

A comparative study on the L2 motivations
and desired L2 identities of university
students of English, Italian and German
studies

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Doctor of Philosophy

November 2019

Faculty of Arts

School of Languages and Linguistics

The University of Melbourne

Submitted in total fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

Abstract

Despite the remarkable level of research activity in the field of L2 motivation in the past decades, most studies have focussed on learners of global English, who generally pursue the language as part of an educational or professional requirement, to gain membership into a global community and to obtain utilitarian advantages. This literature has not only disregarded more “traditional” learners of English, such as learners of English studies, who study the language as a key area of their degree alongside cultural and literary aspects of specific English-speaking countries, but also LOTE learners, thus leading to the establishment of a “global English bias” in theoretical and empirical advances in the field (Boo et al., 2015; Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 456).

In an attempt to challenge this bias, this study presents the first comparative analysis of the L2 motivations and desired L2 identities of students of English studies in Italy and in Germany and of learners of Italian and German studies in Australia. The findings of a questionnaire that elicited both quantitative and qualitative data were triangulated and complemented by a longitudinal component conducted over one academic semester, which consisted of three rounds of interviews and two rounds of diary entries on a fixed sample of learners.

Drawing upon mainstream perspectives on L2 motivation as related to processes of identity creation and development (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009; Yashima, 2002, 2009), traditional motivational variables (e.g. Gardner, 1985; Noels, 2001) and poststructuralist scholarship on L2 learning and identity as related to investment, imagined communities and capital (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Norton, 2013; Norton Peirce, 1995), motivation is conceptualised in this study as a multifaceted and dynamic construct that emerges and develops through the dynamic interaction between learners, their developing identities and the contexts which they inhabit.

The findings show that learners’ motivations reflect both their L2-study-related profiles (e.g. their past learning experiences, the degrees in which they were enrolled, their level of L2 proficiency), their existing linguistic capital and the status that each L2 holds on a global scale and in the local L2 learning context: the communicative range and the perceived utilitarian value of each target language, the power associated with the native or advanced knowledge of English, heritage reasons, socio-economic factors, and varying degrees of societal support are some of the key factors which can explain

differences in the motivations and identity aspirations across sample groups. Despite these differences, however, most L2 learners under investigation were engaged in a process of identity construction to claim personally relevant L2 selves as travel-oriented, globally positioned, open-minded and cultivated individuals, regardless of their chosen L2. While their L2 visions tended to be generally stable over time, students reflected on them over time, particularly in terms of their elaborateness, plausibility and harmony with external expectations, with fearing selves also being at play when students worried about not meeting goals. The findings of this research contribute to reducing the gap in the scholarship on EFL and LOTE learners and further our understanding on the link between L2 motivation and processes of identity development.

Declaration

I declare that:

- a) This thesis comprises only my original work towards the Doctor of Philosophy degree
- b) To the best of my knowledge, due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used
- c) Full ethics procedures and guidelines have been followed
- d) The thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length exclusive of tables and figures

Riccardo Amorati

20th November 2019

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors, Prof John Hajek and Dr Leo Kretzenbacher, who have supported me throughout my candidature and who have given me the freedom to make my own decisions, while always being available to assist me when I needed them. I also owe a special thanks to Ms Anna Quagliari for her helpful guidance in the analysis of the quantitative data, and to the Statistical Consulting Centre of the University of Melbourne, which provided additional statistical advice. I would also like to thank the University of Melbourne for the funding that I received during my candidature and which enabled me to conduct this study. I also extend my sincere gratitude to all the participants involved in this study, without whom this thesis would not have been possible. Finally, I gratefully acknowledge all the people who have been there for me throughout this intellectual adventure, always providing support and encouragement. Particularly, I wish to say *grazie* to my parents back in Italy who, despite being geographically distant in the last four years, have always been present in my life.

Table of contents

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Aims of the study and research questions	3
1.2 Significance of the study	7
1.3 Overview of the thesis	7
Chapter 2 Motivation and identity	10
2.1 Navigating the field of L2 motivation	10
2.2 Motivation as community dependent: geographically defined and global communities	14
2.2.1 Socio-psychological perspectives	14
2.2.2 From an L2 community to a global community: international posture	16
2.3 Motivation as a cognitive process: intrinsic and extrinsic motivations.....	17
2.4 Identity at the forefront of scholarly inquiry	19
2.4.1 The L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS): the theory and current debates..	20
2.5 The dynamic nature of motivation	25
2.5.1 Early precursors: the Process Model and psychological theories of motivational change	26
2.5.2 Complexity and motivational change: the dynamic nature of possible selves.....	27
2.5.3 Key studies on motivational change	30
2.6 Poststructuralist perspectives on identity and L2 learning: investment, capital and imagined communities.....	32
2.7 Concluding remarks.....	36
Chapter 3 English, Italian and German in the global marketplace of language education	38
3.1 English as the desired linguistic capital in the globalised world.....	39
3.1.1 Which English? English(es), its speakers and its contexts of use	41
3.1.2 Learning English as an L2	43
3.1.2.1 Core trends on scholarship on the motivations to learn English	44
3.1.2.2 The impact on English L1 on language learning: LOTE at the tertiary level in Anglophone countries.....	46
3.2 Learning Italian as an L2	48

3.3 Learning German as an L2	49
3.4 Concluding remarks.....	51
Chapter 4 The position of English in Italy and Germany and of Italian and German in Australia.....	52
4.1 English in the EU.....	52
4.2 English in Italy	54
4.2.1 Studies on English L2 learning in Italy	57
4.3 English in Germany	59
4.3.1 Studies on English L2 learning in Germany	61
4.4 Summary and hypotheses	63
4.5 Learning languages in Australia.....	64
4.6 Italian in Australia	69
4.6.1 Studies on Italian L2 learning in Australia	70
4.7 German in Australia.....	72
4.7.1 Studies on German L2 learning in Australia	73
4.8 Italian and German in Victoria	74
4.9 Summary and hypotheses	77
4.10 Concluding remarks.....	78
Chapter 5 Methodology	79
5.1 Research questions	79
5.2 Theoretical framework	81
5.3 The mixed methods approach.....	85
5.4 Study design	86
5.4.1 Research sites and research participants	86
5.4.2 First part: questionnaire study.....	90
5.4.2.1 Research instruments: the questionnaire	92
5.4.3 Second part: interviews and diary study	96
5.4.3.1 Research instruments: the interview and diary guidelines	99
5.5 The fieldwork	100
5.5.1 Recruitment of research participants and details about data collection.....	101
5.5.1.1 Administration of the questionnaire	101
5.5.1.2 Interviews and diary study	102

5.6 Data management and analysis.....	104
5.6.1 Quantitative data	105
5.6.2 Qualitative data	107
Chapter 6 Quantitative findings.....	111
6.1 Key demographic variables in the four samples.....	112
6.1.1 Socio-demographic variables.....	112
6.1.2 L2-study-related variables	115
6.1.2.1 Previous L2 background in the EFL samples.....	115
6.1.2.2 Previous L2 background in the LOTE samples.....	116
6.1.2.3 Proficiency.....	119
6.1.2.4 Degrees in the EFL samples	120
6.1.2.5 Degrees in the LOTE samples.....	120
6.1.3 Some final observations on the demographic variables and their effect	122
6.2 Factor analysis	122
6.2.1 Factor 1: Desire for language proficiency	128
6.2.1.1 Factor 1 in the four learner populations	129
6.2.2 Factor 2: Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities.....	131
6.2.2.1 Factor 2 in the four learner populations	132
6.2.3 Factor 3: Ought-to L2 self.....	135
6.2.3.1 Factor 3 in the four learner populations	136
6.2.4 Factor 4: Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals	138
6.2.4.1 Factor 4 in the four learner populations	139
6.2.5 Factor 5: Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities.....	142
6.2.5.1 Factor 5 in the four learner populations	142
6.2.6 Factor 6: Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences.....	144
6.2.6.1 Factor 6 in the four learner populations	145
6.2.7 Some final considerations on the factor analysis.....	147
6.3 Close-ended questions	148
6.3.1 Attributes associated with L2 proficiency	148
6.3.2 External factors impacting on L2 choice at university	151

6.3.2.1 Understanding external influences	153
6.3.3 Employment sector	155
6.4 Context-specific Likert items	157
6.4.1 European context (EFL respondents)	157
6.4.1.1 English as a necessity	157
6.4.2 Australian context (LOTE respondents)	159
6.4.2.1 L2 knowledge as a marker of education.....	159
6.4.2.2 The influence of L2 communities in Melbourne.....	160
6.4.2.3 Interacting with L2 speakers in Melbourne.....	162
6.5 Concluding remarks.....	163
Chapter 7 Findings from QDS1 (Qualitative data set 1)	167
7.1 An overview of QDS1	167
7.2 Some considerations on the presentation of the findings from QDS1	170
7.3 Findings from Qualitative dataset 1 (QDS1).....	171
7.3.1 Desire for language proficiency	173
7.3.2 Connecting to situated and global communities	180
7.3.2.1 Overview of the communities mentioned	182
7.3.2.2 Geographically defined foreign communities	185
7.3.2.3 Local communities and local presence.....	190
7.3.2.4 Global community	194
7.3.3 Instrumental orientation	198
7.3.3.1 Work-related reasons.....	199
7.3.3.2 Non-work-related reasons	205
7.3.4 Intrinsic motivation.....	206
7.3.5 Heritage motivation	210
7.3.6 An overview of the main influences reported and the (limited) explanatory power of the ought-to L2 self	212
7.4 Concluding remarks.....	217
Chapter 8 Findings from QDS2 (Qualitative data set 2)	221
8.1 An overview of QDS2	221
8.2 Developing an analytical framework.....	222
8.3 Trajectories of change over one semester.....	225

8.3.1 Students' motivational states over the semester	226
8.3.2 Students' reflections on their own L2 identity over the semester: L2 learning as a process of self-discrepancy	227
8.3.2.1 Consistency versus revision	227
8.3.2.2 Moving pictures: reflections on and changes to future L2 identities	230
8.4 The key external factors associated with change and their interactions with the learners' psychological context	238
8.4.1 The instructional context	238
8.4.2 The non-instructional context	246
8.5 Concluding remarks.....	250
Chapter 9 Summary and conclusions	252
9.1 Main findings of the study.....	252
9.1.1 Research question 1 (RQ1)	252
9.1.2 Research question 2 (RQ2)	261
9.1.3 Research question 3 (RQ3)	266
9.2 Limitations.....	271
9.3 Contributions of the study and suggestions for further research.....	273
Bibliography.....	279
Appendix 1 Research instruments	309
A) Questionnaires	309
A1) First part	309
A2) Second part.....	310
A3) Third part (demographic and L2-study related items included in this thesis).....	312
A4) Fourth part.....	314
B) Template for interviews.....	316
B1) First round of interviews.....	316
B2) Second and third round of interviews	316
C) Diary entries.....	318
Appendix 2 Recruitment material.....	319
A) Plain Language statement.....	319
B) Recruitment material (e-mails).....	321

B1) Advertisement of the project among teachers and lecturers	321
B2) Questionnaire invitation email.....	321
B3) Recruitment of participants in the longitudinal part of the study	323
Appendix 3 Statistical data	326
A) Likert items included in the factor analysis with mean values.....	326
B) Factor analysis	328
B1a) Factor matrix (cut-off 0.3 in bold) and factors in the four samples	328
B1b) Visual representation of the factors in the four samples.....	330
B2) ANOVA between factors: data	331
B3) Comparisons between factors after correcting for multiple testing.....	332
B3a) Factor 1	332
B3b) Factor 2.....	332
B3c) Factor 3	333
B3d) Factor 4.....	333
B3e) Factor 5	334
B3f) Factor 6	334
C) Data tables of close-ended and context-specific questions	336
Appendix 4 Qualitative data.....	340
A) Transcription conventions	340
B) Notes on the presentation of the qualitative data in Chapter 7 and 8	340
C) Final coding framework for the presentation of the data in Chapter 7.....	340
D) Data tables related to Chapter 8	342
D1) Motivational states over time and visual representation of trends in the whole sample	342
D2) Students' considerations on their L2 identity over one academic semester in light of four parameters	342

List of tables

Table 3.1	Most recent estimates available of the number of non-native speakers of English, Italian and German and sources consulted.....	40
Table 4.1	Learning English in Italy (E _I) vs learning English in Germany (E _G) in terms of four key criteria of comparison.....	64
Table 4.2	Enrolments in Italian and German in Victorian government schools in 2018 (Department of Education and Training, 2019, pp. 8-10).....	74
Table 4.3	Number of residents of Victoria and in Greater Melbourne who reported a German, Austrian and Swiss ancestry, as documented by the 2016 ABS Census (2017).....	75
Table 4.4	Learning Italian and German in Australia, with a focus on Victoria/Melbourne, in terms of four key criteria of comparison.....	77
Table 5.1	Universities and student cohorts targeted.....	87
Table 5.2	Timeline of questionnaire administration.....	91
Table 5.3	Overview of the first part of the study.....	92
Table 5.4	Similarities and differences in the questionnaires developed.....	93
Table 5.5	Phases and times of data collection and time period covered by each interview.....	98
Table 5.6	Overview of the second part of the study.....	99
Table 5.7	Purposes of each round of data collection in the second part of the study.....	100
Table 5.8	Hard-copies and online questionnaires completed in the cross-sectional part of the study.....	101
Table 5.9	Language used by respondents in the four sample groups in the second part of the study, with details about whether the language chosen is their L1 or L2.....	103
Table 5.10	Mode of interviewing respondents in the four sample groups.....	104
Table 5.11	Quantitative and qualitative data collected.....	104
Table 6.1	Phases of the quantitative data analysis.....	111
Table 6.2	Quantitative sample groups and overall quantitative sample.....	112
Table 6.3	Socio-demographic variables in the four samples.....	113
Table 6.4	Commencement of L2 study in the EFL samples.....	116
Table 6.5	Length of L2 study before university in the LOTE samples.....	117
Table 6.6	Schooling history in the LOTE samples.....	118
Table 6.7	Self-reported L2 proficiency in the four samples.....	119
Table 6.8	Degree of enrolment in the EFL samples.....	120

Table 6.9	Degree of enrolment in the LOTE samples	120
Table 6.10	Role of language studies in the base degrees of LOTE students	121
Table 6.11	Pearson’s correlation coefficients between sample groups	124
Table 6.12	Overview of the factors extracted, their internal consistency, their assigned label and the key questionnaire variables that they mostly represented	126
Table 6.13	Internal structure of Factor 1 (“Desire for language proficiency”)	128
Table 6.14	Data on the effect of Factor 1 (“Desire for language proficiency”) on the four sample groups.....	129
Table 6.15	Inner structure of Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities”)	131
Table 6.16	Data on the effect of Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities”) on the four sample groups	133
Table 6.17	Inner structure of Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”)	135
Table 6.18	Data on the effect of Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”) on the four sample groups	136
Table 6.19	Inner structure of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”).....	138
Table 6.20	Data on the effect of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”) on the four sample groups	139
Table 6.21	Inner structure of Factor 5 (“Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities”)	142
Table 6.22	Data on the effect of Factor 5 (“Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities”) on the four sample groups.....	143
Table 6.23	Inner structure of Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences”). Item 6 is in italics as it correlated negatively with the other items included in the Factor.....	144
Table 6.24	Data on the effect of Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences”) on the four sample groups	145
Table 7.1	An overview of key features of QDS1 (see also 5.6.2)	167
Table 7.2	Overview of the number of respondents in QDS1 and comparison with the number of quantitative survey respondents (column 2)	168
Table 7.3	Overview of respondents who partook in the second phase of the study in the two European countries under investigation.....	169
Table 7.4	Overview of respondents who partook in the second part of the study in Australia.....	170

Table 7.5	Qualitative themes emerged from the analysis of QDS1.....	173
Table 7.6	Frequencies and percentages of participants in each sample group who expressed a desire to improve L2 proficiency in the open-ended responses of the questionnaire	174
Table 7.7	Frequencies and percentages of the communities mentioned by survey participants in the open-ended responses.....	182
Table 7.8	Frequencies and percentages of questionnaire participants in the four samples who mentioned reasons related to the variable “instrumental orientation” in the open-ended responses. The data are classified into the two dimensions work-related and non-work-related benefits.....	198
Table 7.9	Frequencies and percentages of survey participants in the four samples who mentioned intrinsic reasons in the open-ended responses.....	206
Table 7.10	Frequencies and percentages of survey participants in the four samples who mentioned heritage-related motivations for L2 learning in the open-ended responses	210
Table 7.11	Frequencies and percentages of survey participants in the four samples who mentioned external influences which were coded as part of the ought-to L2 self in the open-ended responses. The data are classified into the two dimensions “ought-to L2 self/own” and “ought-to L2 self/other”.....	212
Table 7.12	The selves emerged from the qualitative analysis and some key differences between sample groups	219
Table 8.1	Overview of QDS2	222
Table 8.2	Sub-codes emerged during the analysis of QDS2 classified in relation to the three levels of context identified	223
Table 8.3	Changes to students’ L2 vision over the period of data collection.....	227
Table 8.4	Overview of the occurrence of elements of the instructional contexts over four time points	238
Table 8.5	Overview of the occurrence of elements of the instructional contexts over four time points	246
Table 9.1	Similarities and differences with a comparative focus on EFL and LOTE samples only in light of the motivational variables targeted.....	260
Table 9.2	Overview: similarities and differences between the identity aspirations of EFL and LOTE learners as emerged in QDS1.....	265

List of figures

Figure 1	Theoretical perspectives utilised in this study to shed light on L2 motivation (see also 2.7 and 5.2).....	13
Figure 2	Cattel’s scree test (number of factors to extract).....	126
Figure 3	Visual representation of the effect of Factor 1 (“Desire for language proficiency”) on the four sample groups.....	129
Figure 4	Visual representation of the effect of Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities”) on the four sample groups.....	133
Figure 5	Visual representation of the effect of Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”) on the four sample groups.....	136
Figure 6	Visual representation of the effect of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”) on the four sample groups	139
Figure 7	Visual representation of the effect of Factor 5 (“Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities”) on the four sample groups	143
Figure 8	Visual representation of the effect of Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences”) on the four sample groups	145
Figure 9	Respondents in the four samples report on the attributes that they would associate with themselves as future L2 speakers	149
Figure 10	Respondents in the four samples report on whether they experienced external influences when they decided to pursue L2 studies at university level.....	151
Figure 11	Respondents report on the type of influence they experienced when they decided to pursue L2 studies (results add up to 100%).....	153
Figure 12	Respondents in the four samples report on their future career plans. More than one answer could be selected.....	156
Figure 13	EFL respondents report on whether English is a necessity for speakers of languages spoken in only one or few countries	158
Figure 14	LOTE respondents report on whether they believe that an educated person is supposed to be able to speak at least a language other than one’s own L1	159
Figure 15	LOTE respondents report on the influence of heritage communities in Melbourne on their motivation	160
Figure 16	LOTE respondents report on whether the L2 allows them to interact with L2 speakers in Melbourne	162

Figure 17	Frequency of students' motivational states over the four time points after INT-1	226
Figure 18	Explicit and implicit references to L2 identity over time in light of four parameters (freq.)	232
Figure 19	Key elements associated with reflections on and/or revisions to four key parameters of learners' L2 identities	235

List of abbreviations

CI	Confidence interval
CDS	Complex Dynamic System
DF	Degrees of freedom
EFL	English as a foreign language. Term used to refer to the E _I and E _G learners included in this study.
E _I	English L2 in Italy (Data collected from the University of Bologna, see 5.4.1).
E _G	English L2 in Germany (Data collected from the LMU University in Munich, see 5.4.1).
F	F statistics
Freq.	Frequency
G _A	German L2 in Australia (Data collected from the University of Melbourne, RMIT University and Monash University, see 5.4.1).
I _A	Italian L2 in Australia (Data collected from the University of Melbourne, RMIT University and Monash University, see 5.4.1).
Interm.	Intermediate (see Table 6.7)
Int.	International
INT	Interview
L1	First language
L2	Additional language(s) learnt after the L1
L2MSS	L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009)
LOTEs	Languages other than English
M	Mean
N	Number
n/a	Not available/not applicable
P	Participant
QDS1	Qualitative data set 1
QDS2	Qualitative data set 2
QR	Questionnaire respondent
RQ	Research question

SD	Standard deviation
SG	Sample group
sic	the word/quotation contains a mistake, but it is presented as originally written
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SS	Sum of squares
STEMM	Statistics, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics and Medicine (the term medicine is used in this thesis to refer to any degree in the medical field).
Tot.	Total
<i>transl.</i>	Quote translated from Italian/German into English
UoM	University of Melbourne
VCE	Victorian Certificate of Education (certificate for completion of secondary education)

Terminological clarifications

<p>Bilingual/Multilingual</p>	<p>Congruent with current theorising in bilingualism research (see e.g. Dewaele, 2015), the terms “bilingualism/bilingual” and “multilingualism/multilingual” are utilised in this study to refer to any individual who has at least minimal competence in two or more languages, respectively.</p>
<p>Community languages in the Australian context</p>	<p>The term “community language” is employed in this thesis to refer to the community status of Italian and German in Australia. The term has been used in Australia since 1975 to indicate all the languages besides English and Aboriginal languages that are employed in Australia as a result of extensive migration (Clyne, 1991, p. 3). Section 4.5 expands on this definition.</p>
<p>EFL (English as a Foreign Language)</p>	<p>In this thesis, the term “EFL” (English as a Foreign Language) is used to describe the status of English in Italy and in Germany and thus to refer to the students of English studies under investigation (also referred to as E_I and E_G learners/students/respondents, etc.). The term “foreign language” is used in the field of Applied Linguistics to refer to any language which is learnt in a country where it does not hold any official status for internal communication (e.g. English in Italy, Germany). Conversely, the term “second language” denotes any language learnt in a country where it has an official standing (e.g. English in Australia). It is important to note, however, that this terminology cannot be uncritically applied, due to the complexity of English language use in the globalised world (see e.g. Ushioda, 2013b). Some scholars (Erling, 2007, p. 120; Hilgendorf, 2005; see also Mesthrie, 2008), for instance, have noted that English is gradually becoming a second rather than foreign</p>

	language in Germany, due to the spread of English proficiency in the country (see 4.3).
LOTEs	<p>The term LOTEs is utilised in this thesis to denote languages other than English, and thus to refer to the students of Italian and German studies included in this thesis (also referred to as I_A and G_A learners/students/respondents, etc.)</p> <p>It is important to point out, however, that this term has attracted considerable criticism in the Australian context, where the term “language(s)” is now preferred (see e.g. ACARA, 2016, p. 58). However, it was decided to utilise it in this study for convenience of comparison with the international literature, where this terminology is commonly used (see e.g. the recent special issue on the motivation to learn LOTEs, Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017a).</p>
Motive/desire/reason	All these terms are considered in this thesis as synonyms of motivation. Unless otherwise specified, the term motivation always refers to <u>L2</u> motivation.
Students of English/Italian/German studies	The terms English/Italian/German studies will be used in this thesis to refer to the study area of the L2 students under investigation, who were learning the L2 alongside cultural, linguistic and/or literary aspects of L2 communities. The term “English studies” is intended as an umbrella term which encompasses both students of English (i.e. British) studies and of North American studies.
Students of global English	The term is utilised in this thesis to refer to learners of English who study the language for the functional purpose of communicating internationally, rather than for affiliating with English-speaking countries (see 3.1.2.1).

Note that this thesis uses standard Australian English spelling conventions. The spelling of quotes taken from articles/journals where other spelling conventions are adopted was not altered.

Chapter 1 Introduction

The increase in social relations on a global scale has considerably changed the global linguistic landscape (Pauwels, 2014a, 2014b; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, 2017b), impacting on the perception of which languages are considered worthy of learning and leading to the establishment of new “hierarchies of value” (Liddicoat & Curnow, 2014, p. 277) in the global linguistic market, with English being firmly established as the most desired linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Pauwels, 2014b, p. 310).

The ascent of English as a global language (Crystal, 2003a), a lingua franca (de Swaan, 2004; Seidlhofer, 2011) and a compulsory educational skill (Crystal, 2003a; Graddol, 2006, see also Ushioda, 2017) has generated considerable scholarly interest in the field of L2 motivation, with around 72% of empirical studies conducted between 2004 and 2014 focussing on learners of global English (Boo, Dörnyei, & Ryan, 2015, p. 145). This scholarship has shown that these learners generally study the language as an educational requirement, as a tool for passing high stakes gatekeeping exams, for gaining membership within a global community, for communicating internationally, for securing jobs and to advance in their career (see e.g. Lamb, 2004; Lai, 2013; McKay, 2002; Ryan, 2006; Sung, 2013; Taguchi et al., 2009; Yashima, 2002, 2009). For learners of global English the language represents “a mere tool bereft of collective cultural capital” (House, 2003, p. 560; see also Widdowson, 1994), with their motivations being “increasingly associated with factors such as necessity, utility, advantage, social capital, power, advancement, mobility, migration and cosmopolitanism” (Ushioda, 2017, p. 471).

Dörnyei’s (2005, p. 118) proposal of introducing a “two-tier” approach in the field with respect to whether the focus of inquiry is the dominant world language or another language rests on the assumption that the motivations of learners of global English tend to be qualitatively different from those of learners of LOTEs¹ (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2005, p. 118; Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 71-72), particularly in terms of their desired communities of affiliation (global communities vs geographically defined L2 communities) and reasons for investing in L2 learning (extrinsic/internalised extrinsic and instrumental reasons vs intrinsic and integrative reasons). Dörnyei’s

¹ The acronym LOTEs refers to Languages other than English. See the list of terminological clarifications on pages xiv-xv for a definition of this term and for the rationale for its inclusion in this thesis.

proposal has been more or less deliberately followed by scholars working on L2 motivation, who have, however, prioritised only one tier, i.e. learners of English, and the most numerically salient learner group within this tier, i.e. students who buy into English for its global role and study it as a compulsory school subject, medium for academic study and professional tool.

The considerable interest on global English has led to the establishment of a “global English bias” (Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 456) in the field of L2 motivation: theoretical advances in the field have been skewed towards the study of one particular language with special status (see also Oakes & Howard, 2019, p. 4) and scholarly theorising and empirical research have overlooked a considerable portion of L2 learners in the world. Specifically, the focal attention on global English has been at the detriment of both LOTE learners (see e.g. Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017b) and, it is argued here, more “traditional” learners of English, such as language specialists who study the language as a key component of highly specialised degrees alongside cultural and literary aspects of native English L2 communities (e.g. British literature and cultural studies, American literature, etc.). While there is no lack of literature on English major students in academic settings (see e.g. Dörnyei & You, 2014; Ngo, Spooner-Lane, & Mergler, 2017; Taguchi et al., 2009), very few studies explain what majoring in English entails in each research context. In addition, there is a paucity of literature that explicitly discusses whether the motivations of language specialists who study English together with cultural aspects of English-speaking countries differ from those of learners of global English. The term “global English” applied to these language specialists may be somewhat misleading, as this denomination places emphasis on the role of English as an international language, bereft of any cultural association with English L2 communities. In this thesis, the term students of English studies is utilised to characterise this particular group of learners, who are likely to view English a means to affiliate not only with a global community, in the same way as learners of global English, but also with specific native L2 communities (see e.g. Erling, 2007).

Only recently, there has been an attempt to challenge the global English bias in the field, by shifting the attentional focus on LOTE learners (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017a), in an attempt to test, among other things, whether the theoretical perspectives and variables developed in the global-English-oriented field of L2 motivation are apt to

examine their motivations and identity aspirations (ibid., p. 452). Nevertheless, scholars continue to focus on learners of English and LOTEs separately (see, however, Oakes & Howard, 2019), and there remains a lack of comparative empirical investigations including learners of English alongside learners of LOTEs. Such studies are warranted, since they can contribute to testing the adequacy of motivational variables developed for English for the study of LOTEs and vice versa, in line with recent claims for a better integration of scholarship on these two groups of learners (ibid., p. 13). In addition, they can provide comparative insights on how students' L2 motivations and desired L2 identities are shaped by the status that each L2 holds on a global scale and in the socio-context(s) of learning, and can also draw scholarly attention to similarities in students' investment in L2 learning, irrespective of the target L2.

1.1 Aims of the study and research questions

The present study was designed to counteract the “global English bias” (Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 456) in the field of L2 motivation. It aims to advance scholarly literature on students of English studies and of LOTE learners, and to provide a comparative analysis of how their L2 motivations and L2 identities compare. As a case in point, it explores how the motivations and identities of first-year university students of English studies in Italy (E_I learners) and in Germany (E_G learners), and of students of Italian and German studies in Australia (I_A and G_A learners, respectively) compare. It also examines whether the standing of each L2 on a global scale and in each socio-context of learning is reflected in the findings. This research builds upon three interconnected questions (see 5.1 for an in-depth discussion of each research question):

- (RQ1) How do the L2 motivations of university students of English studies in Italy and in Germany and of university students of Italian and German studies in Australia compare?*
- (RQ2) Are students' L2 motivations associated with processes of self-discrepancy and identity development? Which identities do students wish to shape by studying the L2?*
- (RQ3) Is the status that each L2 holds on a global scale and in the specific learning contexts reflected in students' L2 motivations and in their desired L2 identities?*

In the following paragraphs, the rationale for the inclusion of these three languages and of these specific cohorts of learners is provided.

Adoption of a comparative angle

This study focuses on language specialists, i.e. learners who decided to study or to continue studying the L2 alongside cultural aspects of L2-speaking communities as part of their degrees (see 5.4.1).

As noted previously, L2 motivational scholarship on English has not only mostly focused on learners of global English, but it has also generally failed to include comparative studies focussing on English alongside other languages, on the grounds of its unique status as global lingua franca (see 3.1.1). It is notable, however, that studies on Anglophone LOTE learners have shown that variables typically associated with global English, such as “international posture” (Yashima, 2002, 2009) and “instrumental orientation” (Gardner, 1985) are also relevant to this particular learner group (see 3.1.2.2). The adoption of a comparative angle in this thesis enables us to provide the first in-depth analysis of how the L2 motivations and desired L2 identities of these four learner groups compare. This will be done by verifying whether there are significant differences in the statistical effect and qualitative nature of various motivational dimensions. While differences in motivation between learners of global English and learners of LOTEs may be easier to frame (see e.g. Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017), learners of English studies and LOTE learners may present many more similarities, especially in terms of the relevance of intrinsic and L2-community-related motivations (see 3.1.2.1).

