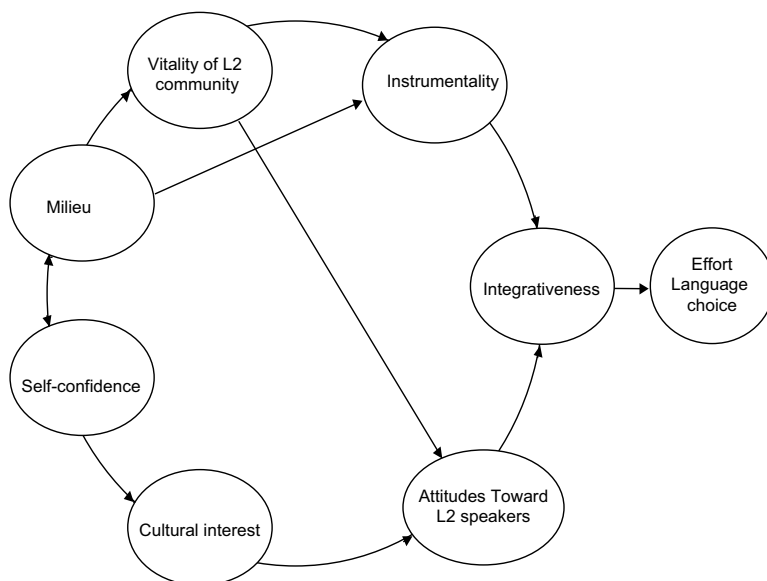


Figure 5.6 The inter-relationship of the motivational variables and the criterion measures

With regard to the antecedents of Instrumentality and Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community, our model corresponds to earlier theorising. Instrumentality is affected by the Milieu both directly and indirectly, in the latter case through the Vitality of the L2 Community. This makes sense: pragmatic, utilitarian expectations concerning an L2 are socially constructed and are reinforced in a community through social influences (hence the link with Milieu), but they are also dependent on the perceived importance of the L2 (hence the link with the Vitality of the L2 Community), which, of course, is again at least partially a function of a social consensus rather than merely of the objective vitality of the L2 community (hence the link between Milieu and the Vitality of the L2 Community). Similar socially grounded perceptions explain the direct link between the Vitality of the L2 Community and Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community: members of an L2 community that is seen as powerful and prestigious are usually assigned a higher status and, consequently, a more favourable standing.

Finally, let us look at the position of Self-Confidence in the construct. This variable was measured in our survey in a non-language-specific manner, referring to a basic learner disposition of trust in one's ability to learn a foreign language. That is, it was not linked to specific past learning experiences with specific L2s, and as such, it is partially a

function of the beliefs conveyed by one's environment (i.e. if people generally believe that learning an L2 is doable, this will shape every learner's perception). This is reflected by the correlations between Self-Confidence and Milieu. On the other hand, Figure 5.6 shows that the relationship between Self-Confidence and Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers/Community is mediated through Cultural Interest. We might reason that for learners in a foreign language learning environments which does not offer extensive opportunities for direct contact with the L2 speakers (such as Hungary) the main source of contact with the language will be an indirect one, through the exposure to various L2-specific cultural products. We believe that the extent of the learners' confidence in dealing with the L2 will determine their willingness to seek meaningful engagement with these cultural products, which in turn leads to an enhanced interest in these.

The 'L2 Motivational Self System'

In Chapter 1 we introduced briefly the components of Dörnyei's (2005) 'L2 Motivational Self System'. As Dörnyei describes, this new theory was partly the result of an increasing desire in the field of L2 motivation to interpret the motivational facet that Gardner had identified as 'integrativeness' in a new and extended way so that it could apply to situations where there was no opportunity of any integration or where the concept of any identification with the L2 community was not desirable. Thus, Dörnyei suggested, that Gardner's empirical research has uncovered a key motivational dimension but its subsequent labelling as 'integrative' was limiting in the sense that it was too closely based on the particular multicultural setting, the multicultural Montreal milieu, where it originated from. We argued in Chapter 1 that with an international language such as Global English the ownership of the language has become increasingly fluid and ambiguous, and this undermines Gardner's original conceptualisation and warrants a revision of the term.

It would go beyond the scope of this book to describe the theoretical basis of the new L2 Motivational Self System (please refer to Dörnyei, 2005, for a detailed discussion). Here we would like to show how the new theory was empirically supported by our SEM model. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the central theme of the L2 Motivational Self System is the equation of the motivational dimension that has traditionally been interpreted as 'integrativeness/integrative motivation' with the Ideal L2 Self. Accordingly, our model in Figure 5.6 suggests that the Ideal L2 Self mediates most of the attitudinal/motivational impact onto the criterion measures, which in effect means that this is the primary constituent of L2 motivation. How does the rest of the model work in the light of the new theory?

The immediate antecedents of the Ideal L2 Self in the model are Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community and Instrumentality. A key tenet in the self-based conception of L2 motivation is that the fully-fledged Ideal L2 Self is a vivid and real image: one can see, hear and feel one's ideal self. The closest parallel of our L2-speaking ideal self is the competent or native speakers of the particular L2 and therefore the more positive our disposition towards these L2 speakers, the more attractive our idealised L2 self. Using Norton's (2001) concept of the 'imagined community', our Ideal L2 Self can be seen as a member of an imagined L2 community whose mental construction is partly based on our real-life experiences of members of the community/communities using the L2 in question and partly on our imagination. Thus, it is difficult to envisage that one could possibly develop a potent ideal L2-speaking self while at the same time despising the people who speak the L2 in question.

At this point we need to point out that language globalisation can produce interesting variations to this relationship between our Ideal L2 Self and members of the L2 community when the target language is a world language. It seems increasingly clear that in certain contexts language learners construct the imagined L2 community – and thus their ideal language selves – not on the basis of native speakers of the L2 but on the basis of other non-native speakers who use the L2 as an international language. In the summary of the psychology of globalisation already mentioned in Chapter 1, Arnett (2002) argues that there is a growing tendency for people all over the world to develop a bicultural identity, partly rooted in their local culture and partly in the global culture. As he explains, through the media and the Internet, young people in diverse countries 'develop a global identity that gives them a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture and includes an awareness of the events, practices, styles and information that are part of the global culture' (Arnett, 2002: 777). There are indications from various parts of the world (see e.g. Lamb's, 2004, account of Indonesia or Yashima *et al.*'s, 2004, analysis of Japan) that learners do indeed develop such increasingly 'native-speaker-independent' Ideal L2 Selves.

Let us now return to the analysis of the compatibility of our model with the L2 Motivational Self System. We have seen above that the link between Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community and the Ideal L2 Self makes good sense. The self interpretation also explains why Instrumentality is the other main antecedent of the Ideal L2 Self: because the idealised language self is a cognitive representation of all the incentives associated with L2 mastery, it is also linked to professional competence. To put it broadly, in our idealised image of ourselves we do not only want to appear personally agreeable but also professionally successful. We should note here, however, that from a self perspective

the term 'instrumentality' can be divided into two types: depending on the extent of the internalisation of the extrinsic motives that make up instrumentality, the concept can be related either to the 'ideal self' or to the 'ought self'. The first type of instrumental motives concern professional/career advances that the individual desires and therefore these motives feed naturally into the ideal L2 identity. The second type of instrumental motivation on the other hand is related to a mere sense of obligation, duty or a fear of punishment (such as the fear of failure on a test) and therefore these non-internalised motives are associated with the 'ought self'.

Looking at our model in Figure 5.6, we can see that there is no prominent Ought to L2 Self dimension. This is due to at least two reasons: first, our instrument did not contain items addressing non-internalised extrinsic motives, for example achieving good grades or pleasing the parents. Second, it might well be the case that this self dimension does not feature highly in the motivational disposition characterising our specific sample. In an earlier study of Hungarian school children, Clément *et al.* (1994) produced a rather unexpected result, namely that no distinct 'instrumental motive' emerged; instead, they identified a factor that they labelled 'Instrumental-knowledge'. As the researchers explained, for the secondary school students in their sample the pragmatic rewards targeted by the questionnaire were quite remote, and the wish to prepare for a bright career was related to higher qualifications and thus to obtaining knowledge. Dörnyei (1994b) further commented on these results by pointing out that for the students in question no relatively short-term utilitarian benefits were available, which prevented a pure instrumental motive from emerging. He also suggested that the reason why Gardner had continuously downplayed the role of instrumental motivation in his work might have been due to the same reason, namely that for Gardner's typical samples, school learners, non-internalised instrumental motives were not too relevant. This does not mean, however, that the Ought to L2 Self does not play an important role in other learning environments. In Asian or Arab cultures, for example, where family expectations are powerful motives, we would expect this self dimension to play a more central role, and there has been some research evidence that this is indeed the case (e.g. Ghenghesh, 2005; Kyriacou & Benmansour, 1997; Yasmin, 2005).

In sum, we would argue that instrumentality and the attitudes towards the L2 speakers constitute two complementary aspects of the Ideal Language Self: its general agreeableness and its achievement-related effectiveness/competence. The SEM analysis of our results is in accordance with this claim, and interestingly, a model put forward by Tremblay and Gardner (1995) as an extension of Gardner's traditional construct also confirms this conceptualisation indirectly. In this model the core of L2

motivation is a dimension that Tremblay and Gardner labelled 'Language Attitudes'. This is a composite factor made up of 'attitudes towards L2 speakers', 'integrative orientation', 'interest in foreign languages', 'instrumental orientation' and 'attitude towards the L2 course', and it bears a close resemblance to the proposed concept of Ideal L2 Self in that it subsumes integrative orientation, instrumental orientation, and L2-speaker-related attitudes. Thus, while the Ideal L2 Self perspective does not contradict the traditional conceptualisations of L2 motivation, it presents a broader frame of reference with increased capacity for explanatory power: Integrativeness seen as Ideal L2 Self can be used to explain the motivational set-up in diverse learning contexts even if they offer little or no contact with L2 speakers (e.g. in typical foreign language learning situations where the L2 is primarily a school language), and it is also suitable for the study of the motivational basis of language globalisation, whereby international languages, and Global English in particular, are rapidly losing their national cultural base and are becoming associated with a global culture.

Chapter 6

Language Learners' Motivational Profiles

Past L2 motivation research has made great advances in identifying various motives that affect the successful pursuit of second language acquisition as well as in specifying various conditions and constraints that shape language learners' motivational disposition. However, less attention has been paid on how the various motives work in concert, that is, how different motives are combined in learners to achieve specific motivational types. In this chapter we address this issue. In order to generate such profiles of the motivational disposition of our participants, we submit our survey data to a multivariate statistical procedure, cluster analysis, which is particularly useful for distinguishing various learner types. Even though this analytical technique can potentially offer both theoretical and practical insights into a wide range of issues within SLA, it has been used surprisingly rarely in past L2 research: we know of less than a handful of relevant studies (see Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown, 1999; Skehan, 1986; Yamamori *et al.*, 2003) and as Alexander and Murphy (1999) demonstrate, the situation is not different in the broader field of educational psychology either. So, let us start the chapter with a brief introduction to what this procedure involves.

Cluster Analysis

The objective of cluster analysis is to identify certain homogenous sub-groups – or clusters – of participants within a given sample who share similar combinations of characteristics. The rationale for using the procedure in L2 motivation research is the observation that in spite of the large number of motivational factors that shape L2 learning success, within a community of L2 learners there appear to be a smaller number of distinct subcommunities who share similar motivational patterns. Cluster analysis, then, is expected to identify the groups of learners who belong to the same motivational profile.

There are two main types of cluster analysis, hierarchical and non-hierarchical clustering. In hierarchical clustering the first step involves the definition of each sample member as an individual cluster. Subsequent steps merge the closest clusters until one single cluster containing all sample members is arrived at. The procedure might be illustrated by a 'dendrogram', which shows each step of the process. As a result, the systematic structure of the data is provided by showing what subgroups could be defined. Non-hierarchical clustering follows a different path. During the process, sample members are put into a predefined number of clusters. As a first step, the statistical programme takes the first N members of the sample (N equals the number of clusters defined prior to the analysis) and defines these as the centres of N clusters. Following this the whole dataset is partitioned into N clusters by assigning sample members to the predefined cluster centre that they are closest to. Finally, on the basis of the position of the cluster members, new centres are identified and sample members are regrouped according to these new centres. The procedure is repeated until the centres become stable, that is, until they show no change after further regrouping.

Both hierarchical and non-hierarchical clustering techniques have their advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, hierarchical clustering is difficult to apply if the sample size is too large. On the other hand, the results of non-hierarchical clustering are highly dependent on the initial cluster centres. To avoid these limitations, clustering is usually done in two stages: first, hierarchical clustering is carried out on a smaller subsample of the sample – in our case a 3% random subsample was selected for this purpose. Based on this first step, the number of clusters and their positions (i.e. the initial cluster centres) are defined and second, non-hierarchical clustering is run on the whole sample by inputting the cluster centres defined previously, and the procedure of non-hierarchical clustering is iterated until stable cluster centres are received. We followed this combined method.

It is important to point out that cluster analysis is an exploratory technique whereby the computer uncovers various grouping patterns based on the mathematical configurations found in the learner data. Because the computer cannot interpret the content of the different variables, in order to use the technique meaningfully researchers need to be careful to keep the analysis on sound theoretical footing and to substantiate the emerging learner profiles by means of various validating procedures. Alexander and Murphy (1999) mention one procedure that is particularly appropriate to substantiate results in educational contexts which involves using an external criterion variable to function as an independent indicator of cluster-group differences. Broadly speaking, if the identified learner subcommunities perform significantly differently on the given criterion measure, this confirms the validity of the particular grouping

solution. Our survey assessed two criterion measures that can be used for validation purposes, the learners' intended effort to learn the L2 and their choice of the L2(s) to study. We will evaluate the distinctness of the emerging cluster-groups by comparing the groups members' performance on these criterion measures.

The Definition of Motivational Groups/Profiles

Based on the procedure described above, the first step of the data analysis was to subject the five main L2-specific motivational dimensions to hierarchical clustering. The procedure produced a dendrogram for each L2/L2 community, which is a visual representation of the steps in the solution that showed the clusters being combined and the values of the distance coefficients at each step. Based on these dendograms, it was decided to follow a four-cluster solution in the subsequent non-hierarchical clustering. This decision-making process is not unlike the one involved in factor analysis whereby researchers decide on the final number of factors in the factor solutions: although there are no absolute criteria, a combination of theoretical and practical considerations can offer relatively good guidelines. In our case we followed a straightforward and common sense grouping approach which resulted in similar groups for all the target languages. The four groups, as will be shown below, showed good discriminant validity with regard to the two criterion variables against which they were substantiated. Table 6.1 presents the final solutions for English/US by indicating the means of the clustering variables in the different cluster groups. Figure 6.1 provides a visual representation of the clusters and Appendix 12 contains the data for the L2s/L2 communities other than English/US.

Csizér and Dörnyei (2005a) analysed the cluster structure presented in Table 6.1 for the 1993 and 1999 datasets and concluded that the cluster groups for the different target languages and survey phases are largely similar, with only French and Italian displaying some differences from the common trend. If we look at the 2004 data, we find exactly the same pattern. In all the three datasets the variable mean scores show some variation across languages but this does not thwart the group analysis as each language has been explored individually.

Group 1 consists of pupils scoring lower than average on all the motivational scales concerning the particular language/country; therefore this group was labelled the Least Motivated Students. Group 4, on the other hand, is the inverse of Group 1 as it contains students who scored higher than average on each and every scale; accordingly, this group was labelled the Most Motivated Students. Because motivational factors are usually intercorrelated to some extent, it was to be expected to have groups characterised by these extreme patterns. The two in-between

Table 6.1 The five motivational dimensions across the cluster groups: English/US

	Integrativeness				Instrumentality				Attitudes Toward L2 Speakers				Vitality				Cultural Interest			
	1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004	
Group 1	2.64	2.44	2.87		3.60	3.74	4.12		3.16	3.16	2.17		4.25	4.32	4.12		3.49	3.45	2.66	
Group 2	3.34	3.56	3.20		4.34	4.66	4.57		4.56	4.57	4.04		4.84	4.90	4.80		4.65	4.59	4.15	
Group 3	4.24	4.23	4.38		4.70	4.79	4.87		3.80	3.49	3.22		4.76	4.71	4.76		4.07	3.63	3.47	
Group 4	4.69	4.78	4.66		4.87	4.95	4.94		4.82	4.78	4.67		4.93	4.95	4.93		4.79	4.72	4.58	
F	3640.90	3877.17	2880.90		1059.20	897.96	616.04		2076.11	1643.51	3302.47		344.21	311.90	425.95		1108.80	1050.39	1694.36	
p	0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000	
Post hoc comparison ^a : LSD	1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1	
	2	2	2		2	2	2		3	3	3		3	3	3		3	3	3	
	3	3	3		3	3	3		2	2	2		2	2	2		2	2	2	
	4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4	

^aNumbers refer to the groups; numbers in the same line indicate non-significant mean differences, different lines indicate significant differences.

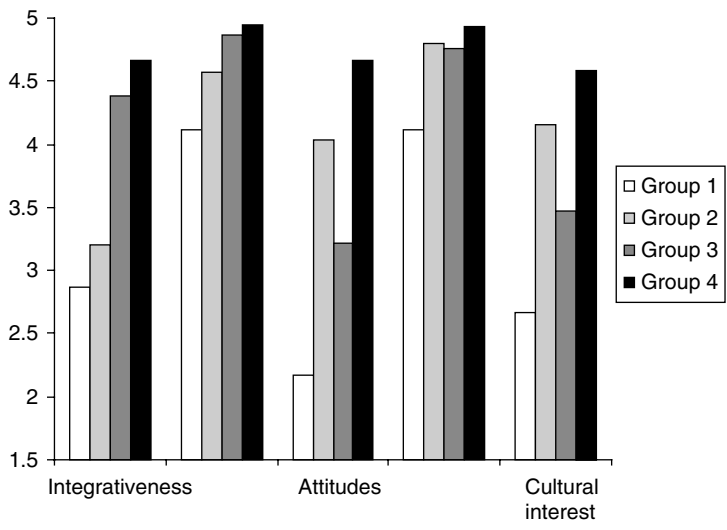


Figure 6.1 Visual representation of the motivational variables in the four cluster groups for English/US (2004)

groups display an intriguing configuration of their motivational profiles. Instead of an analogous distribution of the variables with only their degree of endorsement differing between the two groups, a more unusual pattern emerged: for some variables, Group 3 scores exceeded those of Group 2, while for some others it was the other way round. That is, the two groups did not only differ in terms of their motivational intensity but also in terms of the structure of their motivational profile. We believe that this profile variation is related to some interesting theoretical issues, but before we analyse this matter further let us examine the validity of the grouping by substantiating the results against the criterion measures.

Group Performance on the Criterion Measures

We stated earlier that one established way of substantiating cluster analytical results in educational contexts is to use external criterion variables as independent indicators of cluster-group differences. Tables 6.2 and 6.3 present the mean scores of the two criterion measures used in this study – the learners’ Intended Effort and Language Choice – across the four cluster groups. As can be seen in the tables, there is a very consistent relationship between group membership and performance level on the criterion measures: the higher the group number, the higher the performance. This linear relationship is displayed visually in

Table 6.2 Intended Effort to learn the various target languages across the cluster groups

	English/US				English/UK				German				French				Italian				Russian			
	1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004	
Group 1	2.83	2.63	3.15		3.03	3.17	3.05		2.30	2.50	1.91		2.24	2.01	1.83		2.07	1.79	1.75		1.32	1.30	1.32	
Group 2	3.59	3.77	3.49		3.71	3.42	3.58		3.05	3.26	2.81		2.87	2.70	2.60		2.60	2.54	2.54		1.79	1.57	1.85	
Group 3	4.26	4.27	4.38		4.44	4.42	4.36		3.91	3.93	3.47		3.38	3.48	3.22		3.38	3.28	3.38		2.18	2.05	2.23	
Group 4	4.67	4.72	4.66		4.70	4.68	4.69		4.36	4.39	4.23		4.19	4.20	4.15		4.15	4.25	4.16		3.07	3.13	3.26	
F	803.61	856.35	734.69		791.58	634.08	795.32		886.98	895.00	1350.07		1015.95	977.27	1441.02		1072.39	1295.05	1476.83		851.93	667.59	985.49	
p	0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000	
Post hoc comparison ^a LSD	1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1	
	2	2	2		2	2	2		2	2	2		2	2	2		2	2	2		2	2	2	
	3	3	3		3	3	3		3	3	3		3	3	3		3	3	3		3	3	3	
	4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4	

^aNumbers refer to the groups; numbers in the same line indicate non-significant mean differences, different lines indicate significant differences.

Table 6.3 Language Choice preferences across the cluster groups

	English/US ^a				English/UK ^a				German				French				Italian				Russian			
	1993	1999	2004	2004	1993	1999	2004	2004	1993	1999	2004	2004	1993	1999	2004	2004	1993	1999	2004	2004	1993	1999	2004	2004
Group 1	1.52	1.56	1.95	2.02	1.62	1.92	2.02	0.75	0.91	0.95	0.75	0.38	0.40	0.35	0.12	0.17	0.22	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Group 2	1.95	2.15	2.10	2.03	2.03	1.95	2.07	1.22	1.38	1.28	1.22	0.63	0.65	0.60	0.28	0.30	0.40	0.07	0.03	0.07	0.03	0.03	0.07	0.07
Group 3	2.44	2.38	2.51	2.54	2.54	2.51	2.56	1.74	1.95	1.95	1.74	0.74	0.93	0.87	0.45	0.56	0.72	0.17	0.09	0.11	0.09	0.09	0.11	0.11
Group 4	2.63	2.60	2.57	2.63	2.63	2.54	2.55	2.07	2.23	2.15	2.07	1.28	1.32	1.40	0.99	1.09	1.01	0.33	0.34	0.42	0.34	0.34	0.42	0.42
F	289.52	159.39	103.42	285.31	285.31	112.20	100.09	399.97	419.94	306.44	399.97	297.23	225.96	397.31	296.30	280.97	361.10	78.84	108.74	171.20	108.74	108.74	171.20	171.20
P	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Post hoc comparison ^b : LSD 1993	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3,4	1,2 3,4	1 2 3 4	1,2 3,4	1,2 3,4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1,2 3,4	1,2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1,2 3 4	1,2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

^aStudents could only choose 'English' without any British or American specification; however, because some of the attitude measures distinguished between the UK and the US, two different cluster groupings were computed, and these are separated in this table.

^bNumbers refer to the groups; numbers in the same line indicate non-significant mean differences, different lines indicate significant differences.

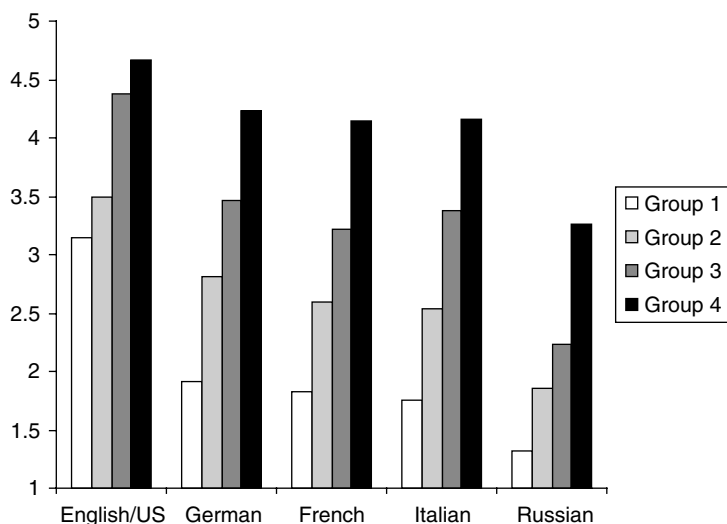


Figure 6.2 Visual representation of the Intended Effort to learn the various L2s across the four cluster groups in 2004

Figure 6.2 describing the 2004 Intended Effort data. The 2004 results bring only one relatively minor difference to the earlier results obtained by Csizér and Dörnyei (2005a): for the choice of English/US the scores of Groups 3 and 4 do not differ significantly. Because we find the same for English/UK for both 1999 and 2004, this seems to be a real trend and we will come back to this question later. Apart from this variation, we find a consistent relationship between the four motivational profiles and the two criterion measures in all the various L2/L2 community conditions and all the three survey phases, which provides a strong case for the validity of the clustering process.

The Difference Between Groups 2 and 3

Let us now turn to the intriguing phenomenon we find with regard to Groups 2 and 3, namely that their endorsement pattern shows a qualitative difference across the motivational dimensions (see Table 6.1). To start with, let us reiterate that the ANOVA statistics of the criterion measures presented in Tables 6.2 and 6.3 unambiguously indicated that Group 3 had a higher level of overall motivation than Group 2. The same conclusion can also be drawn from the fact that the 'Integrativeness' scores of Group 3 were significantly higher than those of Group 2 in every condition – please recall that in the previous chapter we showed that this variable (which we later relabelled as the Ideal L2 Self) had a

central position because it subsumed all the other motivational variables and mediated their effect onto the criterion measures 'single-handedly'. However, in spite of the overall superior motivational level of Group 3, we find that Group 2 students exceed Group 3 ones on a number of motivational dimensions. How can we interpret this seemingly contradictory situation? We will examine the different L2s separately.

The English/US pattern

Let us start our analysis by taking a closer look at the English/US scores in Table 6.1, since English is the most popular L2 in Hungary and we found that this popularity was typically fuelled by American rather than British associations. As can be seen, apart from Integrativeness, Group 3 exceeds Group 2 in Instrumentality, whereas Group 2 shows superiority in terms of Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers, Cultural Interest and Vitality. In describing the L2 Motivational Self System in the last chapter, we argued that the Ideal L2 Self is composed of two complementary aspects: In our idealised image of ourselves we want to appear personally agreeable (associated with positive attitudes towards the L2 community and culture) and also professionally successful (associated with certain instrumental motives). The reason why we have found the response patterns of Groups 2 and 3 highly interesting is that they seem to correspond very well to this theoretical dichotomy: Group 2 members are superior on the affective side – they have more positive attitudes towards the L2 community and culture – whereas Group 3 members are superior on the pragmatic side, placing more emphasis of the incentives of L2 proficiency. The important point from our perspective is that neither group has developed a fully-fledged salient Ideal L2 Self (which characterises Group 4 members) and, therefore, analysing their differences can help us to understand how the self-system works.

Learners in Group 3 have a powerful sense of the professional relevance of L2 proficiency but this is not accompanied by a similarly positive regard towards the L2 culture and community. This suggests that they have not internalised their professional interest to the extent that it has developed into an Ideal L2 Self. Thus, the motivational profile of this group is determined by the Ought-to L2 Self, which is the counterpart of the ideal self in Dörnyei's (2005) system described in the previous chapter. This explains why Group 3 learners are strong on instrumental motives but much weaker on other attitudinal aspects, and why their overall level of motivation does not reach that of members of Group 4.

Learners in Group 2 appear to be the reverse of Group 3 members: although they have positive attitudes towards everything that is associated with English, they do not see English as related to their future career/professional life (witnessed by the low instrumental score). They simply do not think that they will need the L2, which is a common

feature of many language learners. Thus, although they are positively disposed towards the target language, it simply does not reach the necessary level of relevance for them to develop into an Ideal L2 Self.

On the basis of the L2 Motivational Self System it can also be explained why learners in Group 2 display a lower overall level of motivation than those in Group 3: although no members of either group have a salient Ideal L2 Self, those in Group 3 are at least motivated by an Ought-to L2 Self.

The pattern associated with other L2s

As the above section shows, for English/US, the primary foreign language in Hungary, the cluster analysis appears to provide validation of Dörnyei's (2005) L2 Motivational Self System. If we look at the other languages in Table 6.1, we see a largely similar pattern to the above, but for some variables in which the English data revealed a superiority of Group 2, Group 3 scores actually exceed those of Group 2. The most important question from our perspective is what has happened to German and English/UK. In both cases, the reversed order (i.e. the order different from the English/US pattern) appears only with the Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers/Community factor and only in some years. We believe that this has to do with the rapid and somewhat confusing change of interethnic attitudes that has already been mentioned and which will be further analysed in the final chapter of this book. In any case, by 2004 the German data had reversed to the English/US pattern, which is important because German speakers represent by far the largest group of tourists visiting Hungary.

With regard to French and Italian, the Cultural Interest scores correspond to the English/US pattern, which is in line with the non-committed but 'benign' disposition of Group 2 proposed earlier. With both languages the Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers/Community and the Vitality scores are typically fairly close in Groups 2 and 3, with one-third of the scores being non-significant and the sequence of the scores also showing some fluctuation. The only consistent pattern in the French and Italian scores is that all the Vitality scores for French go against the US and German pattern, that is, Group 3 characterised by the Ought-to L2 Self had higher Vitality scores than Group 2. We can only speculate about the reason for this, but one explanation seems to make intuitive sense: In the case of French the vitality feature is rather ambiguous in general, and not just in Hungary but also worldwide, because French occupies a transitional position between a traditional international language and a non-world language with a certain amount of regional significance. It could be the case, then, that in Hungary only those learners endorse motives associated with the Ought-to French Self who belong to the 'French-is-important' camp. Assuming that there is such a camp is not unrealistic, given that the 2004 data were collected just a few months

before Hungary's joining the European Union in which France is a leading nation and the EU's two headquarters (in Strasbourg and Brussels) are also in primarily French-speaking regions. Thus, it is relatively easy to find arguments why the vitality of French is strong, yet the overall perception of French amongst Hungarians, as we have seen, is that it has passed its peak. Finally, Russian largely corresponds to the English/US pattern as only one score in each variable goes against the established sequence.

Language choice for English in 2004

When we looked at the scores on the criterion measures across the four cluster groups (Tables 6.2 and 6.3), we noted one area where the 2004 data brought about a change: the Language Choice score for English/US. We have already seen in the last chapter that the relationship between motivation and the choice of Global English is losing its strength because people tend to take up the study of English increasingly as a self-evident part of education rather than driven by a motivated decision. Thus, the increasingly globalised nature of English blurs the empirical results, and we believe that the fact that when it comes to choosing English Groups 3 and 4 perform equally well (see Table 6.3) is related to the same issue. As discussed in Chapter 1, Global English is losing its ethnic ownership and is becoming increasingly associated with a cosmopolitan and technologically advanced 'imagined community' and thus with the pathway to career success. Given this strong pragmatic loading of English, it seems logical that pragmatically-minded people who are pursuing the Ought-to L2 Self will choose to study English to an extent that is indistinguishable from those who possess a fully-fledged Ideal English Self. The main difference between the two groups is likely to be therefore not so much in their initial choice but rather in their follow-up, that is, how seriously they take their L2 studies once started. This assumption is borne out by the figures in Table 6.2, as there is a highly significant gap between Groups 3 and 4 in the amount of their Intended Effort.

The Size and Gender Composition of the Various Motivational Groups

Having established the validity of the clustering both by means of evaluating the cluster groups against external criterion measures and discussing the cluster characteristics within a theoretical framework, it is interesting to look at the size and gender variations across the four cluster groups. Table 6.4 presents the size of the cluster groups in terms of their percentages of the total sample. As could be expected, the percentages show considerable variation but the emerging pattern is in accordance with the popularity rank order of the five languages discussed in

Table 6.4 The percentage of students belonging to each cluster group for the five languages

	English/US (%)			English/UK (%)			German (%)			French (%)			Italian (%)			Russian (%)		
	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004
Group 1	6.5	8.6	10.2	10.7	10.6	11.7	14.6	17.9	17.9	19.3	21.9	23.6	16.9	23.9	23.7	30.9	29.0	34.3
Group 2	21.0	23.4	20.2	19.8	16.1	18.9	23.0	23.6	22.3	22.7	24.9	22.9	23.1	24.2	24.9	24.7	26.2	22.1
Group 3	16.9	15.6	20.9	27.3	25.6	24.7	23.2	24.6	25.3	25.0	25.8	24.7	28.0	24.5	24.6	23.1	29.2	26.1
Group 4	55.7	52.4	48.7	42.2	47.7	44.7	39.2	33.9	34.5	33.0	27.5	28.8	32.0	27.4	26.8	21.3	15.6	17.6

Chapter 3, according to which English was by far the most popular language in the sample, followed by German, French, Italian and finally Russian. Thus, we would expect English, the most popular language, to be associated with the largest Most Motivated Students group and Russian, the least popular language, with the largest Least Motivated Students group. As the table shows, this is indeed the case and all the other results spread logically and evenly between these two extremes.

Table 6.5 indicates the gender dominance in the different motivational clusters. The pattern confirms in a visually clear manner the findings presented in Chapter 4, whereby girls displayed superior language attitudes to boys across the board. All but one of the most motivated clusters are dominated by girls and most of the less motivated clusters are dominated by boys. These findings are in accordance with results typically reported in the literature from a wide variety of learning contexts, indicating on the one hand that girls are more successful in virtually every aspect of language learning, and on the other hand that foreign language learning is increasingly seen by boys as a 'girly' subject. Although some hypotheses have been proposed about the reasons for this general pattern, to the best of our knowledge no comprehensive explanation has been provided to date about the marked gender variation.

Third Language Interference in Language Choice and Intended Effort

The cluster analysis was carried out separately for each language, and therefore every student was assigned a separate motivational group membership index with regard to each L2. This means that, for example, a learner could belong to the most motivated cluster in English and to the least motivated group in Italian at the same time. Looking at the combinations of the various memberships can, then, answer the question as to whether it is better to be motivated to focus only on a single language, or whether an overall interest in foreign languages – as indicated by belonging to the highly motivated groups across the board – provides a stronger commitment. A further question is how Global English affects preferences for other, less vital languages.

As a first step, we have divided the learners into five groups, depending on how many 'most motivated group' membership they achieved across the languages (i.e. how many times they qualified in Group 4 in Table 6.1). In this analysis we left Russian out because the learners' attitudes towards it were so low that we could not expect the preference figures to provide a reliable contribution; we also used only one index for English, that associated with the US, as this was the dominant perception in the sample. Thus, we obtained five groups (ranging from 0 memberships to 4 memberships, with the latter group made up of

Table 6.5 Cluster membership and gender: crosstable analysis with the over-represented^a gender for each cluster

	English/US				English/UK				German			French			Italian			Russian		
	1993	1999	2004	boys	boys	1993	1999	2004	boys	boys	1993	1999	2004	boys	boys	1993	1999	2004	boys	boys
Group 1	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	—	boys	boys	boys
Group 2	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	—	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	—	—	—	girls	—	girls
Group 3	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	boys	girls	—	—	—	—	girls	—	—	—
Group 4	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	girls	—	girls	girls	girls

^aThe standard adjusted residual is higher than +2.

learners who had the highest level motivational profile in all the languages analysed: English, German, French and Italian) and then conducted an analysis of variance to examine how the scores on the two criterion measures varied across the five groups. As can be seen in Table 6.6, with regard to Intended Effort the picture is straightforward: the breadth of one's L2 motivation (as indicated by the number of top group memberships) is in a direct positive relationship with the intended level of effort to learn all the L2s in question (for a visual representation of this trend, see Figure 6.3). That is, the more often someone belonged to the most motivated group in various languages, the greater amount of effort the person wanted to invest into the learning of any of these languages. Because we suggested earlier that membership in a most motivated group is an indication of the salience of one's Ideal L2 Self, this finding means that a highly developed Ideal Language Self is associated with a general interest in languages – a finding which is in accordance with Gardner's (1985) original conceptualisation of integrativeness, which also contains an 'interest in foreign languages' component.

The interesting question is whether the results for Language Choice display the same pattern as for Intended Effort. Although the two variables are obviously linked – that is, the extent of one's willingness to choose an L2 and the level of effort one intends to expend on learning it are interrelated – there is one big difference between the two measures. While the responses for Intended Effort for different L2s are unrelated to each other (i.e. one can assign the highest score to all the L2s), with regard to Language Choice one is forced to make preferences, both in real life (because our capacity for L2 learning is limited) and also in our actual survey (because students were asked to choose and rank order three languages). Thus, the choice of one language inevitably affects that of another. The pattern in Table 6.7 reflects this difference because instead of the straightforward positive relationship that characterised Intended Effort, we find a more complex picture.

The results for French in Table 6.7 are the closest to the straightforward pattern obtained for Intended Effort. This makes sense: because most Hungarian learners want to master English and German first, only the best and most motivated learners will attempt French. Therefore, here the number of 'most motivated learner group' membership is relevant and correlates with the desire to learn French. The other extreme is Italian, where we find a confusing pattern. This is, we believe, due to the fact that Italian is only the fourth in the language preference rank scale, whereas a typical Hungarian learner would master only one L2 (at best), with only the best ones having a serious go at two or (even more rarely) three L2s, and learning four languages is almost unheard of. Thus, the Italian scores are not at all realistic or stable in this respect.

Table 6.6 Analysis of variance of Intended Effort to learn the various target languages in cluster groups defined by the number of 'most motivated cluster' membership

No of most motivated cluster (Group 4) membership	Size of group (%)			English			German			French			Italian		
	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004
	22.4	26.9	29.3	3.65	3.66	3.68	3.30	3.11	2.81	2.77	2.55	2.35	2.66	2.36	2.36
0	28.6	30.1	27.2	4.23	4.31	4.22	3.61	3.48	3.26	3.07	2.93	2.86	3.00	2.78	2.86
1	24.2	24.2	24.6	4.46	4.50	4.49	3.89	3.76	3.49	3.34	3.48	3.28	3.26	3.34	3.29
2	16.3	12.7	13.3	4.59	4.60	4.60	4.08	4.02	3.72	4.01	3.90	3.90	3.89	3.74	3.73
3	8.5	6.1	5.6	4.69	4.81	4.77	4.37	4.39	4.28	4.10	4.17	4.05	4.08	4.18	3.97
4				184.67	165.86	191.20	110.63	100.29	135.93	228.02	209.89	299.06	208.62	216.01	227.35
F				0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
p				0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Post hoc comparison ^a : LSD				1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
				2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
				3, 4	3	3	3	3	3	3, 4	3	3, 4	3	3	3
					4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

^aNumbers refer to the groups; numbers in the same line indicate non-significant mean differences, different lines indicate significant differences.

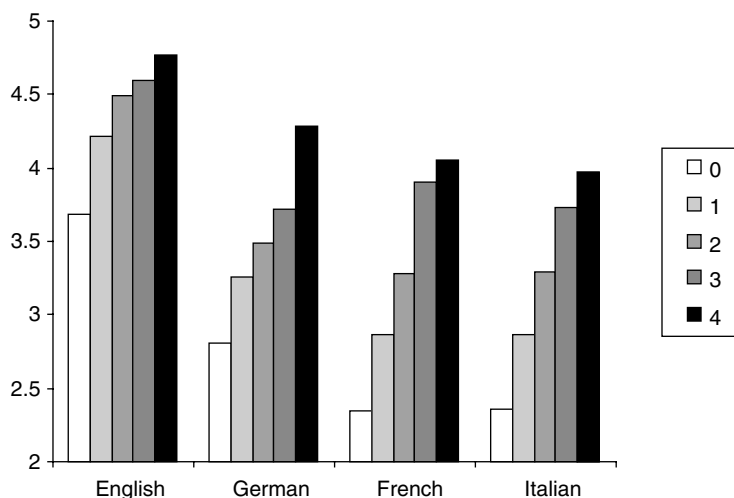


Figure 6.3 Visual representation of Intended Effort to learn the various target languages in cluster groups defined by the number of 'most motivated cluster' membership

With English and German we find a pattern that is very different from each other and also from that of French (for a visual representation, see Figure 6.4). For English it does not matter what one's motivational profile is like because the data reveal a very high general level of endorsement across all the categories: even the smallest coefficient (for Group 0 in 1993) is 2.24 out of a maximum of 3, which actually exceeds the largest coefficient found for German in any of the cells (1.88). The lack of any group-based differences (except for one in 1993) reflects well how the perceived global status of English affects the whole population.

With German the surprising finding is that the top scoring groups for Language Choice were Groups 0 and 4 jointly in all the three phases of the survey (see Figure 6.4). That is, one was most likely to chose German either if one had either a very broad or a very limited interest in foreign languages, and the fact that the same pattern emerged in all the three phases of the survey suggests that this is a consistent phenomenon. What causes this seemingly illogical pattern? We believe that this finding is related to the substantial interference by Global English. If a learner was *not* interested in language learning (i.e. he/she belonged to Group 0) then he/she was quite likely to give a high mark in the questionnaire for German, the traditional *lingua franca* in Hungary and in Central Europe – this was merely a 'default' rating without implying any real underlying motivation. If the person had *some* interest in L2s (belonging to Groups 1–3), he/she was likely to prefer English, which is perceived to be the dominant world language – hence the lower score for German

Table 6.7 Analysis of variance of L2 Choice preferences in cluster groups defined by the number of 'most motivated cluster' membership

No. of most motivated cluster (Group 4) membership	Size of group (%)			English			German			French			Italian		
	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004
0	22.4	26.9	29.3	2.24	2.32	2.40	1.88	1.81	1.67	0.67	0.73	0.66	0.39	0.43	0.54
1	28.6	30.1	27.2	2.43	2.41	2.42	1.77	1.66	1.55	0.79	0.83	0.83	0.52	0.54	0.64
2	24.2	24.2	24.6	2.40	2.38	2.39	1.75	1.61	1.47	0.84	0.90	0.89	0.57	0.63	0.77
3	16.3	12.7	13.3	2.41	2.34	2.35	1.67	1.54	1.43	1.00	1.01	1.08	0.63	0.69	0.73
4	8.5	6.1	5.6	2.47	2.44	2.47	1.82	1.83	1.73	0.95	0.93	0.97	0.51	0.53	0.56
F				9.07	1.80	1.19	4.79	7.82	9.99	20.05	10.05	30.13	11.36	10.66	13.23
p				0.000	0.125	0.315	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Post hoc comparison ^a : LSD				0 2,3,1,4	—	—	3,2 2,1,4 4,0	3,2 2,1 0,4	3,2 2,1 0,4	0 1,2 4,3	0 1,2,4 4,3	0 1,2 4,3	0 1,4,2 2,3	0,4 4,1 2,3	0,4 4,1 3,2

^aNumbers refer to the groups; numbers in the same line indicate non-significant mean differences, different lines indicate significant differences.

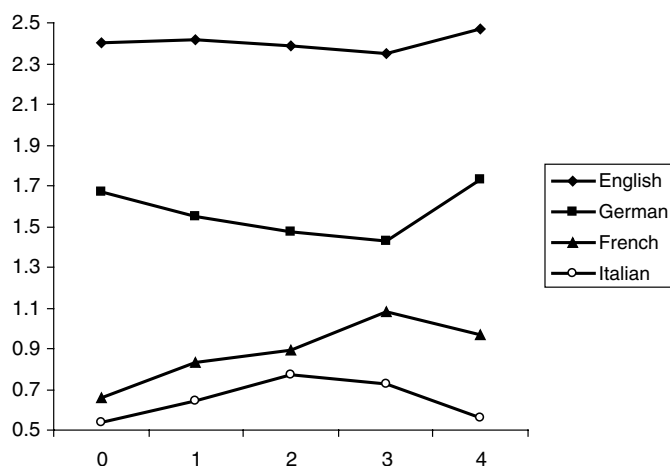


Figure 6.4 Visual representation of Language Choice to learn the various target languages in cluster groups defined by the number of 'most motivated cluster' membership (2004)

in the interim groups. However, if the person was *really* interested in language learning (i.e. he/she belonged to Group 4), he/she was likely to want to learn both English and German, the main world and regional languages – hence the high score for German. In order to test this hypothesis, we have conducted a more in-depth analysis, this time only focusing on the German/English interference, which will be described below.

Third Language Interference: Focus on English and German

In order to achieve a detailed understanding of how the study of English and German interfered with each other, we have computed 16 new learner groups based on the combinations of the four learner profiles (ranging from 'Least Motivated Learners' to 'Most motivated learners') for English and German described in Table 6.1. We then compared the two criterion measures in the 16 groups separately: Table 6.8 presents the results for all the three phases of the survey. As can be seen, the trends for Intended Effort and Language Choice are almost exactly the same: students prefer German to English only (1) if they are motivated to learn German and they are *not* motivated to learn English (Groups 2–4), or (2) if they are *highly* motivated to learn German and only marginally to learn English (Groups 8–12). This clearly shows that the motivation to learn German is dependent on the motivation to learn English, whereas the latter is not affected by the former.