Inclusion of two EFL² learner populations

The important status that English is accorded on a global scale might wrongly lead scholars to assume that the motivations of learners of English are undergoing processes of “convergence and homogenisation” (Ushioda, 2013b, p. 3; see also Ushioda, 2017, p. 471). Nevertheless, a solid body of literature has provided evidence that the populations of EFL learners and speakers are increasingly diverse not only in terms of the varieties

² In this thesis, the term “EFL” (English as a Foreign Language) is utilised to describe the status of English in Italy and in Germany and to refer to the learners of English studies included in this study. See the list of terminological clarifications on pages xiv-xv. See also section 3.1.1.

they speak, but also in the way in which they use or plan to use English in different settings (Ushioda, 2013b, see also 3.1.2). Recent scholarship points to the need to research English L2 learners as social actors who try to attain forms of capital in specific socio-contexts (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Ushioda, 2013b). By focussing on learners of English studies in two different learning contexts, this study aims to explore how the motivations for studying English are shaped by both global and local trends. As will be elaborated in Chapter 4, the E_I and E_G respondents in this study are likely to accord a similar meaning to English and to its functional role. Nevertheless, anticipated differences in their levels of proficiency in English and in the current economic situation traversed by Italy and Germany are expected to influence their motivations and desired identities, thus making a comparison between these two learner groups particularly interesting.

Inclusion of students of Italian and German studies in Australia

The inclusion of students of Italian and German studies in an English-speaking context aims to advance scholarly literature on Anglophone language learners. According to Dörnyei and Csizér (2002, p. 497), an analysis of the motivations of learners in the same community is advisable, since “it is only through such investigations that the learning population can be held constant and thus L2-related variation in the motivation construct can be reliably identified”.

In Australia, Italian and German are appreciated as European languages of prestige associated with a rich literature, history and culture, have a long history in the Australian educational system, and are both community languages³, due to settlement of Italian and German-speaking migrants in the country. However, they hold a somewhat different appeal.

On the one hand, Italian is considered the community language “par excellence” (Rubino, 2002, p. 4; see also Lo Bianco & Aliani, 2013), due to at least three reasons: (1) the considerable Italian migration to Australia (see Campolo, 2009, see 4.6); (2) its popularity as a LOTE in Australian schools, and particularly in the state of Victoria (see e.g. Slaughter & Hajek, 2014; Department of Education, 2019); and (3) the visibility of the Italo-Australian community, which has showed less marked signs of language shift

³ See 4.5 for a discussion of the term “community language” in relation to the Australian context.

and complete assimilation in Australia in comparison to the German-speaking community (Clyne et al., 2015; Fernandez, Pauwels, & Clyne, 1994). This is evident in Melbourne, the city where the LOTE learners in this study were recruited (see 4.7).

On the other hand, German has seen an evident decrease in heritage learners (Schmidt, 2011 vs Ammon, 1991) and holds a high marketability as a business language both in Australia (Ammon, 2015, p. 1059; Schmidt 2011) and on a global scale (see e.g. Riemer, 2016). Hence, a comparison between learners of these two languages can shed light on how issues of heritage, visibility of the L2 community and perceived instrumentality impact on L2 motivations and L2 identities.

An overview of the theoretical framework and study design

On the assumption that the integration of different perspectives can provide complementary and richer ways of capturing and understanding the complex nature of human agency (see e.g. MacIntyre, Noels, & Moore, 2010; Oakes & Howard, 2019), the theoretical framework of this study brings together different theoretical stances.

As will be discussed in 2.7 and 5.2, this thesis examines motivation both in terms of variables from influential theories in the field of L2 motivation (RQ1) and of current identity perspectives (RQ2). The study draws upon psychological literature on motivation as related to processes of identity creation and development (L2 Motivational Self System, Dörnyei, 2005, 2009; international posture, Yashima, 2002, 2009) and complements it with the poststructuralist constructs of investment (Norton Peirce, 1995), imagined communities (Anderson, 1991; Kanno & Norton, 2003), and capital (Bourdieu, 1991). It also incorporates variables developed within the social-psychological (“integrative orientation”, Gardner & Lambert, 1972, and “instrumental orientation”, Gardner, 1985), cognitive (“intrinsic motivation” and “extrinsic motivation”, Noels, 2001, 2003, 2009) phases of L2 motivation research.

This study combines quantitative research methods, which have been traditionally employed in the field of L2 motivation since its social-psychological foundations (see 2.1), with qualitative research instruments, which are more commonly utilised in current socio-dynamic approaches to L2 motivation (see e.g. Ushioda, 2009 for a critical overview) and in poststructuralist research on identity and language learning (see e.g. Norton, 2013). The adoption of a mixed-method approach coheres with a plethora of

scholarly investigations in the field of L2 motivation (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Erling, 2007; Lamb, 2004, 2007; Palmieri, 2018). The findings of a questionnaire that elicits both quantitative and qualitative data are triangulated and complemented by a longitudinal component conducted over one academic semester. This latter part, which is included in acknowledgment of the dynamic nature of motivations and L2 selves (e.g. Campbell & Storch, 2011; Fryer & Roger, 2018; Hessel, 2015, see 2.5), consists of three rounds of interviews and two rounds of diary entries on a fixed sample of five learners from each sample group.

1.2 Significance of the study

As noted previously, this study advances scholarly literature on elective students of English studies in non-Anglophone contexts and on LOTE learners in an Anglophone setting. It also provides the first detailed analysis of how the motivations and desired identities of these four learner groups compare, with the aim of contributing to reducing the theoretical and empirical gap in the scholarship on EFL and LOTE learners. Indeed, as mentioned before, the adoption of a comparative angle enables us to explore the suitability of motivational constructs commonly associated with learners of global English (e.g. international posture, Yashima, 2002, 2009) for learners of LOTEs, and vice versa (e.g. L2-community-related reasons, Gardner & Lambert, 1972; *Exotenmotiv*, Riemer, 2006).

The findings of the study can also further our understanding of themes that are at the forefront of scholarly inquiry in the field: (1) the centrality of processes of affiliations with real and imagined communities through L2 learning (see e.g. Gardner & Lambert, 1972, Kanno & Norton, 2003; Palmieri, 2018); (2) the link between L2 motivation, processes of self-development and identity construction (see e.g. Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017); and finally (3) the situated and dynamic nature of L2 motivations and L2 identities (see e.g. Henry, 2015; Hessel, 2015; Ushioda, 2009).

1.3 Overview of the thesis

This thesis is organised into nine chapters, including this first introductory chapter.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical foundations of this study. It reviews influential

theories and variables in the field of L2 motivation and discusses the centrality of identity in current scholarly theorising. After focussing on the dynamic nature of motivational processes, the chapter examines how poststructuralist perspectives on identity and language learning can complement theoretical perspectives in mainstream scholarship on L2 motivation.

Chapter 3 explores the status that English, Italian and German hold in the global marketplace of language education, with the aim of providing the background for the examination of language-related differences in learners' motivations. It opens with a brief discussion of the linguistic landscape brought about by globalisation and illustrates the implications of the current scenario for the learning of English and of LOTEs. Within this framework, the chapter draws upon Bourdieu's (1991) metaphor of languages as forms of capital in order to elucidate the appeal of English, Italian and German in the global marketplace of language education. Since debates on the appeal of languages often arise from an interpretation of data on the motivations of learners of such languages, L2 motivation studies inform the discussion.

Chapter 4 examines the position that the three languages under investigation hold in the three contexts of learning. It is structured into two parts. First, it focuses on the role of English in the European Union and in Italy and Germany, outlining similarities and differences in terms of its hegemony and of its status in the educational system. It also discusses differences in the current economic situation traversed by both countries, advancing hypotheses on its possible repercussions on learners' motivations. Second, the chapter offers a brief overview of language education in Australia and describes the status of Italian and German in the Australian language education marketplace, with a particular focus on Victoria, the Australian state where the participants were recruited.

Chapter 5 discusses the methodological choices made in this study. After presenting the theoretical framework utilised and providing justification for the adoption of a mixed methods approach, it delineates the two phases in which the project was articulated, and the research instruments utilised for the data collection. It then offers an overview of the fieldwork experience. Finally, it outlines the procedures employed for the management and the analysis of the quantitative and the qualitative data.

Chapter 6 presents and discusses the quantitative findings. After illustrating the characteristics of the four sample groups included in this study in relation to key

demographic and L2-study-related variables, it describes the steps undertaken for the computation of a factor analysis on the entire data set and examines the results emerged, interpreting the six factors and explaining how they compared in the four sample groups. Finally, it discusses key trends emerged from the analysis of both the close-ended survey questions and of the context-specific Likert items.

Chapter 7 considers the findings of the content analysis conducted on the cross-sectional qualitative data. The analysis operationalises the construct of identity, which was found to underly all the motivational variables emerged in the process of data coding.

Chapter 8 presents the findings of the longitudinal component of the study. It discusses key trajectories of motivational change over the course of one academic semester and casts some light on the key elements which were found to cause changes to students' motivational states as well as reflections on and/or alterations to aspects of their envisioned L2 identities.

Chapter 9 brings together the quantitative and qualitative data and elaborates on how they each serve to address the three research questions informing this inquiry. It also discusses the contributions and limitations of this study and proposes suggestions for future avenues of research.

Chapter 2 Motivation and identity

This chapter presents the theoretical background of this study. It begins with a critical overview of key trends in the development of L2 motivation research and suggests that the amalgamation of multiple theoretical constructs can improve our understanding of the multilayered complexity of L2 motivation. It then reviews motivational variables which will be employed in this thesis to explore the socially situated nature of motivation and its link to processes of affiliation with geographically situated L2 communities and global communities. After that, it examines self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), which provides a framework to discuss the extent to which motivations are self-initiated by choice or externally imposed. Subsequently, the chapter considers the centrality of identity in current theorisations in the field and presents Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS), focussing in particular on the two selves at the forefront of the model, which will be employed as a starting point to shed light on learners' motivations as related to processes of identity construction and self-discrepancy (RQ2). The chapter then offers an overview of scholarship on the dynamic nature of motivation, in an attempt to provide the background for a discussion of the findings in the longitudinal component of this study. Finally, it reviews poststructuralist perspectives on L2 learning, illustrating how they can complement mainstream inquiries into the field by offering further insight into the link between motivation, identity, capital and real or imagined communities of identification.

2.1 Navigating the field of L2 motivation

This study falls within the area of L2 motivation research, a field of inquiry within the domain of Applied Linguistics that aims to uncover what brings individuals to study additional languages (what we refer to in this thesis as “choice motivation”), to expend effort and to persevere in the L2 learning process (“ongoing/executive motivation”, see Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 3). Scholars concerned with this complex task have tried in recent decades to delve into the possible reasons that drive human agency in relation to language learning, in an attempt to develop explanatory theoretical models and to test their applicability in a variety of learning contexts. This has led to “a remarkable level of research activity” (Boo et al., 2015, p. 148), which is reflected in the plurality of motivational constructs and theories that have been discussed

in the field over the past few decades (for recent overviews see Al-Hoorie, 2017; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011).

Although there is agreement that motivation plays a crucial role in determining success in and persistence with the L2 learning process, Dörnyei & Ushioda (2011, p. 3) note that “there seems little consensus on its conceptual range of reference”. Different theories have singled out and focused on different motivating factors and have specified different relationships between them, thereby placing emphasis on a variety of distinct elements impinging on human agency, such as cognition and affect, identity-related, temporal and contextual dimensions. Due to this theoretical proliferation, several definitions of motivation have been proposed in the literature, each placing emphasis on particular aspects of the construct (Gregersen & MacIntyre, 2013, p. 108).

Traditional overviews of the development of theoretical inquiry into L2 motivation have distinguished three phases (see e.g. Al-Hoorie, 2017; Dörnyei, 2005, pp. 66-67; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, pp. 73-74), albeit acknowledging considerable amounts of overlap between them (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p. 74). The first phase, the social-psychological period (1959-1990), began with the publication of Gardner and Lambert’s (1959) pioneering study on the motivations of secondary students of French in Montreal, which paved the way for research inquiries framing motivation as connected to learners’ attitudes and processes of affiliation and identification with L2 communities within specific socio-contexts. The second phase, the cognitive-situated period (1990s), shifted the attentional focus from the broader socio-context to classroom settings and to the cognitive processes underpinning language learning. The third phase, the process-oriented period (2000s to now), has been concerned with understanding motivational change both at the micro and macrolevel. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011, p. 40) suggest that this latter phase has recently morphed into a new one, which they labelled socio-dynamic period, whereby researchers are mainly interested in motivation as a complex situated process which derives from the dynamic interplay between the learners, their identities and the contexts which they inhabit (see e.g. Ushioda, 2009).

Three considerations are needed regarding core trends in the field. First, all the aforementioned research phases, with the exception of the socio-dynamic period, were aimed at developing generalisable linear models capable of predicting learner behaviours and L2 achievement, in line with the positivist tradition dominating mainstream

motivational psychology (see Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 75). Second, motivation has been interpreted for decades as a stable trait of individuals, with the bulk of scholarly output focussing on choice rather executive motivation. Third, as noted in Chapter 1, most of the literature in the field has focused on learners of global English rather than learners of LOTEs (Boo et al., 2015). Scholars are now attempting to redress the balance by testing whether variables and theories developed for students whose target language is English are also applicable to students of LOTEs (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017a, 2017b).

Following previous literature (MacIntyre et al., 2010; Oakes & Howard, 2019), it is argued that the adoption of different theories and motivational constructs enables scholars to investigate motivation from different perspectives, and thus to obtain a better understanding of the concept. This perspective-taking approach implies that the co-existence of multiple theories and models in the field should not be understood as a sign of confusion and fragmentation, but rather as a strength (see Gregersen & MacIntyre, 2013, pp. 107-108; Palmieri, 2018, p. 33). Indeed, the challenge for researchers is to select the constructs and theories with the highest explanatory power in relation to the learner populations and L2 contexts under investigation (see e.g. Oakes & Howard, 2019; Sugita McEown, Noels, & Chaffee, 2014, pp. 35-36). This means that motivation should be conceptualised through what Oakes & Howard (2019, p. 11) describe as a “multidimensional prism, with different constructs contributing to varying degrees depending on language and learning context”.

As will be further elaborated in 5.2, motivation is examined in this thesis both through the lens of traditional motivational variables coming from influential theories in the field (RQ1) and of current identity perspectives placing possible selves (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) at the forefront of the inquiry (RQ2). Hence, the theoretical framework incorporates different strands of L2 motivation research. Figure 1 offers a visual overview of these key theoretical perspectives and of the aspects of L2 motivation that they drew attention to:

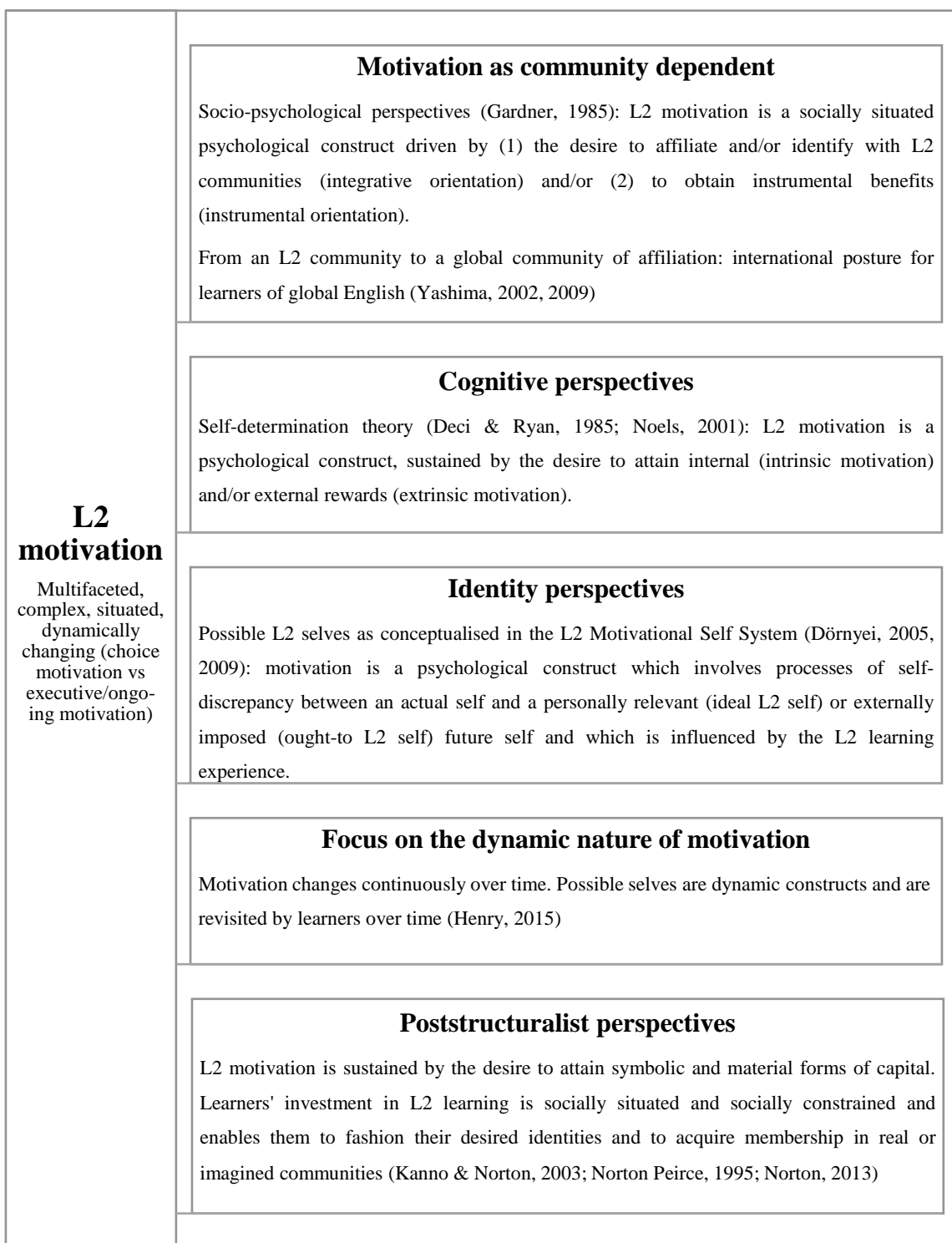


Figure 1 Theoretical perspectives utilised in this study to shed light on L2 motivation (see also 2.7 and 5.2)

The following sections present the key constructs at the heart of each perspective and advance some hypotheses on their applicability to the learner populations under investigation (see also 5.4.1).

2.2 Motivation as community dependent: geographically defined and global communities

This section discusses the first component displayed in Figure 1 (“Motivation as community dependent”), by focussing on the motivational variables aimed at examining the link between L2 motivation and processes of affiliation with L2 communities (2.2.1) and global communities (2.2.2).

2.2.1 Socio-psychological perspectives

This study attempts to test the extent to which the motivations and desired identities of the learners under investigation are associated with processes of affiliation and identification with situated L2 communities and/or with their desire to acquire work-related and non-work-related benefits. Hence, it draws upon constructs associated with socio-psychological research on L2 motivation.

Gardner and Lambert’s (1959, 1972) studies represent the first attempt to connect L2 motivation to ethnic group identity and to establish a relationship between this construct and attitudinal dispositions towards the L2 community, while also placing the spotlight on the role of the social milieu in influencing L2 students’ motivations. Their research was conducted in Canada, a country characterised by the co-existence of a Francophone and an Anglophone community and showed that learners’ desire to learn the language of the other community was linked to their attitudes towards the target language group.

The cornerstone of Gardner’s (1985, 2001) motivational theory is integrative motivation, a complex construct that encompasses three constituents: (1) integrativeness; (2) attitudes towards the learning situation; and (3) motivation. Integrativeness was for decades “the most researched and most talked about notion in L2 motivation studies” (Dörnyei, 2005, p. 95). The construct involves favourable attitudes towards L2 speakers, a general interest in foreign languages accompanied by low ethnocentrism and an integrative orientation (explained below). The second component of Gardner’s integrative motivation, i.e. attitudes towards the learning situation, refers to the dispositions that learners have towards the context in which the language is learnt (e.g. course-related characteristics, teacher, classmates etc.). Finally, the third component describes the effort placed on goal-oriented behaviour.

According to Gardner (1985), motivation is propelled by learners’ specific

reasons, named orientations, for studying the L2. Variables measuring different types of orientation have been utilised in the field of L2 motivation to shed light on students' reasons and goals for pursuing L2 learning (see e.g. Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Noels et al., 2000). Although Gardner conceptualised orientations as motivational antecedents which contribute to sustaining and giving shape to students' motivations, two orientations have ironically come to be the most influential concepts associated with his theory, integrative orientation and instrumental orientation, often mistakenly referred to in the field of L2 motivation as integrative and instrumental motivations (see Dörnyei, 2005, pp. 69-70; Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p. 76). Gardner's theory has in fact been largely misunderstood due to its terminological complexity. As Dörnyei (2005, pp. 68-69) notes, a possible source of misunderstanding may derive from the fact that the term "integrative" appears various times in his work: integrativeness, integrative orientation, integrative motive and motivation. Furthermore, all three constructs are conceptually related, as they all entail some degree of affiliation with the L2 community (Gardner, 2001, see also Oakes & Howard, 2019, p. 3).

In keeping with other studies (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013; Oakes & Howard, 2019), this thesis explores the presence of integrative and instrumental orientations in the samples under investigation. The term "integrative orientation" describes individuals who display positive attitudes towards L2 communities and native speakers of the L2 and who wish to learn the language to connect to the target language group, from an interest in the L2 community and L2 culture (weak version) to the extreme of a complete assimilation into and identification with the group (strong version). By contrast, the term "instrumental orientation"⁴ accounts for those learners who pursue a language to acquire pragmatic benefits, such as good grades and improved job opportunities. Scholars have also distinguished between instrumental reasons driven by a promotion and a prevention focus (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 28; Higgins, 1987; Shah & Higgins, 2001). In the former case, individuals perceive the instrumental goal as personally valuable. In the latter, motivation derives from the need to comply with external duties, obligations and pressures, and to avoid negative consequences.

⁴ The term "reason" will also be employed in this thesis in relation to these two constructs, in keeping with current literature (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010) and with Gardner's (1985) definition of the term "orientation".

As will be discussed in section 5.2, the integrative construct is included in the research design to test the presence of learners' perceived affiliation with specific and well-defined English, Italian and German-speaking countries and their speakers, but also LOTE learners' affiliations with local L2 communities in their context of learning, following Palmieri's (2018) findings on the explanatory power of integrativeness for adult learners of Italian in Sydney (see 4.6.1).

While the integrative construct is expected to hold considerable relevance for LOTE learners (see e.g. Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 7; Oakes & Howard, 2019, p. 4), it has been the focus of much debate in the field due to its argued untenability for learners of global English, for whom global rather than local communities typically represent the desired target of affiliation (see e.g. Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Yashima, 2002, 2009, see later discussion in 2.2.2 and 2.4). Nevertheless, it can be assumed that it also retains explanatory power for the specific EFL learner populations targeted in this study, due to their exposure to native English varieties and to cultural products of specific geographically defined L2 communities both throughout their schooling and through their university studies (see 4.2, 4.3 and 5.4.1).

With regard to instrumental orientation, it is expected that English is perceived to hold more utilitarian value than Italian and German, due to its global status (see Chapter 3).

2.2.2 From an L2 community to a global community: international posture

As mentioned in the previous section, the integrative notion has generated considerable debate in the field in past decades. New approaches to L2 motivation have emerged from a re-interpretation of integrativeness: the idea of a motivational disposition anchored to well-defined L2 communities started to appear problematic when applied to the learners of global English (see 3.1.2), who, as noted before, have been the focus of most of the studies in the field (Boo et al., 2015). Several scholars (e.g. Coetzee-Van-Roy, 2006; McClelland, 2000; Lamb, 2004) have observed that these learners are mostly driven by the desire to affiliate with a global community of English users rather than with native speakers of the language. This partaking in a global community does not preclude the maintenance of a sense of identification with the L1 culture, with learners now developing "bicultural identities" which are partly positioned in the local socio-context

and also connected to the global world through media and the internet (Lamb, 2004, see also Arnett, 2002).

One of the most successful attempts to re-conceptualise integrativeness in light of the new status of English as a global language was made by Yashima (2002, 2009), who developed the construct of “international posture” to make sense of the general attitude of Japanese EFL learners towards the global community. The construct frames motivation as a process linked to the pursuit of a future identity as an English-using self which belongs to an imagined international community (Yashima, 2009, p. 148; for the construct of imagined community see 2.6). The construct thus broadens the notion of the target L2 community from a well-defined L2 group or nation-state to an unbounded imagined community of English language users.

Yashima and colleagues (2004) operationalised international posture to include three subcomponents which were developed by drawing upon previous literature on intercultural communication and social-psychological research (e.g. Gudykunst, 1991; Kim, 1991): (1) intergroup approach tendency (e.g. desire to interact with L2 speakers); (2) interest in international vocation and activities; and (3) interest in foreign affairs. Hence, the construct encompasses elements associated with both integrative (e.g. interact with L2 speakers) and instrumental (e.g. work overseas) orientation. It describes an “interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go overseas to stay or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners, and [...] a non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures” (Yashima, 2002, p. 57) and is particularly useful to describe the motivations of learners of English when an L2 group in the learner’s social context is not present.

Although international posture has been specifically developed for learners of global English, it has also been found to be relevant to some extent to Anglophone learners of LOTEs (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013; see 3.1.2.2). Hence, this variable is included in the theoretical framework to test its applicability to all the learner populations included in this study and to determine whether it is quantitatively and qualitatively different for EFL and LOTE learners (see 5.2).

2.3 Motivation as a cognitive process: intrinsic and extrinsic motivations

This section expands on the second theoretical component displayed in Figure 1,

i.e. cognitive perspectives on motivation. While socio-psychological scholarship placed emphasis on the affective and social aspects involved in L2 motivation processes, researchers working within a cognitive framework aimed to realign L2 motivational theories with mainstream constructs in motivational psychology. The constructs of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations have been particularly influential both in psychological research and in the field of L2 motivation and are drawn upon in this study to explore whether students are internally or externally driven to pursue L2 study at university level (see 5.2).

These two motivations are at the core of self-determination theory, a prominent model in motivational psychology (see e.g. Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2009) which was applied to the field of L2 motivation by Noels and her colleagues (see e.g. Noels, 2001, 2003, 2009; Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000) and which owes much to the development of a reliable quantitative instrument to measure various types of intrinsic and extrinsic orientations (Noels et al., 2000). According to this theory, individuals are volitional beings and tend to pursue three psychological necessities: (1) being in control of their own actions (autonomy); (2) feeling a sense of belonging to other people (relatedness); and (3) feeling capable and accomplished (competence). Individuals are pushed by internal and external forces when attempting to fulfill these needs. Whilst intrinsically motivated individuals engage in behaviours that are self-initiated and sustained by enjoyment in the activity, extrinsically motivated people make decisions to achieve an external reward (e.g. a better salary, a more prestigious job, a good mark in a test etc.). The binary picture of external and internal motivation is further complicated by the situated nature of human desire and by its link to relatedness. The effect of relatedness is such that external values and opinions can gradually be internalised. Deci and Ryan's (1985, 2009) self-determination theory describes an internalisation continuum of regulation and identifies four different stages, which span from the least self-determined forms of extrinsic motivation, which are associated with external triggers such as rewards or coercion, to forms of integrated regulation when individuals assimilate external impositions so that external pressures become part of their self-evaluation of their own personal needs.

Self-determination theory provides a solid framework to understanding how cognitive processes underlie L2 motivation. However, as Noels (*ibid.*, p. 114) maintains,

one of its shortcomings is the lack of a theoretical apparatus to “address the issues of intergroup contact and ethnic identification”, an area that is the centerpiece of Gardner’s (1985) integrative construct (see 2.2.1).

It is expected that most students included in this study are intrinsically motivated, as their decision to engage in elective language learning at university level may suggest. Nevertheless, extrinsic reasons are expected to be found among EFL learners, given the key role that the knowledge of English plays in social and career development on a global scale (see 3.1) and in the two European countries under investigation (see 4.2 and 4.3).

2.4 Identity at the forefront of scholarly inquiry

This section elaborates on the third theoretical lens of inquiry displayed in Figure 1: “Identity perspectives”.

Scholarly debates about the untenability of integrativeness and the blurring of boundaries between integrative and instrumental orientations for learners of global English (see e.g. Lamb, 2004; Kimura, Nakata, & Okumura, 2001, see 2.2.2) have resulted in a shift in focus in the field from processes of affiliation and identification with L2 communities to internalised notions of self and identity. Dörnyei (2005, 2009) proposed a reconceptualisation of integrativeness (Gardner, 1985) as a process of identification with one’s identity, rather than with an external L2 group (see also Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, p. 3).

Dörnyei’s recasting of motivation as an identity process was in keeping with theoretical advances in the domain of Second Language Acquisition (see e.g. Block, 2007a, 2007b) and was influenced by the work of scholars concerned with identity and L2 learning in the broader field of Applied Linguistics (see 2.6 as well as Coetzee-VanRooy, 2006; Lamb, 2004; Norton, 2000; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). It is also worthwhile to observe that identity-related aspects were already present, to some extent, in prior mainstream theorising on L2 motivation. For instance, Gardner (1985), as previously noted, postulated that L2 learning involves processes of identification with L2 communities; Deci and Ryan’s (1985) self-determination theory framed L2 learning in terms of self-achievement and self-determination. Dörnyei’s model subsumes these previous theoretical paradigms by drawing upon reputable models of identity in mainstream motivational psychology (see Higgins et al., 1985; Higgins, 1987, 1998;

Markus & Nurius, 1986) and provides a systemic view of motivation.

2.4.1 The L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS): the theory and current debates

The psychological basis

Two psychological theories influenced Dörnyei in the development of his model: the possible selves theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986; Markus & Ruvolo, 1989) and the self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987).

In developing the possible selves theory, Markus and Nurius drew upon the idea of the “self-concept”, which is defined as a collection of beliefs that individuals hold about themselves at present (Bong & Clark, 1999). Possible selves are conceptualised as future self-concepts that people have of what they “might become, what they would like to become and what they are afraid of becoming” (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 954). Since possible selves describe future-oriented images of individuals’ self-concepts, they encompass wishes, desires and aspirations and can act as future self-guides, thereby providing the impetus for purposeful behaviour (Yowell, 2002). As will be explained in section 2.5.2, psychological literature has also shown that the motivating properties of possible selves are contingent on a number of key conditions (see e.g. Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2006).

Concurrently to Markus and Nurius’ work, Tony Higgins integrated the self in a broader theory bringing together motivation and self-regulation (Higgins, 1987). According to this theory, two main types of selves exist: (1) the ideal self, i.e. the representation of the attitudes that an individual would ideally like to have; and (2) the ought-to self, i.e. the representation of the characteristics that an individual believes s/he ought to possess in order to avoid negative consequences. The motivating function of future self-guides is explained by Higgins’ (1987, 1998) self-discrepancy theory, according to which people are motivated to reduce the gap existing between their self-concept and their personally relevant future self-images.

The L2MSS

Dörnyei’s model consists of three components. The first two are borrowed from Higgins’ (1987) theory: (1) the ideal L2 self, i.e. the L2-specific facet of one’s ideal self, representing one’s personal desires and ideals in relation to language learning; and (2) the

ought-to L2 self, i.e. the characteristics, dispositions and attitudes that someone believes they ought to possess to satisfy external requirements and expectations and to avoid negative consequences in relation to the L2 learning process. While the ideal L2 self has a promotion focus, i.e. it is perceived by learners as personally relevant, the ought-to L2 self has a prevention focus, i.e. it is driven by the desire to avoid negative and/or feared outcomes (Dörnyei, 2009). Both constructs subsume prior motivational variables in the field: the ideal L2 self incorporates “traditional integrative and internalised instrumental motives”, whilst the ought-to L2 self entails “more extrinsic (i.e. less internalised) types of instrumental motives” (ibid., p., 29). The inclusion of these two selves in the model makes the construct of vision central in L2 motivation. Dörnyei also included a third component, (3) the L2 learning experience, in acknowledgment of the importance of the learning environment in influencing students’ motivations, as shown by a wealth of research conducted within a cognitive-situative framework in the 1990s (for an overview see e.g. Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 46-60). Drawing upon Higgins’ (1987) self-discrepancy theory, Dörnyei hypothesized that motivation originates from the wish to reduce the discrepancy between learners’ current and future L2-speaking selves. The learning process described by the L2MSS is thus a journey of identity (re)constructions, influenced by learners’ visions of themselves as speakers of the L2, by external influences coming from learners’ milieu, and by the language learning experience.

Testing the L2MSS

When discussing the applicability of his model, Dörnyei (2005, p. 119) postulated that the L2MSS might be more appropriate to explore the motivations of learners of English rather than of LOTEs, but maintained that “there is clearly a need for further research before we can draw any firm conclusions in this respect”. So far, the model has mainly been applied to learners of global English (see e.g. Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Csizér & Lukács, 2010; Lamb, 2009, 2012; Papi & Teimouri, 2012, 2014⁵) and, to a considerably smaller extent, also to LOTE learners (see e.g. Berardi-Wiltshire, 2016; Palmieri, 2018; Schmidt, 2014b). This scholarship has confirmed its overall validity. Specifically, studies have shown that the ideal L2 self and the L2 learning experience considerably affect

⁵ See Teimouri (2017) for a recent critical overview of the literature.

learners' expended effort in the language learning process (e.g. Papi & Teimouri, 2012; Taguchi et. al., 2009). In a recent investigation, Oakes & Howard (2019) have tested the applicability of the two possible selves to learners of English and French in Sweden and Poland. No significant differences were found in the ratings for the ideal L2 self for EFL and LOTE learners, suggesting that this construct is relevant to both. Both learner groups, and particularly learners of French, also disagreed that the ought-to L2 self was applicable to them. In addition, traditional motivational constructs distinct from the L2MSS (a weak version of integrative orientation, desire for proficiency) were found to hold relevance for the students under investigation in their own right, and particularly for LOTE learners, suggesting that students' motivations should be explored from various perspectives, not only through the lens of the L2MSS.

Oakes and Howard's (2019) finding on the low bearing of the ought-to L2 self for language learners coheres with a wealth of recent literature (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Busse & Williams, 2010; de Burgh-Hirabe, 2019; Oakes, 2013). It appears that this construct plays a more important role in "Asian or Arab cultures, where young people have shown themselves to be more susceptible to the influence of significant others" (Lamb, 2012), rather than in Western cultures. This is corroborated, for instance, by studies conducted in China, Japan and Iran, which found a positive relationship between the construct and motivated learning behaviour (e.g. Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Taguchi, Magid, & Papi, 2009).

The ought-to L2 self has also attracted considerable criticism for its ambiguous range of reference, with the construct overlapping with the ideal L2 self in case learners internalise external pressures. Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017, p. 460) contend that the key discriminant between these two constructs lies in "the source of origin of the individual's self-image, which is internal for the ideal L2 self and external for the ought-to L2 self". However, drawing the line between these two variables can often appear problematic. This has led some scholars to advocate for a revision of the ought-to L2 self (Dörnyei & Chan, 2013; Lamb, 2012; see a recent critical discussion on the construct in Teimouri, 2017). Teimouri (2017) has proposed a bifurcation of this variable into two components, which were already present in Higgins' self-discrepancy theory (1987) and which reflect the self-determination continuum postulated by Deci and Ryan's (1985): (1) ought-to L2 self/own; and (2) ought-to L2 self/other. According to Teimouri (2017, p. 700), learners

with a high ought-to L2 self/own act in response to “externally imposed obligations and duties by significant others for learning an L2 that are ultimately internalised or shaped by the learners for their personal meaning or value”, whereas learners with a high ought-to L2 self/other “put vigilant effort into the process of L2 learning so as to avoid negative outcomes related to their social, surrounding contexts that temporarily require them to do so (i.e. prevention-focus regulation)” (ibid., p. 700). The qualitative section of this study discusses the findings in relation to both constructs, in an attempt to explore the extent to which the pressures that the learners experienced were internalised.

A motivational dimension which is linked to the ought-to self is the “anti-ought-to self” (Thompson & Vázquez, 2015, see also Thompson, 2017a, 2017b; Liu & Thompson, 2017), which describes the motivations of individuals who make choices to re-assert their autonomy by going against what they feel as external impositions and/or societal expectations. This self appears to also be related to the ideal L2 self as the L2 vision is not externally imposed but rather personally developed (Thompson, 2017b, p. 2). The anti-ought-to self was found to be relevant to LOTE learners in Anglophone contexts (see e.g. Thompson & Vázquez, 2015; Thompson, 2017a, 2017b), where the societal support for L2 learning tends to be scarce (see e.g. Amorati, 2018; Lanvers, 2017) and where L2 learning may represent a unique skillset (see 3.1.2.2). It can therefore be applicable to the LOTE respondents included in this study.

Current debates and emergence of new L2 selves

The establishment of the L2MSS as the main theoretical lens for understanding motivation is associated with the consolidation of a learner-internal psychological perspective, in that, as previously noted, the focus of identification is a projected future image within the individual rather than an external reference group. As Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017) argue, whilst the L2MSS is not biased towards global English, it downplays certain aspects which may be relevant to LOTE students. The ideal L2 self, in fact, lacks theoretical insight for describing L2-community-dependent motivations (ibid., p. 457). This should be taken into consideration in this study since, as noted in 2.1, L2-community aspects are likely to be relevant not only to LOTE students, but also to the EFL learners under investigation (see 3.1.2). Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie (2017, p. 460) also suggest that there might be differences in the relevance of the ought-to L2 for EFL and

LOTE learners in non-Anglophone countries: while the construct is likely to be more homogeneous for learners of English, in virtue of the generally substantial and stable support that the language receives, it may be more fragmented for LOTE learners (see e.g. Dörnyei & Chan, 2013), who may receive support from certain groups, but indifference and/or discouragement from others (see 3.1 and 4.5).

The field is currently engaged in the analysis of learners' motivations from an identity perspective. Although the L2MSS represents the key framework of reference for the overwhelming majority of studies (Boo et al., 2015), new selves have also been developed to give justice to the specificities of L2 learners' identity aspirations. MacIntyre and colleagues (2017), for instance, have developed the "rooted L2 self", an identity envisioned by learners of Gaelic on Cape Breton Island in Canada which draws together Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) ideal L2 self and Gardner's (1985) integrative orientation. This construct epitomises students' deep connections both with their heritage and with their local context and highlights that L2 learning is a means for them to maintain and celebrate their roots.

Henry (2017) has explored the motivational system of learners of multiple languages and has developed a theoretical account of a multilingual motivational system which comprises not only L2-speaking identities but also an overarching "ideal multilingual self". This identity, which is connected to a process of identity development whose end goal is the attainment of proficiency in multiple languages, is argued to represent a powerful source of motivation.

Busse (2015, 2017) coined the term "*Bildungs-Selbst*" which draws upon the German concept of *Bildung*, roughly translatable as character and personality formation, cultivation, formation, education (see e.g. Horlacher, 2015). The scholar included this self in the construct "ideal plurilingual *Bildungs-Selbst*", which describes the link between the plurilingual aspirations of monolingual learners of German in the UK and processes of self-cultivation. The individuals who perceive this self as relevant view L2 learning as conducive to the creation of an ideal vision of themselves as educated and cultivated citizens (European citizens in the case of Busse's study), regardless of the specific language that they are studying.

Ushioda (2017, p. 478) has recently proposed that a focus on ideal multilingual rather than on L2-specific selves may represent a new viable way of conceptualising

motivation as a conducive to the increase and diversification of learners' "meaning-making repertoires" rather than to the attainment of proficiency in one L2. She argues that a linguistic multicompetence framework may be more apt to describe motivation in today's globalised world, where multilingualism represents the normative reality or at least a frequent aspiration, and can serve to challenge the monolingual bias which has characterised most SLA literature so far (see e.g. Henry, 2017).

This thesis draws upon the possible selves at the heart of Dörnyei's study to explore students' motivations from an identity perspective. In line with the observations made in 2.3 on the relevance of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations to the learner populations under investigation, it is likely that students' decision to engage in elective L2 learning at university was mostly propelled by an ideal L2 self rather than by an ought-to L2 self dimension. This study will also explore whether the selves emerged from recent literature are relevant to the learners under investigation.

2.5 The dynamic nature of motivation

This section is concerned with the fourth component displayed in Figure 1 ("Focus on the dynamic nature of motivation"). As noted in 2.1, scholarship in the field of L2 motivation has long overlooked its dynamic nature. The scarcity of literature in this area is likely to be due to the complexity of examining and representing complex processes of motivational variation by means of quantitative methods, which represented the default methodological paradigm in the field for decades. As Dörnyei and Ushioda observe (2011, p. 60), only in the late 90s did scholars begin to focus on motivational change over time.

As this study includes a longitudinal dimension aimed at exploring how motivations and identities change over one academic semester, a brief review of scholarly advances in the area is deemed relevant. First, linear models of motivational change in the field of L2 motivation and key theories in motivational psychology are presented (2.5.1). After that, an overview of current socio-dynamic approaches to motivational change is provided (2.5.2) and some key empirical studies are discussed (2.5.3).

2.5.1 Early precursors: the Process Model and psychological theories of motivational change

One of the first and most influential theories focussing on motivational variation is Dörnyei and Ottó's (1998) Process Model (see also Dörnyei, 2000, 2001). This theory distinguishes three phases which take place before (pre-actional stage), during (actional stage) and after (post-actional stage) a language-related event and assumes that individuals are subject to different motivational influences at every stage. The model describes how learners' initial desires (pre-actional stage) can be acted upon and operationalised into goals which learners work towards (actional stage). It then describes which processes impact on learners' evaluation of their learning experience once it is terminated or interrupted (post-actional stage).

The biggest weakness of the theory resides in the assumption that learning processes can be fully understood by breaking them down into discrete units of analysis which relate to one another in a linear fashion. Such view of motivational processes as a "patchwork of interwoven cause-effect relationships" (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p. 85) is, however, ill-suited to give full justice to the complexity of the phenomenon at hand: the motivational influences associated with each stage of the model may occur simultaneously and may not necessarily be confined to a particular time period. This can also explain why the model has not been empirically validated (*ibid.*, p. 85).

The rationale for including this theory in a review of the literature on motivational variation is that it offers clear terminology to distinguish between different types of motivation at different stages (choice vs executive motivation, see 2.1) and as it presents a comprehensive account of various motivational influences which can impact on executive motivation. Specifically, two theories of motivational psychology that are included in the model are expected to provide explanatory power in relation to some patterns in the data regarding motivational change in this study: (1) expectancy-value theories and (2) goal theories.

The former assume that individuals' decisions to persevere in a certain task and their level of engagement with it can be explained in relation to their expectancy of success and to the value that they attribute to its attainment (see e.g. Atkinson & Raynor, 1974; Bandura, 1993; Weiner, 1992). These theories assume that one's perception of the likelihood of achieving one's own personally valued outcome affects motivation

positively. Conversely, motivation is expected to decrease if the attainment of the goal is perceived unlikely and if the goal itself is not considered valuable (see e.g. Pintrich & Schunk, 1996). Attribution theory (Weiner, 1992) is a key model which falls under the umbrella of expectancy-value theories. It postulates that the processing of past experiences hinders future achievement: if respondents ascribe past failures to stable and uncontrollable factors (e.g. low ability) rather than to modifiable and controllable elements (e.g. effort expended on the task), they are more likely to experience demotivation.

Goal theories are another key framework which can help make sense of motivated behaviour. One influential model developed within this strand of research is goal-orientation theory (Ames, 1992). This model identifies two orientations that students can hold while trying to achieve a goal: mastery orientation and performance orientation. The former describes the aspiration to achieve personally relevant goals (mastery goals), with the main focus being on the acquisition of content. Conversely, the latter concern individuals whose main aim to display competence or obtain good grades. As Ames (1992) observes, mastery goals are generally held by intrinsically motivated students, while performance goals are more commonly associated with external motivations.

2.5.2 Complexity and motivational change: the dynamic nature of possible selves

As previously noted, The Process Model assumes that motivational change can be predicted and measured. Current perspectives on motivational dynamicity have moved away from “notions of single causes, linear causality, immutable categories and highly-specified endpoints” (Schumann, 2015, p. xv) and have instead placed emphasis on the importance of examining complex language learning phenomena in a holistic way by exploring the plethora of complex and idiosyncratic interactions between learners’ motivations, their identities and the multiplicity of contexts which they inhabit. Complex Dynamic System (CDS) approaches (see e.g. Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015), which now rely on a growing theoretical and terminological apparatus, are currently gaining weight in the field, despite the inherent difficulties involved, among others, in the analysis of phenomena which are non-linear, and thus unpredictable, by nature.

This study takes cognisance of the complex and non-linear nature of motivational variation and of the need to account for such variation from a holistic perspective.

Nevertheless, as will be discussed in 5.2, a CDS approach is not implemented for the analysis of motivation, as its full implementation would require a depth of analysis which goes beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, a review of the theories which inform our understanding of the complexity involved in motivational change is deemed of relevance, as these theories/perspectives influenced the choices made for the design (5.5.1.2) and analysis (5.6.2) of the longitudinal data (5.6.2).

A key approach for conceptualising motivation from a complexity perspective is represented by Ushioda's (2009) person-in-context relational view of motivation, which assumes that the focus of inquiry should be on the exploration of the complex interactions between the learner, seen as a "self-reflective intentional agent" holding multiple identities, and "the complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro- contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of". Such relational perspective can also help elucidate, as Ushioda (2009, p. 225) observes, the extent to which learners engage with their possible selves over the learning process, in response to the interactions with the multiplicity of factors which they perceive as personally relevant and which facilitate or constrain their ability to invest in a future identity as L2 users.

The construct of L2 vision, associated with the establishment of the L2MSS (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), represents a broad lens to make sense of students' long-term investment in L2 learning (Dörnyei, 2014, p. 12). Psychological research has found that a series of conditions are needed to enable future visions to exert their full motivating force throughout the learning process (see e.g. Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 83-84 for an overview): (1) the future self-image is present; (2) it is dissimilar enough from the learner's current self; (3) it is elaborate; (4) it is plausible; (5) it is not viewed as comfortably attainable; (6) it is in harmony with external expectations; (7) it is regularly activated; (8) it is accompanied by procedural strategies; and (9) it is counterbalanced by offsetting it with a feared possible self, i.e. students are aware and worry about what could happen if they fail to attain their future L2 identity. The implementation of pedagogical activities aimed at the activation of these conditions throughout the learning process has been indeed found to play an important role in increasing students' motivations (see e.g. Magid, 2014; Magid & Chan, 2012). Nevertheless, as Hessel (2015) notes, the conditions for the motivational capacity of possible selves have been largely overlooked in empirical

literature on L2 selves, which have instead largely been treated “as static constructs, fixed targets that the individual strives to achieve or live up to” (see e.g. Henry, 2015, p. 83).

Although possible selves may tend to be more resistant to change than other aspects of motivation, as they are representation of long-term goals and desires (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009b, p. 352), there is considerable evidence of their dynamic nature (see e.g. Hessel, 2015; Fryer & Roger, 2018; You & Chan, 2015; see, however, Oakes & Howard, 2019). Henry (2015, p. 86) observes that individuals’ ability to create and maintain possible selves is likely to change in relation to contextual elements and to learners’ dynamically changing attitudes towards the learning process. Changes to the ideal L2 self, for instance, might occur when individuals meet others with similar characteristics and thus elaborate their L2 vision in relation to tangible selves (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997) or when external events and L2 learning experiences modify sensory qualities of the desired future self. Additionally, the availability and accessibility of future selves may change over time, as it depends on the task in which the learner is engaged and on their current emotional state and level of motivation (Henry, 2015, p. 86).

Since possible selves are “particularly sensitive to those situations that communicate new or inconsistent information about the self” (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 956), day-to-day situations or external events can impact on learners’ perception of the likelihood of their achievement (Henry, 2015; Fryer & Roger, 2018). Learners could be brought to reassess and remodel their desired selves in an attempt to narrow or widen the distance between them and their current selves. These revisions can occur both upwardly and downwardly (Henry, 2015, pp. 86-87; see also Carroll, Shepperd, & Arkin, 2009). On the one hand, in the face of failure or negative experiences, learners might develop an alternative future self, which reflects a more achievable outcome rather than the best-case outcome (Lyons, 2014; You & Chan, 2015). On the other, when students perceive that they are closer to achieving their future vision, they might “revise or upgrade the ideal self in ways that enable it to continue to serve as a motivational source” (Henry, 2015, p. 87).

Henry (2015, p. 88) also reminds scholars that when exploring the dynamic changes to future self-guides, it is important to decide which type of timescale should be used, depending on whether the focus of investigation is limited to a very short period of time or if it occurs over a longer period, such as a semester of study. This decision has

considerable implications because an everyday event can have different influences depending on the timescale adopted. Whilst in shorter timescales rapid fluctuations can occur, within longer timescales more stable trajectories can generally be observed.

Research has also shown that the mental imagery necessary to activate future self-guides is not static but is rather likely to be modified during the L2 learning process, both in terms of its content, elaborateness and frequency of activation (see e.g. You & Chan, 2015). The visualisation of one's own future self-guides can undergo qualitative changes, from the development of different imagery and imaginary scenarios to shifts from one self-guide to another (e.g. from an ought-to L2 self dimension to an ideal L2 self and vice versa, as shown in You and Chan, 2015). Self-generated L2 images can not only become more tangible, specific and rich as the learning progresses, but they can also be invoked more frequently, as a result of the presence of external triggers, such as contacts with L2 speakers, exposure to media or cultural products of L2-speaking countries and positive L2 learning experiences. This suggests that when learners experience situations or are exposed to stimuli which align with their desired future identities, their ability to visualise future images of themselves as language users may be enhanced (Henry, 2015; You & Chan, 2015).

2.5.3 Key studies on motivational change

The studies which have explored changes to motivation have mainly adopted two research methods: questionnaires administered at different time points (see e.g. Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant & Mihic, 2004; Williams, Burden, & Lanvers, 2002) and longitudinal interviews (see e.g. Campbell & Storch, 2011; Ushioda, 1994, 1998; Lyons, 2016; Sampson, 2016). A consistent trend in all these studies, as summarised by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2013, p. 67), is that motivation is highly dynamic and tends to decline over time, particularly due to an increase in cognitive demands and pressures which L2 learning entails.

Scholarship on motivational dynamicity has had to face the considerable challenge of considering the plethora of factors which may impact more or less directly on students' motivational systems. Studies (to cite a few, see e.g. Carpenter, Falout, Fukuda, Trovela, & Murphey, 2009; Mercer, 2011; Sampson, 2016; Waninge, Dörnyei, & de Bot, 2014) have shown that motivational change is mainly caused by factors

associated with classroom contexts (e.g. teaching practices, cognitive load; interest in and engagement with learning content and classroom activities; trivial elements such as timetabling) and with the wealth of non-instructional contexts that learners navigate (e.g. travel experiences abroad, opportunities for language use outside the classroom, influence from significant others etc.). Students' ability to maintain their levels of motivation and to adopt self-regulating strategies is dependent on their L2 learning histories (Carpenter et al. 2009; Falout & Falout, 2005) as well as to the maintenance/presence of an L2 vision (see e.g. Campbell & Storch, 2011, Sampson, 2016), and/or of a sense of self-efficacy (see e.g. Busse & Walter, 2013).

Ushioda (1994) was one of the first scholars to encourage the analysis of longitudinal change by utilising a qualitative rather than quantitative research paradigm, arguing that the former was better suited to shed light on the complexity of motivational dynamicity. In her longitudinal study on the motivations of Irish learners of French she (1998, 2001) found that most participants defined their initial L2 motivations in terms of previous L2 learning experiences rather than in light of future goals and that the students' L2 learning experiences represented the key factor sustaining their engagement with L2 studies. Almost all respondents identified features of the learning context (e.g. teaching strategies, learning activities etc.) as demotivating factors throughout their learning experience and were able to reinvigorate their long-term motivation in response to these negative experiences by drawing upon self-motivating strategies, such as identifying short-term goals, motivating themselves through positive self-talk and devoting themselves to L2-related activities outside the classroom context (e.g. listening to music, watching a film in the L2). In addition, Ushioda (1998, p. 86) found that these learners were more likely to attribute their falling motivations to external elements rather than to themselves and could thus dissociate the negative feelings attached to demotivating experiences from their long-term motivation, congruent with the tenets of attribution theory (Weiner, 1992, see 2.5.1).

Campbell and Storch (2011) analysed the motivational dispositions of nine learners of Chinese enrolled at an Australian tertiary institution. In line with Ushioda (1998), the study revealed that learners' motivations for learning a language were linked to previous positive experiences in high school and that the choice of learning Chinese was due to deep-seated future personal goals, and to the perception of future job

opportunities associated with the growing economic power of China. After the beginning of the semester, L2 learning experiences played an important role in weakening or strengthening their motivations. The study also revealed that negative experiences are not necessarily conducive to lower levels of motivation. Learners with a vivid future self-image as speakers of the L2 could maintain their motivation to learn, despite possible demotivating influences coming from the micro-context of learning. Similarly, congruent with Ushioda's (1998) findings, students who could distance themselves from the demotivating experience by attributing it to external factors and not to themselves were able to safeguard their sense of self and maintain their motivations.

Busse and Walter (2013) explored changes in the motivation of first-year university-based learners of German at a British university over the course of one academic year. The study shows that although students were highly intrinsically motivated and had a strong desire to acquire L2 proficiency, their intrinsic motivations and sense of self-efficacy decreased throughout the year. A decline in their confidence in using the L2 and in their level of enjoyment of the course paralleled a decline in their expended effort to engage in L2 learning.

2.6 Poststructuralist perspectives on identity and L2 learning: investment, capital and imagined communities

This section addresses the fifth and last theoretical lens included in Figure 1 ("Poststructuralist perspectives"). The exploration of L2 motivation from an identity viewpoint stands to benefit from the integration of theoretical constructs developed by poststructuralist scholars working on identity and L2 learning (e.g. Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2013; Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Poststructuralist literature has drawn attention to the inherent complexities of the globalised world, in which language users move from one group to another and might develop affiliations with and feelings of belonging to multiple communities at the same time (Norton Peirce, 1995; Pavlenko, 2002).

The interest in the interaction between language, identity and motivation originated from research which focussed on learners studying second languages from positions of marginalisation in the L2 community (see Norton Peirce, 1995), where power differentials between language learners and native L2 speakers may influence the

former's learning trajectories and expended effort in the L2 learning process, and where L2 learning may represent a means of social empowerment which enables L2 learners to be viewed positively by others.

As the L2MSS offers an individual-psychological perspective on L2 motivation (see 2.4.1), poststructuralist scholarship can contribute both to the exploration of learners' L2 identities as socially negotiated constructs which are highly influenced by global and local discourses, and to shed light on the processes underlying learners' own agency in the negotiation of their identities through the development of their possible L2 selves (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009). Since the three languages included in this study hold different statuses in the world, with English dominating the global linguistic hierarchy (see 3.1), poststructuralist literature can provide a solid framework to account for differences and similarities in learners' motivations and identity aspirations in relation to the capital that they wish to accrue through L2 proficiency. It can also help explore the extent to which the attainment of this capital enables them to acquire membership into real and/or imagined communities.

The following paragraphs offer an overview of key constructs employed in poststructuralist scholarship on L2 learning and identity which contribute to our understanding of motivation from an identity perspective: investment, capital and imagined communities.

Investment and capital

Poststructuralist scholars such as Norton (2013) conceptualise L2 learning as a process through which individuals create, enrich and negotiate their own identities in an attempt to acquire benefits and to position themselves and to be positioned by others as legitimate members of multiple real or imagined communities (see next section) that they envision for themselves. Indeed, according to Norton Peirce (1995, p. 17), "if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital". L2 learning is thus understood as a transformative process which sees learners engaged in altering their dynamically changing identities. From this perspective, languages become means to fashion an identity as cultivated and sophisticated individuals, to mark ethnicity, cultural and political affiliation, to gain

access to better opportunities and to better one's own social status (Kinginger, 2004; Heller, 1987, 1992; Norton 2013).

In this strand of scholarship, identity is described (Norton, 2013, p. 4) as “the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future”. Whereas humanist conceptions of the individual assume that identity is unique and stable, poststructuralist scholars argue that individuals' identities in the globalised world as multiple, dynamic, contingent, contradictory and context-dependent (see e.g. Pavlenko, 2002) and rely on qualitative research methods (e.g. narratives, ethnographic observations, diary studies and in-depth interviews) to shed light on their complexity.

Norton Peirce (1995) argues that the motivation to learn a language may not correspond to students' investment in the learning process, which is influenced by socially situated practices in the classroom or in the community at large as well as discourses and ideologies surrounding language proficiency. These practices and discourses may clash with students' expectations and identity aspirations, with students being extremely motivated to learn a language and yet not invested in their L2 learning process. Whilst motivation is mainly a psychological construct, investment should be interpreted from a sociological perspective, as it relates to L2 users' ability to “organis[e] and reorganiz[e] a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world” within the contexts that they navigate. The construct of investment has been highly influential in the field of applied linguistics (see Norton, 2013, p. 7) and has undergone several reformulations. Darvin and Norton (2015), for instance, have recently proposed a model of investment as a construct that lies at the intersection between issues of identity, ideology (e.g. surrounding discourses) and capital.

The notion of language learning as a process conducive to the attainment of material or symbolic resources (Norton Peirce, 1995) draws upon Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) view of language as a form of capital. Bourdieu's work focused on multilingual environments in which problems arise between dominant groups and social minorities wishing to establish their identities despite being linguistically disadvantaged, but it can also be applied to contexts of elective language learning, such as the ones included in the present study, where individuals desire to acquire forms of capital associated with different L2s. As Bourdieu (1977, 1991) notes, different forms of capital acquire

legitimacy within specific socio-contexts, groups or fields and thus function as forms of symbolic capital. As the scholar (1977, p. 651) notes, “linguistic competence (like any other cultural competence) functions as linguistic capital in relationship with a certain market”. Evidence of this is found in the devaluation of certain languages in favour of others. As Nettle and Romain (2000, pp. 30-31) note, “linguistic capital, like all other forms of capital, is unequally distributed in society. The higher the profit to be achieved through knowledge of a particular language, the more it will be viewed as worthy of acquisition”. The view of languages as carriers of linguistic capital has major implications for the present study. Whereas Anglophone speakers are not under intense pressure to learn other languages, as a result of the valuable linguistic capital that they already possess as native speakers of English (see e.g. Demont-Heinrich, 2010, see also 3.1), non-Anglophone speakers are likely to experience pressures to master English, whose knowledge is linked to academic, career and social progression (Ushioda, 2013c, p. 234, see also Dörnyei Al-Hoorie, 2017). These broader tendencies are expected to be reflected in the L2 motivations of the students under investigation and in the identities that they wish to fashion through L2 learning.

Affiliations with real or imagined communities

As noted in Chapter 1 and in section 2.2, this study aims to explore the extent to which the L2 motivations and desired L2 identities of the learners included in this study entail L2-community-related features. Identity theorists have also focused on the multiple communities that learners wish to affiliate with by learning the L2 and on how these processes of affiliation may affect their language learning trajectories.

The notion of “imagined community” borrowed by Anderson (1991) builds on the construct of “community of practice”, which was first introduced by Lave and Wenger (1991, see also Wenger, 1998) to denote students’ desire to relate to others through L2 learning. Kanno and Norton (2003) have postulated that communities of practice may refer either to real communities, such as the language classroom or society at large, or also to imagined communities, with which learners may wish to develop affiliations through the power of imagination (see e.g. Kanno & Norton, 2003; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007).

The notion of communities which exist in learners’ imagination and which can

give impetus to purposive learning expands on the socially situated communities identified by Gardner's (1985) integrative construct and aligns well with Dörnyei's L2MSS, which emphasises the importance of vision and imagination in sustaining motivation (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2014). It was also noted in 2.2.2 that Yashima's (2009, p. 148) notion of international posture draws on the notion of community to describe learners' ability of imagining their future identities as part of a broader "imagined international community".

All in all, conceptualising language learners' expended effort in a language as a means to obtain forms of capital and invest in their L2 identities within specific socio-contexts can challenge the divide between language learners and the social worlds in which they inhabit and can enable researchers to examine the relationship between L2 selves and the communities of affiliation in which L2 learners may wish to seek membership.

2.7 Concluding remarks

The theories and constructs discussed in this chapter testify to the complexity of motivation as a multifaceted, situated and dynamically changing construct. It was argued that such complexity means that the construct should be understood and investigated from multiple theoretical lenses (see e.g. MacIntyre et al., 2010; Oakes & Howard, 2019).

This study draws upon social-psychological (see 2.2.1) and cognitive perspectives by incorporating in its theoretical framework the variables "integrative orientation", "instrumental orientation", "intrinsic motivation" and "extrinsic motivation". While the former two variables enable us to shed light on the link between L2 motivations and processes of affiliation with geographically situated L2 communities as well as on the instrumental advantages associated with the acquisition of L2 skills, respectively, the latter two constructs allow us to explore in more depth students' perceptions of the sources of motivational influence which impact on their behaviour.

As discussed in section 2.4, identity represents an overarching theoretical paradigm from which L2 motivation is now mostly explored. Although self-related and identity-related reasons for L2 learning were already present, to some extent, in Gardner's (1985) model (identification with L2 communities) and in Deci and Ryan's (1985) theory (self-related motivated behaviour linked to internalisation processes), Dörnyei's L2MSS

offers the opportunity to amalgamate previous variables in the field into a comprehensive theoretical framework which places possible selves at the forefront of the analysis and also acknowledges the importance of the immediate learning experience in influencing motivated behaviour.

As noted in section 2.4.1, although the L2MSS includes an externally sourced L2 self (ought-to L2 self), it mainly offers a “learner-internal and L2 community-independent perspective” (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 459). Hence, social-psychological insights on processes of affiliation with L2 communities (Gardner, 1985), Ushioda’s (2009) relational view of motivation, and poststructuralist insights into an investment in future identities in globalised multilingual societies can offer interpretative lenses to further position motivation as a socially situated process. Learners’ intrinsically or extrinsically driven investment in their possible selves is understood in relation to the capital that they wish to accrue through L2 learning. This capital derives from the status that each L2 holds in the local socio-context and/or in the global marketplace of language education and enables learners to gain membership into real or imagined communities, which may include the L2 country (countries), local communities (Gardner, 1985), global communities (Lamb, 2004, 2006; Ryan, 2006; Yashima, 2002, 2009), and other imagined communities of affiliation (e.g. educated individuals, professionals, etc. see e.g. Kanno & Norton, 2003).