Table 6.8 Intended Effort and L2 Choice preferences within the 16 combined cluster groups of English and German

			Intended Effort				L2 Choice Preferences													
			1993		1999		2004		1993		1999		2004							
			English	German	English	German	English	German	English	German	English	German	English	German						
Original cluster groups ^a																				
1.	English = 1	German = 1	2.70	ns	2.49	2.57	>	2.32	3.04	>	2.05	1.62	>	1.19	1.57	ns	1.49	2.19	>	1.19
2.	English = 1	German = 2	3.05	ns	3.12	2.65	>	2.90	3.36	>	2.98	1.45	>	2.05	1.66	>	1.98	1.94	ns	1.70
3.	English = 1	German = 3	2.99	<	3.77	2.58	>	3.38	3.15	ns	3.27	1.56	>	2.47	1.50	>	2.53	1.85	>	2.24
4.	English = 1	German = 4	2.62	<	4.21	2.81	>	3.93	3.17	>	4.19	1.18	>	2.74	1.41	>	2.52	1.67	>	2.46
5.	English = 2	German = 1	3.39	>	2.48	3.65	>	2.32	3.35	>	1.99	2.00	>	0.88	2.42	>	1.02	2.24	>	0.84
6.	English = 2	German = 2	3.64	>	3.24	3.79	>	3.08	3.52	>	2.77	2.17	>	1.61	2.25	>	1.36	2.22	>	1.50
7.	English = 2	German = 3	3.51	<	3.91	3.78	ns	3.80	3.53	>	3.37	1.82	>	2.23	2.11	ns	2.09	2.20	>	1.94
8.	English = 2	German = 4	3.7	<	4.44	3.79	>	4.26	3.51	>	4.07	1.79	>	2.60	1.95	>	2.28	1.74	>	2.24
9.	English = 3	German = 1	4.24	>	2.65	4.19	>	2.44	4.40	>	1.92	2.60	>	0.98	2.58	>	1.02	2.65	>	0.71
10.	English = 3	German = 2	4.37	>	3.27	4.25	>	3.01	4.31	>	2.75	2.59	>	1.38	2.35	>	1.34	2.62	>	1.23
11.	English = 3	German = 3	4.23	>	3.85	4.34	>	3.94	4.34	>	3.51	2.44	>	2.03	2.47	>	2.05	2.53	>	1.73
12.	English = 3	German = 4	4.22	ns	4.23	4.26	ns	4.36	4.46	>	4.25	2.23	ns	2.39	2.04	>	2.45	2.33	>	2.09
13.	English = 4	German = 1	4.70	>	2.43	4.67	>	2.21	4.60	>	1.78	2.79	>	0.74	2.65	>	0.62	2.55	>	0.46
14.	English = 4	German = 2	4.68	>	3.28	4.73	>	3.09	4.65	>	2.82	2.79	>	1.17	2.71	>	1.05	2.62	>	0.97
15.	English = 4	German = 3	4.67	>	4.01	4.70	>	3.99	4.66	>	3.57	2.71	>	1.73	2.67	>	1.80	2.64	>	1.48
16.	English = 4	German = 4	4.66	>	4.40	4.75	>	4.41	4.67	>	4.27	2.49	>	2.11	2.49	>	2.04	2.53	>	1.99

'<' and '>' indicate significant differences, while 'ns' denotes non-significant results.

^a1 = Group 1 (Least Motivated Students); 2 = Group 2; 3 = Group 3; 4 = Group 4 (Most Motivated Students).

The above analysis focused on the *comparison* of the motivation to learn the two languages. It is also interesting to examine, however, whether the intensity (i.e. magnitude) of the motivated behaviour showed any systematic variation across the 16 groups, because this would reveal situations where someone may prefer, say, English to German but still the fact that he/she likes German as well reduces the amount of effort he/she is ready to invest into English. An ANOVA of the criterion measures across the 16 cluster groups produced highly significant results in all the four language-criterion permutations (see Appendix 13). With regard to the Intended Effort to learn English (see Figure 6.5) we

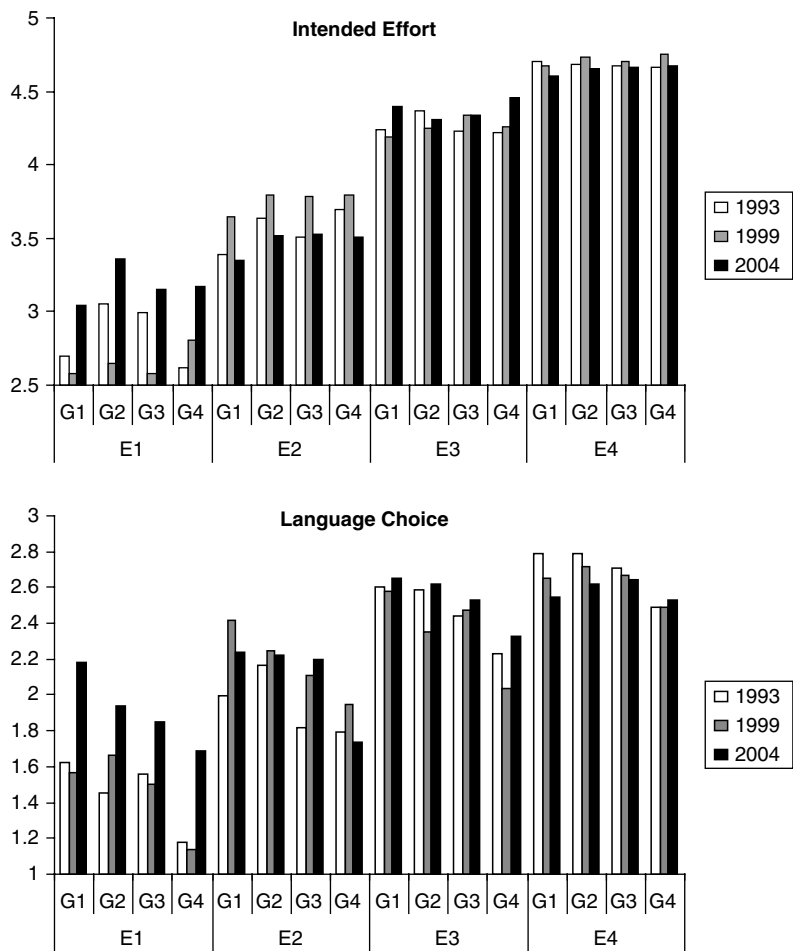


Figure 6.5 Visual representation of Intended Effort and Language Choice for English in the 16 combinations of the English and German cluster groups

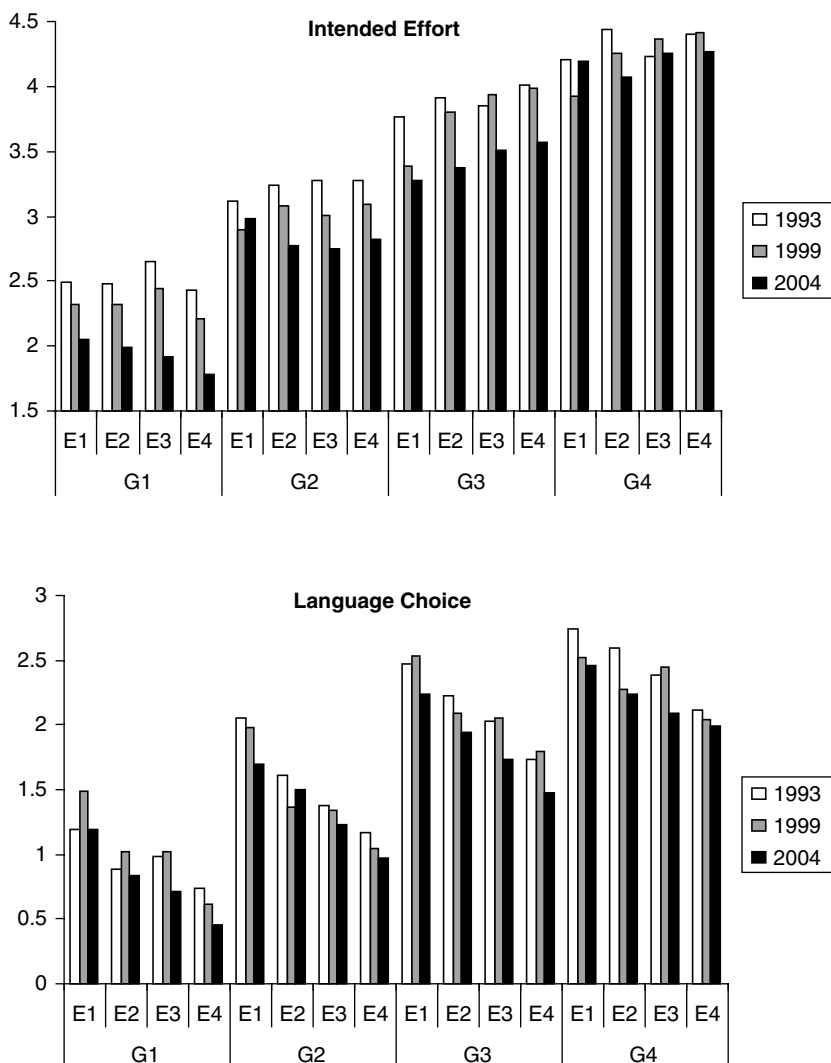


Figure 6.6 Visual representation of Intended Effort and Language Choice for German in the 16 combinations of the English and German cluster groups

find an almost straightforward positive linear relationship between English group membership and the effort scores: the higher the group level of English, the higher the effort scores, and the level of German group membership does not seem to make any difference. Thus, in this regard English is not affected by German.

With regard to English Language Choice the picture is somewhat different. As illustrated by Figure 6.5, the rhythmically sloping pattern of the chart shows some German interference: the 'bumps' in the chart coincide with the lowest German group membership level (i.e. Level 1) and the 'dips' with the highest German group membership level (i.e. Level 4). Thus, even though students in general tend to express a preference for English to German, whether or not they like German does modify their overall eagerness to choose English.

Let us now look at the German results. Our earlier analyses have already indicated a strong interference of Global English when it comes to learning other languages, and indeed the Language Choice scores for German confirm this (see Appendix 10). The chart for German Language Choice in Figure 6.6 presents some highly prominent fluctuation, attesting to strong English interference, with the peaks coinciding with the lowest English level and the dips with the highest English level. With regard to Intended Effort to learn German, a slightly different picture emerges. As stated earlier, the intended effort scores for different languages are not interdependent in the same way as the language choice scores and therefore high Global English group membership does not automatically reduce the German scores. Indeed, the tendency we can observe in the German Intended Effort chart in Figure 6.6 is in accordance with the earlier finding that a salient Ideal L2 Self is associated with a high overall level of motivation to learn foreign languages in general. As Figure 6.6 shows, in the upper half of the chart the commitment to learn English appears to be *adding* to some extent to the magnitude of Intended Effort to learn German.

To summarise our findings concerning target language interference and the interplay of the various learner profiles, the results revealed an interesting and slightly contradictory situation: while it is beneficial for a student to have a wide interest in foreign languages in general as this seems to result in a more established and salient Ideal L2 Self and, subsequently, increased intended language learning effort, being motivated to learn more than one L2 at the same time also causes interferences in that positive attitudes towards one language can go at the expense of another. Thus, there is a 'competition' amongst the various target languages for the learners' limited language learning capacity, and in this competition the clear winner appears to be Global English, even though we have found some negative German interference even related to the English scores.

Chapter 7

The Effects of Intercultural Contact on Language Attitudes and Language Learning Motivation

The analyses presented in this final chapter were initiated halfway through our research programme, after we had come across some unexpected results concerning intercultural contact. We found that the increased contact with foreign visitors and foreign cultural products that was brought about by the liberalisation of Hungarian politics and economy in the 1990s (see Chapter 1) did not result in the improvement of the participants' language and intercultural attitudes but, to the contrary, most attitudinal variables, including the attitudes towards meeting foreign visitors, showed a significant decrease. In the light of the review of relevant research on tourism presented in Chapter 1, the likely first reaction to these results is to assume that Hungary provides an example of the not uncommon phenomenon whereby an increase in the number of tourists brings about a decrease in their appreciation. However, a closer look at the actual tourism statistics in Hungary indicates that the situation is more complex than this: as we have seen in Table 1.3, although there was a large increase in the number of foreign tourists visiting Hungary between 1989 and 1993, after this year the total number of tourists actually decreased and although the past few years have brought about a new momentum in the tourist industry, the number of visitors has not regained the 1993 level yet. Although there are small variations on this overall pattern in the number of visitors from specific countries, the overall trend is the same and therefore we can conclude that the salient decrease in interethnic and language attitudes cannot be explained simply on the basis of the level of tourism. To obtain a more elaborate picture, this chapter will examine the contact-attitude situation more closely; based on Dörnyei and Csizér's (2005) results, we first analyse the 1999 data and then examine the conclusions in the light of the 2004 data.

Students' Perception of the Number of Visitors

We began this chapter by stating that an unexpected finding of our project was that students' attitudes towards meeting visitors decreased between 1993 and 2004. This is clearly shown in Table 7.1, which presents ANOVA statistics comparing the changes across the L2 communities examined. As can be seen, the decrease is consistent across all the languages, except for Russian in 2004, which we argued in Chapter 3 to be only a readjustment of the very low earlier scores that had been the result of a protest reaction against the previous colonial power.

As pointed out above, the decreasing attitudes occurred in a context in which the total number of tourists did not grow but actually decreased considerably. An interesting question is whether the participants were

Table 7.1 Students' attitudes towards meeting foreign visitors

<i>Nationality of the visitors</i>	<i>Date of survey</i>	<i>Attitudes towards visitors (5-point scale)</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F-value</i>	<i>Sequence^a</i>
German	1993	3.98	1.11	214.598***	1 > 2 > 3
	1999	3.77	1.27		
	2004	3.46	1.32		
British	1993	4.15	1.02	70.047***	1 > 2 > 3
	1999	3.99	1.18		
	2004	3.87	1.27		
American	1993	4.46	0.94	348.232***	1 > 2 > 3
	1999	4.29	1.09		
	2004	3.86	1.33		
Italian	1993	3.88	1.13	129.212***	1 > 2 > 3
	1999	3.64	1.28		
	2004	3.47	1.34		
French	1993	3.81	1.15	159.756***	1 > 2 > 3
	1999	3.59	1.28		
	2004	3.35	1.34		
Russian	1993	2.51	1.26	9.368***	1 > 2 < 3
	1999	2.43	1.25		
	2004	2.55	1.27		

*** $p < 0.001$

^aAll the differences are statistically significant.

aware of this decrease or whether the higher profile of foreign influences created the false belief in them that tourist numbers were on the increase (in which case the worsening attitudes could still be attributed to the imagined higher number of visitors). Table 7.2 presents data describing the students' self-report perceptions of the frequency of meeting foreign visitors. The figures indicate that Hungarian school children observed the level of tourism remarkably accurately. They correctly recognised the decrease of the total number of visitors between 1993 and 1999, and, in fact, the 2004 data show that they thought that the declining trend

Table 7.2 Students' perception of the number of foreign visitors to Hungary

<i>Nationality of the visitors</i>	<i>Date of survey</i>	<i>Perceived frequency of encounters (5-point scale)</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F-value</i>	<i>Sequence^a</i>
All nationalities examined	1993	2.51	0.80	86.099*	1 > 2 > 3
	1999	2.38	0.81		
	2004	2.29	0.81		
German	1993	3.55	1.25	63.855***	1 ns 2 > 3
	1999	3.53	1.30		
	2004	3.28	1.31		
British	1993	2.58	1.17	0.006	—
	1999	2.58	1.25		
	2004	2.57	1.23		
American	1993	2.44	1.23	32.933***	1 < 2 > 3
	1999	2.56	1.30		
	2004	2.33	1.26		
Italian	1993	2.26	1.12	85.911***	1 > 2 ns 3
	1999	2.00	1.07		
	2004	2.00	1.07		
French	1993	2.14	1.01	68.700***	1 > 2 > 3
	1999	1.96	1.02		
	2004	1.91	0.98		
Russian	1993	2.06	1.11	311.644***	1 > 2 ns 3
	1999	1.61	0.95		
	2004	1.61	0.88		

*** $p < 0.001$

^a'<' and '>' denote significant differences; 'ns' denotes nonsignificant differences.

continued, whereas by 2004 there had been a small increase. They also perceived correctly the decrease in the number of the German-speaking tourists, and what is quite remarkable, the participants were aware of the rise-fall pattern of the number of American tourists. The perceived magnitude of the three other L2 groups was not far off the mark either and thus we can conclude that Hungarian students did not harbour any consistent false beliefs about unrealistically high tourism levels – if anything, they underestimated the actual figures.

Factor Analysis of the Contact Variables

In order to examine any contact effects more closely, Dörnyei and Csizér (2005) obtained three different contact variables for the 1999 dataset, based on (1) the students’ self-report measures; (2) statistical data concerning the number of visitors in a particular region; and (3) expert panel judgements about the number of tourists visiting each locality. In the 2004 phase of the survey we collected the same contact information. Dörnyei and Csizér intended to generate a composite index of the level of tourism by factor analysing the three contact measures, hoping to receive a straightforward single-factor solution that would make it possible to use the saved factor score as the tourism index. To our surprise, rather than the expected one-factor solution, a two-factor solution emerged and the 2004 results replicated the same pattern closely (see Table 7.3 for the overall figures and Appendix 14 for the factor matrices for each L2/L2 community). Factor 1 concerns the external, objective contact characteristics of a given locality (i.e. the region’s rate of visitation), whereas Factor 2 is determined by the students’ subjective perceptions. Accordingly, for the analyses described in this chapter we will use both contact indices; please note, however, that the objective measure does not reflect the participants’ actual level of contact but rather the locality’s ‘contact potential’.

Table 7.3 Factor analysis of the contact variables (principal component analysis, oblique rotation, pattern matrix)

	1999		2004	
	<i>Factor 1: Objective assessment</i>	<i>Factor 2: Subjective assessment</i>	<i>Factor 1: Objective assessment</i>	<i>Factor 1: Objective assessment</i>
Tourist statistics	0.954	−0.040	0.907	−0.059
Expert judgement	0.931	0.044	0.874	0.065
Students’ overall perception	0.000	0.999	0.002	0.998

The Impact of Objective and Subjective Contact on the L2-Specific Variables in 1999

In order to understand the relationship between exposure to inter-cultural contact and L2-specific variables assessed in our survey, Dörnyei and Csizér (2005) divided the 1999 sample into (twice) five groups based on (1) the objective contact potential index of the localities they came from, and (2) the participants' subjective contact index, and conducted an analysis of variance across the two sets of groupings. Table 7.4 contains the results of the ANOVA for the L2-specific variables (because Milieu and Self-Confidence were assessed globally, i.e. unrelated to specific target languages, they will be discussed separately below); the last column of the table contains the results of post-hoc analysis for the variables that showed significant contact-related variation.

By and large, the results in Table 7.4 reveal a similar pattern for most variables and languages: the various L2-related variables generally show a positive linear relationship with both types of contact variables; that is, the higher the degree of contact, the more positive the students'

Table 7.4 Analysis of variance of the L2-related variables across the five objective and subjective contact categories in 1999

		Cont. type	Degree of contact					F	Sequence ^a
			1	2	3	4	5		
German	Integrativeness	obj.	3.56	3.48	3.58	3.65	3.25	17.50***	5/2, 1/1, 3, 4
		subj.	3.11	3.29	3.39	3.52	3.80	46.72***	1/2, 3/4/5
	Instrumentality	obj.	4.36	4.32	4.47	4.47	4.31	10.54***	5, 2, 1/3, 4
		subj.	4.19	4.23	4.33	4.43	4.54	33.30***	1, 2/3/4/5
	Vitality	obj.	4.20	4.20	4.27	4.30	4.21	3.13	—
		subj.	4.10	4.09	4.18	4.23	4.40	29.47***	2/1/3, 4/5
	Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	3.90	3.78	3.86	3.91	3.60	12.89***	5/2, 3/3, 1, 4
		subj.	3.27	3.58	3.74	3.86	4.09	60.38***	1/2/3/4/5
	Cultural Interest	obj.	3.64	3.51	3.55	3.64	3.38	10.90***	5/2, 3/3, 1/1, 4
		subj.	3.12	3.28	3.40	3.61	3.86	73.48***	1/2/3/4/5
	Effort	obj.	3.56	3.54	3.66	3.70	3.40	7.50***	5/2, 1, 3/3, 4
		subj.	3.07	3.31	3.47	3.64	3.87	43.41***	1/2/3/4/5
	L2 Choice	obj.	1.82	1.70	1.84	1.79	1.26	40.28***	5/2, 4/4, 1, 3
		subj.	1.52	1.66	1.64	1.66	1.79	5.57***	1, 3, 2/3, 2, 4/5

(continued)

Table 7.4 *Continued*

		Cont. type	Degree of contact					F	Sequence ^a
			1	2	3	4	5		
English/ UK	Integrativeness	obj.	4.09	4.20	4.21	4.29	4.26	6.67***	1/2, 3, 5/5, 4
		subj.	3.97	4.16	4.30	4.38	4.48	38.65***	1/2/3, 4/4, 5
	Instrumentality	obj.	4.63	4.73	4.74	4.79	4.86	21.21***	1/2, 3/3, 4/5
		subj.	4.59	4.76	4.80	4.85	4.86	35.04***	1/2, 3/3, 4, 5
	Vitality	obj.	4.24	4.26	4.33	4.39	4.29	5.60***	1, 2, 5/2, 5, 3/3, 4
		subj.	4.09	4.27	4.38	4.43	4.54	43.04***	1/2/3, 4/5
	Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	3.98	4.02	4.10	4.17	4.19	8.63***	1,2/2,3/3, 4/4, 5
		subj.	3.63	4.05	4.23	4.39	4.56	122.2***	1/2/3/4/5
	Cultural Interest	obj.	3.57	3.56	3.61	3.68	3.67	2.63	—
		subj.	3.15	3.51	3.80	3.90	4.17	117.6***	1/2/3/4/5
	Effort	obj.	4.06	4.23	4.23	4.32	4.41	13.49***	1/2, 3, 4/4, 5
		subj.	3.95	4.22	4.37	4.49	4.46	37.94***	1/2/3, 5/5, 4
	L2 Choice	obj.	2.31	2.41	2.38	2.37	2.41	1.63	1, 4, 3/4, 3, 2, 5
		subj.	2.30	2.39	2.39	2.39	2.44	1.96	—
English/ US	Integrativeness	obj.							
		subj.	3.94	4.21	4.34	4.38	4.39	36.28	1/2/3, 4, 5
	Instrumentality	obj.							
		subj.	4.62	4.76	4.80	4.83	4.83	22.91***	1/2, 3/3, 4, 5
	Vitality	obj.	4.80	4.83	4.87	4.89	4.85	4.82**	1, 2/2, 5, 3/5, 3, 4
		subj.	4.79	4.84	4.87	4.91	4.90	9.64***	1/2, 3/3, 5, 4
	Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	4.31	4.41	4.41	4.48	4.34	5.96***	1, 5/5, 2, 3/2, 3, 4
		subj.	4.13	4.39	4.47	4.55	4.63	45.79***	1/2/3/4, 5
	Cultural Interest	obj.	4.38	4.40	4.41	4.46	4.42	1.36	—
		subj.	4.24	4.38	4.48	4.55	4.63	31.12***	1/2/3, 4/4, 5
	Effort	obj.							
		subj.	3.97	4.25	4.38	4.49	4.35	32.64***	1/2, 5/5, 3/4
	L2 Choice	obj.							
		subj.	2.27	3.37	2.43	2.49	2.41	1.03	—