The theoretical framework presented here will be further discussed in 5.2.

Chapter 3 English, Italian and German in the global marketplace of language education

It was noted in section 2.6 that Bourdieu (1977, 1991) posits that languages are a form of capital. Since linguistic differences serve to position speakers in the social world (Nettle & Romain, 2000), elective language students are likely to be driven by their desire to accumulate the greatest profit through the attainment of language resources and display their agency by making conscious choices about their target for L2 learning. As a result, understanding students' decision to expend time and effort in the L2 learning process requires scholars to reflect on the expected returns on investment afforded by the L2 or L2s being learnt (see Ammon, 2015, p. 2, see also Block & Cameron, 2002, p. 5; Norton Peirce, 1995; Palmieri, 2018, p. 35; Riemer, 2016, p. 33). It is argued here that such interpretation of linguistic capital should not be intended as exclusively economic, as proposed by instrumentalist perspectives on language education linked to neoliberal discourses on the pragmatic utility of languages (see e.g. Ushioda, 2017). The linguistic capital that students desire to acquire through L2 learning can enable them to attain a wide array of social, cultural and personal advantages which are not necessarily linked to the attainment of work-related benefits (see e.g. Balboni, 2008, p. 92; Schmidt, 2014a).

The status that a language is attributed on a global scale and in specific socio-contexts (e.g. in a country, in a specific community, etc.) is a key factor contributing to its appeal. According to Gilardoni (2005, p. 7), the appeal of a language is linked to its spread beyond the country or countries where it originated and to its position within the global linguistic market, where the demand for teaching and learning is situated. This demand is also highly dependent on the cultural and social values which each language carries, as well as on its communicative reach. While Chapter 4 discusses the position of the three languages included in this study in the countries where the participants were recruited, this chapter examines the status and appeal that English, Italian and German hold in the global linguistic market. In doing so, it provides the framework of reference for the discussion of the language-specific and context-independent features reflected in the L2 motivations and desired L2 identities of the learners under investigation (RQ3, see 5.1). This chapter begins with a brief overview of the current scenario traversed by L2 learners and provides some initial comparative data on the numerical consistency of foreign language learners of English, German and Italian. It then explores the

repercussions that the position of English as the desired linguistic capital (Pauwels, 2014a, p. 44) has had on the global marketplace of language education. After a brief discussion of how English is conceptualised in light of its prominent status, it presents key trends on the motivations of its learners. It then elaborates on the impact that the knowledge of English has on LOTE learning in Anglophone contexts. Finally, the chapter explores the features that contribute to the appeal of Italian and German worldwide, by drawing upon trends emerging from large-scale L2 motivation surveys.

3.1 English as the desired linguistic capital in the globalised world

As noted in Chapter 1, globalisation has completely changed the world's linguistic landscape (Pauwels, 2014a, 2014b; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, 2017b), impacting on the perception of which languages are worthy of being learnt and leading to the establishment of new “hierarchies of value” (Liddicoat & Curnow, 2014, p. 277) in the language education marketplace. Although language learners are not necessarily always instrumentally oriented, one of the consequences of globalisation is that languages are perceived as economic commodities (see Block & Cameron, 2002, p. 7), which acquire market value in the global economy in relation to their ability to operate at a global level and to enable L2 users to partake in non-local networks (Pauwels, 2014a, 2014b, Block & Cameron, 2002). Learners' attitudes towards languages, accents and language varieties are not simply internal individual processes but rather are influenced by discourses and ideologies surrounding languages and language learning.

The most recent and, to the best of this author's knowledge, comprehensive attempt to compare the global reach of the world's most prominent languages is offered by Ammon (2010, 2015). This scholar identified six indicators for measuring the globality of languages: (1) number of non-native speakers; (2) number of native speakers; (3) economic strength of the countries where the language has official status; (4) number of countries where the language holds an official status; (5) use of the language for business communication; and (6) use of the language for scientific communication. Although a thorough discussion of his findings goes beyond the scope of this chapter, the estimates reported for English, German and Italian in his 2010 study shed light on clear and fully anticipated trends: English ranks as the first world language for all the identified criteria of internationality; German and Italian trail it considerably, with the former

holding a more prominent global role than the latter in relation to all the six parameters identified.

The first indicator of globality identified by Ammon (2010, p. 105), the number of non-native speakers, is particularly of interest, not only because it is considered the best measure to understand the international standing of languages, but also because it offers an insight into their position in the global linguistic market. Nonetheless, determining the numerical consistency of L2 populations is a complex endeavour that remains, to some extent, speculative. Research in the area is scarce and sometimes of dubious quality, as studies can pursue hidden agendas (e.g. promoting a language for governmental/political reasons) and the available sources often rely on different methods of data collection, thus compromising the comparability of the data.

Table 3.1 compares the three languages included in this study in terms of the number of non-native speakers, by drawing upon recent estimates. Care should be taken when considering the estimates reported, due to the above-mentioned difficulties in providing precise quantifications.

		English	Italian	German
Non-native speakers	Estimate	750,000,000 and possibly more than a billion	2,119,401	15,400,000
	Source(s)	Crystal, 2003a, p. 68, see also Graddol, 2006	Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 2019, p. 11 (see 3.2)	DaF, 2015, p. 3 (see 3.3)

Table 3.1 Most recent estimates available of the number of non-native speakers of English, Italian and German and sources consulted

As expected, English differs noticeably from German and Italian in terms of number of non-native speakers. In addition, although Italian and German are recognised to be languages of similar standing (see Ammon, 2015, p. 1004)⁶, the latter appears to be learnt by a considerably higher number of students.

The position of English at the top of the global language hierarchy is widely

⁶ Ammon (2015, p. 1004) notes that “Italian is an international language [...] which has a similar rank to German and which competes as a foreign language with German in some parts of the world, within the EU and outside it, e.g. in Australia” (*transl.*).

acknowledged (see e.g. Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017a; Crystal, 2003a, 2003b; Graddol, 2006; Pauwels, 2014a, 2014b; Phillipson, 2009) and has major implications for language learning, both in English-speaking and in non-English speaking countries. On the one hand, native English speakers are “privileged and powerfully situated social actors” (Demont-Heinrich, 2010, p. 282) who already possess valuable linguistic capital through their native tongue alone. This accounts for the establishment of a strong English-is-enough mindset in many Anglophone countries (see 3.1.2.2), including Australia (Clyne, 2006, 2008), which can explain low levels of enrolment as well as high attrition rates in language studies at all levels (see 4.5 for Australia; Coleman, 2009; Oakes, 2013 for the UK; Levine, 2011 for the USA). On the other hand, non-Anglophone speakers are in a disadvantageous position as they need to use English to partake in the international community.

The introduction of English as a compulsory school subject in the educational system of most countries, including Italy and Germany (see 4.2 and 4.3), has played a role in removing this disadvantage by providing pupils with language instruction from an early age. This means, however, that in these countries English is not necessarily studied as part of a motivated decision at school level. It also means that proficiency in the language may gradually become increasingly viewed as an unremarkable ability (Graddol, 2006; Ushioda, 2017; Siridetkoon & Dewaele, 2018, p. 12). The higher societal and educational significance attributed to English as a must-have language in non-English-speaking countries may also have a negative impact on attitudes towards and interest in LOTEs (see e.g. Busse, 2017; Pauwels, 2014a). Even where English is not presented as a compulsory subject, the language is generally chosen over others, attesting itself as the “default or unmarked option of language choice” (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017 p. 462), with policy makers and educational providers struggling to maintain diversified language curricula (Ushioda, 2013b, p. 3). This phenomenon has raised concerns not only for the fate of languages which do not hold a significant market value (Pauwels, 2014a, p. 46), but also for those which are traditionally more prestigious (Dörnyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006, p. 8).

3.1.1 Which English? English(es), its speakers and its contexts of use

Before discussing in more detail the repercussions that the global spread of

English has had an impact on language learning in non-Anglophone and Anglophone countries, some considerations are due regarding the way in which English is conceptualised. The emergence of the “World Englishes” paradigm in the late 1970s has challenged the view of this language as a monolithic entity and has drawn attention to the presence of multiple varieties of English, while also shedding light on broader issues such as language standards, language ownership, as well as on the complexity of English language learning and use in the globalised world (see e.g. Ushioda, 2013b for a critical overview).

Due to its considerable spread all over the world and its ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977), English is conceptualised as a “pluri-centric global code” (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009, p. 9) and as a “plural language with multiple accommodating norms” (Aiello, 2017, p. 12). Kachru’s (1985, 1986) influential Three-Circle Model of World Englishes has played a primary role in providing a comprehensive classification of the English-using world while recognising the importance of varieties of English. His model distinguishes three groups of English speakers: (1) users from the inner circle are native speakers of the language and come from countries where English is the primary language, i.e. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, UK and USA; (2) users in the outer circle speak English as a second language and come from postcolonial countries where English is or was accorded an official status, such as India and Singapore, and where new varieties of English may have developed; and finally (3) users from the expanding circle are located in countries where English is studied as a foreign language (EFL learners), such as Italy and Germany.

Users of English in the outer and expanding circles adopt English to communicate with each other, with no need for speakers from inner circles to be involved. The English that they utilise might be markedly different from the one used by inner-circle speakers, and new hybrid forms of communicative practices have developed (see e.g. Sandhu & Higgins, 2016). In these international encounters, English is used as a *lingua franca*, a term which has been utilised since the mid-1990s to describe the functional role of English when it is adopted in international encounters (Kirkpatrick, 2012, p. 132).

Kachru’s model has been highly influential in the field, but it has also attracted considerable criticism (see e.g. Graddol, 1997, 2006; see also McKay, 2011 for an overview). Scholars have particularly contended that this classification still places a lot of emphasis on inner circle countries as the norm-providing group, an approach which is

not in accordance with theorisations about the “global” ownership of English as an international language (see 3.1.1). It also offers a view of the spread of English as linked to well-defined geographical areas, thereby failing to account for the complexity involved in English language use. Outer-circle speakers, for instance, might speak English as an L1 rather than use it only for official purposes. In addition, proficiency in and use of English are becoming increasingly the norm in many outer-circle countries, due to the inclusion of the language in school curricula. As will be discussed in 4.3, some scholars have proposed that Germany may be one of these countries (Erling, 2007, p. 120; Hilgendorf, 2005; see also Mesthrie, 2008).

Despite its limitations, Kachru’s (1985, 1986) model is adopted in this study as a baseline for describing the learners under investigation (outer-circle learners of English vs inner-circle speakers of English learning LOTEs) and the way in which they make sense of and understand the language that they are studying, its many definitions and its far-reaching range of reference.

3.1.2 Learning English as an L2

The dominant role accorded to English may intuitively lead to believe that the motivations for learning it are relatively easy to frame (Ushioda, 2013b, p. 2). Indeed, the returns on investment bestowed by proficiency in English are unquestionable, due to its spread and ubiquitous use in numerous domains, such as international relations, business, advertising, broadcasting, cinema and popular music. Crystal (2003b, p. 107) notes that the language is studied all over the world for countless different motives, which include, but are not restricted to, the following: (1) historical reasons linked to the legacy of British and American imperialism; (2) internal political reasons, as the language is used in countries like India as a means of communication among different language groups; (3) economic and (4) practical reasons, related to the dominant economic power of the USA and to the role of the language in international spheres, such as air traffic control, policing, emergency services, tertiary education and research; (5) intellectual reasons, as most scientific and academic information in the world is accessible through English; (6) entertainment reasons, associated with its use in the music and film industry, in broadcasting, videogames and IT; as well as, one might add, (7) for the historical and cultural attraction of inner-circle countries.

The global status and ubiquity of English may suggest that the motivations of its learners are undergoing processes of convergence and homogenization across contexts. Nevertheless, as Ushioda (2013b, p. 2) notes, recent context-specific literature on English language learning has provided empirical evidence that the language carries different meanings in different learning contexts and may represent different forms of capital for different individuals (for a recent overview, see Ushioda, 2013a). This means that scholarship should consider “the local teaching-learning context as the starting point for reflections on motivation” (Ushioda, 2013b, p. 2), as the meaning that individuals give to this language is influenced by the diversity of “geographical, political, social, cultural, linguistic, educational, institutional and technological contexts in which learning English is situated” (ibid., p. 3). This suggestion resonates with the claim that language learners should be embedded within their social contexts to make sense of their motivations (see e.g. Norton, 2013; Ushioda, 2009). As already mentioned in 1.1, the present study contributes to this debate by comparing the motivations of learners of English studies in two different contexts, i.e. Italy and Germany.

3.1.2.1 Core trends on scholarship on the motivations to learn English

This section reviews current trends in the scholarship on the motivations of EFL learners by looking at studies on learners of global English and on learners of English studies. This twofold categorisation of learners of English has been frequently hinted at but not explicitly addressed in the field of L2 motivation, where scholars characterise learners of “*global English*” (see e.g. Ushioda & Dornyei, 2017) as a particular subgroup of learners of English who are invested in the language for its international standing rather than for its association with English-speaking countries and their cultures. This definition implies the presence of other EFL learners, who may instead appreciate the cultural value of English. It should be noted, however, that the distinction between these two categories of learners is somewhat arbitrary and should not be uncritically applied, as EFL learners may display features of both categories, i.e. they may be invested in English for its global standing, as well as for its link to the English-speaking countries and their culture(s). In this section, however, this classification is deemed to represent a good starting point to make sense of trends in the literature on the highly heterogeneous population of English language learners.

Learning global English

As noted in Chapter 1, most literature in the field of L2 motivation has focused on learners of global English, thereby leading to the establishment of a “global English bias” (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 456) that has influenced scholarly advances in the field. Several studies have shown that these students mostly buy into the language for its global status and learn it as an educational and professional requirement, as a medium for tertiary instruction, and as a means for the functional purpose of communicating internationally and to obtain utilitarian advantages, rather than to affiliate with English-speaking countries (see e.g. Lai, 2013; McKay, 2002; Sung, 2013; Taguchi et al., 2009; Woodrow, 2013). This has led scholars to postulate the “instrumental relevance” and “cultural irrelevance” of global English (Edmondson & House, 2003, see 4.3) and to develop new constructs to make sense of the L2-community-independent nature of their motivations, such as international posture (Yashima, 2002, 2009, see 2.2.2) and possible L2 selves (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009, see 2.4.1).

Learners of English studies

While the spread of global English and its ubiquitous use as a lingua franca between non-native English speakers suggests that the language does not rest only (or anymore) with inner-circle countries, but rather with the world at large (see e.g. Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Dörnyei et al., 2006 p. 145; Lai, 2013; McClelland, 2000; Pavlenko, 2002; Yashima, 2002, 2009), native-speaker varieties are often still perceived as the preferred targets of L2 learning by EFL students (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Buckingham, 2015; Dewaele & McCloskey, 2014). In addition, L2-community-dependent motivations may still retain explanatory power for some learners of English in certain contexts (Ushioda, 2013b, p. 9). This may be the case for the EFL students included in this study, who study English as well as cultural, linguistics and/or literary aspects of specific English-speaking countries. As noted in section 2.2, this particular category of language specialists are expected to have more exposure to cultural and linguistic features of inner-circle countries, not only because of the disciplines that they have decided to pursue at university level (see 5.4.1), but also because of their previous schooling experiences. In fact, as will be elaborated in 4.2 and 4.3, the teaching of English at school level both in Italy (Santipolo, 2016) and in Germany (see Edmondson & House, 2003; Hilgendorf,

2007; Syrbe & Rose, 2016) is still very dependent on native-speaker varieties, predominantly British and American English.

As noted in the introduction, English language specialists, i.e. university students of English, have received some scholarly attention (see e.g. Dörnyei & You, 2014; Ngo et al., 2017; Taguchi et al., 2009). Nevertheless, there is a paucity of studies that explicitly examine whether students who study English as a key area of their university studies alongside cultural and literary norms of English-speaking countries (see, however, Erling, 2007) display motivations and identity aspirations that differentiate them considerably from other learners of English. The scarcity of literature on learners of English studies may be due to their more moderate numerical consistency in comparison to learners of global English. There is general agreement that English majors are more intrinsically motivated and experience fewer pressures to study the language than non-English majors (see e.g. Dörnyei & You, 2014; Ngo et al. 2017; Taguchi et al., 2009). In a study on learners of English and North American studies at the Free University of Berlin, Erling (2007) has shown that an intrinsic cultural interest in English and English-speaking countries, paired with the desire to affiliate with local, global and inner-circle communities, represented driving motivations (see further discussion on this study in 4.3.1). Based on these findings, we can speculate, as already mentioned in 1.1, that the motivations of learners of English studies are likely to bear more resemblance to those of LOTE learners, especially in terms of intrinsic and integrative motivational dispositions.

3.1.2.2 The impact on English L1 on language learning: LOTE at the tertiary level in Anglophone countries

As noted in 3.1, the prominent status attributed to English on a global scale has an effect on the motivations for learning LOTEs in Anglophone countries (see Lanvers, 2017 and Mendoza & Phung, 2019 for recent overviews). The desire to acquire L2 proficiency, an intrinsic interest in the L2 and an enjoyment of the L2 learning process, linked to previous positive learning histories, attest themselves as the most common motivations in studies on Anglophone learners (see e.g. Busse and Williams, 2010; de Burgh-Hirabe, 2019; Lanvers, 2012, 2016; Oakes, 2013).

Instrumental reasons linked to enhanced career prospects and influences from parents were also found to play an important role (e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes,

2013) suggesting that, despite the prominent status of English as a global language, instrumental reasons still appeal to Anglophone students. Among these instrumental dispositions, Schmidt (2014) and Stolte (2015) found that tertiary learners of German in Australia and in the UK respectively display an *Exotenmotiv* (exotic motivation), a term developed by Riemer (2006, p. 54) to describe the instrumental aspirations of learners who wish to acquire a skillset which makes them unique in their own field of expertise (see also 3.3).

Despite the presence of external influences from significant others and the saliency of instrumental reasons, Busse and Williams (2010), de Burgh-Hirabe (2019) and Oakes (2013) found that the construct ought-to L2 self, unlike the ideal L2 self, was not relevant to these learners. This finding can be explained both in terms of the absence of external requirements to speak LOTEs in Anglophone countries and in terms of the particular L2-study-related characteristics of university-based language learners, who, as Oakes (2013, p. 184) suggests, “presumably have a greater degree of choice in their subject(s) of study and thus have less external pressure exerted upon them”.

Studies have also shown that Anglophone learners may be motivated to pursue L2 study to reject the English-is-enough mentality which permeates their social milieu. Busse and Williams (2010), Lanvers (2012, 2016) and Oakes (2013), for instance, have shown that British university language are aware of the disadvantages of monolingualism and hold negative attitudes towards the perceived poor L2 skills of British speakers, with some expressing embarrassment for their reliance on the knowledge of English of their interlocutors. As Lanvers (2017, p. 523) notes, these learners are engaged in the creation of a “rebellious self”, as for them “choosing to study a language became a means of distancing themselves from their nonelective British in-group [...] ‘rebelliously’ rejecting their as- signed in-group identity [...] and instead aligning themselves with an (imagined) global community”. This rebellious self, a construct theoretically aligned with the anti-ought-to self, (see 2.4.1) motivates students to become an “anti-stereotype” (Thomson & Vázquez, 2015, p. 166) through the attainment of language proficiency.

There is also some evidence that a weak rather than a strong interpretation of integrative orientation is more apt to describe the integrative dispositions of Anglophone L2 learners: although students are moved by the desire to travel to the L2 country and hold positive attitudes towards the L2 communities and their culture, they appear not to

be motivated to identify with them, due to limited contacts with L2 communities (see e.g. Busse, 2015; Busse & Williams, 2010).

3.2 Learning Italian as an L2

Giovanardi and Trifone (2012, p. 108) argue that Italian has an obvious disadvantage in the L2 learning marketplace in comparison to other European languages with a more considerable numerical strength of L1 speakers, such as English, French and Spanish. Nevertheless, it has achieved conspicuous success as an L2 (see e.g. ICoN, 2014; Vedovelli, 2002). The latest data on the number of Italian learners abroad were collected from 119 countries in the academic year 2017/2018 as part of a statistical survey conducted under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 2019). The data establish Italian as a popular language with a learner cohort of 2.119.401 students (see Table 3.1). The apparent discrepancy between the relatively scarce numerical strength of Italian, which ranks as the 14th most spoken language in the world, and its popularity as an L2 can be explained by examining its motivating features for potential L2 learners, which, in turn, are linked to the capital that the language holds.

The most comprehensive report on the appeal of Italian as an L2 was recently issued by Italian Culture on The Net (ICoN, 2014), a consortium formed by 19 Italian universities cooperating with the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs to promote the Italian language and culture on a global scale. The report identifies three key features which contribute to its popularity. First, Italian is the language of a valued Western culture with a rich historic and artistic past. The appreciation of Italian as a language of culture dates back to the early 14th century, as a result of the spread of Italian literature through the works of Dante, Petrarca and Boccaccio (De Mauro, Vedovelli, Barni, & Miraglia, 2002), and continued thanks to the cultural impact of the Italian Renaissance and of the success of the arts, of *bel canto* and of Italian opera in Europe (Bonomi, 1998). Second, Italian is the language associated with the “Made-in-Italy” phenomenon, a trade mark which indicates the distinctive characteristics of Italian products, especially in the automotive industry, fashion, design and luxury goods, but also in a wide array of other areas, including in the food and wine sectors (Petrilli, 2014). Finally, Italian is the language of large communities of migrants abroad. As Favero and Tassello (1978)

observe, between 1876 and 1976, almost 26 million Italians left their country and settled in Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, and then North and South America as well as Australia (Campolo, 2009; Castles, 1992, see also 4.6 and 4.8). The mass migration has given Italian a global presence and has contributed to its appeal as a heritage language.

The appeal of Italian as an L2 can also be inferred from large-scale empirical investigations conducted on the motivations of its learners worldwide. The most recent, *Italiano 2010* (Giovanardi & Trifone, 2010, 2012), was conducted between 2009 and 2010 to update the results obtained a decade earlier by the survey *Italiano 2000* (De Mauro et al., 2002). The study targeted 89 Institutes of Culture Abroad and included a sample of 67,772 students. In accordance with the findings obtained for *Italiano 2000*, the category “free time” was the most selected by respondents (56%). This category included cultural reasons, desire to travel to Italy and a general interest in the Italian society and lifestyle. The second most selected category obtained from the 2010 investigation was “study in Italy” (21%), trailed considerably by “professional opportunities” (13%) and “personal reasons” (10%), with the latter being mostly selected by participants who had an Italian partner or who had Italian origin. As expected, personal reasons linked to a heritage background were mostly selected in countries characterised by intense Italian migration. Studies like *Italiano 2010* suggest that the language is mainly studied for cultural reasons, which are not restricted to the appreciation of its historic and artistic past, but also to an interest in contemporary Italian society and lifestyle as well as to the enjoyment of a wide-range of free time activities, including travelling (Giovanardi & Trifone, 2012). By contrast, instrumental reasons linked to professional opportunities afforded by the knowledge of Italian seem to be less relevant.

3.3 Learning German as an L2

It was noted in section 3.1 that German is a major player in the language learning scene. Riemer (2016, p. 33) notes that although it fails to compare in terms of number of speakers and global spread with other European languages of broader use, such as English, French and Spanish, it is still utilised in many international contexts, such as in the media, education and also, to a lesser extent, in business and sometimes scientific

communication⁷ (see also Ammon, 2015, pp. 519-698). It also holds a considerable role in Europe, where it is the most spoken L1 (Destatis, 2016), it is one of the three languages utilised by the European Commission for procedural purposes (Ammon, 2015; European Commission, 2013), and is also one of the most widely studied languages in the EU after English (Eurostat, 2018a).

The latest and most comprehensive overview of the number of students of German in the world comes from the 2015 report of the Netzwerk Deutsch, an association which operates under the coordination of the German Federal Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*)⁸. The latest report (DaF, 2015) paints a rather promising picture of the position of the language in the global language market. As indicated in section 3.1 (see Table 3.1), around 15.4 million people studied German in 2015, a figure that shows an increase of around 570.000 in comparison to the estimates indicated in the 2010 survey (Netzwerk Deutsch, 2010). The image of Germany as an “internationally recognised economic, scientific and research centre⁹” has contributed considerably to the growing popularity of the language on a global scale (DaF, 2015, p. 5).

Riemer’s (2011, 2016) *Länderstudien* (country studies) represent the most comprehensive project on the motivations of learners of German as a foreign language on a global scale. University students of German studies were mainly targeted, but secondary school students and learners of German in adult language schools were also included in the final sample, which consisted of around 1180 respondents recruited from 20 countries. Although no English-speaking country was included in the study¹⁰, the transnational motivational tendencies identified by Riemer cohere with findings obtained on the motivations of learners in Anglophone contexts (see Schmidt, 2011, 2014b, see 4.7.1). Riemer found that positive attitudes towards foreign language learning in general and towards German in particular, previous positive L2 experiences and instrumental reasons represent key motivational drives among learners of German, regardless of the

⁷ For a thorough overview of the role of German as a business language (*Wirtschaftssprache*) and as a language for scientific communication (*Wissenschaftssprache*), see Ammon, 2015, pp. 407-512 and 519-693, respectively.

⁸ Some problems associated with the statistical consistency of the Netzwerk survey are discussed in Kretzenbacher, 2011, pp. 41-43.

⁹ Germany is defined as an “international anerkannter Wirtschafts- und ebenso auch Wissenschafts- und Forschungsstandort für Menschen aus aller Welt” (DaF, 2015, p. 3) (*transl.*).

¹⁰ For an overview of studies conducted on learners of German in Australia, see 4.7.1.

specific learning context. German was particularly appreciated for playing an important role in the European Union and was generally perceived as difficult to master, a characteristic which increases its prestige. Participants envisioned several future career opportunities in the relation to German, particularly in the fields of primary and secondary school teaching, economics, international organisations, tourism as well as interpreting and translating. Several learners of German were found to be driven by an *Exotenmotiv* (Riemer, 2006), in that they viewed proficiency in German as a unique skill associated with utilitarian advantages, in keeping with findings obtained on learners of English in the UK (see 3.1.2.2). It is also notable to observe that Riemer found evidence of integrative orientations particularly in learners located in countries geographically distant from Europe, who generally held a positive image of Germany and had an interest in German literature, history and/or culture. Germany, rather than other German-speaking countries, was for most respondents the desired community of affiliation, as confirmed in other studies on learners of German (see e.g. Schmidt, 2014b).

3.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter delineated the composite identity of the three languages included in this study in the global marketplace of language education. It was observed that English distances itself considerably from Italian and German due to its global role. The leading position of English in the global linguistic hierarchy has several implications for language education both in non-English speaking and English-speaking countries and for the way the language is now conceptualised. While it is reasonable to assume that the motivation of learners of global English diverge considerably from those of learners of LOTEs, it was argued that students of English studies represent a particular L2 population, for whom integrative and intrinsic motivational dispositions may be of relevance.

It was illustrated that Italian is mainly studied for cultural and travel reasons and for gaining a more in-depth appreciation of Italian culture and lifestyle (see 3.2). Conversely, worldwide investigations on the motivations of learners of German indicate that instrumental reasons still play an important role, being associated with the economic significance of Germany in the European and world market and with the image of German as a challenging and unique linguistic skillset, whose knowledge enables L2 users to have an edge in the job market (see 3.3).

Chapter 4 The position of English in Italy and Germany and of Italian and German in Australia

As noted in Chapter 2, L2 motivations emerge and develop in dynamic interaction between the learners and the socio-contexts that they inhabit. This chapter discusses the position that the languages under investigation hold in the countries where the students were recruited (see 5.4.1) and reviews key studies on L2 learner populations in each country, thereby setting the stage for an examination of the influence of context-related factors on the L2 motivations and L2 identities of the students targeted in this study (RQ3, see 5.1).

Due to the unique status accorded to English in the global linguistic landscape (see 3.1) and of country-specific differences which are expected to impact on students' motivations (e.g. economic milieu, community presence of the L2 etc.), the criteria utilised for discussing the status of English in Italy and in Germany differ from those adopted for elaborating on the position of Italian and German in Australia. Hence, for ease of presentation, the chapter is organised into two parts. First, it focuses on the role of English in the European Union and in two of its member states, Italy and Germany. Details about each country are given in terms of: (1) the hegemony of the English language in the social and linguistic landscape; (2) the status of English in the educational system; (3) the level and spread of proficiency in English; and (4) their current economic milieu.

After that, the chapter offers a brief overview of language education in Australia and delineates the status of Italian and German in relation to: (1) their image as European and as Australian community languages; (2) their provision and uptake in Victoria, the state where the language learners included in this study were recruited; and (3) their presence and visibility in the city where they were recruited, Melbourne.

PART 1 English

4.1 English in the EU

Europe still presents itself today as “a single multilingual area [...] where languages are hierarchically related in status” (Graddol, 1997, p. 14). The preservation of the linguistic diversity that characterises the European Union (EU), with 24 recognised

official languages and three main working languages, English, French and German, has been at the fore of institutional and public debates in the past decades. The multilingual policy devised by the EU (European Commission, 2008) has aimed to increase awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity as the cornerstones of the European community and has promoted the study of at least two foreign languages at school level in every European country (see Council of Europe, 2007).

Despite the efforts to counter the hegemony of any single language, English has become the *de facto* European lingua franca since the end of the 20th century (see e.g. Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006; Graddol, 1997; Wright, 2004): it is now established as the most widely spoken L2 in the European Union (see e.g. European Commission, 2012) and as the most taught language at all levels of instruction (see e.g. Busse, 2017, p. 568; Eurostat, 2018a). Aiello (2017, p. 11) maintains that “both institutions and individuals residing in the European Union have been buying into English in order to gain access to the symbolic capital that English imparts”. As a matter of fact, the language holds “a significant gatekeeping role in determining academic, career and social progression” (Ushioda, 2013c, p. 234). It is also extensively used “in the public domains of the media, including the internet, advertising, many forms of popular youth culture and popular entertainment” (James, 2000, p. 24; see also Berns, de Bot, & Hasebrink, 2007; Busse, 2017). Its ubiquitous presence in several domains allows Europeans to be exposed to the language in their everyday life, in line with global trends observed in relation to the ascent of English as a world language (see e.g. Ushioda 2013b for an overview). Despite the pervasiveness and the far-reaching range of influence of English in Europe, there remain country-specific differences. Scholars, for instance, have observed that the knowledge of the language is more common in North European than in South and East-European countries (Busse, 2017, pp. 568-569; Hoffmann, 2000).

The trends discussed so far are reflected in the position and spread of English in Italy and Germany, two countries that are traditionally categorised as pertaining to Kachru’s (1985, 1986) expanding circle of English use (see 3.1.1). Although English has no official function in either country, it enjoys a high prestige and maintains a strong position in the educational system as a compulsory language, as well as in several domains of everyday use (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Ammon, 2015; Stefanowitsch, 2002). As will be observed, differences in the spread of English proficiency in both countries align

with prior observations about a more moderate presence of the language in southern European countries in comparison to northern European countries.

4.2 English in Italy

Hegemony of the English language

The prominence of the English language in the Italian linguistic landscape is unquestionable. Its influence dates back to the *Anglomania* of the 18th century and has risen considerably since the end of the first and particularly the Second World War (for an overview, see e.g. Aiello, 2017, pp. 23-27; Pulcini, 1994). The language is widely used in several domains, such as advertising, business, entertainment, journalism, media, popular culture, science and technology (see e.g. Blackwood & Tufi, 2015; Griffin, 2004; Pulcini, 1997; Robinson, 2006; Vettorel, 2013; Tosi, 2004). The extensive use of English contributes to the establishment, as Vettorel (2013, p. 276) puts it, of “an ‘Englishized linguistic landscape [...], and thus to everyday encounters with the global language par excellence”. The exposure to English is also facilitated by dominance of the language in youth culture, one of the domains of use which has significantly contributed to its popularity worldwide (see 3.1.2): Italians watch the latest episodes of the most popular Anglophone TV series, listen to popular Anglophone songs, use the language to play videogames, to surf the internet and to partake in online communities (Aiello, 2017; Faez, 2011). Despite the pervasiveness of the language in Italy, the extensive dubbing practices for film and TV series and the accessibility of translations of books and other material also enable Italians to consume English-speaking generated media and resources through their L1 alone.

Provision in the educational system

In Italy, English is included as a compulsory school subject from primary school until the end of secondary school. As a result, Italian pupils receive up to thirteen years of English language instruction (Faez, 2011, p. 41; Santipolo, 2016). An additional language is also generally taught alongside English at the lower secondary level (*scuola secondaria di primo grado*) and sometimes also at the upper secondary level (*scuola secondaria di secondo grado*), in keeping with European norms on the matter of multilingual language education (see 4.1).

To date, there has been no comprehensive national plan aimed at introducing English language instruction at pre-school age level, despite policies pointing to the importance of sensitising students to cultural and linguistic diversity through, among other things, the initial exposure to foreign languages (MIUR, 2014, p. 17). Hence, the teaching and learning of the English language in Italian kindergartens is left to the initiative of each educational institution. This might be due, among other things, to the lack of trained teachers with a sufficient level of L2 proficiency, which has also raised concerns about the delivery of effective language teaching at primary level (see e.g. Santipolo, 2016).

Aiello (2017, p. 141) notes that English language instruction in Italy is still very much focused on inner-circle norms. As the scholar contends, “implicit language policies, reinforced by classroom content, language examinations and teacher training, tend to uphold British English as the ideal and lead to teacher-centred, literature-focused methods of instruction”, in keeping with observations made in other countries (see e.g. Kubota, 2002), including Germany (see 4.3). This clearly impacts on students’ perceptions of what constitutes the target of their L2 learning. In her mixed-method study on secondary school learners of English in two Italian cities (see 4.2.1), Aiello (ibid., p. 120) reported that the Italian secondary school students in her sample viewed British English as “the apex of the linguistic hierarchy of Englishes in the educational/academic domain”. This finding may also be linked to geographical proximity of Italy to the UK, which clearly increases the exposure to British English through travel and exchange experiences (Faez, 2011).

At the tertiary level, the introduction of English as a means of instruction has been a fairly recent phenomenon, initially met with resistance (see e.g. Helm & Guarda, 2015; Pulcini, 2015; Pulcini & Campagna, 2015). In Italian universities, students can pursue English or North American studies only as part of specific and highly structured degrees within the humanities (see 5.4.1). Despite a considerable heterogeneity in the provision of language instruction at tertiary level (see Daloiso, 2012, p. 72), non-linguistic degrees normally include a compulsory language subject (*idoneità linguistica*), with English being the most common language on offer (Daloiso, 2012, p. 45, see also Daloiso & Balboni, 2012).

Proficiency in English

Despite the substantial exposure to English in the Italian milieu and the considerable time allocated to the study of English during compulsory education, there is considerable evidence about the limited English proficiency of Italians, as perceived by other Europeans (Cogo & Jenkins, 2010), as self-reported by L2 users (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Meyer, Boateng, & Turchetti, 2010) and as documented in national surveys (see e.g. Tucci, 2019).

There is also evidence that the spread of EFL proficiency is not homogeneous in the country, with residents of northern and central regions normally being more proficient than the inhabitants in southern regions and in the islands (ISTAT, 2017, p. 11, reporting on data from 2015). Poor EFL skills are not only common among older people, who did not receive compulsory English language instruction at school (Tosi, 2004), but are also a reality for Italian youth. The report of the Italian national institute of statistics (ISTAT, 2017, p. 7) indicates that only three quarters of people aged between 6 and 24 reported speaking English to some extent in 2015. A case study which provides further evidence of lagging proficiency among Italian youth is reported by Daloiso (2012, p. 46), who showed that only 60% of university students enrolled in humanities, economics and STEMM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics and Medicine) at Ca' Foscari University in the academic year 2011-2012 were able to pass an intermediate English test (level B1 of the CEFR, see Council of Europe, 2018).

The scarce proficiency in English has been attributed to a variety of different factors (for an overview, see e.g. Aiello, 2017, pp. 28-29; Santipolo, 2016) such as the lack of resources available in the educational system, outdated teaching practices (Aiello, 2017; Faez, 2011; Pulcini, 1997; Santipolo, 2016), the more limited exposure to the language due the common practice of dubbing and translation (see e.g. Van Parijs, 2004), low levels of L2 motivation and poor aptitude for additional language learning. Faez (2011, pp. 42-43) also contends that the strong appreciation and enjoyment of the local Italian culture can represent in itself a discouraging factor from investing in English.

Current economic situation

Another aspect which may impact on the motivations of E_I learners is linked to the current economic situation traversed by Italy. Unlike Germany and Australia, the

country has been deeply affected by the Global Financial Crisis (see e.g. Simms, 2010). Eurostat (2018b) has revealed that 10.6% of the economically active population was unemployed in Italy in 2018. This rate increases dramatically for young people, with recent estimates indicating that 32.2% of young Italians aged between 15-24 were without a job in 2018 (see comparison with statistics for Germany in 4.3).

The dramatic situation of the national job market has led to the rise of a phenomenon labelled “brain drain”: a considerable number of young people - 250,000 according to recent statistics included in the latest report on the economy of migration (Fondazione Moressa, 2019) - have left the country and moved abroad over the last ten years. This appears to be a rising trend. As Aiello (2017, p. 31) notes, the Registry of Italian Resident Abroad (AIRE) saw an increase of roughly 30% of Italians aged from 20 to 40 years who applied for residency outside of Italy between 2011 and 2012. It can thus be speculated that language proficiency can represent now more than ever a necessity for youth attempting to access careers outside the national borders.

4.2.1 Studies on English L2 learning in Italy

Despite the pervasiveness of English in Italy, only a few studies have focused on the motivations for learning the language in the Italian context. This section briefly discusses key trends emerged from recent investigations.

Faez (2011) explored perceptions and attitudes held by a sample of secondary school teachers (N = 16) and university professors (N = 13) regarding the status of English in Italian society and the expected motivations of EFL learners. The respondents agreed that Italians are motivated to learn English to be able to participate in the global economy and to affiliate with a global community. There was also consensus that young people are motivated to pursue L2 study due to the exposure to English through internet, music, films and tv series and to their desire to partake more deeply in youth culture. Most participants also maintained that the knowledge of English is linked to enhanced career opportunities both in Italy and overseas.

These findings are also reflected in Aiello (2017) empirical study on the attitudes and motivations of secondary school students learning English in two major Italian cities, Rome and Naples. The respondents deemed English a useful language to master and were mostly driven by instrumental rather than cultural reasons, in line with broader trends

observed for EFL students (see 3.1.2.1). Their learning trajectories were sustained by an investment in L2-speaking selves and by the desire to use the language to communicate internationally while travelling and/or working overseas. Most questionnaire respondents (70%) also reported a strong desire to visit Anglophone countries, suggesting that for these participants English still retained its association with L2 communities. Further evidence of this resides also in the fact that inner-circle varieties of English (British and American) were mentioned as the ideal learning target, with around 70% of respondents agreeing slightly or fully that it is important for them to speak English with a native-like accent. The data also show that students were largely unaware of outer circle varieties (see Kachru, 1985, 1986; 3.1.1), a finding which adds credence to the fact learners of English in Italy are not exposed to world Englishes through formal schooling (see 4.2). The study also offers evidence that the economic crisis traversed by Italy affected learners' motivations, imposing limitations on students' ability to envision future employment opportunities in Italy, regardless of L2 proficiency. While for some learners the inability to foresee a future in Italy had a negative impact on their investment in EFL learning, for others the economic crisis provided an incentive to invest in their future English-speaking identities to be more competitive in the Italian job market and/or to be well equipped to seek employment overseas (Aiello, 2017, p. 70, see also 4.2). These results echo Busse's (2017) observations on adolescent students of English in Spain, who were found to be subject to considerable downwards pressures to learn English to seek job opportunities, presumably, as the scholar speculated (p. 578), due to "the difficult economic situation in Spain and high unemployment rates".

The important status of English for Italian youth is also reflected in Bier's (2013) investigation on the L2 motivations of pupils aged between 11 and 14 studying English in rural secondary middle schools in Northern Italy. The study showed that students' motivations displayed high levels of integrated and identified regulations, the forms of regulation closest to intrinsic motivations and were aware of the importance of English for travelling and for career progression.

4.3 English in Germany

Hegemony of the English language

The influence of English in Germany has been particularly profound since the end of the Second World War (see e.g. Dollerup, 1996; Sing, 2007). Its functional range has expanded considerably in the last decades and has been particularly marked in recent years (Busse, 2017, p. 569). English words and expressions are now ubiquitous in several domains of language use and particularly, as Hilgendorf (2005, p. 54) summarises, in “politics, law, business, advertising, science and research, and the mass media (music/radio, television, the film industry, computers and the Internet)” (see also Ammon, 2006; Gerritsen, Nickerson, Van Hooft, Van Meurs, Nederstigt, Starren, & Crijns, 2007; Hilgendorf, 2001, 2007). German youth now utilise the language for a wide range of free time activities outside the language classroom (see e.g. Grau, 2009). Dubbing and translation of Anglophone resources are as common in Germany as they are in Italy (see 4.2).

Provision in the educational system

In Germany, educational policies for compulsory schooling are not developed at the national level but rather by each Federal State through the *Kultusministerien*, i.e. the Ministries of Education. As in the case of Italy, English is the most widely taught foreign language in Germany (Hilgendorf, 2005, p. 53; Romanowski, 2016; Stefanowitsch, 2002). While it has long been a core subject at secondary level (Hilgendorf, 2005), foreign language instruction at primary level was only enforced nation-wide in 2004, and before then, only a few federal states offered L2 study as part of the primary curriculum. While German pupils normally begin studying English in the first year of secondary school, policy initiatives in different states have pushed for the introduction of language instruction progressively earlier, such as in the third year of primary school or in previous year levels (Hilgendorf, 2007, p. 54). In Bavaria, for instance, the German state where the participants in the present study were recruited (see 5.4.1), students receive English instruction from the first year of primary school. All in all, German pupils are expected to have learnt English for a total time of 9 to 11 years before enrolling at university.

Congruent with the observations made for the Italian context (see 4.2), English class practices in Germany still place great emphasis on cultural and/or literary aspects

of inner-circle countries, particularly British and American varieties, and exposure to additional varieties of English through schooling still appears to be rather limited (see e.g. Bieswanger, 2008; Edmondson & House, 2003). The overreliance on inner-circle norms is also reflected in English language textbooks adopted in schools, as a recent study on three coursebooks widely used in German schools has shown (Syrbe & Rose, 2016). This means that there is a recognised discrepancy between young students' out-of-class contacts with English, which normally occur through free time activities, and in-class contacts with *Schulenglisch*, i.e. the English learnt at school (Grau, 2009, p. 171).

In tertiary education, English now holds considerable status as a language of instruction, with academic literacy in English being an expected requirement in several university programs (Ammon, 2001; Erling, 2007; Hilgendorf, 2005). In Germany students can pursue English or North American studies as part of specific degrees in the humanities or in teaching, the latter being the case if students choose English as a teaching area (see 5.4.1).

Proficiency in English

With regard to EFL proficiency, considerable differences can be found between Italy and Germany. As reported by the European Commission (2012), 56% of Germans reported being able to hold a conversation in English, in comparison to only 36% of Italians. While the former percentage suggests that proficiency in English is not necessarily widespread across the entire population in Germany, the introduction of English at school level has contributed to the creation of what Sing (2007, p. 249) describes as a “generation of bilingual users of English”. Several studies have alluded to the good level of English proficiency in Germany. Erling (2007, p. 120), for instance, maintains that “Germany is becoming a place where an increasing proportion of its population is proficient in English, and speaking English is becoming a characteristic criterion of ‘Germanness’”. In light of the expanding functional use of the language in the country as well as of the spread of EFL skills, Hilgendorf (2005 p. 64) proposed that Germany should be rather conceptualised as pertaining to the Kachru's (1985, 1986) outer circle of English use, which includes postcolonial countries like India where English holds an official status, as opposed to the expanding circle.

Both E_I and E_G learners in this study are expected to be motivated to study English, as they decided to enrol in a specialist degree in English studies. It is also anticipated that E_I respondents, who are likely to be less proficient than their E_G counterparts, are more motivated to study the language to improve their L2 proficiency. As there is no previous comparative research on E_I and E_G learners, this study will be the first to test whether this hypothesis holds true.

Current economic situation

Germany is widely considered “the economic leader of the EU” (see e.g. Mucha-Leszko & Twarowska, 2016, see also Ammon, 2015). The effects of the European economic crisis have been relatedly moderate in the country (see e.g. Simms, 2010) and thus unemployment rates are considerably lower in Germany in comparison to other European member states. According to the Unemployment Report (Eurostat, 2018b), only 3.4% of the economically active population was unemployed in Germany in 2018, in contrast with 10.6% of Italians. The same report indicates that only 6.2% of Germans aged between 15 and 25 faced difficulties looking for a job, compared to 32.2% of young Italians (see 4.2). Hence, it can be speculated that E_G respondents in this study are less likely to view L2 learning as a means to be more competitive in the national job market or to seek for a job overseas so as to evade the repercussions of the global financial crisis.

4.3.1 Studies on English L2 learning in Germany

This section briefly discusses key studies on the motivations of EFL learners in Germany.

Riemer’s (2003) study has cast some light on the previous learning experiences and motivations of a sample of 54 students enrolled in two degrees in linguistics at two major German universities. All the students had long learning histories with English and had studied the language at school not as part of a motivated decision, but rather as a compulsory school subject (see also Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017). The study provides evidence of the dynamic nature of motivation and of its development in relation to external and internal factors: enjoyable and successful L2 learning experiences, an awareness of the prominence of English in youth culture (e.g. in music and entertainment) and the perception of the utility of the language for future career opportunities were all

perceived by students as key factors contributing to the emergence and increase in their motivation. The study also indicates that the students under investigation were mostly instrumentally rather than culturally motivated, in keeping with the previous literature pointing to the “cultural irrelevance” and “instrumental relevance” of global English (see e.g. Edmondson & House 2003).

Erling (2007) focused on university students of English studies, North American studies and English Language Pedagogy at the Free University of Berlin and examined the role that the language plays in shaping their identities. The respondents, who had long learning histories, had accumulated experiential capital through English by means of travels, study-abroad experiences and private tuition. Respondents reported using and/or being exposed to the language on a daily basis, both at university (both for their academic studies centred around English and for other subjects) and in their private life, where they utilised English for free time activities, for cultivating intercultural networks and for interacting with tourists and non-German speakers in their local context. English was found to play an important role for these English specialists in reshaping their sense of self in relation to: (1) English-speaking countries; (2) a European community; (3) a global community and their (4) local community. In line with Lamb (2004), Erling observes that the EFL students in her sample tended to cultivate a bicultural identity, in that they positioned themselves both in relation to the local culture and to global communities (see Arnett, 2002, in 2.2.2). This study illustrates that the link between English and inner-circle countries has not dissipated, in keeping with Aiello’s observations (2017) for youth learning English in Italy. This suggests that the previously mentioned “cultural irrelevance” and “instrumental relevance” of English may not apply to learners of English studies, in line with speculations made by the proponents of this “relevance-irrelevance” hypothesis themselves (Edmondson & House, 2003, pp. 333-335).

Chik and Breidback’s (2011) study focussed on the domain of use and learning histories of tertiary learners of English studies in Germany and in Hong Kong. Their findings offer some additional data on the standing of English in Germany and on the background of university-based language learners. German students were all studying the language as part of a teaching degree in Berlin and were motivated to study English to improve their English skills, which they had been developing from an early age both in instructional and non-instructional contexts. In keeping with Erling’s (2007)

observations, the investigation showed that these learners were exposed to English extensively both outside and inside of class and utilised popular English-speaking media and cultural products as means to affiliate with English-speaking communities not immediately available in their socio-context. Indeed, a common ground between differently situated English language learners appeared to be the access to Anglophone media through popular culture.

Busse (2017) investigation on the attitudes towards English in four European countries found that young adolescents from all countries were highly aware of the prominent status of English, were adamant about its necessity for their professional careers, tended to display favourable attitudes towards EFL learning, often at the detriment of other LOTEs perceived of lesser significance. Socio-relational factors (e.g. influence from teachers and parents) were also perceived to play a considerable role in the shaping of students' attitudes towards L2 learning. It is also notable that students of English in Germany voiced plurilingual aspirations and rarely mentioned media as a source of personal interest, a finding which does not cohere with Chick and Breiback's (2011) observations on university students of English.

4.4 Summary and hypotheses

The first part of this chapter showed that both Italy and Germany are experiencing the hegemony of the English language. The discussion has highlighted two main differences, as related to the level of EFL proficiency and to (un)employment rates in the two countries. Table 4.1 provides a concise overview of the information presented so far from a comparative perspective and offers some hypotheses regarding how contextual similarities and differences are likely to impact on the demographic characteristics and/or motivations of the E_I and E_G students targeted in this study.

Key categories of comparison	E_I vs E_G	Anticipated similarities and differences in demographic characteristics and/or L2 motivations
Hegemony of the language	Quite similar → similar presence, but spread has been slower in Italy than in Germany (e.g. differences in proficiency)	E _I and E _G learners are likely to accord the same importance to English.
Provision in the educational system	Similar → the language is compulsory at school level (more common at kindergarten and primary level in Italy).	E _I and E _G learners are both expected to have a long L2 learning background.
Proficiency	Different → L2 proficiency in English is expected to be lower in Italy than in Germany	E _I learners are expected to have lower levels of proficiency than E _G learners and to be more motivated to pursue L2 study to improve their L2 skills (see also 4.3).
Current economic situation	Different → Unemployment rates are higher in Italy in comparison to Germany	E _I learners may be more likely to view advanced proficiency in English as a means to access job opportunities overseas

Table 4.1 Learning English in Italy (E_I) vs learning English in Germany (E_G) in terms of four key criteria of comparison

PART 2 Italian and German

4.5 Learning languages in Australia

This section sets the stage for a discussion of the standing of Italian and German in Australia. After elaborating on the considerable cultural and linguistic diversity in this country and on the way in which languages are talked about and classified, it offers an overview of language provision in schools as well of the current state of tertiary language education. Finally, it provides details about broader societal perceptions and discourses about L2 learning which are expected to impact on the L2 motivations of the students targeted in this study. It is worthwhile pointing out that the literature and data on language education and on the standing of Italian and German in Australia are more limited than the ones available for English in Europe. Nevertheless, efforts were made to present a comprehensive account.

The languages of Australia

Australia is a multicultural and multilingual English-dominant nation. The 2016 census (see ABS, 2017) shows that over 300 languages are spoken in the country and that around 21% of Australians mainly communicate with their families in a language other than English. Public debates about the multitude of languages spoken in Australia rely on broad classifications to label them, utilising attributes such as “Asian”, “European”, “classical” or “Indigenous”, or employing the broad dichotomy “community” and “foreign”¹¹ (see e.g. Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009, p. 2, see also Mason & Hajek, 2018, p. 8). In Australia, both Italian and German hold the twofold identity of “foreign” languages of European prestige and of community languages, associated with Australia’s history of migration

The term “community language” has been utilised in Australia “since about 1975 to denote languages other than English, and Aboriginal languages employed within the Australian community” (Clyne, 1991, p. 3). It has also been adopted by scholars working in Europe and New Zealand, whereas North American researchers have mainly employed the term “heritage language”. Although no consensus has been reached on the exact definitions of these two terms, it is agreed that they are not interchangeable identifiers (see e.g. Wiley, 2001, 2005). The rationale for the use of the label “community language” is that, as Lo Bianco and Aliani (2013 p. 45) note, the term “heritage language” fails to capture the dual character of languages like Italian in Australia, which are not only learned by heritage students for “heritage” reasons, but also by non-heritage learners for “community” reasons, as a result of the presence of thriving language communities which contribute to the visibility of the L2 culture and/or language in the local socio-context (see 4.7; see also Palmieri, 2017; 2018).

Language provision in Australian schools

Australia is a federation of six states and two territories, which retain a certain degree of autonomy. The terminology used to refer to year levels and educational settings

¹¹ Lo Bianco and Slaughter (2009, p. 5) contend that “there are no languages that could realistically be imagined as subjects on the school curriculum which are not present in the Australian population”. Nevertheless, the word “foreign” is still often used in policy documents about second language education, with such word choice resting on the misassumption that language teaching targets monolingual learners in monolingual settings.

varies depending on the state and territory. In most Australian states, including Victoria (see Liddicoat, Scarino, Curnow, Kohler, Scrimgeour, & Morgan, 2007, p. 2 for an overview), primary school education includes the levels from foundation to year 6, whilst secondary schools include the remaining year levels (year 7 to year 12).

Lo Bianco and Aliani (2013, p. 42) note that “any account on school provision is complicated by the highly devolved nature of Australian education”, which comprises around 30 educational jurisdictions. Languages have been recognised as a key learning area since 1989 (Group of 8, 2007, p. 2; see also Scarino, 2014, p. 293). In the absence of a federal nation-wide language education policy (Kohler, 2017), each state and territory has issued its own policies. Hence, the mandatory or elective nature of language studies and the expected length of L2 study at school level are highly variable across the country, with Victoria, the state where this study was conducted, generally standing out for the presence of compulsory language education from primary school.

In her review of current language education policies in Australia, Kohler (2017) has provided further evidence of the increasing variability in the provision and mandate for languages in Australian schools and has concluded that across the country “there seems to be little appetite for compulsory language study for any year beyond year 8” (ibid., p. 18). Although most students pursue language studies for several years during their schooling (Nicholas, 2014), usually when aged 10 to 14, there has been a considerable decrease in the number of students deciding to continue L2 study until graduation from secondary school for decades (see e.g. Mason & Hajek, 2018; Standing Council on School Education and Early Childhood, 2000-2008). As a result, Australian pupils “receive far less foreign language instruction than their counterparts elsewhere” (Group of 8, 2007, p. 2, see also Kohler, 2017).

As for the languages being taught, there is no default L2, unlike for English in the European context or for Spanish in certain areas of America (Thompson, 2017a), and over 130 languages have been included in the school curricula (Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009, p. 39). The choice of which language to offer depends on many factors, such as the specific demography or policy setting of each state or jurisdiction (e.g. Italian in Victoria), the proximity of the L2 country (e.g. Indonesian in the Northern Territory), and government and/or community funding.

These trends suggest that the L2 learning backgrounds of the LOTE students targeted in this study are likely to be quite heterogeneous. Indeed, since Italian and German are two of the many languages taught in Australian schools, their uptake not only depends on the presence of a mandated language requirement in the state and/or school where the students received their schooling, but also on their provision at school level.

Language studies at tertiary level

Low levels of enrolments and high attrition rates (see e.g. Group of Eight, 2007; Martín, 2005; Martín, Jansen, & Beckmann, 2016; Nettelbeck, Byron, Clyne, Hajek, Lo Bianco, & McLaren, 2007) have characterised the language studies sector in Australian tertiary institutions, in line with trends observed at secondary level (Liddicoat et al., 2007). Martín and colleagues (2016, p. 5) go as far as to note that “the most striking characteristic of L[anguages] & C[ultures] programs in Australian universities is the relative scarcity of students”. Martín (2005) brought back the scarce success of language studies to at least three historical causes: (1) the governmental decision in the late 1940s and 1950s to waive L2 proficiency as an entry requirement for the tertiary education sector; (2) the lack of effective language provision in secondary schools (see also e.g. Group of Eight, 2007; Lo Bianco & Slaughter, 2009, pp. 48-51); and finally (3) the limited economic investment in language studies. Economic support for language education, when available, has recently targeted primarily Asian languages, mainly for economic and political reasons (see e.g. Commonwealth of Australia, 2012).

No Australian university requires compulsory L2 skills as a condition of enrolment and only a few undergraduate degrees include L2 study as part of the study plan (Martín et al., 2016, p. 10). The lack of or limited language provision in compulsory schooling means that there is a high number of L2 students that commence language studies at beginner level at university (see Martín et al., 2016, p. 12; Nettelbeck et al., 2007; Schmidt, 2011, p. 37). In an attempt to counteract, among other things, decreasing enrolments rates, language departments in Australia have started to welcome students from different disciplines since the late 1990s. As a result, the cohorts of language learners in Australia are increasingly diverse, with students pursuing language studies alongside a wealth of other degree areas (see e.g. Schmidt, 2012 for an analysis of the German studies cohort as a case in point). While, in some cases, language departments

have catered to the needs of students enrolled in certain degree areas who may select a language as an elective subject for specific purposes (e.g. for business), in most cases students from different degree areas study the same content covered by those enrolled in a traditional degree in language studies (see Mason & Hajek, 2018, p. 2).

All in all, the LOTE learners targeted in this study are likely to differ from their EFL counterparts not only in terms of their L2 learning background and level of L2 proficiency, but also in terms of their degrees of enrolment. These differences will be examined in more depth when discussing the criteria for the recruitment of the research participants in section 5.4.1.

Perceptions towards language learning: the “monolingual mindset”

In the Australian curriculum, languages are officially recognised as a key learning area which serves to equip learners with skills to deal with “the personal, social, cultural and employment opportunities that an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world presents” (ACARA, 2013, paragraph 3).

Despite the numerous language resources that Australia can rely on as a multicultural and multilingual country (Clyne, 2006), “decades of policy neglect and inaction” (Group of 8, 2007, p. 7) have made the country remain largely monolingual and English-dominant. Clyne (2006, 2008) has coined the term “monolingual mindset” and “aggressive monolingualism” to describe the linguistic attitudes that view monolingualism as the social norm. As noted in 3.1.2.2, this mindset, which is found to underpin policy decisions and societal perceptions, is particularly common in Anglophone countries, where it has become more and more difficult to persuade secondary and tertiary students to commit time and energy in learning languages. In Australia, as Martín and colleagues (2016, p. 139) observe, explicit and implicit discouragement may derive “from an awareness that English-dominant language contexts are the norm in Australian business and social life, or from input from career advisors who do not sufficiently value L[anguages] & C[ultures] knowledge or capabilities”.

Public perceptions may also be influenced by the media. In their analysis of Australian press coverage on language education between 2007 and 2016 both as a general topic and with a focus on the tertiary sector, Mason & Hajek (2018, 2019) conclude that language education is generally presented as a problem (for the UK, see

also Lanvers, 2017), with frequent references to low retention rates in language classes after the compulsory study years, to declining enrolment rates, to reductions in the number of languages on offer, to funding limitations, and to staffing concerns. Despite this climate of negativity, however, around one-third of press coverage highlights the importance of language skills, often citing academics, experts and particular interest groups. Articles often refer to the essential nature of L2 skills for Australia as a nation, referring mostly to the utilitarian benefits that language learning entails and, to a lesser extent, to the educational, linguistic, social and cultural enrichment that L2 learning affords. Such economic rationale, generally connected to the role that language skills can play for an engagement with Asian countries, is also common in policy documents (Scarino, 2014), which often emphasise how L2 skills enable individuals to partake more fully in a global community and to have enhanced job opportunities (Group of 8, 2007, p. 5; see also e.g. ACARA, 2016; Bradshaw, Deumert, & BurrIDGE, 2008).

There is some evidence that such rhetoric is utilised to market languages at tertiary level, as a recent case study on the University of Melbourne has shown (Amorati, 2018). Although media has been found to influence public opinion considerably (see e.g. Mason & Hajek, 2019, p. 3), the extent to which these discourses are widespread in the wider society is open to speculation. While, on the one hand, I_A and G_A students might inherit negative attitudes towards L2 learning from the broader society and from their immediate milieu (e.g. career advisors), on the other hand, they might be particularly receptive to discourses surrounding the poor state of language education in Australia and of the disadvantages of monolingualism, which are reflected, to some degree, in the media (see e.g. Mason & Hajek, 2018, 2019).

4.6 Italian in Australia

According to recent statistics, roughly 340,000 students were studying Italian in Australia in the academic year 2017/2018 (Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 2019, p. 11). As noted in section 4.5, Italian presents a twofold position in the country. On the one hand, it is a prestigious European language which is associated today not only with a rich literary, artistic and cultural heritage, but also with an appealing society and lifestyle, with the Made-in-Italy phenomenon and with the multiple fields in which Italy excels, such as, to name a few, cinema, design, technology and sport (see e.g. Rubino, 2002, p. 13, see

3.2). On the other hand, it is one of the most prominent community languages in Australia (see e.g. Lo Bianco & Aliani, 2013; Rubino, 2002, 2014), studied by Italo-Australian students for heritage reasons, as well by non-heritage students for “community reasons” (Lo Bianco & Aliani, 2013, p. 45).

Following French and German, Italian was initially introduced in the Australian educational system as a language of cultural prestige and was taught at secondary and tertiary level as a language of culture for the elites (Rubino, 2002, p. 2). Italian mass migration to Australia, which peaked in the 1950s and 1960s (see e.g. Campolo, 2009; Castles, 1992), led to the penetration of the Italian language, of its dialects and of Italian culture more broadly in Australian society. For decades, Italians were the largest non-English-speaking group to migrate to Australia and also represented the most numerous non-Anglophone migrant group (see e.g. Slaughter & Hajek, 2014, p. 182).

As a result, Italian became “a language of the community, actively spoken and sustaining newspaper, radio and television audiences” (Lo Bianco & Aliani, 2013, p. 45). With the advent of multicultural policies in the 1970s, the Italian community persuaded education planners that there was not only a cultural case for the teaching of their language, but also a practical one, due to the presence of Italian “in the streets” (ibid., p. 45). Consequently, Italian is now viewed in comparison to other community languages as “the classic”, i.e. the community language “most successfully included in public education” (ibid., p. 38; see also Slaughter & Hajek, 2014).