(continued)

Table 7.4 *Continued*

		Cont. type	Degree of contact					F	Sequence ^a
			1	2	3	4	5		
French	Integrativeness	obj.	3.19	3.25	3.19	3.27	3.26	1.15	—
		subj.	2.94	3.31	3.56	3.71	3.60	65.74***	1/2/3, 5, 4
	Instrumentality	obj.	3.40	3.45	3.38	3.42	3.52	3.65**	3, 1, 4, 2/2, 5
		subj.	3.20	3.46	3.74	3.83	3.70	66.74***	1/2/5, 3, 4
	Vitality	obj.	3.96	3.90	3.94	3.99	3.95	1.55	—
		subj.	3.83	3.97	4.07	4.18	4.12	20.95***	1/2/3, 5/5, 4
	Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	3.80	3.77	3.81	3.88	3.82	1.32	—
		subj.	3.49	3.92	4.16	4.25	4.25	85.57***	1/2/3, 4, 5
	Cultural Interest	obj.	3.13	3.12	3.09	3.16	3.07	0.78	—
		subj.	2.80	3.18	3.52	3.54	3.56	77.08***	1/2/3, 4, 5
	Effort	obj.	3.13	3.18	3.07	3.16	3.26	2.46*	3, 1, 4, 2/4, 2, 5
		subj.	2.84	3.24	3.52	3.68	3.66	56.32***	1/2/3, 5, 4
Italian	Integrativeness	obj.	0.89	0.92	0.83	0.80	0.83	2.41*	4, 3, 5/3, 5, 1/5, 1, 2
		subj.	0.75	0.86	0.99	1.03	1.04	11.74***	1/2/3, 4, 5
	Integrativeness	obj.	2.98	3.05	3.04	3.20	3.37	16.95***	1, 3, 2/4/5
		subj.	2.81	3.16	3.42	3.74	3.96	88.27***	1/2/3/4, 5
	Instrumentality	obj.	2.99	3.08	3.00	3.10	3.15	4.62**	1, 3, 2/2, 4, 5
		subj.	2.85	3.06	3.29	3.49	3.75	72.08***	1/2/3/4/5
	Vitality	obj.	3.57	3.58	3.55	3.59	3.54	0.656	—
		subj.	3.46	3.54	3.71	3.78	3.99	30.75***	1/2/3, 4/5
	Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	3.77	3.78	3.77	3.94	4.00	9.47***	1, 3, 2/4, 5
		subj.	3.53	3.90	4.21	4.35	4.53	101.4***	1/2/3/4, 5
	Cultural Interest	obj.	3.10	3.07	3.06	3.16	3.13	1.24	—
		subj.	2.83	3.10	3.42	3.54	3.88	72.64***	1/2/3, 4/5
	Effort	obj.	2.82	2.90	2.90	3.08	3.34	20.46***	1, 2, 3/4, 5
		subj.	2.65	3.05	3.33	3.67	3.98	79.85***	1/2/3/4/5
	L2 Choice	obj.	0.47	0.51	0.45	0.56	0.75	15.95***	3, 1, 2/2, 4/5
		subj.	0.44	0.50	0.65	0.87	1.13	35.53***	1/2/3/4/5

^aNumbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark ‘/’ indicates non-significant differences between two groups, while ‘//’ denotes significant differences.

disposition. There is only one exception: in the case of German the subjective and objective contact factors behaved completely differently in terms of their relationship with the motivational and attitudinal variables. The subjective contact measure showed a relationship resembling linearity, as students in higher contact groups scored significantly higher on the scales, while the objective contact potential measure displayed a curvilinear relationship, with the highest contact group scoring lowest on the scales. Furthermore, the two motivated behavioural criterion measures – Intended Effort and Language Choice – displayed exactly the same tendency as the one described above. To illustrate the contrasting pattern, Figure 7.1 presents line diagrams describing the changes in one attitudinal and one motivational measure (Attitudes Towards German Speakers and Language Choice: German) according to the degrees of the subjective and objective contact. We have also conducted a multivariate trend analysis on the objective-contact-related series of the five attitudinal measures and the results confirmed that the trends are indeed curvilinear rather than linear (Multivariate $F = 5.160$, $p < 0.001$; Linear $F = 1.676$; $p = \text{NS}$; Quadratic $F = 4.163$; $p < 0.01$).

We are going to explore this contrasting phenomenon further below but let us recall at this point that the fact that German stood out of the other target languages is not at all accidental since German-speaking tourists are by far the largest subgroup within all the visitors to Hungary (making up around 30% of the total number of tourists); for example, because of their predominance, the first foreign language that people in

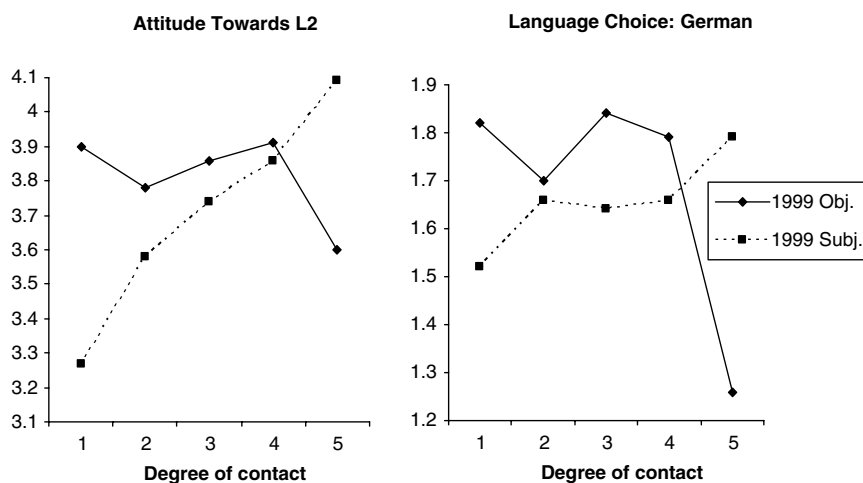


Figure 7.1 Changes in attitudes towards German speakers and language choice: German according to the degree of objective and subjective contact in 1999

Table 7.5 Analysis of variance of Milieu and Self-Confidence across the five contact groups in 1999

	<i>Cont. type</i>	<i>Degree of contact</i>					<i>F</i>	<i>Sequence^a</i>
		<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>		
Milieu	obj.	4.32	4.41	4.50	4.53	4.60	21.35***	1/2/3, 4/5
	subj. ^b	4.28	4.48	4.54	4.56	4.57	30.20***	1/2/3/4, 5
Self-Confidence	obj.	3.23	3.21	3.32	3.34	3.38	7.49***	2, 1/3, 4, 5
	subj.	3.12	3.24	3.33	3.39	3.47	27.37***	1, 2/3/4, 5

^aNumbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark ‘/’ indicates non-significant differences between two groups, while ‘/’ denotes significant differences.

^bThe subjective contact measure has been computed as the composite of the L2-specific measures.

the Hungarian tourist industry are encouraged/required to master is German rather than English.

Table 7.5 presents similar ANOVA results to Table 7.4 for the two non-L2-specific measures, Milieu and Self-Confidence. The data display a very straightforward pattern: regardless of the type of contact index, the more frequent the contact, the higher the perceived milieu and self-confidence ratings. Thus, we find here the same trend as with all the other variables, with the exception of German-specific variables across the objective contact categories.

The Combined Effect of Objective and Subjective Contact on German in 1999

Because in the case of German the objective and subjective contact indices were associated with a contrasting attitudinal and motivational pattern, we have examined the combined effect of the two contact conditions in relation to the German-related dispositions. For this purpose, a composite contact measure was computed by first dividing both types of contact measures into three categories – low, medium and high – and then computing the nine possible permutations of these. Figure 7.2 displays the combined effect of the two contact factors on Attitudes Towards German Speakers and Language Choice: German, and Appendix 12 contains similar ANOVA statistics to those in Table 7.4 with all the German-related variables analysed across the nine contact categories (which are the permutations of the 3 × 3 design).

As can be seen in the figure, the relationship between the composite contact measure and Attitudes Towards German Speakers reveals an intriguing pattern. Within the same subjective contact category, people who come from places that are less frequently visited by foreign tourists

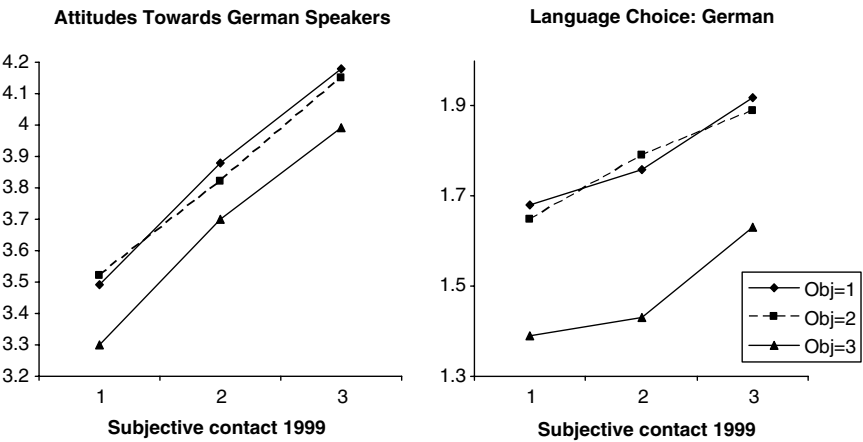


Figure 7.2 Changes in Attitudes Towards German Speakers and Language Choice: German according to the interaction of subjective and objective contact conditions in 1999

have more positive attitudes towards these visitors. We find a similar pattern with regard to German Language Choice and the statistics in Appendix 15 show that the all the other variables, except for Vitality, behave the same way. 3×3 ANOVAs of the criterion measures showed no significant interactions between the effects of objective and subjective contact, indicating that the lower scores associated with the highest objective contact condition are consistent across all the subjective contact categories (which is well illustrated schematically in Figure 7.2). Furthermore, Appendix 15 shows that the difference between these scores and those associated with the medium or low objective contact conditions are mostly significant. It appears therefore that among students who reported the same amount of subjective contact with foreign visitors, those had the most positive attitudes who came from less ‘touristy’ places. Thus, although as seen above, subjectively perceived contact is in a broad linear relationship with the attitudinal/motivational dispositions, within the subjective contact categories we still find a bias against the most touristically exposed localities.

Discussion of the Contact–Attitude Relationship in the 1999 Dataset

The most consistent overall finding with regard to the contact–attitude relationship in the 1999 dataset was that intercultural contact, by and large, promoted positive intergroup and language attitudes. A straightforward linear relationship was obtained for the majority of the

L2-specific variables, and a direct positive relationship was also observed between perceived self-confidence and milieu on the one hand, and the amount of contact on the other. This pattern is consistent with findings reported in Chapter 1, more specifically with Labrie and Clément's (1986) results concerning the positive impact of contact on self-confidence, and consequently on L2 motivation, as well as with Akis *et al.*'s (1996) findings on changes in host attitudes towards tourism in Cyprus. Furthermore, the observed contact–attitude relationship is in accordance with the results of a recent and as yet unpublished meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp (2004, cited by Brown & Hewstone, 2005) surveying over 500 separate contact studies involving more than 250,000 participants, which produced unambiguous evidence that contact had a beneficial overall effect on reducing prejudice across the board.

On the other hand, we also find in the 1999 dataset that the above 'the more, the merrier' pattern explained the Hungarian data only up to a certain contact level, because for the largest tourist group, the German-speaking visitors, and particularly in the most frequented tourist localities, a curvilinear relationship was detected, with the highest contact group having the lowest attitudes in terms of several attitudinal and motivational measures. Non-linear findings are not uncommon in contact research (see, for example, the U-shaped model of attitudes in study trip studies) and the decrease of intergroup attitudes as a result of an increased level of contact is also in line with theoretical considerations based on the Contact Hypothesis as well as with empirical studies examining tourism (reviewed in Chapter 1). The special feature of the contact situation examined in this study is that it combines two attitude–change patterns that have been established in the literature: up to a certain point, increased contact promotes intergroup and language attitudes, as well as motivated language learning behaviours, whereas if the contact exceeds a certain threshold level, it seems to 'backfire' and work against positive intercultural relations. What causes this U-turn?

Although our data does not provide unambiguous evidence, one possible explanation for the dual pattern can be found in Brown and Hewstone's (2005) recent theory of intergroup contact. As described briefly in Chapter 1, Brown and Hewstone proposed a model with two orthogonal dimensions of optimal contact conditions, intergroup and interpersonal salience, and they argue that optimal conditions occur in contact situations that are 'high' on both the interpersonal and the intergroup dimensions. We would suggest that the two theoretical contact dimensions proposed by Brown and Hewstone parallel the two contact measures in our study (i.e. objective contact potential and perceived subjective contact): the level of perceived subjective contact can be broadly associated with the index of interpersonal salience, whereas the objective contact potential with the index of intergroup salience. If we look at

Figure 7.2, we can see that the three objective contact levels fall into two groups, with the highest contact level (Objective contact = 3) standing apart from the lower two. This makes perfect sense given Hungary's curious geopolitical setup: as explained in Chapter 1, from the perspective of international exposure the country can be divided into two parts, the cosmopolitan capital Budapest, which is a lively regional cultural centre, and the rest of the country, which is more traditional and 'quiet' as a whole. Accordingly, in 1999 the highest objective contact group in our study was largely made up of students living in Budapest and the two groups with the lower contact profiles contained students coming from significantly smaller places; as our data reveals, these latter localities were fairly homogeneous in terms of their attitudinal attributes. We believe that intergroup salience was much higher in the smaller places because here tourists are considerably more conspicuous than in a huge westernised metropolis such as Budapest. If this assumption is true, then – based on Brown and Hewstone's theory – we would expect the most positive attitudes to emerge in the high subjective (Level 3) and low objective (Level 1) contact conditions, which is exactly what we see in Figure 7.2.

Although the above explanation is somewhat speculative, van Dick *et al.*'s (2004) recent focus on the perceived importance of intergroup contact (briefly described in Chapter 1) lends further theoretical support to this thesis. These scholars argue that superficial contact experiences that are personally unimportant (i.e. that have no value in themselves and are not instrumental in reaching a valued goal) will not bring about a significant improvement of intergroup relations. Given the Hungarian situation, it is reasonable to assume that the importance attached to foreign visitors and foreign contact in general is much higher in smaller locations than in the cosmopolitan capital. Over the past 15 years Hungary has been in a process of transformation from a closed, Communist regime to an open, democratic society. Within this process, western contact has been perceived as a crucial factor linking the country to the mainstream developed world, thereby helping to replace the 'backward' Communist world view with 'modern' values. The best illustration of how paradoxical this situation can be is perhaps the fact that when the first McDonald's fast-food restaurant was opened in the centre of Budapest at the end of the 1980s, this was celebrated both by the media and the public as a major milestone in Hungary's 'catching up with the modern world' (with several sceptical journalists actually questioning the country's ability to sustain the high international standards dictated by the McDonald's corporation...). By 1999 Budapest and some other high-contact localities in Hungary, had reached a cosmopolitan saturation level whereby residents were not positively biased in favour of contact *per se*, whereas other parts of the country were still at a developmental stage where contact was associated with a generally uncontested

positive perception. Using the McDonald's metaphor, the high-profile localities had come to evaluate fast-food restaurants for what they were, whereas some other places were still yearning for their own 'Big Macs'. Thus, we would propose that the participants in the highest objective contact group did not attach as much importance to intergroup contact as their counterparts in the less cosmopolitan places, and the significant differences in the attitude scores of the two groups may have been a function of the mediating impact of this perceived importance factor.

The Contact-Attitude Relationship in the Light of the 2004 Data

The analysis of the 1999 data produced evidence that intercultural/intergroup contact is an important factor influencing language attitudes at a national level and it was also noteworthy that the criterion measures associated with motivated language learning behaviour showed the same contact-dependent pattern as the attitudinal variables. This indicates that contact factors fundamentally shape the overall L2-specific disposition of members of a language community. We found a positive linear relationship between contact and improved ethnolinguistic attitudes in most contact situations; however, in situations characterised by the highest level of contact there was a dramatic drop of the endorsement of various language attitudes. In explaining this intriguing pattern, we argued that the curvilinear relationship might be related to the decreased category salience and the decreased importance attached to intercultural contact in the high-profile cosmopolitan localities relative to the smaller, more traditional ones.

Although our proposed account of the 1999 findings makes theoretical sense, it was admittedly partly based on speculation. Having completed the third phase of the survey, we are now in a position to revisit the analysis and examine whether the 2004 data supports the pattern that emerged in 1999. If our assumptions about the relevance of category salience and perceived importance were true, we would expect to find the following three patterns in the 2004 dataset:

- (1) The L2-specific variables would show the same distribution across the subjective and objective contact categories as in 1999, and we would expect to find a similar curvilinear relationship with regard to German.
- (2) If intergroup salience is a key factor affecting the impact of contact, then Budapest would be expected to have a different contact profile from other localities, even from those that are characterised by high contact conditions.

- (3) We argued above that by 1999 Budapest and some other high-contact localities in Hungary had reached a 'cosmopolitan saturation level' and this was partly responsible for the lower importance, and consequently lower impact, of intercultural contact. Because the period between 1999 and 2004 further increased the 'internationalisation' of the country, we would expect the saturation level to spread more widely and therefore we would expect to find smaller differences between locations characterised by the highest and lower contact categories.

Let us examine these propositions one by one.

Learner dispositions across subjective and objective contact categories in 2004

Tables 7.6 and 7.7 offer the same statistics for the 2004 data as Tables 7.4 and 7.5 did for 1999. The pattern we find corresponds to the one that emerged in 1999: for most L2-related variables there is a positive linear relationship with both types of contact variables, that is, the higher the degree of contact, the more positive the students' disposition. Again, the only exception is German, where the subjective and objective contact factors behave differently. For four variables – Integrativeness, Attitudes Towards German Speakers, Cultural Interest and Language Choice: German – the objective contact potential measure displays a curvilinear relationship, with the highest contact group scoring lowest on the scales. In the other three variables there is no significant difference across the objective contact categories, which means that although they do not display a curvilinear relationship, there is no positive linear relationship between contact and the participants' dispositions either. To illustrate the similarity of the patterns, we have prepared a new version of Figure 7.1 – Figure 7.3 – in which we also included the 2004 results.

Similarly to the procedures described previously in this chapter, we examined the combined effect of subjective and objective contact on the German-related dispositions by dividing each factor into three categories (low, medium, high). Figure 7.4 illustrates the 2004 pattern in relation to the 1999 one and Appendix 16 presents similar ANOVA statistics for the 2004 data to those in Appendix 15 for 1999. It is evident from the figure (and also from the table) that the main trend whereby the highest contact category is consistently associated with the lowest learner dispositions is the same in 2004 as in 1999. We must note, however, that although the overall tendency is the same in the two survey phases, the 2004 patterns are not as clearcut as those in 1999. We will come back to the question of what causes the less distinct patterns at the end of this chapter.

Table 7.6 Analysis of variance of the L2-related variables across the five objective and subjective contact categories in 2004

		Cont. type	Degree of contact					<i>F</i>	Sequence ^a
			1	2	3	4	5		
German	Integrativeness	obj.	3.26	3.29	3.18	3.24	3.05	7.83***	5/3, 4, 1/4, 1, 2
		subj.	2.72	3.04	3.19	3.34	3.48	59.73***	1/2/3/4/5
	Instrumentality	obj.	4.21	4.23	4.27	4.29	4.22	1.67	—
		subj.	3.90	4.12	4.24	4.34	4.42	56.30***	1/2/3/4/5
	Vitality	obj.	4.06	4.04	4.09	4.13	4.08	2.31	—
		subj.	3.84	4.01	4.07	4.12	4.26	35.55***	1/2, 3/3, 4/5
	Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	3.50	3.55	3.48	3.52	3.37	4.16**	5/3, 1, 4, 2
		subj.	2.94	3.31	3.52	3.59	3.77	70.88*	1/2/3, 4/5
	Cultural Interest	obj.	3.16	3.17	3.07	3.04	2.94	8.82***	5/4, 3/1, 2
		subj.	2.61	2.89	3.08	3.17	3.37	69.30***	1/2/3/4/5
	Effort	obj.	3.28	3.28	3.31	3.33	3.23	2.03	—
		subj.	2.76	3.11	3.31	3.43	3.62	55.56****	1/2/3/4/5
	L2 Choice	obj.	1.66	1.63	1.60	1.57	1.33	12.91***	5/4, 3, 2, 1
		subj.	1.37	1.51	1.53	1.60	1.70	9.48***	1/2, 3, 4/5
English/ UK	Integrativeness	obj.	4.06	4.12	4.08	4.20	4.16	4.36*	1, 3, 2/2, 5/5, 4
		subj.	3.88	4.07	4.18	4.33	4.46	52.33***	1/2/3/4/5
	Instrumentality	obj.	4.69	4.75	4.74	4.81	4.84	14.73***	1/3, 2/4, 5
		subj.	4.62	4.75	4.83	4.87	4.88	42.82***	1/2/3, 4/4, 5
	Vitality	obj.	4.30	4.36	4.36	4.43	4.42	6.45***	1, 3/3, 2/5, 4
		subj.	4.15	4.35	4.43	4.52	4.63	55.36***	1/2/3/4/5
	Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	3.92	3.99	4.03	4.07	4.11	5.71***	1, 2/2, 3, 4/3, 4, 5
		subj.	3.57	3.96	4.14	4.37	4.53	137.4***	1/2/3/4/5
	Cultural Interest	obj.	3.66	3.70	3.67	3.68	3.71	0.43	—
		subj.	3.26	3.58	3.78	4.03	4.26	129.0***	1/2/3/4/5
	Effort	obj.	4.08	4.17	4.17	4.32	4.30	9.81***	1/2, 3/5, 4
		subj.	3.93	4.13	4.28	4.49	4.58	54.63***	1/2/3/4, 5
	L2 Choice	obj.	2.40	2.47	2.35	2.47	2.30	5.49***	5, 3/3, 1/1, 2, 4
		subj.	2.34	2.44	2.41	2.41	2.40	1.58	—

(continued)

Table 7.6 *Continued*

		Cont. type	Degree of contact					F	Sequence ^a
			1	2	3	4	5		
English/ US	Integrativeness	obj.							
		subj.	3.94	4.12	4.23	4.31	4.38	36.28***	1/2/3, 4/4, 5
	Instrumentality	obj.							
		subj.	4.68	4.78	4.83	4.84	4.84	20.28***	1/2/3, 4, 5
	Vitality	obj.	4.70	4.79	4.78	4.83	4.82	9.54***	1/3, 2, 5/2, 5, 4
		subj.	4.69	4.77	4.83	4.85	4.87	17.45***	1/2, 3, 4, 5
	Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	3.97	4.00	4.00	3.97	3.97	0.202	—
		subj.	3.76	3.93	4.03	4.16	4.32	32.36***	1/2/3/4/5
	Cultural Interest	obj.	4.03	4.10	4.06	4.05	4.11	1.59	—
		subj.	3.88	4.01	4.11	4.25	4.36	34.59***	1/2/3/4/5
	Effort	obj.							
		subj.	4.02	4.20	4.32	4.39	4.50	28.74***	1/2/3, 4/4, 5
	L2 Choice	obj.							
		subj.	2.40	2.41	2.40	2.47	2.34	1.03	—
French	Integrativeness	obj.	3.04	3.16	3.09	3.06	3.07	2.07	—
		subj.	2.82	3.17	3.35	3.56	3.62	67.85***	1/2/3/4, 5
	Instrumentality	obj.	3.41	3.44	3.40	3.39	3.44	0.545	—
		subj.	3.22	3.49	3.63	3.82	3.78	56.24***	1/2/3, 5/5, 4
	Vitality	obj.	3.87	3.92	3.94	4.01	3.98	4.88*	1, 2/2, 3, 5/3, 5, 4
		subj.	3.80	4.00	4.09	4.21	4.20	41.74***	1/2/3, 5/5, 4
	Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	3.56	3.64	3.64	3.64	3.62	0.779	—
		subj.	3.30	3.75	3.94	4.15	4.19	103.7***	1/2/3/4, 5
	Cultural Interest	obj.	2.99	3.03	2.98	3.01	2.95	1.10	—
		subj.	2.71	3.07	3.28	3.55	3.62	83.30***	1/2/3/4, 5
	Effort	obj.	2.97	3.08	3.03	3.01	3.00	0.93	—
		subj.	2.71	3.15	3.31	3.50	3.49	58.33***	1/2/3, 5/5, 4
	L2 Choice	obj.	0.84	3.83	0.89	0.77	0.84	2.12	—
		subj.	0.74	0.85	0.94	1.09	1.11	15.38***	1/2/3/4/5

(continued)

Table 7.6 *Continued*

		Cont. type	Degree of contact					F	Sequence ^a
			1	2	3	4	5		
Italian	Integrativeness	obj.	2.94	3.06	3.01	3.12	3.28	12.62***	1, 3/3, 2/2, 4/5
		subj.	2.74	3.16	3.44	3.58	3.75	106.7***	1/2/3/4, 5
	Instrumentality	obj.	3.10	3.02	3.06	3.10	3.18	3.81*	2, 3, 1, 4/1, 4, 5
		subj.	2.87	3.11	3.34	3.47	3.58	74.27***	1/2/3/4, 5
	Vitality	obj.	3.55	3.55	3.56	3.61	3.62	2.17	—
		subj.	3.43	3.59	3.74	3.87	3.81	46.35***	1/2/3, 5/5, 4
	Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	3.61	3.70	3.70	3.78	3.90	10.54***	1, 2, 3/2, 3, 4/5
		subj.	2.74	3.16	3.44	3.58	3.75	139.6***	1/2/3/4, 5
	Cultural Interest	obj.	2.88	2.85	2.83	2.86	2.90	0.554	—
		subj.	2.48	2.95	3.21	3.43	3.53	134.5***	1/2/3/4, 5
	Effort	obj.	2.85	2.94	2.94	3.04	3.20	9.67***	1, 2, 3/2, 3, 4/5
		subj.	2.63	3.07	3.40	3.49	3.70	85.27***	1/2/3, 4/4, 5
	L2 Choice	obj.	0.60	0.56	0.63	0.67	0.80	9.94***	2, 1, 3/1, 3, 4/5
		subj.	0.50	0.64	0.79	0.97	1.13	42.29***	1/2/3/4, 5

^aNumbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark ‘,’ indicates non-significant differences between two groups, while ‘/’ denotes significant differences.

Table 7.7 Analysis of variance of Milieu and Self-Confidence across the five contact groups in 2004

	Cont. type	Degree of contact					F	Sequence ^a
		1	2	3	4	5		
Milieu	obj.	4.36	4.44	4.41	4.53	4.56	14.87***	1, 3/3, 2/4, 5
	subj.	4.31	4.44	4.52	4.51	4.56	22.16***	1/2/4, 3, 5
Self-Confidence	obj.	3.23	3.31	3.26	3.41	3.42	13.03***	1, 3/3, 2/4, 5
	subj.	3.17	3.28	3.36	3.40	3.47	21.87***	1/2/3, 4/4, 5

^aNumbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark ‘,’ indicates non-significant differences between two groups, while ‘/’ denotes significant differences.

^bThe subjective contact measure has been computed as the composite of the L2-specific measures.

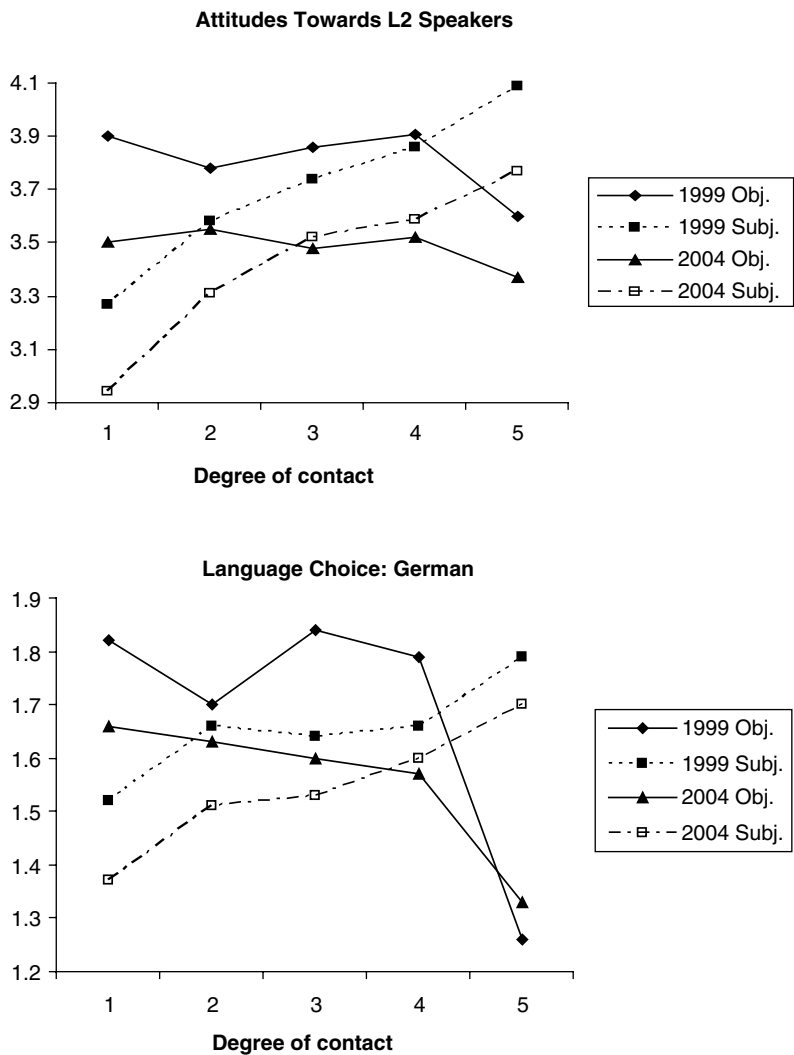


Figure 7.3 Changes in Attitudes Towards German Speakers and Language Choice: German according to the degree of objective and subjective contact in 1999 and 2004

Budapest compared to other high-contact localities

As pointed out earlier, Hungary has a curious geopolitical setup: It consists of two distinct parts, the cosmopolitan capital Budapest, which is a lively regional cultural centre, and the rest of the country, which is more traditional and where even the largest cities are only about

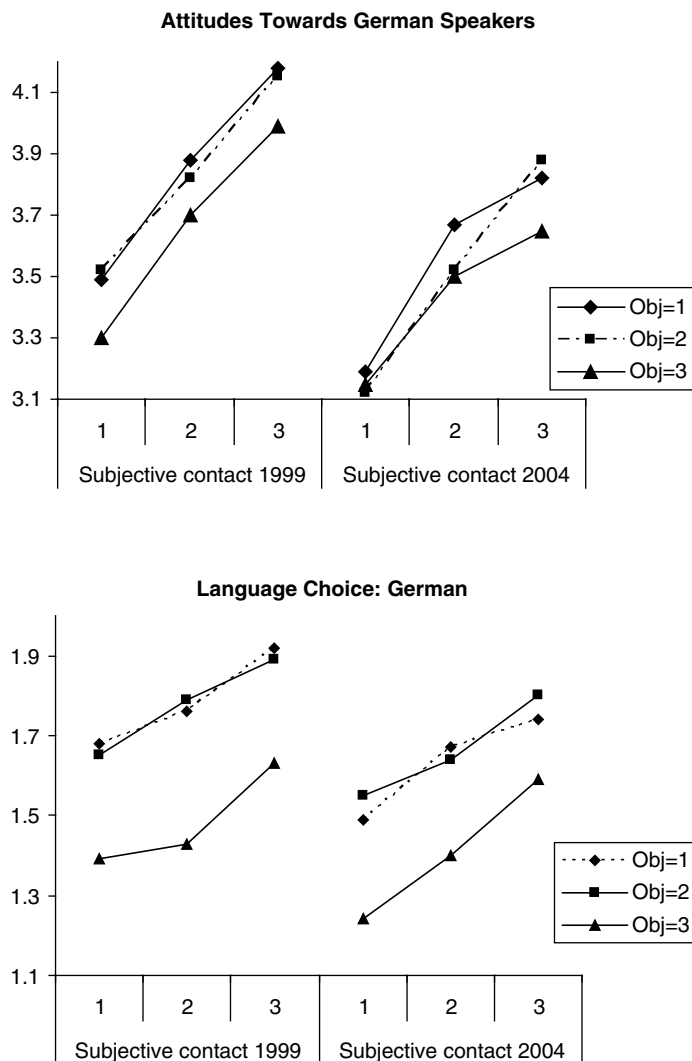


Figure 7.4 Changes in Attitudes Towards German Speakers and Language Choice: German according to the interaction of subjective and objective contact conditions in 1999 and 2004

one-tenth of the capital's size. We suggested that intergroup salience is much higher in the smaller places because here tourists are considerably more conspicuous than in a huge westernised metropolis such as Budapest. One way of testing the assumption that intergroup salience plays a crucial role in mediating the impact of contact on intergroup

attitudes is to compare Budapest with smaller localities where the level of tourism is equally high. If we find a significant difference, we can safely conclude that it is not the result of the number of visitors but of how salient their presence was perceived.

In 1999 we had an imbalanced sample of participants of high-contact localities, as only 101 of the total of 786 (i.e. 13%) came from outside Budapest. In the 2004 phase of our survey we made a conscious effort of sampling more high-profile settlements and thus there was a total of 936 participants coming from such localities, of which 37% (350) came from outside Budapest. Therefore, in our comparison we are going to concentrate on the 2004 figures but we will also submit the 1999 data to the analyses because if they confirm the 2004 results that will serve as a reassurance of the validity of the findings.

If group salience is indeed a key factor affecting the impact of contact, then we would expect Budapest to have a different contact profile from other localities, even from those that are characterised by high contact conditions. Table 7.8 presents *t*-test statistics comparing the scores on the German-related variables obtained in Budapest and other high-contact areas (i.e. localities with an objective contact

Table 7.8 Comparison of the German-related variables in Budapest and other high-contact locations

		<i>Budapest</i>	<i>Other high-contact location</i>	<i>t</i>
Integrativeness	1999	3.19	3.67	4.11***
	2004	2.92	3.26	4.87***
Instrumentality	1999	4.28	4.54	4.34***
	2004	4.15	4.34	3.82***
Vitality of L2 Community	1999	4.18	4.45	4.67***
	2004	4.07	4.10	0.68
Attitude Toward L2 Speakers	1999	3.53	4.04	5.45***
	2004	3.30	3.48	2.44*
Cultural Interest	1999	3.32	3.75	4.78***
	2004	2.87	3.06	2.92**
Intended Effort	1999	3.33	3.84	4.27***
	2004	3.12	3.41	3.34**
Language Choice: German	1999	1.20	1.66	4.00***
	2004	1.11	1.70	8.24***

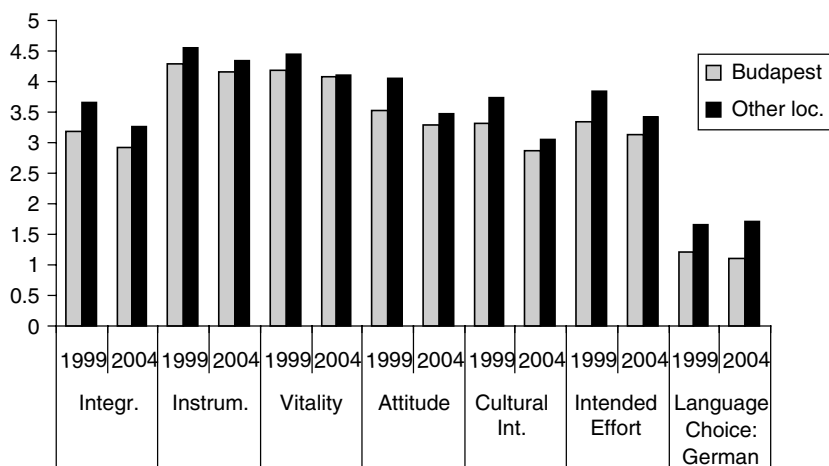


Figure 7.5 Visual representation of the difference in the German-related variables in Budapest and in other high-contact locations

index of 5); Figure 7.5 presents a visual representation of the results. As can be seen, in all but one pair (Vitality in 2004) there is a significant difference between the scores, always in favour of the non-Budapest locations. This pattern is consistent across variables and also across time, thereby providing strong confirmation of our hypothesis. In order to conduct a further test, we have replicated in Table 7.9 the statistics presented earlier in Tables 7.4 and 7.6, but this time without including the Budapest data in the dataset. What we find is that the curvilinear relationship disappears completely and contact exerts a positive linear impact on all the variables in both phases of the survey. There is no doubt therefore that Budapest is characterised by a contact profile that is different from other high-contact localities, which suggests that the difference in the various L2-related scores between the capital and other popular tourist destinations is related to the difference in the perceived intergroup salience.

The spread of the 'cosmopolitan saturation level'

Our final analysis concerns the spread of the 'cosmopolitan saturation level' in Hungary. In the 1999 dataset Dörnyei and Csizér (2005) found a strong curvilinear effect mainly in the top objective contact category and explained the U-shape curve partly with the twofold nature of the country: by 1999 the high-contact places in Hungary, and Budapest in particular, had reached a cosmopolitan saturation level whereby residents were not positively biased in favour of contact *per se*, whereas other parts

Table 7.9 Analysis of variance of the German-related variables across the five objective and subjective contact categories for the whole of Hungary without the capital, Budapest

	Cont. type	Degree of contact: 1999					Degree of contact: 2004					F (1999)	F (2004)	Sequence (1999) ^a	Sequence (2004) ^a
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5				
Integrativeness	obj.	3.56	3.48	3.58	3.65	3.67	3.26	3.29	3.18	3.24	3.26	3.13*	1.38	2, 1/1, 3, 4, 5	—
	subj.	3.15	3.36	3.46	3.60	3.88	2.76	3.06	3.27	3.39	3.52	45.23***	55.77***	1/2, 3/3/4/5	1/2/3/4/5
Instrumentality	obj.	4.36	4.32	4.47	4.47	4.54	4.21	4.23	4.27	4.29	4.34	8.64***	2.69*	2, 1/3, 4, 5	1, 2, 3/2, 3, 4/3, 4, 5
	subj.	3.22	3.26	3.35	3.45	3.56	3.91	4.12	4.26	4.36	4.43	29.01***	51.94***	1, 2/3/4/5	1/2/3/4/5
Vitality	obj.	4.20	4.20	4.27	4.30	4.45	4.06	4.04	4.09	4.13	4.10	5.32***	2.38*	1, 2, 3/3, 4, 5/5	2, 1, 3, 5/3, 5, 4
	subj.	4.13	4.12	4.19	4.22	4.41	3.84	4.01	4.08	4.11	4.26	24.25***	31.67***	2, 1, 3/3, 4/5	1/2/3, 4/5
Attitudes to L2 Speakers	obj.	3.90	3.78	3.86	3.91	4.04	3.50	3.55	3.48	3.52	3.48	2.85*	0.57	2, 3/3, 1, 4, 5	—
	subj.	3.33	3.67	3.80	3.92	4.15	2.97	3.34	3.55	3.63	3.80	51.86***	64.17***	1/2/3/4/5	1/2/3, 4/5
Cultural Interest	obj.	3.64	3.51	3.55	3.64	3.75	3.16	3.17	3.07	3.04	3.06	3.62**	3.54**	2, 3/3, 1/1, 4, 5	4, 5, 3/1, 2
	subj.	3.17	3.36	3.45	3.65	3.90	2.64	2.92	3.12	3.21	3.38	60.72***	59.72***	1/2, 3/4/5	1/2/3/4/5
Effort	obj.	3.56	3.54	3.66	3.70	3.84	3.28	3.28	3.31	3.33	3.41	3.19*	1.22	2, 1, 3/3, 4, 5	—
	subj.	3.09	3.36	3.53	3.71	3.93	2.77	3.12	3.35	3.46	3.67	42.31***	55.88***	1/2/3/4/5	1/2/3/4/5
L2 Choice	obj.	1.82	1.70	1.84	1.79	1.66	1.66	1.63	1.60	1.57	1.70	2.14	1.34	—	—
	subj.	1.56	1.75	1.75	1.79	1.90	1.41	1.55	1.61	1.67	1.77	7.10***	10.58***	1/2, 3, 4/5	1/2, 3/3, 4/5

^aNumbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark ‘,’ indicates non-significant differences between two groups, while ‘/’ denotes significant differences.

of the country were still at a developmental stage where contact was associated with a generally uncontested positive perception. This, we argued, had an impact on the amount of importance attached to intergroup contact, which in turn had a powerful mediating impact on the participants' L2-related dispositions.

Because the period between 1999 and 2004 further increased the 'internationalisation' of the country, it is reasonable to expect that more settlements approached or reached the developmental stage characterised by 'cosmopolitan saturation'. This would mean in effect that the difference between the scores obtained in the high-contact places (i.e. objective contact = 5) and in places with a lower intercultural contact profile would be smaller in 2004 than was in 1999. To test this, we simply subtracted the scores in Tables 7.4 and 7.6 associated with the objective contact categories 4 and 5, and displayed the results visually in Figure 7.6. As can be seen, we find a consistent, and in some cases quite dramatic, difference, with the value for 2004 often being less than half the value for 1999. This indicates that the highest-contact localities are indeed being gradually 'caught up with' by settlements that have fewer, but still a considerable number of visitors.

The changing impact of contact

In discussing contact effects in the 1999 dataset, Dörnyei and Csizér (2005) highlighted two important mediating factors between contact and participant dispositions: intergroup salience and attached importance. The peculiar position of Budapest within Hungary meant that foreign visitors

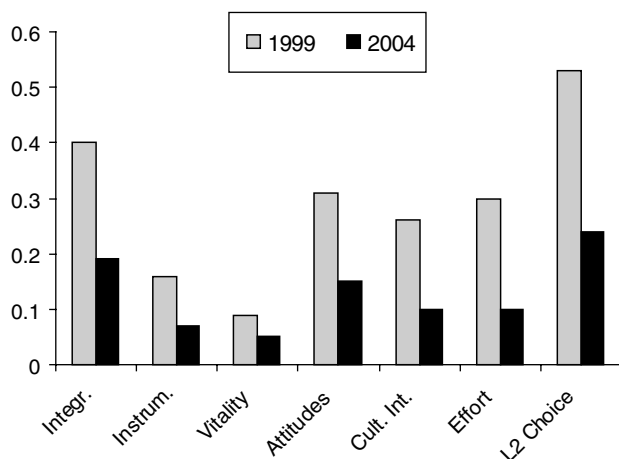


Figure 7.6 Visual representation of the differences of the German-related variables between the scores associated with contact Categories 4 and 5

in the capital were less salient and were attached less importance to, which explained the significantly lower German-specific variable levels observed there. Thus, in 1999 we found that intergroup salience and attached importance worked in concert in causing the Budapest versus rest-of-the-country distinction. However, this combined effect seemed to be smaller in 2004, because the two factors did not change in the same way over the 1999–2004 period. While the intergroup salience distinction, which stemmed from Budapest's superior size and cosmopolitan climate relative to the more provincial character of all the other settlements in Hungary, remained roughly the same, the importance attached to intercultural contact in somewhat smaller places started to follow the Budapest pattern. In other words, Budapest again functioned as the 'trend-setter', which blurred the clear-cut Budapest versus rest-of-the-country distinction in the L2-related scores. This explains the fact, mentioned earlier, that although the 2004 results paralleled those of 1999 (see Figure 7.4), the pattern characterising 2004 is less distinct.