The latest Australian census conducted in 2016 has shown that 4.3% of Australians have Italian ancestry (ABS, 2017). In the last decade, there is also evidence of a new Italian migration to Australia, which is mainly represented by young Italians who come temporarily to Australia (see e.g. Armillei & Mascitelli, 2017). This new wave of migrants has added a new stream to an Italian community previously represented by the post-war migrants and their descendants and has increased the chances for Australians to come into contact with (young) Italians (Palmieri, 2018).

4.6.1 Studies on Italian L2 learning in Australia

While there is no lack of literature on the impact of subject redesign on enrolment trends for university students of Italian (see e.g. Brown & Caruso, 2014; Caruso & Brown, 2015), there is a paucity of studies explicitly investigating the motivations of students of

Italian in Australia (Palmieri, 2018, p. 78), and particularly of university-based language learners. This section briefly reviews a recent study on adult learners of Italians in Sydney and presents some trends emerged from scholarship pointing to the link between Italo-Australian self-identification and desire for proficiency in Italian.

Palmieri (2017, 2018) conducted a mixed-method investigation on adult learners of non-Italian origin in two language schools in Sydney. She found that language students were mainly motivated to learn Italian because: (1) they held positive attitudes towards Italian culture and Italian people; and (2) they wished to acquire belonging to a community of Italian speakers. Language learning was perceived as a process of self-identity (re)construction, which allowed participants to attain ideal L2 selves as Italian speakers, competent travellers, sophisticated and cultivated Australians. Palmieri (2018) found that integrativeness (Gardner, 1985) was relevant to these learners, who wished to study the language to affiliate not only with Italy through travelling, congruent with prior studies (see e.g. Hajek & Warren, 1996), but also with the local Italo-Australian community. In fact, the exposure to the local L2 community and the multiple interactions with Italo-Australians that the participants had had at different stages of their life stimulated their interest in Italian culture and played a role in motivating them to pursue and continue L2 study.

Although a great deal of scholarship has focused on processes of identity formation and development in Italo-Australians (see e.g. O'Connor, 1994; Pitronaci, 1998), there is a paucity of literature investigating the link between Italo-Australian identity and the motivation to learn Italian. Nevertheless, by describing processes of identity construction, some literature has alluded to the role that language knowledge plays as an element of self-identification (see also e.g. Baldassar, 1992, 1994; Baldassar, Pyke & Ben-Moshe, 2012). This scholarship has shown that the identities of Italo-Australians are dynamically constructed and negotiated through symbolic (e.g. family ties, conviviality) and material practices (e.g. visits to Italy, listening to Italian music, participation with Italian cultural events, eating Italian food etc.). Despite the fact that language is not necessarily the most salient element for the creation of an Italo-Australian identity (Baldassar, 1992, 1994), past studies have offered some evidence that the knowledge of Italian is considered an important element of identification for many Italo-Australians, with the impetus for heritage language learning being associated with the

desire to cultivate an Italian identity (Baldassar, 1994; Chiro & Smolicz, 1993, 1994, 1997) and/or to recuperate a missing component of their identity (Pitronaci, 1998), in keeping with scholarship on heritage language learning (see e.g. Berardi-Wiltshire, 2016; Leeman, 2015). These findings suggest, as Rubino (2002, p. 9) maintains, that “in the process of negotiating self-identification, (better) language competence and (higher) language use may well mark a stronger in-group membership”.

4.7 German in Australia

According to the most recent estimates available, German was studied by 105,699 students in Australia in 2015 (DaF, 2015). The position of German in the country does not differ considerably from the one held by Italian: German is also a prestigious European language and a community language. It is particularly appreciated for the widely renowned culture and history of German-speaking countries (see 4.7.1), for the prominent status of Germany in the European and world market, as well as for its leading position in science and research (Lay, 2015, p. 104; see also Schmidt, 2014b). In the 2016 census (ABS, 2017) 4.2%, 0.2% and 0.1% of respondents reported a German, Austrian and Swiss background, respectively. The community status of German in Australia is associated with the migration of German-speaking migrants since the late 1830s, predominantly from Germany and to a much lesser extent from Austria and German-speaking Switzerland (Schüpbach, 2008) and by a new wave of migration after the Second World War (Fernandez et al., 1994; Clyne & Kipp, 1997, see e.g. Schmidt, 2011 for an overview). While Italian was rapidly introduced in the Australian school system with the advent of multicultural policies (see 4.6), the recognition of German as a community language was particularly late. This was due to the scarce advocacy of German-speaking communities, which lacked unity and assimilated rapidly (Petersen, 1993, p. 27; Kipp, 2008). Survey studies (Clyne, 2011) have shown that German-speaking migrants shifted from their L1 to English more frequently after their settlement in Australia in comparison to Italian-speaking migrants. These findings are replicated for second generations: respondents with German-speaking parents reported retaining L2 knowledge less frequently in comparison to those with Italian-speaking parents (see Clyne & Kipp, 1997, p. 463; see also Clyne, Slaughter, Hajek, & Schüpbach, 2015). This

clearly impacts on the visibility of Italian-speaking and German-speaking communities in the country.

4.7.1 Studies on German L2 learning in Australia

In comparison to Italian, much more literature exists on the motivation to study German in Australia (see e.g. Ammon, 1991; Petersen, 1993; Leal, Bettoni, & Malcolm, 1991; Schmidt, 2011; 2015). Ammon (1991), Petersen (1993) and Hutchinson's (the latter is reported in Leal et al., 1991) studies point to similar findings, revealing that learners of German in Australia mainly study the language for the following reasons (see also Schmidt, 2011, pp. 40-49 for an overview): (1) a desire to communicate with native speakers; (2) an interest in the German language and culture; (3) a wish to travel to German-speaking countries; and (4) to improve one's own career prospects. With regard to the learning outcomes, all the studies found that students had a preference for developing their speaking skills (see e.g. Ammon, 1991, p. 136; Leal et al., 1991, p. 369; Petersen, 1993, p. 95).

The most recent and comprehensive large-scale study on the motivations of learners of German was conducted by Schmidt (2011) in 2005 on a sample of 520 beginner and intermediate university students enrolled at ten major Australian universities. As for the demographic characteristics of the sample, it is worth mentioning that 16% of the participants had at least one family member who was born in a German-speaking country (Schmidt, 2011, p. 83), lending support to Noel's claim that "a sense of ancestral heritage makes salient the importance of language to one's ethnic identity" (Noels, 2005, p. 301 in Schmidt, 2011 p. 83). Schmidt identified three motivational factors: (1) an interest in the German language and culture, associated with a general appreciation for language learning, often related to a positive L2 learning experience at school; (2) the wish to communicate in a German-speaking country, and particularly Germany, while travelling, studying or working; and finally (3) instrumental reasons, linked to the professional advantages that a language like German can offer, especially in the area of business (*Wirtschaftssprache*; see Ammon, 2015, pp. 407-512). The majority of students hoped to gain an in-depth knowledge of German culture and to reach sufficient L2 proficiency to be able to interact with German-speaking people abroad.

A further qualitative study on 13 university students enrolled at the University of Queensland allowed Schmidt (2014b) to expand and explore the results that she obtained in her previous quantitative study. Several students commented that German represented an add-on qualification to their primary degree area, with the most common subjects associated with German being engineering, physics, psychology, science, but also comparative literature (Schmidt, 2014b, p. 35). In addition, several students perceived the knowledge of German as part of a future vision of themselves as L2 speakers and described language learning as a process which impacts on their personal development (see also Schmidt 2014a). Finally, students displayed a great affinity with European culture, which underpinned their decision to pursue a European language.

4.8 Italian and German in Victoria

This section focuses on Victoria, the Australian state where the present study was conducted. First, it briefly discusses trends in the provision of Italian and German in Victorian schools. It then elaborates on the presence of the Italian community in Melbourne, offering some comparative observations with German.

Provision at school level

Languages	Primary level	Secondary level	Total enrolments (freq. and %)
Italian	60,512	18,271	78,783 (18.1%)
German	7,957	11,443	19,400 (4.3%)
Total enrolments in languages in Victoria	435,513		

Table 4.2 Enrolments in Italian and German in Victorian government schools in 2018 (Department of Education and Training, 2019, pp. 8-10)

The latest report on language provision in Victorian government schools (Department of Education and Training, 2019), which is based on data collected in 2018, shows that Italian and German are the second and seventh most learnt languages for numbers of students in the state. As Table 4.2 shows, Italian is considerably more taught than German both at primary and secondary level, being studied by 18.1% of school pupils in the state. German trails considerably, accounting for 4.3% of the language

learner cohort. It can also be observed that Italian is considerably more popular than German at primary level. The trends observed in 2018 are reflective of a long-standing prominent presence of Italian in Victorian schools (see also Slaughter & Hajek, 2014).

The visibility of Italian in Melbourne and some comparative observations with German

Categories	Ancestry	Data from the 2016 Census
Residents in Victoria	Italian	352,711 (6.0%)
	Austrian	12,227 (0.2%)
	German	201,850 (3.4%)
	Swiss	7,923 (0.1%)
Residents in Greater Melbourne	Italian	300,114 (6.7%)
	Austrian	9,793 (0.2%)
	German	135,721 (3.0%)
	Swiss ¹²	5,918 (0.1%)

Table 4.3 Number of residents of Victoria and in Greater Melbourne who reported a German, Austrian and Swiss ancestry, as documented by the 2016 ABS Census (2017)

As Italian occupies a unique position in Melbourne as a community language, an examination of its presence and visibility in this city, as compared to German, is warranted. The latest 2016 census (ABS, 2017) indicates that Melbourne is inhabited by roughly 4.5 million residents and that only 59.8% of them were born in Australia. Table 4.3 presents some key data on the numerical consistency of residents in Victoria and in Melbourne who reported an Italian, Austrian, German or Swiss ancestry. It is immediately evident that there is a much higher percentage of people with an Italian heritage as opposed to an Austrian, German or Swiss heritage. This trend was anticipated, as the majority of Italian migrants who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s settled in Victoria (see e.g. Campolo, 2009; Castles, 1992). The presence of residents with an L2 background explains why Melbourne hosts, for instance, many clubs for Italian migrants (e.g. the

¹² Since there is evidence of a German-speaking Swiss migration to Australia and to Melbourne in particular (see e.g. Schüpbach, 2008), as substantiated by the presence of a Swiss German club in this city, the data related to Swiss is likely to be linked to the German presence in Melbourne.

Abruzzo club, the Calabria club etc.) as well as a German-Swiss and an Austrian club. The Italo-Australian community has been particularly active in Melbourne in establishing clubs and social centres. A simple search on the Community Directory of the state of Victoria (Community Directory, 2019), a guide to local community associations and organisations in the state, returns 93 results for Italian and 7 for German.

The different presence and visibility of the Italian and German community are linked to historical processes and settlement practices. It was previously noted that while German-speaking migrants generally assimilated rapidly and displayed high rates of shift from German to English (Ammon, 2015, p. 1059; Clyne, 2011; Kipp, 2008; Petersen, 1993), Italian migrants have tended to create more tightly-knit communities and, albeit integrating into Australian society (Campolo, 2009), have still maintained a strong and distinct identity as a community group (see e.g. Baldassar et al., 2012; Palmieri, 2018; Yule, 2004). This identity is also reinforced by the maintenance of their L1, as the high language retention rate of Italo-Australian migrants suggests (Clyne et al. 2015, pp. 152-153).

Sagazio (2004, p. 73) notes that the creation of an Italo-Australian community in Australia is connected to the establishment, among other things, of “a geographically defined place in Australian cities and towns”. This place in Melbourne is represented by the Italian suburb, Carlton, also known as Melbourne’s *Little Italy* (see Zable & Couchmann, 2012). These denominations clearly play a pivotal role in establishing the Italian identity of the area, which is further indexed by the abundance of linguistic and cultural markers of Italianness (e.g. Italian words, the Italian flag, cultural symbols and icons associated with Italy etc.). In line with Rubino’s observations (2019) on the visibility of Italian in two Italian neighbourhood in Sydney, these linguistic and cultural markers strengthen the link of the local area to Italy and Italian culture in an attempt to claim authenticity and professionalism and to appeal to both Italian and non-Italian customers. A diasporic space comparable to Carlton associated with German-speaking communities does not exist in Melbourne. This substantiates previous claims that “within the capital cities [of Australia], German speakers have been one of the least concentrated language groups” (Kipp, 2008, p. 49).

While neither the presence nor the visibility of a local community necessarily imply a rise in the demand for L2 learning, it is likely that such presence can increase the

chances of intercultural encounters and of exposure to the L2, its culture and/or its local adaptation (Vedovelli, 2002, p. 131; Palmieri, 2018, pp. 118-123). This can contribute to the development of positive attitudes towards a language and its associated community, and thus to the emergence of L2 motivations (see e.g. Gardner, 1985 as discussed in 2.2.1; Palmieri, 2018 as discussed in 4.6.1; Rubino, 2002, p. 11). Hence, following other scholars (see e.g. Palmieri, 2018), it is hypothesised that learners' motivations to study Italian may be influenced by the presence and visibility of a local Italo-Australian community, which can represent an additional group of affiliation for the I_A learners in this study.

4.9 Summary and hypotheses

Key categories of comparison	I _A vs G _A	Anticipated similarities and differences in demographic characteristics and/or L2 motivations
Status and prestige	Similar → Both valued European languages associated with a rich history and culture and with well-defined L2 communities	Positive attitudes towards the L2, its associated culture(s) and L2 speakers are expected from both learner groups
Australian community language	Similar → Both community languages Different → Italian has a much stronger community presence in Australia and in Melbourne.	Although both sample groups are likely to include heritage learners, the I _A sample is expected to include more. Heritage motivations may be more common among I _A respondents.
Provision at school level	Similar → Both taught in Australian schools Different → Italian is a mainstream language in primary school and is particularly popular in Victoria for community reasons	Assuming that most participants in the I _A and G _A sample are local students from Victoria ¹³ , it can be expected that more I _A learners studied the L2 at primary level in comparison to G _A learners
Visibility in Melbourne	Different → The Italian community is much more visible in Melbourne than the German community	The visibility of Italianness in the local context may influence the motivations of I _A learners

Table 4.4 Learning Italian and German in Australia, with a focus on Victoria/Melbourne, in terms of four key criteria of comparison

¹³ It should be noted that this may not necessarily be the case, given that over 40% of all students at Melbourne University are international students (University of Melbourne, 2019) and that many Australian students move from interstate to attend university.

Table 4.4 on the previous page sums up the observation made so far and advances some hypotheses regarding expected trends in the data, which will be explored in this thesis.

4.10 Concluding remarks

This chapter provided an overview of the status of each L2 in each country. Some final considerations can be made regarding the trends observed in the chapter.

In terms of school provision and expected proficiency, it is anticipated that EFL respondents have long and homogeneous L2 learning histories, in sharp contrast with LOTE respondents, who are likely to have studied the language for a shorter period of time before university, or not to have studied it at all. Given their different learning backgrounds, it is also predicted that EFL respondents have higher L2 proficiency than LOTE respondents. As for the effect of these demographic characteristics on students' motivations, it is hypothesised that the desire to pursue L2 studies to improve L2 proficiency is more relevant to the latter rather than to the former.

As for students' expended exposure to the L2 in the context of learning, it should be noted that globalisation, on the one hand, and migration processes, on the other, have contributed to the presence of English in the two European contexts of research as well as of Italian, and to a lesser extent, German, in Australia, respectively. The ubiquitousness of English is undoubtedly different in many ways from the presence of local communities and their languages in the Australian context. Nevertheless, both globalisation and migration have contributed to an increase in L2 visibility and should thus be considered as socio-contextual factors which may impact on the L2 motivations of the students included in this study. It can thus be speculated that the hegemony and prestige of English in Italy and in Germany and the visibility of Italianness in Australia may contribute to the development of attitudes towards the L2 and in shaping students' L2 motivation.

In terms of economic milieu, it is undisputable that the current situation traversed by Italy differentiates the country from Germany. It is thus expected that the E_I sample is more likely to view L2 proficiency as a necessary skill to possess to seek better employment opportunities overseas in comparison to the other samples.

Chapter 5 Methodology

This chapter presents the research design adopted in this study. After discussing the research questions leading this inquiry, it describes the theoretical framework employed and offers arguments for the adoption of a mixed methods approach. It then provides details about the learner populations under investigation, about the research sites from which they were recruited and about the two phases in which the study was articulated. After that, it describes the fieldwork experience, illustrating the steps undertaken for conducting this empirical study. Finally, it offers a concise overview of the procedures followed for the management and the analysis of the data.

5.1 Research questions

As already stated in Chapter 1, this study compares the L2 motivations and desired L2 identities of students of English studies in Italy and in Germany and of students of Italian and German studies in Australia. It also investigates the extent to which the status that each target language holds on a global scale and in the contexts of learning are reflected in students' L2 motivations and L2 identities.

The study aims to counteract the paucity of empirical research comparing differently situated language learners of EFL and LOTEs. As noted in 3.1.2.1, scholarship on English L2 motivation has not discussed in detail the extent to which the motivations of learners of English studies, who study English as part of highly specialised degrees focussing on literary, linguistic and cultural studies, compare with those of other learners of English (e.g. learners of global English) and of LOTEs. Although LOTE learners are an understudied population, Anglophone language students have been the focus of several recent studies (see 3.1.2.2). This literature has shown that motivational variables traditionally associated with global English (e.g. instrumental orientation, international posture) are also relevant to this learner group (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013), thus making a comparison between EFL and LOTEs particularly warranted. As noted in 1.1, the following research questions frame this inquiry:

(RQ1) How do the L2 motivations of university students of English studies in Italy and in Germany and of university students of Italian and German studies in Australia compare?

(RQ2) Are students' L2 motivations associated with processes of self-discrepancy and identity development? Which identities do students wish to shape by studying the L2?

(RQ3) To what extent is the status that each L2 holds on a global scale and in the specific learning contexts reflected in students' L2 motivations and in their desired L2 identities?

RQ1 aims to compare learners' reasons for studying the L2 in light of key variables utilised in the field of L2 motivation. Specifically, it seeks to compare the statistical relevance and the qualitative nature of L2-proficiency-related, L2-community-dependent (i.e. integrative orientation, international posture), instrumental, intrinsic, and extrinsic reasons for L2 learning in the four sample groups. The analysis will also be open to identifying additional motivational dimensions which may emerge from the qualitative data set. In order to account for the dynamic nature of motivation, a longitudinal component is included to examine trajectories of motivational change and to explore which factors cause alterations to students' expended effort in L2 learning over one academic semester.

RQ2 examines the link between learners' motivations and processes of identity construction and development, in keeping with current approaches in the field of L2 motivation placing identity at the forefront of scholarly inquiry (see 2.4). The two possible selves at the basis of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) model (ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self) are utilised as the baseline of the analysis. Since possible selves are highly dynamic (2.5.2), the longitudinal component of this study enables us to shed light on trajectories of identity development over one academic semester, to examine which external factors lead to reflections and/or revisions to learners' future L2 selves and to explore which aspects of students' future selves are mentioned more frequently when students reflect on their learning progression over time.

RQ3 rests on the assumption that students' investment in L2 learning is sustained by their desire to acquire material and symbolic resources, which are likely to be associated with the linguistic capital associated with each language (Norton Peirce, 1995; Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). It sets out to explore whether the status that each language holds in the global marketplace of language education (see Chapter 3) and in the context(s) of learning (Chapter 4) is reflected in students' L2 motivations and desired L2 identities.

Due to space limitations, in answering this research question we rely exclusively on cross-sectional – and not longitudinal – data in this thesis.

5.2 Theoretical framework

The selection of one theoretical perspective over another for the analysis of a phenomenon poses dilemmas in every research tradition. However, it is particularly complex within the domain of L2 motivation given the fact that, as noted in Chapter 2, the construct “is now approached from a number of different perspectives, using a number of different methodologies” (MacIntyre et al., 2010, p. 1). This plethora of perspectives derives from the inherent difficulties in capturing the complexity of a phenomenon which is unobservable, multifaceted and dynamic (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 197-198).

This wealth of paradigms resonates with the epistemological diversity within the broader field of Second Language Acquisition, where various theoretical frameworks are adopted, ranging, to mention a few, from cognitivist, sociocultural, complexity and identity theories, to language socialisation and socio-cognitive approaches (see e.g. Atkinson, 2011). As noted in section 2.1, some scholars (e.g. MacIntyre et al., 2010; Oakes & Howard, 2019) argue that the implementation of different theories and constructs can allow researchers to examine motivation from different viewpoints, thereby challenging the reductionism that characterises scholarly theorising in the field (see also Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 13).

As summarised in section 2.7, this study builds upon a multifaceted theoretical framework, which incorporates both traditional variables in the field developed within socio-psychological and cognitive scholarship on L2 motivation as well as current perspectives adopting identity as the primary lens of inquiry. The next sections present the key theoretical variables which were included as a baseline for the analysis of motivation, further elaborate on how identity is conceptualised in this study and offer an overview of the theories which inform our understanding of motivational change.

Motivational variables included in the theoretical framework

As noted previously, RQ1 examines learners’ motivations from the perspective of various motivational variables in the field. In fact, it is argued that research inquiries into L2 motivation can benefit enormously from the continuous engagement with previous

motivational theories, which drew attention to particular aspects of such a complex and multi-faceted construct. After all, as Dörnyei and Ryan (2015, p. 73) observe, the tendency of having “one foot in the past and one foot in the future” is typical of research inquiries investigating individual differences in language learning. Hence, the incorporation of influential motivational variables (e.g. “integrative/instrumental orientation”, Gardner, 1985; “international posture”, Yashima, 2002, 2009; “intrinsic/extrinsic motivation”, Deci & Ryan, 1985; Noels, 2001) can assist us in better understanding (1) students’ processes of affiliation and/or identification with real or imagined L2 communities through the L2 and their understanding of the utilitarian advantages associated with L2 learning, as well as (2) students’ perception of the source of the influences that underpin their motivations.

First, the study aims to test the presence of **integrative** and **instrumental orientations** among respondents (2.2). The former motivational dimension is included in the theoretical framework to test whether students envision the target L2 community among their desired communities of affiliation. In this study, the integrative construct will be drawn upon to explore not only learners’ affiliation with specific L2 countries, but also I_A and G_A learners’ affiliations with local Italian and German communities in Melbourne, respectively. This coheres with Palmieri’s study (2018), who has previously applied the construct of integrativeness to the Australian socio-context in an attempt to investigate the role played by the Italo-Australian community in Sydney in shaping the attitudes and motivations of Anglophone Australians towards Italians (see 4.6.1). The inclusion of the variable “instrumental orientation” aims to shed further light on students’ understanding of the utilitarian benefits associated with L2 learning, both work-related and non-work-related.

This study also incorporates the motivational construct of **international posture** (Yashima, 2002, 2009), which, as explained in section 2.2.2, has been developed to account for the motivations of EFL learners in countries where the access to an English-speaking community is limited. As there is some evidence that this construct is also relevant to Anglophone language learners (see 3.1.2.2), its inclusion in the theoretical framework enables us to test whether it is applicable to all the learner populations under investigation and whether it is qualitatively different for EFL and LOTE learners.

This investigation also sheds light on the recurrence of **intrinsic** and **extrinsic motivations** to determine whether the learners perceive their decision to study a language and culture at university level as internally or externally driven.

Motivation as a situated process linked to identity and processes of affiliation with real or imagined communities

The motivational variables outlined above draw attention to some aspects of learners' motivations and enable us to make comparisons with previous studies in the field that have implemented the same variables (e.g. Oakes, 2013). These variables also inform our understanding of motivation from an identity lens.

As noted in section 2.4, **identity** is now at the core of scholarly inquiries into L2 motivation. Dörnyei's L2MSS assumes that motivation is associated with processes of self-discrepancy between a learner's current self and their personally valued (ideal L2 self) or externally imposed self (ought-to L2 self), while also recognizing the pivotal role played by the L2 learning experience in their emergence and development. The possible selves at the core of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS are adopted a key reference for the exploration of identity-related aspects of L2 motivation in the learners under investigation. Due to the conceptual complexity of the ought-to L2 self, Teimouri's (2017) constructs "ought-to L2 self/own" and "ought-to L2 self/other" are also included in the qualitative component of the study to determine the extent to which external influences are internalised. Future selves are viewed as dynamic constructs, constantly revisited by learners in response to external and internal factors (see 2.5).

In order to understand how learners' desired identities are shaped in relation to contextual factors and to the status that each L2 holds on a global and local scale, this study draws upon constructs developed in poststructuralist scholarship on identity and L2 learning. The construct of **investment** (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2013) can serve to challenge the discrepancy between the language learner and the larger social context and to understand that learners invest in a language to acquire new forms of **capital** (Bourdieu, 1991), which, in turn, enable them to fashion their possible selves and to claim new forms of belonging and affiliation in real or imagined communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Kinginger, 2004; Pavlenko, 2002, see 2.6). The integration of Dörnyei's L2MSS with the poststructuralist constructs of investment, imagined communities,

linguistic and cultural capital is in keeping with recent studies on motivation and identity (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Palmieri, 2018).

As noted in section 2.4.1, although the L2MSS includes an externally sourced L2 self (ought-to L2 self), it offers a “learner-internal and L2 community-independent perspective” of motivation (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 459). Hence, this study explores identities as socially situated and context-dependent constructs and examines to what extent learners’ identities reflect their desire to affiliate with both real communities, following Gardner’s (1985) socio-educational model, and with imagined communities, as described in poststructuralist scholarship (see e.g. Kanno & Norton, 2003).

Motivational change

In order to make sense of motivational change this study does not prioritise any theory. Although this study takes cognisance of the latest scholarly advances on L2 motivational dynamicity, particularly with regard to the non-linear, emergent and self-organising character of L2 motivation, in the analysis of the data the conceptual and terminological apparatus offered by Complex Dynamic System Theory (see Dörnyei et al., 2015) is not implemented, as this approach would require a depth of analysis, especially with regard to the description of the initial system conditions and of the multitude of interactions between the plethora of elements in learners’ motivational systems through time, which goes beyond its scope.

As will be observed in 5.6.2, the analysis of the longitudinal data sought to find patterns in students’ accounts of motivational dynamicity, so as to develop a data-driven framework which could best represent the multiplicity of factors that students perceived as related to changes to their L2 motivations and L2 identities. After a framework was developed, key theories in the field of motivational psychology, such as attribution theory (Weiner, 1992), goal-setting theory (Ames, 1992) and psychological insights into the conditions needed for the full activation of future self-guides (see e.g. Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 83-84 and 2.5.2) were drawn upon to make sense of some recurring patterns in the data at hand.

5.3 The mixed methods approach

Dörnyei and Ushioda maintain that “there is no ‘best’ method for researching motivation” (2011, p. 201), as suggested by the plethora of research traditions that have been successfully adopted in the field. Traditionally, L2 motivation has been investigated by means of quantitative methods, because of the influence of social-psychological research (see 2.2.1) and to the psychometric tradition of mainstream cognitive approaches (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2007, p. 47, see also 2.1). Although quantitative methods (e.g. questionnaires) allow for the collection of reliable, precise and tightly controlled data, statistical procedures average out responses and cannot capture the intricate and multi-layered nature of motivational processes. Following recommendations from several scholars (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2001; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011; Ushioda, 1994, 2009), the field has progressively moved away from exclusively quantitative approaches, and mixed methods studies have been growing in popularity (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Erling, 2007; Lamb, 2004, 2007; Palmieri, 2018).

As Sandelowski (2003) observes, mixing methodologies enables researchers to determine whether the findings obtained in one data set are also found in the other(s), thereby providing a triangulation of the results; and to provide a better understanding of complex educational and social issues (Mertens, 2005). The present study, which focuses on the motivations and identities of differently situated L2 learners, can benefit enormously from the adoption of a mixed methods approach. While the quantitative data can uncover the distribution of motivational variables across learner populations, the qualitative data can triangulate the quantitative results and complement them by shedding light on complex aspects of L2 motivation that cannot be fully captured by numerical data, such as its socio-cultural situated nature, its dynamic interplay with identity and contextual factors. The use of qualitative data to explore these latter phenomena is in keeping with current socio-dynamic approaches to L2 motivation research and with poststructuralist inquiries on identity and language learning (see Norton, 2013; Ushioda, 2009).

As mentioned in 1.1, this study consisted of two parts: the quantitative and qualitative data collected concurrently through a questionnaire (Part 1, see 5.4.2) were triangulated and complemented by those yielded by three rounds of longitudinal interviews and two diary entries on a fixed sample of five respondents per learner

population (Part 2, see 5.4.3). In particular, the first round of interviews was utilised to expand on the questionnaire findings, whilst the subsequent round of interviews served to shed light on processes of motivational change and of identity development involved in L2 learning experiences.

Although not all the data in this study were collected at the same time, with the data collection in the second part being carried out only after the administration of the questionnaire, this investigation is informed by some of the principles of what Creswell (2013) labels convergent parallel mixed method. Instead of using the qualitative data as a secondary source for validating the quantitative results, as in the case of sequential explanatory and exploratory study designs (ibid., p. 219), in this type of research design both data sets are attributed the same importance and the data collection and analysis proceed independently from each other. The findings of each data set are then combined and integrated at a later stage in search of similarities and discrepancies.

In this study, the planning of data collection in the second part was not influenced by the results yielded by the data in the first part. In the phase of data analysis and interpretation, a “typology development method” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 272) was implemented. Following Palmieri (2018), the qualitative data was approached first. Only after the first round of coding of the qualitative data was conducted, the quantitative data set was analysed. By following this process of data analysis, the risk of being influenced by the quantitative findings in the coding of the qualitative data was minimised. This enhanced the triangulation potential of both methods. The procedures followed for the management and the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data are presented in 5.6.1 and 5.6.2, respectively.

5.4 Study design

5.4.1 Research sites and research participants

Research sites and degree-related differences

Table 5.1 illustrates the research sites from which the participants were recruited and the degrees in which they were enrolled at the time of data collection. All the selected research sites are reputable institutions located in urban areas and were chosen as the researcher had connections in all universities. As can be seen, three Australian universities were included in the sample. Two of them (the University of Melbourne and

Monash University) belong to the Group of 8, a coalition of Australian universities with high reputation in research and teaching. Initially, only these two universities were selected. The inclusion of a third research site in Australia was deemed necessary, given the critical need to reach a sample size comparable to the ones obtained for the EFL samples.

Sample groups	Research sites and universities	Degrees
English in Italy (E _I)	Bologna University of Bologna	a) Bachelor of Modern Languages and Literatures, with English studies or North American studies as a chosen study area. b) Bachelor of Languages, Markets and Cultures, with English and English linguistics as chosen study areas
English in Germany (E _G)	Munich Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich	a) Bachelor of English studies (<i>Anglistik</i>) b) Bachelor of North American Studies (<i>Nordamerikastudien</i>) c) Teaching Degree (<i>Lehramt</i>) with English as a method.
Italian and German in Australia (I _A , G _A)	Melbourne University of Melbourne Monash University RMIT University	a) Bachelor's degree with Italian or German studies as a study area. Arts students who wished to major in the L2 were initially targeted. b) Diploma in Languages in Italian or German.