Summary and Conclusion

We have presented a large amount of data in the previous chapters – focusing on five target languages and six target language communities in three different survey phases made our dataset is admittedly extensive and complex. This presented us with a real dilemma during the analyses in that it was difficult to decide whether we should aim for comprehensiveness in discussing the data or whether we should only concentrate on the most important findings in order to avoid the material becoming over-bearing. We attempted to achieve a compromise but in order to make the main message clearer, in this concluding chapter we summarise the main points that were made earlier in the discussion chapters. Because of the nature of our findings, it seemed useful to divide the material into three broad section, focusing on (1) language globalisation, (2) motivation and the self, and (3) intercultural contact.

Language Globalisation

Our study focused on the appraisal of five target languages, and this multi-language design made it possible to observe the changing status of the different languages in relation to each other over the examined 12-year period. Thus, we were in an ideal position to investigate the ongoing impact of language globalisation. We have gained several interesting insights in this respect, the most important of which are the following:

- The stable pattern that emerged across the different L2s and survey phases both in factor analysis and structural equation modelling indicates that Hungarian teenage language learners appraise different target languages largely through the same mental framework or schema, distinguishing five broad and interrelated dimensions: Integrativeness, Instrumentality, Attitudes Towards the L2 Speakers/Community, Cultural Interest and Vitality of the L2 Community. We have also identified two consistent sources of motivational

influence that concerned the learners' generalised perceptions (i.e. without being linked to specific L2s) related to the learning Milieu surrounding them and their Linguistic Self-Confidence.

- All the L2-specific variables showed a consistent rank order across the various languages in all the three survey phases, with English obtaining the top and Russian the bottom scores. The traditional *lingua franca* of the region, German, was still widely endorsed amongst Hungarian teenagers and occupied an unchallenged second place, but the third international language we examined, French, was already rated considerably lower than German, and the appraisal of Italian, which was included in the survey as a non-world-language control, not only approached the average French ratings, but in some scales actually exceeded them.
- With regard to the changes of the learner dispositions over time, the most obvious pattern we observed was a general decline across the board. Interestingly, this decline did not affect the non-language-specific Milieu and the Linguistic Self-Confidence scores, which indicated that Hungary was still a country where learners felt an overall social support for studying foreign languages. A closer look at the L2-specific results revealed that what happened was not merely a straightforward decrease but rather a fundamental restructuring of the L2 learning dispositions, with a growing division between world-language learning and non-world-language learning. While Global English has maintained its high educational profile, our results indicate that the study of non-world languages has become an increasingly marginal specialisation field. Even the traditional regional *lingua franca* in Hungary, German, was found to have embarked on a declining course, moving towards the 'non-world-language' category. Thus, we found evidence that the learning of languages other than Global English is impeded by the 'Englishisation' process discussed in Chapter 1.
- Italian, and to a smaller extent French, have displayed a small-scale revival over the past few years in the sense that after a major initial decline in the 1990s their popularity stabilised and by 2004 even showed some gain. This suggests that although Global English is likely to be the preferred foreign language for all the students who do not speak English as their L1, there might be a sustained specialised interest in certain non-global languages. These L2s, however, are likely to remain optional choices for a minority of students, which is likely to pose increasing problems in English-speaking countries where the national L2-teaching infrastructure is based on such non-global L2s.
- An interesting finding was that although the popularity and international dominance of English is as strong as ever, the link

between motivation and the choice of Global English for language learning has been losing its significance because people tend to take up the study of English increasingly as a self-evident part of education rather than driven by a motivated decision. Because the global status of English affects the whole population, individual differences in motivation do not so much emerge at the language choice stage as after learners have already embarked on the study of a language, with less motivated students exerting less effort than their more motivated counterparts.

- The growing homogeneity of learners in terms of how they relate to L2s in a globalised world was also reflected in the observed gender differences: Whereas in the first half of the examined period boys and girls differed in the temporal change of their language preferences with regard to as many as three L2s (English, German and Italian), all the observed changes in the latter period were gender-independent. In 2004 we still find some gender-variation in language preferences – English, German and Russian were more ‘masculine’, whereas French and Italian were more feminine – but with regard to English the gender gap already decreased in 2004 relative to 1999 and we predicted that the global nature of English will cause the gap to disappear completely because English will become the first L2 choice for virtually everybody, regardless of their sex.
- A geographical analysis of the learners’ language disposition also provided interesting insights into the actual operation of language globalisation. For various geopolitical reasons German has traditionally been more endorsed in the west of Hungary than in other parts of the country, yet between 1999 and 2004 English was gaining ground even in this traditional stronghold of German. Furthermore, in the most developed and cosmopolitan part of the country, the capital Budapest, even French and Italian have partially overtaken German, suggesting that in the new global linguistic order even former ‘heavyweight’ languages can rapidly be relegated into secondary status.
- An interesting and perhaps unexpected result emerged with regard to the examination of the effects of school instruction on the motivational impact of the various L2s. We found that the fact that the participants were engaged in the study of an L2 enhanced their attitudes towards the particular language, and that the popularity of non-world languages decreased less over time amongst active learners than amongst non-learners. Although this suggests that one strategy to combat Englishisation may be to find creative ways of getting students to learn non-global languages, this is clearly a complex issue that goes beyond the scope of this book.

Motivation and the Self

We discussed in Chapter 1 that an important consequence of language globalisation is that English is being used increasingly for international purposes, which questions the 'ownership' of Global English. Drawing on Arnett's (2002) work in psychology, we argued that there is a growing tendency worldwide for people to develop a bicultural identity, partly rooted in their local culture and partly in the global culture. The language associated with the global culture is English and, therefore, for a growing number of learners English now represents the language of the 'world at large' rather than the language of any specific English-speaking country. This lack of a well-specified target language community, in turn, has a considerable impact on L2 motivation theory because it in effect undermines the attitudinal base of Gardner's (1985) traditional concept of integrative motivation.

Recently, Dörnyei (2005) has proposed a new approach to the understanding of L2 motivation, conceived within an 'L2 Motivational Self System', which attempts to integrate a number of influential theoretical L2 motivation constructs with findings of self research in psychology. Dörnyei has argued that the conceptualisation of L2 motivation from a self perspective does not contradict the traditional conception of L2 motivation but presents a broader frame of reference with increased capacity for explanatory power: it can be used to explain the motivational set-up in diverse learning contexts even if they offer little or no contact with L2 speakers (e.g. in typical foreign language learning situations where the L2 is primarily a school language) and it is also suitable for the study of the motivational basis of language globalisation, whereby international languages, and Global English in particular, are rapidly losing their national cultural base.

The proposed construct consists of three main components:

- (1) 'Ideal L2 Self', referring to the L2-specific facet of one's 'ideal self' – if the person we would like to become speaks an L2, the Ideal L2 Self is a powerful motivator to learn the particular language because we would like to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves.
- (2) 'Ought-to L2 Self', referring to the attributes that we believe we *ought to* possess to avoid possible negative outcomes – this motivational dimension may therefore bear little resemblance to our own desires or wishes.
- (3) 'L2 Learning Experience', which concerns executive motives related to the immediate learning environment and experience – this dimension was not targeted in our survey.

The particular significance of the L2 Motivational Self System from our perspective is that it was partially inspired by our research programme

and the subsequent analyses we conducted on motivational learner profiles provided confirmation of the theory. Our main findings in this respect were as follows:

- With regard to our methodology, we successfully applied two complex multivariate statistical procedures to analyse our data, structural equation modelling (SEM) and cluster analysis. We found that both offered unique results that were highly relevant to L2 studies and which could not have been obtained using alternative techniques.
- To start applying SEM to the data, researchers need an explicitly stated theoretical model, which is then confirmed or rejected by the procedure. Based on theoretical considerations and our earlier findings, we proposed a model that – after some modifications – turned out to provide a consistently good fit for the data across the different target languages and survey phases. In this model the criterion measures (Language Choice and Intended Effort) were effected directly by Integrativeness only, which in turn subsumed and mediated the effects of all the other attitudinal variables. We argued that this component should be reinterpreted as the Ideal L2 Self. The two primary antecedents of Integrativeness – Attitudes Towards L2 the Speakers/Community and Instrumentality – are in accordance with the theoretical consideration that in the idealised image of ourselves we want to appear personally agreeable and professionally successful at the same time.
- The study of language learners' motivational profiles confirmed the validity of the L2 Motivational Self System. We uncovered four broad profiles that characterised learners regardless of the specific target language or the time of the survey. The first group consisted of basically non-motivated students, whereas the learners belonging to the fourth group showed a generally high disposition across all the motivational dimensions. We argued that these latter learners have successfully developed a salient Ideal L2 Self. The two interim groups showed an intriguing profile difference: while Group 2 featured more positive attitudes toward the L2 culture and community, Group 3 members were superior on instrumental aspects. This distinction corresponds well to the construct of the L2 Motivational Self System. As mentioned above, in the idealised image of ourselves we want to appear both personally agreeable and professionally successful; learners belonging to Groups 2 and 3 have not achieved an Ideal L2 Self because they endorsed only one part of this combination: Group 2 members were superior on the affective side – they had more positive attitudes towards the L2 community and culture – whereas Group 3 members were

superior on the pragmatic/instrumental side, placing more emphasis of the incentives of L2 proficiency. For a fully-fledged Ideal L2 Self learners need to integrate both aspects, which is exactly what we find with members of Group 4.

- The cluster analytical approach also allowed us to examine the interference of various L2s. We found an interesting and slightly contradictory situation: while it appears to be beneficial for a student to have a wide interest in foreign languages in general as this seems to result in a more established and salient Ideal L2 Self and, subsequently, increased intended language learning effort, being motivated to learn more than one L2 at the same time also causes interferences in that positive attitudes towards one language can go at the expense of another. Thus, motivated language learners are likely to be interested in multiple L2s but there is a 'competition' amongst the various target languages for the learners' limited language learning capacity. In this competition the clear winner is Global English, even though we have found some negative German interference even related to the English scores.

Intercultural Contact

Past research on intercultural/intergroup contact has shown convincingly that contact has significant bearings on a host of issues, including people's interethnic attitudes and L2 motivation. In an age when globalisation affects every aspect of our social life and, as a result, people are exposed to an increasing amount of contact with individuals from other cultural backgrounds, the study of the impact of intercultural contact is an important issue, particularly in a country such as Hungary that is characterised by a period of an unprecedented high level of foreign contact. As described in Chapter 7, we became interested in contact effects halfway through our research programme, after we had come across some unexpected results concerning intercultural relations. We found that the increased contact with foreign visitors and foreign cultural products that was brought about by the liberalisation of Hungarian politics and economy in the 1990s did not result in the improvement of the participants' language/intercultural attitudes but, to the contrary, most attitudinal variables, including the attitudes towards meeting foreign visitors, showed a significant decrease. We established that the salient decrease in interethnic and language attitudes could not be explained simply on the basis of the level of foreign visitors, yet at that time we could not offer any real alternative explanation and therefore further research was needed to find an explanation. Here is what we found:

- We started out with a surprising finding when we wanted to compute a composite contact measure of the various contact

information we had collected: Factor analysis produced two, rather than one, contact factors, indicating that the objective contact exposure of the locality the students came from did not coincide with the students' subjective contact experiences. Thus, we ended up with two contact indices – objective contact potential and subjective contact – and used both measures in the subsequent analyses.

- In examining the relationship between the various contact conditions and the students' L2-related disposition, we found a broadly linear association for most languages and attitude/motivation aspects: the higher the degree of contact, the more positive the students' dispositions were. However, 'the more, the merrier' pattern explained the Hungarian data only up to a certain contact level, because for the largest tourist group, the German-speaking visitors, and particularly in the most frequented tourist destinations, a curvilinear relationship emerged, with the highest objective contact condition being associated with the lowest level of attitudes and motivation. This means, in effect, that up to a certain point increased contact promotes language attitudes and motivated language learning behaviours, whereas if the contact exceeds a certain threshold level, it seems to 'backfire' and work against positive intercultural relations.
- A possible theoretical explanation for this intriguing pattern was offered by two recent theories in the social psychological literature on contact, concerning 'personal versus intergroup contact salience' and the 'importance attached to contact'. We argued that because of the peculiar position of Budapest within Hungary (in the sense that it is a lively cosmopolitan city and an attractive regional cultural centre with no real match in the rest of the country in terms of its size and significance), foreign visitors in the capital were less salient and were attached less importance to than tourists visiting the smaller localities. This, in turn, explained the significantly lower impact that contact had in Budapest, and the curvilinear relationship that we observed was primarily caused by the fact that most of the participants in the highest objective contact group came from Budapest.
- When focusing on the changes in the impact of contact over time, we noticed an interesting shift: while in 1999 we found that intergroup salience and attached importance worked in concert in causing the Budapest versus rest-of-the-country distinction, this combined effect seemed to be smaller in 2004, because the two factors did not change in the same way. While the intergroup salience distinction, which stemmed from Budapest's superior size and cosmopolitan climate, remained roughly the same, the importance attached to intercultural contact in smaller places started to follow the Budapest

pattern. To put it broadly, an increasing number of locations approached the 'cosmopolitan' saturation level' that characterised the capital, which blurred the clear-cut Budapest versus rest-of-the-country distinction. Thus, although the 2004 scores paralleled the earlier findings, the pattern was less distinct.

Final Words

When we initiated the first phase of the survey in 1992/1993, we did not know that our study would grow into the largest-ever L2 motivation survey in the world and neither did we anticipate most of our results. What we knew was that Hungary was undergoing some fundamental sociopolitical changes that had a significant impact on the population's language disposition. We started the project with a sense of excitement because we knew that such a complete language restructuring of a nation has rarely, if ever, been documented in the literature. After 13 years we can say that our excitement is still there. Our ongoing analyses have uncovered a wealth of interesting findings, many of them novel and some groundbreaking. We are also aware of the fact that our dataset still has some aspects that we have not exploited fully (e.g. the effects of out-of-school L2 instruction), which means that we might still find some hidden 'pearls'.

As described briefly in the Introduction, the internal logic of our research programme would dictate that we administer the questionnaire at least one more time: the third phase (in 2004) took place just before Hungary joined the European Union, and EU membership is likely to have considerable further impact on Hungarian people's language attitudes and language learning motivation. So, if everything goes well, we will revisit our research sites in around 2010 and, thus, some new results can be expected to appear – perhaps as a follow-up of this book? – soon after that.

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Appendix 1

The English translation of the student questionnaire used in our survey.

LANGUAGE DISPOSITION QUESTIONNAIRE

We would like to ask you to help us by answering the following questions concerning foreign language learning. This is not a test so there are no “right” or “wrong” answers and you don’t even have to write your name on it. We are interested in your personal opinion. Please give your answers sincerely as only this will guarantee the success of the investigation. Thank you very much for your help.

I. In the following section we would like you to answer some questions by simply giving marks from 1 to 5.

5 = very much, 4 = quite a lot, 3 = so-so, 2 = not really, 1 = not at all.

For example, if you like “hamburgers” very much, “bean soup” not very much, and “spinach” not at all, write this:

	hamburger	bean soup	spinach
How much do you like these foods?	5	2	1

Please put one (and only one) whole number in each box and don’t leave out any of them. Thanks.

5 = very much, 4 = quite a lot, 3 = so-so, 2 = not really, 1 = not at all.

	German	French	Russian	English	Italian
1. How much do you like these languages?					
2. How much do you think knowing these languages would help you to become a more knowledgeable person?					
3. How important do you think these languages are in the world these days?					
4. How important do you think learning these languages is in order to learn more about the culture and art of its speakers?					
5. How much effort are you prepared to expend in learning these languages?					
6. How much do you think knowing these languages would help you when travelling abroad in the future?					
7. How much do you think knowing these languages would help your future career?					
8. How well does your mother speak these languages?					
9. How well does your father speak these languages?					
10. How much would you like to become similar to the people who speak these languages?					

5 = very much, 4 = quite a lot, 3 = so-so, 2 = not really, 1 = not at all.

	France	England	Russia	Germany	USA	Italy
11. How much would you like to travel to these countries?						
12. How rich and developed do you think these countries are?						
13. How important a role do you think these countries play in the world?						
14. How much do you like meeting foreigners from these countries?						
15. How much do you like the films made in these countries? (Write 0 if you don't know them.)						
16. How much do you like the TV programmes made in these countries? (Write 0 if you don't know them.)						
17. How much do you like the people who live in these countries?						
18. How often do you see films/TV programmes made in these countries?						
19. How much do you like the magazines made in these countries? (Write 0 if you don't know them.)						
20. How often do you meet foreigners (e.g. in the street, restaurants, public places) coming from these countries?						
21. How much do you like the pop music of these countries? (Write 0 if you don't know it.)						

Have you put a number in each box? Thank you!

II. Now there are going to be statements some people agree with and some people don't. We would like to know to what extent they describe your own feelings or situation. After each statement you'll find five boxes. Please put an 'X' in the box which best expresses how true the statement is about your feelings or situation. For example, if you like skiing very much, put an 'X' in the last box:

	Not at all true	Not really true	Partly true partly untrue	Mostly true	Absolutely true
I like skiing very much.					X

There are no good or bad answers – we are interested in your personal opinion.

	Not at all true	Not really true	Partly true partly untrue	Mostly true	Absolutely true
22. I am sure I will be able to learn a foreign language well.					
23. I think I am the type who would feel anxious and ill at ease if I had to speak to someone in a foreign language.					
24. People around me tend to think that it is a good thing to know foreign languages.					
25. I don't think that foreign languages are important school subjects.					
26. I often watch satellite programmes on TV.					
27. My parents do not consider foreign languages important school subjects.					

	Not at all true	Not really true	Partly true partly untrue	Mostly true	Absolutely true
28. Learning foreign languages makes me fear that I will feel less Hungarian because of it.					
29. Learning a foreign language is a difficult task.					

III. Finally, please answer these few personal questions.

30. If you could choose which foreign languages would you choose to learn next year at school (or work)? Please mark three languages in order of importance.
- 1)

2)

3)
31. Underline which sex you are: boy girl
32. What foreign language(s) are you learning at school?
33. Have you learnt any foreign languages outside school?
34. If yes, which ones?
35. At what age did you start learning a foreign language?
36. Have you ever been abroad for longer than six months (e.g. when your parents worked there)?
37. If yes, where?

Appendix 2

The original Hungarian version of the student questionnaire used in our survey.

NYELVORIENTÁCIÓS KÉRDŐÍV

Szeretnénk a segítségedet kérni kutatási programunkhoz. Kérjük, válaszolj a következő, idegennyelv-tanulással kapcsolatos kérdésekre. Ez a kérdőív nem teszt, tehát nincsenek jó vagy rossz válaszok, és még a nevedet sem kell ráírnod. Minket a te személyes véleményed érdekel. Kérünk, válaszolj őszintén, mert ez a biztosítéka kutatásunk sikerének. Szeretnénk biztosítani arról, hogy a kérdőíveket senkinek sem fogjuk megmutatni az iskolából. Nagyon köszönjük a segítségedet!

I. A következő részben kérünk, úgy válaszolj a kérdésekre, hogy 1-től 5-ig osztályzatokat adsz.

**5 = nagyon, 4 = eléggé, 3 = közepesen, 2 = nem igazán,
1 = egyáltalán nem.**

Például, ha a hamburgert nagyon szereted, a bablevest nem nagyon, és a spenótot egyáltalán nem, válaszolj így:

	hamburger	bablevest	spenót
Mennyire szereted ezeket az ételeket?	5	2	1

Légy szíves, írd minden kockába egy (csak egy!) egész számot, és egyet se hagyj üresen! Köszönjük!

5 = nagyon, 4 = eléggé, 3 = közepesen, 2 = nem igazán,
1 = egyáltalán nem.

	német	francia	orosz	angol	olasz
1. Mennyire tetszenek neked ezek a nyelvek?					
2. Szerinted ezeknek a nyelveknek a tudása mennyire fontos ahhoz, hogy műveltebb legyél?					
3. Szerinted mennyire fontosak ezek a nyelvek a mai világban?					
4. Mennyire fontos számodra ezeknek a nyelveknek a megtanulása abból a célból, hogy jobban megismerhesd beszélőinek kultúráját és művészetét?					
5. Mennyire lennél hajlandó sok energiát fordítani ezeknek a nyelveknek a megtanulására?					
6. Szerinted ezeknek a nyelveknek a tudása mennyire lenne segítségére, ha külföldre utaznál?					
7. Szerinted ezeknek a nyelveknek a tudása mennyire segítené a jövőbeli pályafutásodat?					
8. Milyen jól beszéli édesanyád ezeket a nyelveket?					
9. Milyen jól beszéli édesapád ezeket a nyelveket?					
10. Mennyire szeretnél hasonlóná válni ezeknek a nyelveknek a beszélőjéhez?					

5 = nagyon, 4 = eléggé, 3 = közepesen, 2 = nem igazán,
1 = egyáltalán nem.

	Francia-ország	Anglia	Orosz-ország	Német-ország	USA	Olasz-ország
11. Mennyire szeretnél ezekbe az országokba utazni?						

(continued)

Continued

	Francia- ország	Anglia	Orosz- ország	Német- ország	USA	Olasz- ország
12. Szerinted mennyire gazdagok és fejlettek ezek az országok?						
13. Szerinted milyen fontos szerepet játszanak ezek az országok a világban?						
14. Milyen szívesen találkozol ezekből az országokból érkező külföldiekkel?						
15. Mennyire tetszenek az ezekben az országokban készült filmek? (Írj 9-t, ha nem ismered!)						
16. Mennyire tetszenek az ezekben az országokban készült TV-műsorok? (Írj 9-t, ha nem ismered!)						
17. Mennyire szimpatikusak neked ezeknek az országoknak a lakói?						
18. Milyen gyakran nézel olyan filmeket/TV-műsorokat, amelyek ezekben az országokban készültek?						
19. Mennyire tetszenek az ezekből az országokból való képes magazinok? (Írj 9-t, ha nem ismered!)						
20. Milyen gyakran találkozol (pl. utcán, étteremben, nyilvános helyeken) külföldiekkel ezekből az országokból?						
21. Mennyire tetszik ezeknek az országoknak a popzenéje? (Írj 9-t, ha nem ismered!)						

Minden kockába írtál számot? Köszönjük!

II. A következőkben olyan állításokat találsz, melyek egyes emberekre igazak, másokra nem. Szeretnénk megtudni, hogy a te érzéseidet vagy körülményeidet mennyire tükrözik az egyes állítások. Kérjük tegyél X-et abba a kockába, amelyik legjobban kifejezi, mennyire igaz az állítás a te esetedben. Például, ha nagyon szeretsz síelni, tegyél X-et az utolsó kockába:

	Egyáltalán nem igaz	Nem igazán igaz	Részben igaz, részben nem	Nagyjából igaz	Teljesen igaz
Nagyon szeretek síelni.					X

Nincsenek jó vagy rossz válaszok - mi a te személyes véleményedre vagyunk kíváncsiak.

	Egyáltalán nem igaz	Nem igazán igaz	Részben igaz, részben nem	Nagyjából igaz	Teljesen igaz
22. Biztos vagyok benne, hogy jól meg tudok majd tanulni egy idegen nyelvet.					
23. Azt hiszem, én olyan típus vagyok, aki izgulna és kényelmetlenül érezné magát, ha idegen nyelven kellene beszélnie.					
24. Az ismerőseim általában úgy gondolják, hogy jó dolog idegen nyelveket tudni.					
25. Szerintem az idegen nyelvek nem túl fontos iskolai tantárgyak.					
26. Gyakran nézek idegennyelvű műholdas adásokat a TV-ben.					
27. A szüleim szerint az idegen nyelvek nem túl fontos iskolai tantárgyak.					

(continued)

Continued

	Egyáltalán nem igaz	Nem igazán igaz	Részben igaz, részben nem	Nagyjából igaz	Teljesen igaz
28. Ha sokat tanulok idegen nyelvet, attól félek, kevésbé fogom magyarnak érezni magam.					
29. Az idegennyelv-tanulás nehéz feladat.					

III. Végül, kérjük válaszolj néhány személyes kérdésre.

30. Milyen nyelvet szeretnél tanulni jövőre az iskolában (vagy a munka mellett), ha rajtad múlna? Légy szíves, jelölj meg három nyelvet fontossági sorrendben!

1)

2)

3)

31. Nemed? (Húzd alá a megfelelőt): fiú lány

32. Milyen nyelv(ek)et tanulsz most az iskolában?.....

33. Tanultál, vagy tanulsz nyelveket az iskolán kívül?

34. Ha igen, melyik(ek)et?

35. Hány éves voltál, amikor idegen nyelvet kezdtél tanulni?

36. Voltál külföldön hat hónapnál hosszabb ideig (pl. szüleid ott dolgoztak)?

37. Ha igen, hol?

Appendix 3

Test Administration Record

- 1. Name and address of the school:.....
- 2. Class identification:
- 3. Specialisation:
- 4. Number of students attending the class:
- 5. Number of students present at administration:
- 6. Number of foreign languages taught at the (primary) school:
- 7. Number of foreign languages taught in the class:
- 8. Was it possible for students in the class to choose from several different languages?
- 9. In what ways could students choose from the different foreign languages available in your school? (How free these choices were? How many languages? Were there any restrictions?)
.....
.....
- 10. Number of foreigners visiting the neighbourhood:
hardly any ____:__:__:__ a lot of

11. The foreigners' nationality:
1. Approximately what percentage?
 2. Approximately what percentage?
 3. Approximately what percentage?
12. Is there a cable satellite system installed in the locality?
- a) There is not b) In some places c) In a number of places
 - d) Almost everywhere
13. Is the reception of satellite television channels in the locality available?
- a) No b) In some places c) In a number of places
 - d) Almost everywhere
14. Comments concerning the data collection:
-
-
15. Date of administration:
16. The administrator's name:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP.

Appendix 4

The original Hungarian version of the Test Administration Record.

ADATFELVÉTELI JEGYZŐKÖNYV

1. Az iskola pontos neve:
2. Az osztály megjelölése:
3. Tagozat:
4. Az osztály létszáma:
5. Az adatfelvételkor jelenlevő tanulók létszáma:
6. Az Önök (általános) iskolájában tanított idegen nyelvek száma:
7. Az osztályban tanított idegen nyelvek száma:
8. Választhattak az osztály tanulói több idegen nyelv közül?
9. Hogyan választhatnak a diákok a nyelvek közül az Önök iskolájában?
(Mennyire lehet szabadon választani? Hány nyelv közül lehet a diákoknak választani? Milyen korlátozások vannak?)
.....
.....
10. A környékre látogató külföldiek száma:
szinte nincs___:___:___: ___:___nagyon sok

11. A külföldiek nemzetisége:
- a. Hány százalék kb.?
 - b. Hány százalék kb.?
 - c. Hány százalék kb.?
12. Van-e kábeltévé a helységben/környéken?
- a) Nincs b) Néhány helyen c) Sok helyen d) Szinte mindenütt
13. Lehet-e műholdas adást fogni a helységben/környéken?
- a) Nem b) Néhány helyen c) Sok helyen d) Szinte mindenütt
14. Az adatfelvétellel kapcsolatos megjegyzések:
-
15. Az adatfelvétel időpontja:
16. Az adatfelvevő neve:

KÖSZÖNJÜK A SEGÍTSÉGÉT.

Appendix 5

The Tourist Exposure Questionnaire used to collect information about the number of visitors in the research sites.

Kérem becsülje meg egy ötfokú skála segítségével, hogy a következő településeken egy évben körülbelül hány turista fordul meg. Karikázza be az ötöst, ha úgy gondolja, hogy arra a településre nagyon sok turista látogat egy évben; ha úgy véli, hogy az oda látogató turisták száma nagyon kevés az egyes számot karikázza. Természetesen a közbülső osztályzatokat is használhatja.

[Please evaluate on a five-point scale the number of tourists visiting the following locations every year. If you think that a particular town is visited by a lot of tourists, please encircle 5, if you think that the number of visitors is very low, 1. Naturally, you may also use the numbers in between.]

Város [City/town]	nagyon sok [very many]	← ----- →		nagyon kevés [very few]	
Budapest	5	4	3	2	1
etc.	5	4	3	2	1

SEGÍTSÉGÉT NAGYON KÖSZÖNJÜK!
[THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!]

Appendix 6

Factor analysis of the attitudinal/motivational items (maximum likelihood extraction, oblique rotation; loadings under 0.30 not shown).

<i>English/US Variables</i>	1993					1999					2004				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
12. Country: developed	1.03							0.57					0.77		
10. Similar to L2 speakers		0.58								0.57					0.52
4. Get to know the culture		0.52								0.68					0.60
1. Like L2		0.47								0.59					0.66
3. L2 important in world			0.63				0.72				0.62				
2. Become knowledgeable			0.56				0.66				0.51				
6. Useful for travel			0.48				0.55				0.70				
7. Useful for career			0.36				0.50				0.54				
13. Country: important			0.32					0.67					0.49		
16. Like TV programs				0.58					0.81					0.69	
15. Like films				0.55					0.37					0.37	
19. Like magazines				0.54					0.33					0.46	
21. Like pop music				0.50					0.31					0.30	
14. Meet L2 speakers					0.75	0.64						0.63			
17. Like L2 speakers					0.48	0.66						0.76			
11. Travel to country					0.43	0.57						0.58			

(continued)

English/UK Variables	1993					1999					2004				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
14. Meet L2 speakers	0.78					0.64									0.63
17. Like L2 speakers	0.40					0.65									0.67
11. Travel to country	0.34					0.35									0.46
3. L2 important in world		0.66					0.72					0.64			
2. Become knowledgeable		0.61					0.66					0.51			
6. Useful for travel		0.46					0.57					0.70			
7. Useful for career		0.30					0.50					0.54			
12. Country: developed			0.72					0.84						0.83	
13. Country: important			0.44					0.50						0.45	
16. Like TV programs				0.72					0.75				0.74		
15. Like films				0.61					0.74				0.44		
19. Like magazines				0.48		0.33			0.30				0.49		
21. Like pop music				0.46					0.35						
10. Similar to L2 speakers					0.64					0.58	0.49				
4. Get to know the culture					0.50					0.72	0.58				
1. Like L2					0.47					0.56	0.69				

German Variables	1993					1999					2004				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
14. Meet L2 speakers	0.89									0.76					0.77
17. Like L2 speakers	0.34									0.66					0.69
11. Travel to country										0.43					0.45
3. L2 important in world		0.73						0.72				0.79			
6. Useful for travel		0.59						0.62				0.63			
2. Become knowledgeable		0.52						0.57				0.63			
7. Useful for career		0.39						0.49				0.51			
12. Country: developed			0.82			1.04							0.81		
13. Country: important			0.46			0.32							0.47		
15. Like films				0.63					0.60					0.51	
16. Like TV programs				0.62					0.84					0.63	
21. Like pop music				0.53					0.40					0.36	
19. Like magazines				0.36					0.46					0.48	
10. Similar to L2 speakers					0.63		0.52				0.52				
1. Like L2					0.55		0.62				0.70				
4. Get to know the culture					0.52		0.55				0.58				

(continued)

French Variables	1993					1999					2004				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
14. Meet L2 speakers	0.60					0.62					0.66				
1. Like L2	0.59					0.77					0.72				
17. Like L2 speakers	0.54					0.57					0.70				
10. Similar to L2 speakers	0.50					0.63		0.31			0.59				
11. Travel to country	0.40					0.47					0.49				
4. Get to know the culture	0.39					0.52					0.49				
19. Like magazines									0.41			0.56			
2. Become knowledgeable		0.64					0.57						0.56		
3. L2 important in world		0.41					0.63						0.49		
16. Like TV programs			0.75						0.81			0.70			
15. Like films			0.61						0.68			0.41			
21. Like pop music			0.37						0.50			0.38			
12. Country: developed				0.55				0.73						0.56	
13. Country: important				0.52				0.60						0.62	
6. Useful for travel					0.64					0.38					0.64
7. Useful for career					0.44					0.36					0.44

<i>Italian</i> Variables	1993					1999					2004				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
14. Meet L2 speakers	0.63					0.57					0.68				
17. Like L2 speakers	0.58					0.53					0.69				
1. Like L2	0.57					0.59	-0.30				0.69				
10. Similar to L2 speakers	0.52					0.43				0.35	0.60				
11. Travel to country	0.44					0.42		0.31			0.51				
4. Get to know the culture	0.37					0.38					0.46				
2. Become knowledgeable		0.85					-0.76						0.71		
3. L2 important in world		0.41					-0.50						0.57		
12. Country: developed			0.63					0.70						0.57	
13. Country: important			0.59					0.54						0.57	
16. Like TV programs				0.75					0.85			0.73			
15. Like films				0.70					0.70			0.49			
21. Like pop music				0.35					0.46			0.40			
19. Like magazines									0.48			0.54			
6. Useful for travel					0.53					0.66					0.61
7. Useful for career					0.44					0.59					0.42

(continued)

<i>Russian</i> Variables	1993					1999					2004				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
10. Similar to L2 speakers	0.52									0.52			0.38		0.30
7. Useful for career	0.35				-0.33					0.65					0.64
1. Like L2	0.33					0.34	0.33						0.60		
4. Get to know the culture	0.32									0.37			0.35		
16. like TV programs		0.76						0.82				0.78			
15. Like films		0.65						0.67				0.59			
21. Like pop music		0.51						0.56				0.36			
19. Like magazines		0.42						0.44				0.57			
14. Meet L2 speakers			0.70			0.60							0.66		
17. Like L2 speakers			0.69			0.50							0.67		
11. Travel to country			0.39			0.40							0.58		
12. Country: developed				0.41						0.56				0.64	
13. Country: important				0.39						0.56				0.55	
2. Become knowledgeable					0.83		0.75				0.61				
3. L2 important in world					0.66		0.63				0.50				
6. Useful for travel					0.35					0.64					0.63

Appendix 7

Intercorrelations of the language-specific attitudinal measures: English/US in 1993, 1999 and 2004.

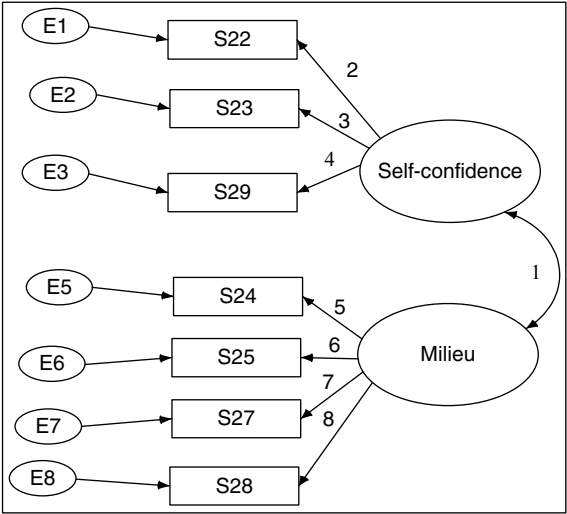
	<i>Integrativeness</i>	<i>Instrumentality</i>	<i>Vitality of the L2 Community</i>	<i>Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers/Community</i>	<i>Cultural Interest</i>
1993					
Integrativeness	—				
Instrumentality	0.55	—			
Vitality of the Community	0.07	0.30	—		
Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers/Community	0.46	0.29	0.34	—	
Cultural Interest	0.34	0.35	0.36	0.67	—
1999					
Integrativeness	—				
Instrumentality	0.66	—			
Vitality of the Community	0.28	0.41	—		
Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers/Community	0.47	0.29	0.50	—	
Cultural Interest	0.32	0.26	0.47	0.68	—

(continued)

	<i>Integrativeness</i>	<i>Instrumentality</i>	<i>Vitality of the L2 Community</i>	<i>Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers/ Community</i>	<i>Cultural Interest</i>
2004					
Integrativeness	—				
Instrumentality	0.58	—			
Vitality of the Community	0.26	0.39	—		
Attitudes Towards L2 Speakers/ Community	0.49	0.26	0.40	—	
Cultural Interest	0.13	0.15	0.17	0.31	—

Appendix 8

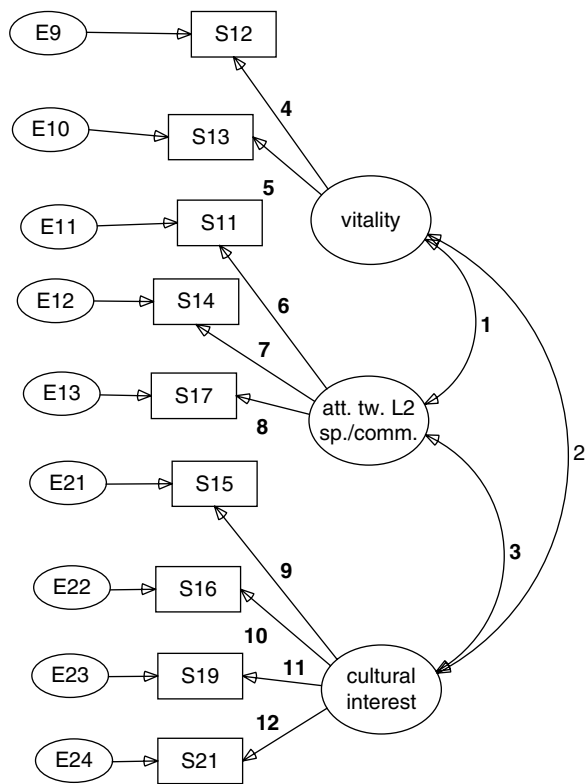
The measurement models for the non-language-specific variables.



	1993	1999	2004
1. Milieu $\leftrightarrow$ self-confidence	0.60	0.58	0.61
2. Self-confidence $\rightarrow$ S22	0.73	0.69	0.68
3. Self-confidence $\rightarrow$ S23	0.33	0.39	0.37
4. Self-confidence $\rightarrow$ S29	0.20	0.35	0.37
5. Milieu $\rightarrow$ S24	0.49	0.47	0.44
6. Milieu $\rightarrow$ S25	0.62	0.64	0.68
7. Milieu $\rightarrow$ S27	0.61	0.63	0.64
8. Milieu $\rightarrow$ S28	0.42	0.43	0.49
<i>Selected fit measures</i>			
Chi-square/degree of freedom	19.89	13.96	16.53
NFI	0.997	0.998	0.998
NNFI	0.994	0.995	0.996
CFI	0.997	0.998	0.998
PCFI	0.463	0.463	0.463
RMSEA	0.063	0.058	0.057

Appendix 9

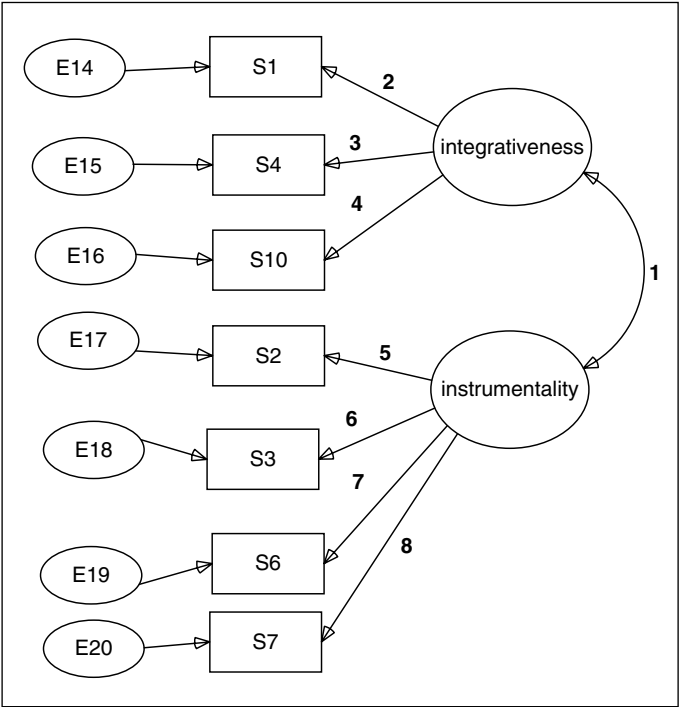
The measurement models for the country-specific variables.



	English/ UK			English/ US			German			French			Italian			Russian		
	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04
1. Vitality $\leftrightarrow$ Att. Tw. L2 Sp.	0.66	0.69	0.68	0.53	0.54	0.50	0.54	0.51	0.54	0.61	0.61	0.64	0.60	0.66	0.66	0.75	0.64	0.59
2. Vitality $\leftrightarrow$ Media Usage	0.66	0.63	0.61	0.62	0.63	0.58	0.53	0.53	0.49	0.54	0.47	0.51	0.60	0.56	0.57	0.53	0.59	0.52
3. Att. Tw. L2 Sp. $\leftrightarrow$ Cult. Int.	0.80	0.84	0.83	0.76	0.83	0.83	0.78	0.75	0.80	0.78	0.76	0.78	0.80	0.71	0.78	0.73	0.79	0.79
4. Vitality $\rightarrow$ S12	0.64	0.68	0.64	0.62	0.67	0.64	0.64	0.64	0.64	0.60	0.69	0.62	0.71	0.71	0.66	0.44	0.65	0.62
5. Vitality $\rightarrow$ S13	0.66	0.73	0.74	0.63	0.67	0.68	0.66	0.70	0.69	0.62	0.70	0.72	0.63	0.65	0.65	0.58	0.59	0.68
6. Att. Tw. L2 Sp. $\rightarrow$ S11	0.56	0.62	0.63	0.56	0.62	0.64	0.61	0.67	0.67	0.58	0.64	0.64	0.60	0.66	0.65	0.65	0.66	0.65
7. Att. Tw. L2 Sp. $\rightarrow$ S14	0.70	0.73	0.71	0.64	0.69	0.71	0.74	0.77	0.74	0.72	0.74	0.73	0.72	0.75	0.73	0.78	0.73	0.70
8. Att. Tw. L2 Sp. $\rightarrow$ S17	0.74	0.77	0.77	0.71	0.72	0.75	0.74	0.79	0.77	0.76	0.77	0.75	0.75	0.77	0.78	0.76	0.75	0.75
9. Cultural Interest $\rightarrow$ S15	0.65	0.68	0.68	0.63	0.62	0.63	0.67	0.64	0.66	0.58	0.68	0.62	0.64	0.67	0.67	0.72	0.77	0.74
1. Cultural Interest $\rightarrow$ S16	0.68	0.73	0.72	0.62	0.65	0.68	0.68	0.74	0.72	0.68	0.76	0.73	0.73	0.77	0.74	76	0.76	0.76
11. Cultural Interest $\rightarrow$ S19	0.65	0.64	0.66	0.59	0.61	0.65	0.50	0.62	0.62	0.60	0.59	0.61	0.61	0.62	0.63	0.61	0.60	0.61
12. Cultural Interest $\rightarrow$ S21	0.49	0.57	0.54	0.54	0.52	0.47	0.48	0.50	0.50	0.48	0.53	0.50	0.53	0.56	0.53	0.49	0.53	0.45
<i>Selected fit measures</i>																		
Chi-sq/df	9.59	1.07	8.63	8.55	7.60	5.25	16.5	10.9	13.4	15.2	9.86	9.41	11.6	8.60	12.6	12.7	7.05	7.96
NFI	0.998	0.997	0.998	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.997	0.997	0.997	0.997	0.997	0.998	0.997	0.997	0.997	0.996	0.997	0.997
NNFI	0.997	0.995	0.997	0.998	0.998	0.999	0.994	0.995	0.997	0.994	0.995	0.996	0.996	0.996	0.994	0.992	0.995	0.996
CFI	0.998	0.998	0.998	0.999	0.999	0.999	0.997	0.997	0.995	0.997	0.997	0.998	0.998	0.998	0.997	0.996	0.997	0.998
PCFI	0.532	0.532	0.533	0.533	0.533	0.533	0.532	0.532	0.532	0.532	0.532	0.532	0.532	0.532	0.532	0.531	0.532	0.532
RMSEA	0.042	0.050	0.040	0.040	0.042	0.030	0.057	0.051	0.051	0.055	0.048	0.042	0.047	0.045	0.049	0.050	0.040	0.038

Appendix 10

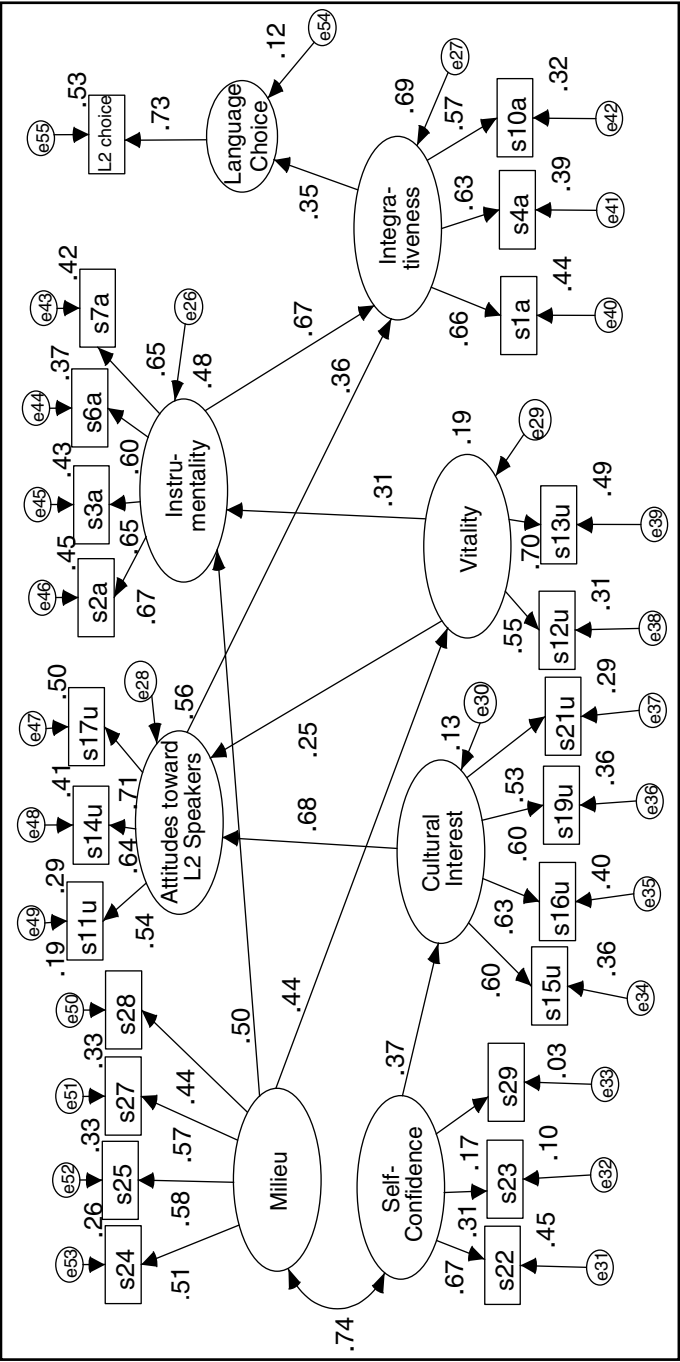
The measurement models for the language-specific variables.