Table 5.1 Universities and student cohorts targeted

As noted in Chapter 1 the students included in this study were all engaged in elective language learning and can be considered language specialists, in that they were all pursuing L2 learning as part of university degrees and were studying not only the L2, but also cultural, linguistic and/or literary aspects associated with it.

A few observations can be made regarding differences in students' degrees. As Table 5.1 shows, EFL students were sourced from specific degrees, as this study focuses on learners who study the L2 as a key study area, while LOTE respondents were not. In Italy and in Germany, students of English studies are a rather homogeneous learner population (see 4.2 and 4.3), as this study area can be pursued only within specific degrees within the humanities or education. Conversely, students in Australian universities can select language studies as part of a wider range of degrees, including science, technology,

engineering, mathematics, etc. Although language learner cohorts in Australia are considerably diverse (see 4.5), there is evidence that language students still share common motivations and expectations with regard L2 studies, as Schmidt (2012, p. 232) has argued in relation to university students of German studies in Australia.

Another expected difference between the EFL and LOTE students included in this study resides in the role of the language subject in their degree. Whilst learners of English studies in Italy and in Germany generally study English as a key study area, LOTE learners in Australia are not expected to decide the role of the L2 in their degree (e.g. whether the L2 will be a major, a minor, an elective or an additional qualification as part of the Diploma in Languages¹⁴) before the commencement of L2 learning, as this decision is usually made at the end of the first semester or of the first year. It should be noted, however, that students enrolled in language subjects in Australia study the same content regardless of their degree and of the role of the language in their study plan (major, minor, elective, breadth). Hence, the role of the L2 in LOTE students' degrees was not considered a criterion for the exclusion of participants from the final sample.

In addition, EFL respondents need to satisfy L2 proficiency requirements to be granted enrolment in their degrees (i.e. an intermediate level for the E_I sample and an upper-intermediate level for the E_G sample¹⁵, corresponding to level B1 and B2 of the CEFR, see Council of Europe, 2018). This is not the case for LOTE respondents, where any language can be studied from the ab-initio level at university (see 4.5).

As Table 5.1 shows, students enrolled in a degree in teaching in Germany were also targeted alongside students enrolled in a Bachelor of English and North American studies. It was decided to include them not only because these learners study the same subjects as learners of English and North American studies, but also to represent university students who intend to pursue a teaching career in the E_G sample. In fact, in Italy and in two of the three research sites in Australia (The University of Melbourne and RMIT University, but not Monash University), teaching degrees can only be commenced at graduate level. It was thus hypothesised that some of the learners who had chosen to

¹⁴ Diplomas in Languages enable students to obtain a qualification in a language concurrently with their degree.

¹⁵ For the E_I sample, see University of Bologna (2019), for the E_G sample see LMU University (2019) The same language requirements were present for the other degrees in which students in each sample group were enrolled.

study Italian or German at undergraduate level at these universities could be interested in a teaching career. This speculation found empirical confirmation (see 6.3.3).

Two key criteria of participation

Once the research sites were selected, two key criteria for participation were set: (1) participants were required to be undergraduate students in their first year of language studies and (2) to be aged under 36. The recruitment of participant from the same year level was deemed necessary as there is consensus that learners' motivations can change markedly over several years of learning (see e.g. Gardner et al., 2004; Williams et al., 2002) as well as over a shorter timespan (see e.g. Campbell & Storch, 2011; Lasagabaster, 2017). It was decided to focus on students who had just commenced language studies at university as this learner population is likely to have a better recollection of their choice motivation and is also the one most at risk of attrition (for the Australian context, see e.g. Martín et al., 2016; Nettelbeck et al., 2007). The cut-off age for inclusion in the sample was set at 35 years old, in line with Oakes' study (2013, see also Oakes & Howard, 2019), so as to remove the effect of intergenerational variation.

Anticipated key L2-study-related differences

As the two inclusion criteria were not stringent, the four samples were expected to be highly heterogeneous, particularly in terms of: (1) their previous L2 learning histories; and of (2) their degrees of enrolments and role of the L2 in their degree. First, EFL respondents were anticipated to have much longer learning histories than their LOTE counterparts. In fact, whilst English is a compulsory school subject in Italy and in Germany (see 4.2 and 4.3), German and Italian are two of the many languages offered in Australian schools (see 4.5 and 4.8). Second, as noted previously, EFL respondents were anticipated to be studying English as the key focus of a degree within the humanities or education, whilst LOTE respondents were presumed to be pursuing language studies within a wealth of different degrees and to have a more or less clear idea of the role of the language in their university coursework as major, minor, elective or part of a Diploma in Languages.

In the phase of participant recruitment, a balance was found between (1) prioritising LOTE students that somewhat aligned with their EFL counterparts in terms

of their L2 learning histories and their degree and (2) selecting participants who were representative of the corresponding student cohorts in the Australian context. In the first month of data collection, a recruitment priority was set for LOTE respondents who (1) were enrolled in a degree within the humanities; (2) who wished to study the language as a major; and (3) who had studied the language at school before enrolling at university and who already had some level of L2 proficiency. Due to the scarce number of responses received, after one month the data collection was extended to all first-year students under 36 who had chosen to study the L2 as part of their studies, regardless of their L2 background, of their degree and of the role of their L2 in their study plan.

It is argued that the choice of participants in Australia who were completely comparable to their EFL counterparts would have introduced a selection bias in the LOTE samples, thereby impacting on their representativeness. In other words, if LOTE learners had been narrowed down to a specific sub-group, this would not have been representative of the corresponding L2 populations in Australia, where tertiary language students are markedly diverse, especially in terms of L2 schooling histories and degrees of enrolment (see 4.5). Differences in the study-context variables related to students' L2 background and degrees of enrolment were taken into consideration in the design of the research tools and during the phase of data analysis and interpretation.

5.4.2 First part: questionnaire study

The first part of the study consisted in the administration of a questionnaire which elicited both quantitative (Likert scale, and closed-ended questions) and qualitative data (open-ended questions and comments) in order to capture the distribution of underlying motivational factors across the four learner populations under investigation.

Questionnaires are “one of the most common methods of data collection in second language research” (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2009, p. xiii), as they are relatively easy to construct and can yield a considerable amount of data which can be analysed in a relatively short period of time. Questionnaires can also capture respondents' opinions objectively, reducing possible biases that the presence of the researcher might cause (ibid., p. xiii). One of their key limitations resides in the potential challenges of yielding honest data from respondents, who may be influenced by social desirability biases in their

answers and thus not indicate how they really feel about the statements provided, but rather how they think they should feel (see also 9.2).

As will be explained in section 5.4.2.1, the questionnaire utilised in this study collected data on students' choice motivations rather than on their executive motivation. The only exception is represented by the variable "intrinsic orientation", which elicited data on students' perceived enjoyment of the language learning process. Students may have interpreted this item as referring not only to their previous L2 learning experiences, but also to their current studies. In order to minimise the risk that students' progression in the semester impacted on their answers, particularly in relation to the variable "intrinsic orientation", questionnaires were administered to all sample groups from the second half to the end of the first semester (including the exam period), such a long timeframe being necessary to obtain a considerable sample size:

Sample groups	Questionnaire administration (second half of the first semester)
English in Italy (E _I)	End November 2016 - End of January 2017
English in Germany (E _G)	Mid-December 2016 - End of February 2017
Italian and German in Australia (I _A , G _A)	End March 2017 - End of June 2017

Table 5.2 Timeline of questionnaire administration

The questionnaires were mainly administered online through "Survey Monkey", software which allows for the constant monitoring of data collection, so that further decisions can be made regarding the advertising of the project and the recruitment of more participants. Hardcopies of the questionnaires were also distributed towards the end of the data collection process, in order to increase the sample size (see 5.5.1.1).

It was decided to administer bilingual questionnaires in Europe, so as to limit possible interferences that comprehension problems might have caused. Questionnaire respondents were given the option of answering the open-ended questions and of providing comments either in English or, in the case of E_I and E_G respondents, in their expected L1 (Italian and German, respectively). The researcher personally translated the questionnaires. Being aware of the complexities involved in the translation of research

tools (see e.g. Behling & Law, 2000), the translations were checked by language experts and trialled informally with Italian and German native speakers.

The data yielded by this part of the study were analysed through the software R (quantitative data) and the software NVivo (qualitative data), as will be explained in section 5.6.1 and 5.6.2.

The following table offers a summary of the information presented so far in this section:

Type of data collected	Quantitative data and qualitative data
Tool for data collection	Questionnaires (online and hard copies) comprising a Likert scale and multiple-choice questions (quantitative data) as well as open-ended questions and options to add comments (qualitative data), see Appendix 1, A.
Targeted participants	E _I , E _G , I _A and G _A respondents under 36 and in their first year of language studies (see also 5.4.1)
Timeline for data collection	Second half of the first semester (first year of language studies at university)
Language used	English-Italian in Italy; English-German in Germany; English in Australia
Data analysis	Software R for the quantitative data and NVivo11 for the qualitative data

Table 5.3 Overview of the first part of the study

5.4.2.1 Research instruments: the questionnaire

The questionnaire adopted in this study (see Appendix 1, A) consisted of four parts. **The first section** comprised a rating scale with 30 items for EFL respondents and with 31 items for LOTE learners. The **second section** included three open-ended questions and four multiple-choice questions. The **third section** elicited both demographic and L2-study-related data. The **fourth section** included an invitation to the second part of the study. It should be noted that before commencing the questionnaire students had to read the *Plain Language Statement* (translated into Italian and German for E_I and E_G respondents, respectively), which explained the purpose of the study, the criteria for participation and the conditions for confidentiality in the treatment, management and dissemination of the data (see Appendix 2, A). Table 5.4 offers an

overview of similarities and differences between the questionnaires utilised in the European and in the Australian context:

Sections of questionnaire	Common elements	Context-specific elements	
		EFL (E _I and E _G) learners	LOTE (I _A and G _A) learners
First section	a) Six motivational variables borrowed from Oakes (2013), for a total of 25 items b) An additional variable developed by the researcher measured with 4 items to explore “international posture” (Yashima, 2002, 2009)	c) One item measuring whether L2 proficiency is perceived as a necessity	c) Two items related to the presence of the language in the L1 context d) One item measuring whether L2 proficiency is perceived as a marker of education.
Second section	Three open-ended questions and four multiple-choice questions	No context-specific items	No context-specific items
Third section	a) Gender b) Age c) L1 d) Other L2s spoken e) Heritage background f) Proficiency	g) Commencement of language studies h) Degree of enrolment (different answer options depending on university)	g) Previous L2 history h) L2 schooling i) Degree of enrolment j) Weight of the L2 in students’ degree
Fourth section	Invitation to the second part of the study	No context-specific items	No context-specific items

Table 5.4 Similarities and differences in the questionnaires developed

First section: rating scale

In the first part of the questionnaire (Appendix 1, A1), respondents were asked to rate a series of statements according to a 5-scale response option (strongly disagree; disagree; not sure; agree; strongly agree). As Table 5.4 shows, all questionnaires included six motivational variables borrowed from Oakes’ study (2013). Most of the items included in Oakes’ (2013) questionnaire were adapted from Busse and Williams’ study (2010), who themselves utilised items taken from previous research (Gardner, Tremblay, & Masgoret, 1997; Noels, 2001, 2009; Noels et al., 2000; Ryan, 2008; Taguchi et al., 2009). This questionnaire was selected for two reasons. First, it was previously utilised to investigate the motivations of university learners of modern languages. Second, it included not only the two possible selves theorised as part of the L2MSS (i.e. ideal L2

self and ought-to L2 self, Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), but also other motivational dimensions developed from previous streams of L2 motivation research (i.e. integrative and instrumental orientation; intrinsic orientation/motivation). The inclusion of variables pertaining to diverse research strands is in line with the stated aim of providing an analysis motivation from multiple viewpoints (see 2.1 and 5.2).

The variables borrowed from Oakes (2013) are listed below with a short definition:

- **Desire for language proficiency:** learners' desire to study the L2 to improve their speaking/writing/listening/reading skills, with no reference to identity goals.
- **Ideal L2 self:** learners' future identification with a desired ideal self who can speak the L2 (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009, see 2.4.1)
- **Instrumental orientation:** learners' practical expectations and aspirations for their future as speakers of the target language (see 2.2, see Gardner, 1985).
- **Integrative orientation:** learners' desire to identify with and assimilate into the L2 environment (strong version) or interest in the L2 and its associated culture(s) (weak interpretation) (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1985, see 2.2).
- **Intrinsic orientation:** learners' internal desire to study the L2 as a result of "feelings of enjoyment [that] come from developing a sense of competence over a voluntarily chosen activity" (Noels, 2001, p. 45, see 2.3).
- **Ought-to L2 self:** learners' future L2 identity formed as a result of perceived sense of duty, external pressures and expectations (ibid., see 2.4.1).

As can be seen, three of the variables above measure orientations underpinning various types of motivation (integrative, instrumental, intrinsic motivations). It was noted in 2.2 that variables measuring learners' orientations have traditionally been employed in quantitative studies in the field of L2 motivation to explore learners' reasons for pursuing the L2 (see e.g. Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Noels et al., 2000). It can also be noted that a scale measuring the variable extrinsic motivation was not included in the questionnaire. Following Oakes (2013, p. 180), extrinsic motivations were considered to be conceptually similar to Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) variable "ought-to L2 self". Hence, the data on external

influences were collected via this latter variable and will be discussed in this thesis together with this variable.

As shown in Table 5.4, the researcher developed four additional items to measure the variable “**international posture**” (Yashima, 2002, 2009), which, as noted in section 2.2.2, refers to learners’ desire to use the L2 to relate to a global community. The items required students to indicate to what extent they believed that mastering the L2 would allow them to have transcultural encounters and be members of a global community. The verb “to master” was used in the items (e.g. “Mastering the L2 allows me to feel that I am a citizen of the world”) as it was expected that these encounters require high L2 proficiency. It was decided to create new items to measure international posture rather than rely on Yashima’s items to measure the construct (2002, 2009), in attempt to reduce the length of the questionnaire in the current study. This was done in recognition of Dörnyei & Taguchi’s (2009, p. 12) claim that “in questionnaire design less is often more, because long questionnaires can become counterproductive”. In addition, this variable was expected to be further explored through the qualitative interviews.

The questionnaire also included two independent context-specific items: EFL respondents had to state to what extent they believed that learning English was a necessity for speakers of languages with a more limited global spread, whilst LOTE respondents were asked whether they believed that an educated person is supposed to be able to speak a language other than their native language. In addition, respondents in the Australian context were presented with two items which were included to investigate similarities and differences in the presence and visibility of Italian and German in Melbourne.

In order to minimise the risk of question-order bias (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2007, p. 111), all the Likert scale items were presented in a randomised order both for online and hardcopy questionnaires.

Second section: open-ended and multiple-choice questions

As Table 5.4 shows, the second part of the questionnaire (Appendix 1, A2) did not include any context-specific element. Three open-ended questions required students to describe their primary motivation, to indicate the advantages that they envisioned for L2 learning at university level in relation to the “linguistic capital” (Bourdieu, 1991) that they already possessed as native or highly proficient speakers of English, Italian and

German, and finally to elaborate on the role of the L2 in their future. The subsequent four multiple-choice questions elicited more data on learners' envisioned L2 identities and on the pressures that students experienced when they decided to study the L2 at university level.

Third section

The questionnaire included several demographic and L2-study-related questions (Appendix 1, A3). The key variables selected for discussion in this thesis are reported in displayed in Table 5.4. Context-specific questions were included due to expected L2-study-related differences. EFL respondents were asked when they commenced L2 study, as it was expected that they had studied English at school (see 4.2 and 4.3), whilst LOTE respondents were prompted to indicate whether they had studied the L2 and, if they did, to specify for how many years and in which year levels, as more variability was expected in their L2 background. Context-specific questions also collected information on students' degrees, and, in the case of LOTE respondents, on the role of the L2 in their degree area.

Fourth section

In the fourth section of the questionnaire (Appendix 1, A4), students were invited to leave their contact details in case they wished to take part in the second part of the study. In the case of online questionnaires, respondents could type in their email address and were assured their contact details would not be associated with their completed questionnaires. Students who completed hard copies were simply presented with details about the second part of the study at the end of the questionnaire and were told to contact the researcher by email in case they wished to receive further information and/or wanted to express their interest in participating.

5.4.3 Second part: interviews and diary study

The second part of the study had a twofold aim: it triangulated the results yielded in the questionnaire, by shedding further light on learners' choice motivations (first interview), and it also complemented them, by exploring executive motivation over one academic semester (second and third round of interviews and diary entries). Such an approach aligns with Menard's (2002) suggestion that the inclusion of a longitudinal

dimension should be the norm in scholarly research investigating highly dynamic processes. Longitudinal data contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the changing nature of the constructs of motivation and identity targeted in RQ1 and RQ2, while also serving to counteract the paucity of studies which have neglected motivational change. This part of the study was explorative in nature and set out to identify broad trends of motivational dynamicity in the whole sample, rather than to present a comparative account of how motivations and identity change in the four sample groups over time. The decision to collect qualitative data for the analysis of motivational variation is in keeping with complexity perspectives, such as the person-in-context relational view of motivation advocated by Ushioda (2009, see 2.5.2)

Following a fixed-sample longitudinal design, the data were collected at different times over the course of one academic semester from five learners for each student population (N = 20) who had expressed their interest in participating in the study (see 5.6.3). While the limited number of respondents is reflective, to some extent, of the limited time and resourcing available for this study, small sample sizes are quite common in qualitative research on L2 motivation (see e.g. Berardi-Wiltshire, 2016; Erling, 2007; Lasagabaster, 2017; Schmidt, 2014b; You & Chan, 2015). This scholarship is often guided by the assumption that “less is more” (McCracken, 1988, p. 7), since a focus on smaller samples enables a depth of analysis which can rarely be achieved in large-scale investigations.

Semi-structured interviews and diary entries were utilised as research tools. Interviews are the most common qualitative research tool in L2 motivation research (see Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 236) and are also ubiquitously used in research in the humanities, as they are “particularly suited for studying people’s understanding of meanings in their lived world” (Kvale, 1996, p. 105). One of their drawbacks is that they do not represent a neutral tool to elicit information, as the agency of the researcher might impact on the type of data collected (see 5.5 and 5.5.1.2 for a brief discussion about the researcher’s positioning). In semi-structured interviews the researcher leads the interaction but is also open to participants’ responses, so that interesting details and unpredictable developments can emerge (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 136). This makes this mode of interviews particularly apt to collect data on complex issues.

Research diaries are defined as “documents written by individuals to keep a record of ongoing events in their lives and in their surrounding social environment” (Vannini, 2008, p. 764). Due to their “temporally organised longitudinal nature” (Mercer, 2006, p. 66), they are particularly useful for studying dynamic phenomena (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 157). Diaries enable researchers to have an insight into individuals’ everyday experiences (see e.g. Nunan, 1992, p. 123). Although diary-based research has been found to be a versatile method of data collection (Ushioda, 2009, p. 222), diaries as a research tool have not been extensively employed in L2 motivation research, as they require a significant commitment on the part of the respondents (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 158) and thus make participant recruitment more complex. Narrative-based research is however widely employed in poststructuralist research on identity and language learning (see e.g. Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2013 in section 2.6).

Phases of data collection	Time point of data collection	Time period covered
First interview (INT-1)	Before the beginning of the second semester	Previous L2 background and period before semester
Diary entry (D-1)	Beginning of the third week after the commencement of semester	First two weeks of the semester
Second interview (INT-2)	Mid semester	From D-2 to mid-semester
Diary entry (D-2)	Two weeks before the end of semester	From INT-2 to two weeks before the end of semester
Third interview (INT-3)	The week immediately after the end of the semester	From D-2 to INT-3

Table 5.5 Phases and times of data collection and time period covered by each interview

Interviews were mainly conducted remotely via Skype, so as to reduce travel expenses (see 5.5.1.2). As shown in Table 5.5, data were collected at regular times before, during and after the academic semester, depending on the different academic calendars in the five institutions targeted. The adoption of three rounds of semi-structured interviews to investigate learners’ motivation across one academic semester is also found

in Campbell and Storch's¹⁶ (2011) investigation on learners of Mandarin at an Australian university (see 2.5.3). The language used in the interviews and in the diary entries was at the discretion of the participants. In case EFL respondents selected English, they were told that they could switch to their L1 (Italian or German) during the interviews, if needed.

Table 5.6 summarises the information provided in this section on the second part of the study (see Table 5.3 for a summary of the first part).

Type of data collected	Qualitative data
Tool for data collection	3 rounds of audio-recorded semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 1, B) conducted online or face-to-face and two diary entries (see Appendix 1, C) over the course of a semester and at different time points (see Table 5.5)
Targeted participants	A fixed number of five students for each sample (N = 20)
Language used	Negotiated with the participants (see 5.5.1.2)
Data analysis	Content analysis on NVivo11.

Table 5.6 Overview of the second part of the study

5.4.3.1 Research instruments: the interview and diary guidelines

Table 5.7 on the next page recapitulates the purpose of each round of data collection in the second part of the study. As can be seen, the first interview served to yield insight into the participants' L2 background and choice motivations, thereby triangulating questionnaire findings. All the subsequent rounds of data collection aimed at shedding light on motivational change over time.

The questions utilised during the first interview targeted the motivational factors investigated in the questionnaire, in order to parallel the results obtained in the two data sets (see Appendix 1, B1). The questions employed for the subsequent rounds of interviews (see Appendix 1, B2) were loosely based on the prompts used in Schmidt's (2014b) and Campbell and Storch's (2011) study and required students to elaborate on

¹⁶ In Campbell and Storch's (2011) study the first interview was scheduled at the beginning of the academic semester, rather than before its commencement. In addition, no diary entries were utilised to collect data between interviews.

possible changes to their (1) motivational states, associated with the ongoing activities in which they were engaged and with the people with whom they interacted both in the learning environment and in their personal lives, as well as to their (2) long-term motivations, linked to their overarching goals and/or the L2 identities that they wished to shape through L2 learning. The questions were very broad and set out to obtain a holistic picture of the participants, seen not only as language students but as complex individuals, for whom language learning is only one of the many aspects of their sense of self, congruent with Ushioda's (2009, p. 220) person-in-context relational view of motivation (see 2.5.2). The instructions for the diaries were also kept to a minimum (Appendix 1, C), as the main aim was to have participants write down the events that they perceived to be relevant to their motivational systems in the style that they preferred, without intrusions from the researcher.

Round of data collection in the second part	Purposes
First interview	A comprehensive picture of students' (1) L2 background before university; (2) motivations for deciding to study the L2 at university and future goals in relation to the language; (3) opinions and attitudes towards language learning; (4) experiences in the first semester and their current motivation to commence a new semester.
Diary entry	Changes, if any, to participants' motivations and future desired identities over time and identification of the factors underpinning them.
Second interview	
Diary entry	
Third interview	

Table 5.7 Purposes of each round of data collection in the second part of the study

5.5 The fieldwork

An important preliminary consideration is due before describing the fieldwork. As Scheurich (1997, p. 73) observes, researchers bring “a considerable conscious and unconscious baggage” into the research process, which depends on their training, background, social positioning, theoretical frameworks, other research projects in which they are involved and individual idiosyncrasies. An interesting example relates to the researcher's positioning in the Italian context. As an Italian citizen who lives and works

in Australia, the present author is well aware of his status as an insider in Italy. Being a member of the Italian community undoubtedly enabled the researcher to recognise and interpret local practices from a privileged position in the Italian context. Nevertheless, the author’s positioning as an outsider in Germany and in Australia through, among other things, his non-native accent (see e.g. Moyer, 2013, p. 12) might have impacted on participants’ language choices in the second part of the study, as specifically speculated for E_G respondents, who selected English over German as their preferred language for conducting interviews and for writing their diaries. This will be further discussed in section 5.5.1.2.

5.5.1 Recruitment of research participants and details about data collection

5.5.1.1 Administration of the questionnaire

After ethics clearance was obtained from the University of Melbourne HEAG (Human Ethics Advisory Group) and a small-scale pilot study with four participants was conducted to test the clarity of the items and questions included in the research tools, respondents from each sample group were recruited with the cooperation of teaching staff, who were contacted via e-mail and asked to share an online invitation to the survey (see Appendix 2, B1 and B2). The study was also advertised online via the existing Facebook groups related to the degrees in which students were enrolled. Travel funding granted by the University of Melbourne allowed the researcher to travel to Bologna and to Munich to promote his project and to administer hardcopies of the questionnaires. Table 5.8 details the number of online and paper copies that were completed:

Sample groups	Online copies completed	Hardcopies completed
English in Italy (E _I)	79	34
English in Germany (E _G)	30	66
Italian in Australia (I _A)	120	26
German in Australia (G _A)	97	26

Table 5.8 Hard-copies and online questionnaires completed in the cross-sectional part of the study

The distribution of paper copies proved to be crucial in Germany, due to the markedly low number of respondents who completed the online questionnaire. In almost all cases the researcher personally administered the questionnaires before or at the very beginning of classes to students who volunteered. Only in two instances did lecturers/teachers offer to administer the questionnaires themselves and to ask students to return them in the following weeks. It should also be noted that an amendment to the ethics application was needed to extend the data collection in the Australian context to other universities in Melbourne. As noted in 5.4.1, this was deemed necessary due to the low response rate at the beginning of data collection.

5.5.1.2 Interviews and diary study

As noted in 5.4.2.1, questionnaire respondents were made aware of another component of the study at the end of the questionnaire and were prompted to leave their contact details in case they wished to express their interest to participate in it. The students who completed this last section or who sent an e-mail to the researcher (as was the case for students who completed the hardcopy questionnaires) were sent an electronic document where further details about the longitudinal study were provided (see Appendix 2, B3) and were asked to confirm if they wished to participate. The first five respondents in all samples who agreed to take part in the study were selected. Since only three respondents had confirmed their participation in Germany, another student was recruited online via the Facebook group related to her degree and another was contacted through the collaboration of another participant. It was ensured that these two students had also completed the questionnaire. Background information on these participants is presented in section 7.1.

Language used in interviews and diaries

As stated in the guidelines sent to the respondents, the language adopted for the second part of the study was at the discretion of the participants, who could choose between English, German and Italian, after being made aware that the researcher was proficient in all three languages. Table 5.9 displays the respondents' language choices in the second part of the study, specifying whether their chosen language was their native (L1) or target language (L2).

Sample groups	English	Italian	German
English in Italy (E _I)	3 (L2)	2 (L1)	n/a
English in Germany (E _G)	5 (L2)	n/a	0
Italian in Australia (I _A)	5 (L1)	0	n/a
German in Australia (G _A)	5 (L1)	n/a	0

Table 5.9 Language used by respondents in the four sample groups in the second part of the study, with details about whether the language chosen is their L1 or L2

As can be seen, a considerable number of EFL respondents chose English over their native language. As most of them explained in debriefing sessions, this was mainly due to their desire to practise the L2, a language which they had studied for many years (see 4.2 and 4.3). This lends support to Back's (2012, p. 60) claim that "given the perceived power of a multilingual interviewer, the use of a particular language may not be resisted by respondents". Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that participants' language choices might also have been affected by the researcher's identity and by his interaction with them in the early recruitment stages. This may have been the case in the German context, where all participants chose English over German. Although both languages had been used, to varying degrees, to interact with participants in the initial recruitment phase, the researcher's identity as an Italian native speaker with a non-native German accent and affiliated with an Australian university might have positioned him as a cultural and linguistic outsider, thereby influencing their language choice. At the beginning of each round of interviews, participants who chose to use English over their L1 were reminded that they could switch to their native language if they wished. As a matter of fact, all the respondents appeared to be aware of the researcher's language proficiency in the three languages included, as suggested by their use of translanguaging practices during their interactions with the researcher.

As previously noted, interviews were mainly conducted remotely via Skype, both for the European contexts, where this was the only option due to geographical distance, but also in Australia. Table 5.10 below shows how frequent each method of data collection was in the four samples. All the interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants, both through an audio-recorder and, in the case of Skype interviews, with the software Skype Call Recorder. Before the beginning of the recording, students were

asked if they had any questions about the study or wished to report any concerns. In case they had decided to conduct the interview in a language other than their L1, they were also reminded at this stage that they could always switch to their language if they wished. After the end of each recording, students were asked to provide some feedback on the outcome of the exchange and were also reminded of relevant dates for the next round(s) of data collection. During Skype interviews, which were conducted with a webcam when possible, the researcher was particularly concerned with building a friendly and relatively informal rapport with the participants, despite the geographical distance and the impossibility of face-to-face meetings (as in the case of EFL respondents). Participants were also sent reminders regarding the submission of the two diary entries. They were required to write them in their own time and to send them via e-mail to the researcher. At the end of the data collection, participants were reimbursed for their time with an electronic gift card to the value of \$80.

Sample groups	Skype	Face-to-face
English in Italy (E _I)	15	0
English in Germany (E _G)	15	0
Italian in Australia (I _A)	10	5
German in Australia (G _A)	12	3

Table 5.10 Mode of interviewing respondents in the four sample groups

5.6 Data management and analysis

Table 5.11 offers an overview of the corpus of data collected for this study. The next sections elaborate on how the two sets of data were managed and analysed.

Quantitative data	<u>First part</u> a) Questionnaire (Likert scale items and close-ended questions)
Qualitative data	<u>First part</u> a) Answers to the three open-ended questions b) Additional qualitative comments left in the questionnaire <u>Second part</u> c) Three rounds of longitudinal interviews (60 interviews in total) d) Two diary entries per participant (40 diary entries in total)

Table 5.11 Quantitative and qualitative data collected

5.6.1 Quantitative data

After all the paper questionnaires were digitalised, the data collected via the software Survey Monkey were transferred to an Excel document and were prepared for the analysis. Statistical assistance was sought, and an independent statistician was contacted¹⁷. Additional advice was also provided from the Statistical Consulting Centre of the University of Melbourne. Statistical support was deemed necessary due to statistical problems relating to the internal consistency of the variables included in the questionnaire (see below and also 6.2). In addition, as the researcher was more experienced in the analysis of the qualitative data, the recourse to statistical help also aimed to counteract a potential bias which is likely to occur when mixed method studies are conducted by researchers who are not equally well-versed in the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data and who may thus unwillingly approach the two data sets in an imbalanced manner (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 205-206).

R, which has recently become the most popular analytical software employed in scholarly research (see Muenchen, 2014), was used for the analysis. A considerable advantage of R is that since it is both a software environment and a programming language, the analysis conducted can be easily reproduced by simply running the code developed (Mizumoto & Plonsky, 2016).

The process of quantitative data analysis followed four separate steps, each comprising additional sub-steps (see Table 6.1 in Chapter 6 for a concise overview).