	English			German			French			Italian			Russian		
	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04	93	99	04
1. Integrativeness $\leftrightarrow$ Instrumentality	0.80	0.76	0.75	0.73	0.77	0.74	0.77	0.79	0.81	0.80	0.86	0.81	0.88	0.89	0.84
2. Integrativeness $\rightarrow$ S1	0.65	0.70	0.69	0.69	0.73	0.74	0.67	0.71	0.71	0.69	0.73	0.74	0.61	0.62	0.65
3. Integrativeness $\rightarrow$ S4	0.65	0.74	0.75	0.68	0.77	0.79	0.67	0.77	0.79	0.68	0.77	0.76	0.70	0.71	0.75
4. Integrativeness $\rightarrow$ S10	0.56	0.60	0.54	0.66	0.70	0.67	0.64	0.70	0.67	0.68	0.74	0.71	0.57	0.66	0.62
5. Instrumentality $\rightarrow$ S2	0.68	0.76	0.69	0.69	0.72	0.73	0.65	0.69	0.73	0.71	0.71	0.74	0.75	0.71	0.72
6. Instrumentality $\rightarrow$ S3	0.65	0.67	0.66	0.66	0.65	0.72	0.65	0.68	0.69	0.70	0.70	0.72	0.77	0.71	0.74
7. Instrumentality $\rightarrow$ S6	0.60	0.67	0.68	0.63	0.64	0.71	0.60	0.60	0.64	0.61	0.61	0.64	0.65	0.64	0.65
8. Instrumentality $\rightarrow$ S7	0.63	0.70	0.72	0.64	0.71	0.72	0.66	0.69	0.75	0.67	0.71	0.74	0.72	0.70	0.71
Selected fit measures 74															
Chi-square/degree of freedom	13.0	13.5	18.9	20.6	19.8	29.8	26.7	24.6	29.7	23.9	33.0	34.9	22.2	28.6	29.2
NFI	0.999	0.998	0.998	0.998	0.997	0.996	0.996	0.995	0.995	0.996	0.993	0.994	0.995	0.992	0.994
NNFI	0.997	0.997	0.996	0.996	0.994	0.992	0.992	0.990	0.990	0.992	0.986	0.988	0.991	0.984	0.987
CFI	0.999	0.998	0.998	0.998	0.997	0.996	0.996	0.996	0.996	0.996	0.993	0.994	0.996	0.993	0.994
PCFI	0.464	0.464	0.463	0.463	0.463	0.463	0.463	0.462	0.462	0.463	0.461	0.462	0.462	0.461	0.462
RMSEA	0.050	0.057	0.061	0.064	0.070	0.078	0.073	0.079	0.077	0.069	0.091	0.084	0.067	0.085	0.077

Appendix 11

The full structural model of the relationships between language-specific, country-specific and non-language-specific variables with language choice (English/US, 1993).



Appendix 12

The five motivational dimensions across the cluster groups.

	Integrativeness				Instrumentality				Attitudes Toward L2 Speakers				Vitality			Cultural Interest		
	1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004
English/UK																		
Group 1	2.95	3.12	2.96		3.78	4.10	4.11		2.92	2.47	2.38		3.52	3.35	3.50	2.79	2.12	2.25
Group 2	3.41	3.15	3.22		4.47	4.44	4.60		4.06	3.73	3.72		4.31	4.26	4.34	4.04	3.66	3.77
Group 3	4.50	4.50	4.43		4.76	4.87	4.88		3.97	3.86	3.79		4.06	4.09	4.21	3.33	2.91	2.97
Group 4	4.68	4.65	4.64		4.88	4.94	4.95		4.73	4.69	4.71		4.61	4.64	4.71	4.46	4.29	4.40
F	2988.41	1819.67	2441.97		988.02	547.56	690.12		1901.20	2124.07	2722.95		727.27	662.65	729.71	1980.65	2144.09	2698.17
p	0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Post-hoc comparison ^a																		
LSD	1	1,2	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1
	2	3	2		2	2	2		3	2	2		3	3	3	3	3	3
	3	4	3		3	3	3		2	3	3		2	2	2	2	2	2
	4		4		4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4	4	4	4

	Integrativeness				Instrumentality				Attitudes Toward L2 Speakers				Vitality				Cultural Interest			
	1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004	
German																				
Group 1	2.35	2.17	1.79		3.64	3.68	3.33		2.61	2.29	2.05		3.67	3.73	3.52		2.83	2.45	2.05	
Group 2	2.95	2.78	2.56		4.22	4.14	4.03		3.99	3.69	3.50		4.26	4.24	4.24		3.89	3.76	3.46	
Group 3	3.97	3.94	3.43		4.54	4.63	4.44		3.68	3.87	3.18		4.00	4.14	3.86		3.24	3.03	2.42	
Group 4	4.42	4.40	4.19		4.74	4.77	4.71		4.65	4.65	4.44		4.46	4.57	4.43		4.29	4.34	3.83	
F	3682.20	2852.32	3717.60		899.41	765.55	1132.67		2699.11	2292.70	2778.42		406.53	313.56	439.93		1475.94	1784.80	1880.72	
p	0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000	
Post-hoc comparison ^a																				
LSD	1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1	
	2	2	2		2	2	2		2	3	3		3	3	3		3	3	3	
	3	3	3		3	3	3		3	2	2		2	2	2		2	2	2	
	4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4		4	4	4	

	Integrativeness				Instrumentality				Attitudes Toward L2 Speakers				Vitality				Cultural Interest			
	1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004	
French																				
Group 1	2.28	2.05	1.90		2.83	2.66	2.59		2.83	2.50	2.35		3.46	3.37	3.37		2.45	2.01	2.00	
Group 2	2.91	2.71	2.64		3.20	3.07	2.99		3.94	3.85	3.66		3.89	3.94	3.91		3.92	3.61	3.54	
Group 3	3.51	3.60	3.34		3.74	3.76	3.76		3.96	3.99	3.70		3.94	4.02	4.02		2.81	2.55	2.37	
Group 4	4.27	4.31	4.18		4.16	4.07	4.14		4.66	4.67	4.56		4.27	4.35	4.37		4.09	4.05	3.88	
F	2686.13	2542.62	3120.70		1269.56	973.26	1525.08		2035.14	2015.43	2469.84		415.50	368.10	522.70		2283.65	1962.74	2216.63	
p	0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000	
Post-hoc comparison ^a																				
LSD	1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1	
	2	2	2		2	2	2		2,3	2	2,3		2	2	2		3	3	3	
	3	3	3		3	3	3		4	3	4		3	3	3		2	2	2	
	4	4	4		4	4	4			4			4	4	4		4	4	4	

	Integrativeness				Instrumentality				Attitudes Toward L2 Speakers				Vitality				Cultural Interest			
	1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004		1993	1999	2004	
Italian																				
Group 1		2.14	1.88	1.85	2.35	2.21	2.11		2.76	2.59	2.45		2.86	2.98	2.96		2.25	2.08	1.84	
Group 2		2.61	2.63	2.54	2.58	2.71	2.77		3.93	3.96	3.70		3.35	3.66	3.61		3.74	3.65	3.30	
Group 3		3.52	3.47	3.55	3.42	3.33	3.42		4.04	4.00	3.98		3.51	3.54	3.65		2.98	2.50	2.25	
Group 4		4.27	4.35	4.25	3.87	3.89	3.86		4.69	4.73	4.69		3.89	4.02	4.02		4.23	4.02	3.91	
F	3022.85	3136.30	3693.19		1588.11	1398.18	1457.23		2060.89	1997.60	2600.40		547.51	448.91	545.41		2196.76	1774.67	2448.00	
p	0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000		0.000	0.000	0.000	
Post-hoc comparison ^a	1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1	
LSD	2	2	2		2	2	2		2	2,3	2		2	2	2,3		3	3	3	
	3	3	3		3	3	3		3	4	3		3	3	4		2	2	2	
	4	4	4		4	4	4		4		4		4	4			4	4	4	

	Integrativeness			Instrumentality			Attitudes Toward L2 Speakers			Vitality			Cultural Interest		
	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004	1993	1999	2004
Russian															
Group 1	1.36	1.34	1.37	1.6	1.57	1.62	1.46	1.51	1.6	2.17	1.97	2.45	1.25	1.27	1.4
Group 2	1.81	1.59	1.81	2.11	2.06	2.04	2.86	1.89	2.84	3.01	3.38	3.09	2.06	1.38	2.93
Group 3	2.21	2.11	2.28	3.13	2.44	2.85	2.07	2.93	2.6	2.89	3.12	3.35	1.4	2.37	1.7
Group 4	3.11	3.28	3.38	3.69	3.54	3.4	3.68	3.68	3.86	3.43	3.68	3.67	2.45	2.81	3.3
<i>F</i>	1903.55	1596.81	266.89	3389.67	1343.06	1943.59	3275.07	2040.18	2293.80	702.10	1293.43	615.84	875.91	911.48	2234.74
<i>p</i>	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
<i>Post-hoc</i> comparison ^a LSD	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	3
	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	2
	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

^aNumbers refer to the groups; numbers in the same line indicate non-significant mean differences, different lines indicate significant differences.

Appendix 13

Analysis of variance of Intended Effort and L2 Choice preferences across the 16 combined cluster groups of English and German.

	Combined group membership ^a																F-value	Sequence ^b
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
Intended Effort English, 1993	2.70	3.05	2.99	2.62	3.39	3.64	3.51	3.70	4.24	4.37	4.23	4.22	4.70	4.68	4.67	4.66	161.179***	4, 1/3, 2/5, 7/7, 6/6, 8/ 12, 11, 9, 10/16, 15, 14, 13
Language Choice English, 1993	1.62	1.45	1.56	1.18	2.00	2.17	1.82	1.79	2.60	2.59	2.44	2.23	2.79	2.79	2.71	2.49	70.159***	4, 2/2, 3, 1/8, 7/5, 6, 12/11, 10/ 10, 9, 16, 15, 13, 14
Intended Effort English, 1999	2.58	2.65	2.58	2.81	3.65	3.79	3.78	3.79	4.19	4.25	4.34	4.26	4.67	4.73	4.70	4.75	172.173***	1, 3, 2, 4/5, 7, 6, 8/9, 10, 12, 11/13, 15, 14, 16
Language Choice English, 1999	1.57	1.66	1.50	1.14	2.42	2.25	2.11	1.95	2.58	2.35	2.47	2.04	2.65	2.72	2.67	2.49	38.605***	4, 3, 1, 2/8, 12/12, 7/7, 6/6, 10, 5/ 10, 5, 11, 16, 5, 11, 16, 9/9, 13, 15, 14
Intended Effort English, 2004	3.04	3.36	3.15	3.17	3.35	3.52	3.53	3.51	4.40	4.31	4.34	4.46	4.60	4.65	4.66	4.67	148.571***	1, 3, 4/4, 5, 2/8, 6, 7/10, 11, 9, 12/13, 14, 15, 16

Language Choice English, 2004	2.18	1.94	1.85	1.69	2.24	2.22	2.20	1.74	2.65	2.62	2.53	2.33	2.55	2.62	2.64	2.53	27.335***	4, 8, 3, 2/1, 7, 6, 5, 12/11, 16, 13, 14, 10, 15, 9
Intended Effort German, 1993	2.49	3.12	3.77	4.21	2.48	3.24	3.91	4.44	2.65	3.27	3.85	4.23	2.43	3.28	4.01	4.40	181.242***	13, 5, 1/5, 1, 9/2, 6, 10, 14/3, 11, 7/7, 15, 4/12, 16, 8
Language Choice German, 1993	1.19	2.05	2.47	2.74	0.88	1.61	2.23	2.60	0.98	1.38	2.03	2.39	0.74	1.17	1.73	2.11	106.744***	13, 5/5, 9/ 14, 1/1, 10/6, 15/11, 2, 16/ 2, 16, 7/7, 12, 3/3, 8, 4
Intended Effort German, 1999	3.32	2.90	3.38	3.93	2.32	3.08	3.80	4.26	2.44	3.01	3.94	4.36	2.21	3.09	3.99	4.42	182.838***	13, 1, 5/1, 5, 9/2, 10, 6, 14/3/7, 4, 11/4, 11, 15/ 8, 12/12, 16
Language Choice German, 1999	1.49	1.98	2.53	2.52	1.02	1.36	2.09	2.28	1.02	1.34	2.05	2.45	0.62	1.05	1.80	2.04	80.838***	13/5, 9, 14/ 10, 6, 1, 15/ 15, 2, 16/11, 7/8, 12, 4, 3

(continued)

	Combined group membership ^a																F-value	Sequence ^b
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16		
Intended Effort German, 2004	2.05	2.98	3.27	4.19	1.99	2.77	3.37	4.07	1.92	2.75	3.51	4.25	1.78	2.82	3.57	4.27	274.238***	13, 9/9, 5, 1/10, 6, 14, 2/3, 7/7, 11/11, 15/8, 4/4, 12, 16
Language Choice German, 2004	1.19	1.70	2.24	2.46	0.84	1.50	1.94	2.24	0.71	1.23	1.73	2.09	0.46	0.97	1.48	1.99	101.779***	13/9, 5/5, 14/1, 10/15, 6/6, 2/2, 11, 7/7, 16, 12/ 12, 8, 3/8, 3, 4

^aFor a description of the 16 combined cluster groups, please refer to Table 6.8.

^bPost hoc LSD comparison: numbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark ‘,’ indicates non-significant differences between two groups, while ‘/’ denotes significant differences.

*** $p < 0.001$

Appendix 14

Factor analysis of the contact variables according to the various L2s/L2 communities (principle component analysis, oblique rotation, pattern matrix).

	1999		2004	
	Factor 1: Objective assessment	Factor 2: Subjective assessment	Factor 1: Objective assessment	Factor 1: Objective assessment
UK				
Tourist statistics	0.949	−0.022	0.906	−0.052
Expert judgement	0.937	0.023	0.876	0.057
Students’ perception	0.000	1.000	0.001	0.998
USA				
Tourist statistics	0.951	−0.033	0.900	−0.043
Expert judgement	0.935	0.035	0.882	0.046
Students’ perception	0.000	1.000	0.001	0.999
Germany				
Tourist statistics	0.953	−0.051	0.901	−0.049
Expert judgement	0.932	0.055	0.881	0.052
Students’ perception	0.001	0.999	0.001	0.999
France				
Tourist statistics	0.947	−0.023	0.896	−0.025
Expert judgement	0.939	0.024	0.887	0.025
Students’ perception	0.000	1.000	0.000	1.000

(continued)

	1999		2004	
	<i>Factor 1: Objective assessment</i>	<i>Factor 2: Subjective assessment</i>	<i>Factor 1: Objective assessment</i>	<i>Factor 1: Objective assessment</i>
<i>Italy</i>				
Tourist statistics	0.948	−0.028	0.900	−0.048
Expert judgement	0.938	0.030	0.883	0.051
Students' perception	0.000	1.000	0.001	0.999
<i>Russia</i>				
Tourist statistics	0.943	−0.002	0.894	−0.026
Expert judgement	0.943	0.002	0.889	0.026
Students' perception	0.000	1.000	0.000	1.000

Appendix 15

Analysis of variance: German-related variables across the nine composite contact categories of subjective and objective contact in 1999.

	<i>Composite contact measure for German^a</i>									<i>F</i>	<i>Sequence^b (LSD post-hoc comparison)</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Integrativeness	3.30	3.19	3.09	3.47	3.57	3.35	3.87	3.89	3.68	25.56***	3, 2/2, 1/1, 6/4, 5/5, 9/7, 8
Instrumentality	4.22	4.25	4.16	4.31	4.47	4.37	4.49	4.59	4.52	18.06***	3, 1, 2/2, 4/4, 6/5, 7, 9/7, 9, 8
Vitality	4.13	4.07	4.05	4.14	4.24	4.24	4.36	4.46	4.37	16.51***	3, 2, 1, 4/6, 5/7, 9, 8
Attitudes to L2 Speakers	3.49	3.52	3.30	3.88	3.83	3.70	4.18	4.15	3.99	30.00***	3/1, 2/6/5, 4/4, 9/8, 7
Cultural Interest	3.29	3.19	3.10	3.60	3.51	3.43	3.92	3.89	3.78	35.42***	3, 2/2, 1/6, 5/5, 4/9, 8/8, 7
Effort	3.23	3.22	3.16	3.54	3.67	3.49	3.92	3.93	3.77	20.89***	3, 2, 1/6, 4/4, 5/5, 9/9, 7, 8
L2 Choice	1.68	1.65	1.39	1.76	1.79	1.43	1.92	1.89	1.63	11.20***	3, 6/9, 2, 1, 4/2, 1, 4, 5/4, 5, 8/5, 8, 7

^aSubjective contact low + Objective contact low. Composite contact = 1.

Subjective contact low + Objective contact medium. Composite contact = 2.

Subjective contact low + Objective contact high. Composite contact = 3.

Subjective contact medium + Objective contact low. Composite contact = 4.

Subjective contact medium + Objective contact medium. Composite contact = 5.

Subjective contact medium + Objective contact high. Composite contact = 6.

Subjective contact high + Objective contact low. Composite contact = 7.

Subjective contact high + Objective contact medium. Composite contact = 8.

Subjective contact high + Objective contact high. Composite contact = 9.

^bNumbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark ‘/’ indicates non-significant differences between two groups, while ‘/’ denotes significant differences.

Appendix 16

Analysis of variance: German-related variables across the nine composite contact categories of subjective and objective contact in 2004.

	<i>Composite contact measure for German^a</i>									<i>F</i>	<i>Sequence^b (LSD post-hoc comparison)</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Integrativeness	3.00	2.89	2.74	3.39	3.26	3.17	3.48	3.61	3.36	29.52***	3/2, 1/6, 5/5, 9/9, 4, 7/7, 8
Instrumentality	4.03	4.05	3.99	4.33	4.29	4.27	4.39	4.49	4.39	23.93***	3, 2, 1/6, 5, 4/4, 7, 9/7, 9, 8
Vitality	3.94	3.92	3.95	4.11	4.06	4.11	4.21	4.31	4.26	15.68***	2, 1, 3/5, 6, 4/4, 7/7, 9, 8
Attitudes to L2 Speakers	3.19	3.12	3.15	3.67	3.52	3.50	3.82	3.88	3.65	32.23***	2, 3, 1/6, 5/9, 4/7, 8
Cultural Interest	2.88	2.73	2.63	3.25	3.15	2.99	3.49	3.44	3.22	38.13***	3, 2/1/6/5, 9/9, 4/8, 7
Effort	3.02	2.90	2.95	3.45	3.36	3.31	3.62	3.76	3.50	25.40***	2, 3, 1/6, 5/5, 4, 9/9, 7/7, 8
L2 Choice	1.49	1.55	1.24	1.67	1.64	1.40	1.74	1.80	1.59	10.65***	3/6, 1/1, 2, 9/2, 9, 5, 4, 7/4, 7, 8

^aSubjective contact low + Objective contact low. Composite contact = 1.

Subjective contact low + Objective contact medium. Composite contact = 2.

Subjective contact low + Objective contact high. Composite contact = 3.

Subjective contact medium + Objective contact low. Composite contact = 4.

Subjective contact medium + Objective contact medium. Composite contact = 5.

Subjective contact medium + Objective contact high. Composite contact = 6.

Subjective contact high + Objective contact low. Composite contact = 7.

Subjective contact high + Objective contact medium. Composite contact = 8.

Subjective contact high + Objective contact high. Composite contact = 9.

^bNumbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark ‘/’ indicates non-significant differences between two groups, while ‘/’ denotes significant differences.

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