The **first step** consisted in labelling and assigning a numerical code to each item included in the questionnaire. The Likert items were assigned a value of 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (agree), 3 (not sure), 4 (agree) and 5 (strongly agree), as suggested by Dörnyei (2007, p. 199). This coding framework was deemed intuitive: the higher the mean, the higher the effect of the factor, and was also used by Palmieri (2018) and Aiello (2017) who, however, did not include a “not sure” option. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile pointing out that Busse and Williams (2010), Oakes (2013) and Schmidt (2011) utilised a reversed coding system (i.e. 1 indicates strongly agree rather than strongly disagree). In addition, Schmidt assigned the value 0 to the “not applicable” option. As the studies which

¹⁷ The statistician contacted was Ms Anna Quaglieri. She provided valuable assistance in approaching and analysing the quantitative data set.

constitute reference points of this investigation used different coding frameworks, mean comparisons are not provided when discussing whether the results of the present study align with those obtained in others. The data were then standardised to facilitate comparability across sample groups. A case in point is that of the variable “degree of enrolment” in the LOTE samples (see 6.1.2.5). The wealth of degrees reported were clustered into three main categories for ease of presentation: (1) Arts and Humanities, comprising education and music; (2) non-Arts degrees, including STEMM (i.e. science, technology, engineering, mathematics and medicine¹⁸) and business; and finally (3) double degrees. The distinction between Arts and non-Arts degrees was done for reasons of comparability with the EFL samples, where only degrees in Arts (Italy and Germany) or Teaching (Germany) were represented. Subsequently, questionnaires which had more than three missing items in the quantitative components, outliers and respondents who did not meet the inclusion criteria (see 5.4.1) were eliminated and the final data set was obtained (see 6.1). Demographic and L2-study-related variables were analysed in terms of frequencies and percentages.

In the **second step**, the internal consistency reliability of the variables included in the questionnaire was measured by computing Cronbach’s alpha coefficient. As most of the variables did not reach sufficient alpha level (see 6.2), they could not be utilised to compare learners’ motivations across sample groups. Hence new variables needed to be developed to analyse the data at hand.

As part of the **third step**, an explanatory factor analysis of the principal component, followed by an oblique rotation, was computed (see 6.2 for a more in-depth discussion). As Dörnyei (2007, p. 233) notes, this statistical procedure aims “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”. These values are known as factors or components (more information on this statistical procedure and its advantages/disadvantages is given in section 6.2). Factors consist of items with a certain loading coefficient which display a correlation. The loading coefficients indicate the extent to which each item contributes to

¹⁸ As noted in the list of abbreviations, medicine is intended in this thesis as an umbrella term that comprises degrees in the medical field, e.g. biomedicine, nursing, etc.

the creation of each factor. Positive correlations between items indicate that when respondents score high/low in one item, they are also likely to score high/low in the other, while negative correlations indicate that higher values in one item are associated with lower values in the other and vice versa (see *ibid.*, pp. 223-233). This statistical procedure has been used in various studies (see e.g. Dörnyei et al., 2006; Palmieri, 2018; Schmidt, 2011). One of its main disadvantages derives from the inherent difficulties in the interpretation of the factors, which may contain overlapping items and may significantly differ from the initial variables targeted (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 233-236). After the factor analysis was conducted, the six factors that emerged were interpreted and t-tests were computed to determine whether significant differences were present in their effect on the four sample groups. The results of the factor analysis enabled us to test, among other things, whether identity processes underpin students' motivations (RQ2), as the internal structure of the factors can show whether there is an overlap between items measuring possible selves and other variables/items.

In the **final step**, the close-ended questions included in the second section of the questionnaire and the context-specific Likert items were compared.

5.6.2 Qualitative data

As noted previously, the qualitative data set collected as part of this study comprised both oral data collected through interviews and textual data elicited through open-ended questions and comments in the questionnaires and through the diary study. Due to the sheer volume of qualitative data, decisions had to be made regarding how to manage the data and how to organise them for analysis.

Organisation of the qualitative data

For the purpose of data analysis, the qualitative data set was divided into two parts: qualitative data set 1 (QDS1) and qualitative data set 2 (QDS2). QDS1 comprises the qualitative data collected via the questionnaire (mandatory open-ended questions and qualitative comments, see 5.4.2.1) and in the first interview. QDS2 consists of the data collected via the three rounds of longitudinal interviews and the two diary entries.

All the initial interviews conducted were analysed twice, as part of QDS1 and QDS2 in order to, on the one hand, triangulate and expand on the questionnaire findings

(QDS1) and, on the other hand, to gather a more comprehensive background of the learners under investigation in the longitudinal component of the study (QDS2). In a few instances, participants provided further specifications about their choice motivations in INT-3, even though choice motivation was not targeted in the interview. These data were thus included as part of QDS1 (one of these comments will be discussed in 7.3.2.3).

Management of the interview data

The first decision that had to be made involved whether the 60 interviews conducted as part of this study had to be fully transcribed. Markle and colleagues (2011) argue that instead of employing verbatim transcription as “the de facto technique for interpretative research”, scholars should also consider other assets, especially in light of the emergence of technologies that are changing the methods of data management. The software used in this study, NVivo11, has a function which allows the coding of the data directly from the audio file: audio files can be coded alongside textual data (e.g. transcribed sections of the interviews, notes and summaries of interview sequences) and the coding instances can be aggregated and reported together. It was decided to manage the data differently depending on the purpose of each round of data collection and on their centrality for this study. Since the first round of interviews with each participant was included in both QDS1 and QDS2, it was decided to transcribe them verbatim utilising the online software “Transcribe” and to code transcribed data using NVivo 11. Following Palmieri’s (2018, p. 71) approach, the second and third rounds of interviews were instead coded directly on the audio files, utilising the above-mentioned function of NVivo11. Since motivational changes are often connected to emotive states (see e.g. Teimouri, 2017), an additional benefit of accessing the audio files directly in the process of data coding was that more attention could be paid to emotional features of learners’ speech that would not have been fully captured in written transcriptions.

Each audio file was divided into thematic sequences, which mapped sections of the audio-files and facilitated their retrieval. A detailed summary was provided for each sequence and quotes that were deemed to be significant were transcribed verbatim. When interviews were conducted in a language other than English, summaries were provided in English while noteworthy quotes from the participants were transcribed in the L2 utilised

during the interview. The transcription conventions adopted are presented in Appendix 4, A.

Analysis of Qualitative Data Set 1 (QDS1)

General content analysis principles (O’Leary, 2010, pp. 256-277) were employed for the analysis of QDS1. The term “content analysis” describes the “process of categorizing qualitative textual data into clusters of similar entities, or conceptual categories, to identify consistent patterns and relationships between variables or themes” (Julien, 2008, p. 121). Following Crabtree and Miller’s (1999) coding method, an initial line-by-line coding of QDS1 was conducted with a template of deductive codes (theory-driven approach), i.e. the motivational dimensions targeted in the questionnaire. This decision was made to enable comparability between the qualitative and quantitative data. The coding framework, however, was not meant to be restrictive and new variables were developed to account for newly discovered themes and to extend the evolving motivational framework. After the first round of coding, the central themes emerged within each overarching qualitative variable were identified and sub-codes were created (data-driven approach). This procedure is in keeping with theoretical debates on qualitative data analysis, which, as Dörnyei (2007, p. 245) notes, should seek “to achieve ‘rigorous flexibility’ or ‘disciplined artfulness’ by applying procedures and frameworks that are conducive to generating new insights rather than acting as a constraining mold that does not let new results emerge”. Due to space limitations, a discussion of the codes developed at each step of the iterative analysis is not presented in the context of this thesis. In line with other mixed-method studies (see e.g. Aiello, 2018; Palmieri, 2018; Schmidt, 2014b), we only present the final coding framework that emerged at the end of the process of cyclical data coding (see Chapter 7 and Appendix 4, C).

As QDS1 served to triangulate the qualitative findings, efforts were made at the end of the coding process to match the factors obtained in the quantitative components of the study with the overarching themes emerged in the process of qualitative data analysis, in line with Schmidt’s (2014b) approach. While some could claim that this procedure undermines the potential of qualitative research, as the focus is placed on previously developed codes rather than on new qualitative categories, organising the data in light of the quantitative variables facilitates the process of validation of data through cross-

verification. It should also be noted that the variables used for the presentation of the qualitative data are not viewed as the end point of the analysis, but rather as a starting point to discuss new themes and subthemes emerged from the data set in relation to the particular motivational variable initially targeted.

Analysis of Qualitative Data Set 2 (QDS2)

As change is the analytic focus of the longitudinal component of the study, the first step of the data analysis consisted in the identification of continuities and changes in participants' expended effort in L2 study and in the identification of the elements at play in causing these changes. Congruent with complexity perspectives to motivational change (see 2.5.2), the data set was first analysed without a set of pre-determined categories, following a combination of grounded theory coding methods (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 42-47) and of general content analysis principles (see e.g. O'Leary, 2010, pp. 256-277). The rationale for the initial adoption of a data-driven approach was to account for the complexity of motivational dynamicity as reported by the participants themselves, rather than as predicted by any particular theory. After the coding process ended, an interpretative framework was developed. As previously observed for QDS1, due to space limitations and in keeping with previous research (see e.g. Palmieri, 2018; Schmidt, 2014b), in this thesis we do not discuss the coding frameworks developed at each coding stage during the iterative process of analysis of QDS2, but rather focus in detail on the final framework emerged (see 8.2).

The subsequent step consisted in examining the interaction between the factors identified and learners' possible selves. Due to the scarcity of empirical studies on the properties associated with the motivating capacity of possible selves (Hessel, 2015), a theory-driven approach was utilised to explore which properties of their future desired identities learners reflected upon (e.g. elaborateness, plausibility, etc., see Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 83-84, and 2.5.2) over the semester.

Chapter 6 Quantitative findings

This chapter presents the findings obtained from the analysis of the quantitative data collected via the questionnaires from the four learner groups under investigation. The structure of the chapter follows the steps undertaken in the process of quantitative analysis, which is described in section 5.6.1 and summarised in Table 6.1:

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4
1a) Cleaning and standardisation of the data	2a) Codification of variables (Likert items were coded on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree))	3a) Alternative to step 2c: Exploratory factor analysis.	4a) Analysis of how close-ended questions compare across sample groups
1b) Application of filters for inclusion in the final data set	2b) Analysis of internal consistency of motivational variables included in the Likert Scale (Cronbach's Alpha coefficient)	3b) Interpretation of the factors emerged	4b) Analysis of how context-specific questions compare
1c) Selection of key variables to be reported in the demographic section	2c) Comparison of the motivational variables across the different sample groups ⚠ → not possible, see 6.2	3c) Analysis of how factors compare in the four sample groups	

Table 6.1 Phases of the quantitative data analysis

First, the chapter presents the characteristics of the four samples, by focussing on key socio-demographic (gender, age, L1 spoken, other L1s spoken, heritage background) and L2-study-related variables (learning history, degree of enrolment and proficiency). After that, it illustrates the results of a factor analysis conducted on the overall dataset, presenting the factors emerged and discussing their effect on the four sample groups. It then comments on the data obtained from the close-ended questions and the context-specific items included in the questionnaire, elaborating on how they complement our understanding of learners' L2 motivations and of their desired L2 identities. Finally, the

chapter briefly summarises how the quantitative findings address the three research questions guiding this research¹⁹.

6.1 Key demographic variables in the four samples

As indicated in section 5.4.1, all the participants in this study were required to be undergraduate students in their first year of language studies under the age of 36. The four sample groups were expected to be quite heterogeneous, due to unavoidable contextual differences (e.g. different university systems; different standing of each L2 in the contexts of research). It was previously noted that efforts were made in the initial data collection phase to target Arts LOTE learners with a previous L2 background, so that they somewhat aligned with their EFL counterparts. The recruitment criteria were relaxed after one month of data collection, so as to obtain samples that reflected typical L2 learner cohorts at tertiary level in Australia. The respondents were filtered against the recruitment criteria and participants with more than two missing values in the quantitative data set were eliminated ($E_I = 22$; $E_G = 26$; $I_A = 72$ and $G_A = 35$). This led to a considerable reduction in the size of each sample group, particularly in the I_A sample, where several missing values were present. The overall sample obtained at the end of the process of data cleaning and screening consists of 314 students, divided into four sample groups as follows:

Sample groups	English in Italy (E_I)	English in Germany (E_G)	Italian in Australia (I_A)	German in Australia (G_A)
N	91	70	74	88
Overall sample	314			

Table 6.2 Quantitative sample groups and overall quantitative sample

6.1.1 Socio-demographic variables

This section discusses how the socio-demographic variables presented in Table 6.3 compare in the four learner populations under investigation.

¹⁹ Due to space limitations, the correlations between socio-demographic and L2-study-related variables and the motivational factors resulting from the factor analysis are not presented in this thesis.

		English in Italy (E _I)		English in Germany (E _G)		Italian in Australia (I _A)		German in Australia (G _A)	
Variables	Answers	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Gender	Male	14	15.4%	17	24.3%	15	20.3%	25	28.4%
	Female	76	83.5%	52	74.3%	58	78.4%	62	70.5%
	Other	1	1.1%	1	1.4%	1	1.3%	1	1.1%
Age	18 - 25	88	96.7%	70	100%	74	100%	86	97.8%
	26 - 30	3	3.3%	0	0%	0	0%	1	1.1%
	31 - 35	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	1.1%
L1	Expected L1	87	96%	63	90%	72	97%	74	84%
	Other L1	4	4%	7	10%	2	3%	14	16%
Other L2s spoken	Yes	67	73.6%	57	81.4%	20	27.1%	36	40.9%
	No	24	26.4%	13	18.6%	54	72.9%	52	59.1%
Heritage	Heritage learners	1	1.1%	5	7.1%	38	51.4%	25	28.4%
	Non-heritage learners	90	98.9%	65	92.9%	36	48.7%	63	71.6%
Total		91	100%	70	100%	74	100%	88	100%

Table 6.3 Socio-demographic variables in the four samples

In terms of **gender**, female respondents far outnumbered male respondents in all sample groups, in line with a trend reflected by a wealth of scholarly research on elective secondary and tertiary L2 learning across different learning settings (see e.g. Carr & Pauwels, 2006; Chavez, 2001; Palmieri, 2018; Schmidt, 2011). While Dörnyei and colleagues (2006, p. 56) predicted that gender differences in the choice of English as an L2 at secondary level will eventually disappear, as “English will become the first L2 choice for virtually everybody, regardless of their sex”, the gender distribution in the EFL samples suggests that these differences are likely to still be present at university level. It can also be observed that there was a higher prevalence of male students in the G_A sample in comparison to the other samples (G_A = 28.4%; E_I = 15.4%; E_G = 24.3 %; I_A = 20.3%). One explanation for this trend is that German is perceived as a language with a “masculine image” (Barton, 1997, p. 13, see also e.g. Dörnyei et al., 2006, p. 144; Schmidt, 2011). As will be shown in section 6.1.2.5, 38.6% of G_A respondents were enrolled in non-Arts degrees (e.g. STEMM), which usually see an overrepresentation of male students. Schmidt (2011, p. 81), for instance, found that a significantly higher percentage of male students were studying German as part of an Engineering and/or Information Technology degree at Australian universities in 2005.

With regard to **age**, nearly all the respondents were aged between 18 and 25, as expected for a sample of undergraduate students.

In terms of **native language**, the vast majority of students reported speaking the expected L1 (i.e. Italian in Italy, German in Germany, English in Australia). Nevertheless, it can be noted that some learners in all samples, and particularly in the E_G and G_A samples (E_G = 10%; G_A = 16%), indicated another native language. The survey did not explicitly distinguish between international and domestic students. While these trends may attest to the presence of the former, it cannot be excluded that some of these respondents belonged to families who migrated to Italy, Germany and to Australia respectively and who identified their parents' language(s) as their L1²⁰.

The students were also required to specify whether they could speak **other languages in addition to the L2** under investigation. As expected, a higher portion of students in Europe in comparison to Australia responded positively (E_I = 73.6%; E_G = 81.4% vs I_A = 27.1%; G_A = 40.9%). This trend is directly linked to European policies for the preservation and promotion of multilingualism (Council of Europe, 2007, see 4.1): as noted in section 4.2 and 4.3, many students in Italy and in Germany study a third language in addition to English and their native language as part of compulsory education. The fact that roughly one in four E_I students (26.4%) reported not knowing other languages may at first appear unexpected, not only because of the above-mentioned policies, but also since students enrolled in a degree in modern languages at the University of Bologna are required to study another language in addition to English as part of their coursework. It is likely that many of these learners believed that the ability to speak a language requires having achieved fluency in it. This may have not been the case for them in their first semester of study at university. It is also worthwhile noting that the percentage of students speaking an additional language in the LOTE samples (I_A = 27.1% and G_A = 40.9%) was considerable, a finding which may at first appear unexpected in a country characterised by a pervasive monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2006, 2008; see 4.5). Qualitative data shed

²⁰ Due to the fact that students with the expected L1 were mostly represented in all samples, some trends in the data are explained on the assumption that the majority of respondents were from the L1 country. However, it is important to highlight that the samples included a small portion of students who may not be from these countries, as the variable L1 suggests.

some light on this matter (see 7.3.4): several respondents expressed a passion for languages in general and voiced their desire to cultivate a future ideal multilingual self (Henry, 2017), in agreement with the previous literature on elective language learners (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Schmidt, 2011, 2014b).

In terms of **heritage**, the data point to a clear trend: roughly one in two I_A learners ($I_A = 51.4\%$) and almost three in ten G_A learners ($G_A = 28.4\%$) had an L2 background, whereas heritage learners of English made up an extremely small portion of their respective sample groups ($E_I = 1.1\%$; $E_G = 7.1\%$). These trends are clearly reflective of the status of each language in the context(s) of learning: whilst Australia has welcomed a considerable number of migrants from Italy (Campolo, 2009; Castles, 1992, see 4.6) and from German-speaking countries (Fernandez et al., 1994; Lay, 2015, see 4.7), Germany and Italy have never been the target of considerable migration from Anglophone countries. The fact that heritage learners made up more than half of the I_A sample confirms our predictions (see 4.9) on the status of Italian as “the community language *par excellence*” (Rubino, 2002, p. 4) and is also reflective of the considerable presence of residents with Italian ancestry in Melbourne (ABS, 2017, see Table 4.3).

6.1.2 L2-study-related variables

This section discusses students’ previous L2 background, their level of L2 proficiency and the degrees in which they were enrolled at the time of data collection²¹. As the data related to students’ previous L2 background and to their current degrees varied notably in the European and in the Australian context, the discussion for these two variables focuses on the EFL and LOTE samples separately.

6.1.2.1 Previous L2 background in the EFL samples

Since it was expected that EFL respondents had studied English as part of compulsory education, E_I and E_G respondents were simply prompted to indicate when they commenced L2 study (see 5.4.2.1). As Table 6.4 shows, participants in the two samples had long L2 learning histories. In both contexts, most respondents commenced

²¹ Due to space limitations, an overview of the subjects/language levels in which participants were enrolled is not presented as part of this thesis.

L2 study at primary school ($E_I = 69.2\%$ and $E_G = 68.6\%$), and only a few at secondary level ($E_I = 4.4\%$ and $E_G = 17.1\%$). It can be observed that roughly a quarter of respondents in the E_I sample attended a kindergarten where English was taught ($E_I = 25.3\%$). As the teaching of English in Italian kindergartens is left to the initiative of each educational institution (see 4.2), these data suggest that a considerable number of kindergartens in Italy already offered the language in the late 1990s.

Variables		English in Italy (E_I)		English in Germany (E_G)	
		Freq.	%	Freq	%
Commencement of language studies	Bilingual	1	1.1%	4	5.7%
	Kindergarten	23	25.3%	6	8.6%
	Primary school	63	69.2%	48	68.6%
	Secondary school	4	4.4%	12	17.1%
Total participants		91	100%	70	100%

Table 6.4²² Commencement of L2 study in the EFL samples

Overall, the data confirm that English features as a central component of compulsory education in Italy and in Germany (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Hilgendorf, 2007, 4.2 and 4.3). This means that respondents in this study had invested a substantial amount of time studying the language in school settings before enrolling at university.

6.1.2.2 Previous L2 background in the LOTE samples

LOTE respondents were invited to specify for how long they had studied the L2 before enrolling at university. As can be seen in Table 6.5 below, their L2 background was somewhat heterogeneous. This expected variance is a direct consequence of the fact that Italian and German are not compulsory school subjects and are only two of the many languages which can be taught in mainstream primary and secondary schools in Australia (see 4.5). Australian students' L2 learning experiences are thus highly dependent on circumstantial factors, such as language provision in schools.

²² For ease of presentation, Table 6.4 does not indicate the year in which participants commenced L2 study in primary school. In addition, the category "bilingual" was added as some respondents in the two samples clarified in the comment section to this question that they were raised bilingual.

		Italian in Australia (I _A)		German in Australia (G _A)	
Variable	Responses	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Previous L2 history	No previous knowledge	10	13.5%	16	18.2%
	Less than one year	6	8.1%	19	21.6%
	1- 3 years	9	12.2%	7	7.9%
	4-6 years	19	25.7%	35	39.8%
	More than 6 years	30	40.5%	11	12.5%
Total		74	100%	88	100%

Table 6.5 Length of L2 study before university in the LOTE samples

It can be observed that in both LOTE samples there was a preponderance of students with long L2 learning histories: the greatest proportion of I_A students studied Italian for more than six years (I_A = 40.5%), whilst the largest portion of G_A students (G_A = 39.8%) studied German for 4 to 6 years. This was anticipated, given that learners with previous L2 knowledge were mainly targeted during the initial phase of data collection (see 5.4.1). It can also be noted that 13.5% and 18.2% of I_A and G_A learners respectively reported having no prior knowledge of the L2 before enrolling at university. Since respondents with no prior L2 knowledge constituted a considerable portion of these learner samples, t-tests were conducted to determine whether the answers of these learners were considerably different from the answers of respondents with an L2 background in each sample group. This was found not to be the case (see 6.1.3).

LOTE learners were also asked to indicate where they had studied Italian and German before enrolling at university and were given the option of choosing more than one answer. As some respondents added in the comments that they had (also) learnt the language through exchange experiences, these answers were added to the answer option “experiences with school in the L2 country”, which was re-labelled “experiences with school in the L2 country + *exchange*” to reflect the changes. Table 6.6 below presents the respondents’ answers. As can be observed, the greatest portion of respondents studied Italian and German at secondary level and chose the L2 until the completion of secondary

school as a VCE²³ subject or equivalent ($I_A = 42.1\%$; $G_A = 55.8\%$). The presence of a high number of respondents with long L2 learning experiences at secondary level is reflective the recruitment criteria and also casts some light on the considerable provision of both L2s in Victorian schools (see 4.8).

		Italian in Australia (I_A)		German in Australia (G_A)	
Variable	Responses	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
L2 schooling	Primary school	39	34.2%	9	10.5%
	Secondary school, with the L2 as VCE subject or equivalent	48	42.1%	48	55.8%
	Secondary school, no VCE subject or equivalent	6	5.3%	5	5.8%
	Community language school	9	7.9%	6	7%
	Victorian School of Languages, or equivalent	3	2.6%	3	3.5%
	School experiences in the L2 country + exchange	6 + 3	7.9%	10 + 5	17.4%
Total responses		114	100%	86	100%

Table 6.6 Schooling history in the LOTE samples

It can also be noted that the percentage of I_A learners who studied the language in primary school was more than three times larger than the percentage of G_A learners ($I_A = 34.2\%$; $G_A = 10.5\%$). These results are likely to be linked to differences in the provision of both languages at primary level, with Italian being considerably more popular than German. As noted in 4.8, the most recent statistics on language provision in the state schools of Victoria (Department of Education and Training, 2019, pp. 8-9) indicate that Italian was learnt by around 60,000 primary school pupils, whilst German by only roughly 8,000. The data also show that some respondents in both sample groups studied the L2 in community language schools ($I_A = 7.9\%$ vs $G_A = 7\%$) and through school experiences in the L2 country ($I_A = 7.9\%$ vs $G_A = 17.4\%$). Experiences in the L2 country, as we will explain in 7.3.2.2, were pivotal in developing students' positive attitudes towards the L2 community and in giving impetus to their motivations (see also Schmidt, 2014b).

²³ The Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) attests satisfactory completion of secondary education in the Australian state of Victoria.

6.1.2.3 Proficiency

Students were also asked to self-assess their L2 proficiency and choose between the four options displayed in Table 6.7. As can be seen, some clear trends are present in the data: the EFL samples were more proficient than the LOTE samples. In the former, the largest portions of respondents had upper-intermediate ($E_I = 62.6\%$; $E_G = 38.6\%$) and advanced proficiency ($E_I = 25.3\%$; $E_G = 54.3\%$), whilst in the latter proficiency levels were varied, with the largest portion of respondents having elementary ($I_A = 39.2\%$; $G_A = 36.4\%$) and intermediate ($I_A = 39.2\%$; $G_A = 28.4\%$) skills.

		English in Italy (E_I)		English in Germany (E_G)		Italian in Australia (I_A)		German in Australia (G_A)	
Variable	Responses	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Self-reported proficiency	Element. or below	2	2.2%	0	0%	29	39.2%	32	36.4%
	Interm.	9	9.9%	5	7.1%	29	39.2%	25	28.4%
	Upper-interm.	57	62.6%	27	38.6%	16	21.6%	27	30.7%
	Advanced	23	25.3%	38	54.3%	0	0%	4	4.5%
Total participants		91	100%	70	100%	74	100%	88	100%

Table 6.7 Self-reported L2 proficiency in the four samples

It is worthwhile mentioning that 54.3% of respondents in the E_G sample reported advanced proficiency. This percentage starkly differed not only from the portion of students who reported this level of proficiency in the LOTE samples ($I_A = 0\%$; $G_A = 4.5\%$), as fully anticipated due to differences in their L2 learning histories, but also in the E_I sample ($E_I = 25.3\%$). The discrepancies in the reported language skills of EFL respondents were also expected and confirm our hypotheses (see 4.4): while secondary school graduates in Germany normally reach high English proficiency, their counterparts in Italy are less likely to (see e.g. Santipolo, 2016 for Italy). Differences in language skills in the two European samples may also be due to the different entry requirements of their degrees of enrolment (see 5.4.1): while students of English studies at the University of Bologna are required to have at least a B1 level (intermediate) in English as a condition of enrolment, students at the LMU need to possess a B2 level (upper-intermediate).

6.1.2.4 Degrees in the EFL samples

As indicated in 5.4.1, language studies (i.e. the study of the language in conjunction with cultural and literary aspects associated with it) in Germany and Italy is normally pursued as part of specific degrees. EFL respondents were enrolled in three main degrees, as detailed in Table 6.8. Most participants in both samples were studying English as part of a Bachelor of English or North American studies ($E_I = 85.7\%$; $E_G = 61.4\%$). It can also be observed that a considerable portion of E_G learners were pursuing English studies as part of a teaching degree ($E_G = 38.6\%$). As elaborated in section 5.4.1, this subgroup of learners was maintained in the final data set to account for university students of English and North American studies in Germany who intended to pursue a teaching career.

		English in Italy (E_I)		English in Germany (E_G)	
Variable	Responses	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Degree of enrolment	BA in English / North American studies	78	85.7%	43	61.4%
	Teaching degree with English as a method	n/a	n/a	27	38.6%
	BA in Languages, markets and cultures	13	14.3%	n/a	n/a
Total participants		91	100%	70	100%

Table 6.8 Degree of enrolment in the EFL samples

6.1.2.5 Degrees in the LOTE samples

		Italian in Australia (I_A)		German in Australia (G_A)	
Variable	Responses	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Degree of enrolment	Arts and Humanities	50	67.6%	47	53.4%
	Non-Arts (e.g. STEMM and Business)	22	29.7%	34	38.6%
	Double degrees	2	2.7%	3	3.4%
Total participants		74	100%	88	100%

Table 6.9 Degree of enrolment in the LOTE samples

As noted in 5.6.1, the wealth of degrees reported by LOTE respondents were clustered into three main categories for reasons of comparability with their EFL

counterparts. Table 6.9 presents the distribution of LOTE learners in relation to these degree groups. As can be seen, there was a predominance of students enrolled in Arts and Humanities degrees ($I_A = 67.6\%$; $G_A = 53.4\%$) in both samples, as these learners were mainly targeted in the recruitment phase on grounds of inter-sample comparability (see 5.4.1). It can also be observed that a higher portion of G_A students in comparison to I_A students were enrolled in non-Arts degrees ($I_A = 29.7\%$; $G_A = 38.6\%$). This may be linked to more considerable appeal of German as a language related to science, business and technology (see e.g. DaF, 2015 and 3.3). In addition, it was noted in section 6.1.1 that the G_A sample included a considerable number of male students, who are traditionally more numerous in non-Arts degrees.

As noted in section 5.4.1, first year students in Australia do not normally finalise their decision about major and minors until the end of their first semester or of the first year and most students have the option to pursue L2 study alongside their main study area by enrolling in a Diploma in Languages at a later stage of their degree. Table 6.10 shows how LOTE respondents compared in terms of their plans regarding the role of their language subject in their degree:

		Italian in Australia (I_A)		German in Australia (G_A)	
Variable	Responses	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Status of the L2 in students' degrees	Major	16	21.6%	21	23.9%
	Diploma in languages (equivalent to a major)	10	13.5%	13	14.8%
	Minor/breadth	39	52.7%	45	51.1%
	Elective	4	5.4%	2	2.3%
	Unsure	2	2.7%	3	3.4%
	Missing values	3	4.1%	4	4.5%
Total participants		74	100%	88	100%

Table 6.10 Role of language studies in the base degrees of LOTE students

Students' answers in relation to this variable were varied within each sample but similar from a comparative viewpoint. Although students intending to major in the L2 or to study the language as part of a diploma were exclusively targeted in the first month of data collection, it can be noted that more than half of the respondents in both samples intended to study the language as a minor or breadth subject ($I_A = 52.7\%$ vs $G_A = 51.1\%$). Only around a fifth studied the L2 as a major ($I_A = 21.6\%$ vs $G_A = 23.9\%$) and a

lower portion of students were enrolled or planned to enrol in a Diploma in Languages ($I_A = 13.5\%$ vs $G_A = 14.8\%$).

6.1.3 Some final observations on the demographic variables and their effect

Some considerations are due regarding a few noticeable trends in the demographic data discussed so far. Overall, the EFL and LOTE samples differed considerably, particularly in terms of heritage background, L2 histories, L2 proficiency and degrees of enrolment. One difference which is of potential concern is the presence of a notable portion of students with no previous knowledge of the language in the LOTE samples. Since scholarship agrees that motivation is a dynamic construct (see 2.5), t-tests were conducted to determine whether the responses to the Likert items submitted to the factor analysis (6.2) were markedly different from those of other learners who had studied the L2 before university. Nothing was found to be significant at the 5% significance level. This is probably due to the relatively low number of respondents without an L2 background in the LOTE samples. The only item which obtained borderline significance was the following “if my dreams come true, I will use the L2 effectively in the future”, with an estimated regression coefficient of $b = -0.23$, $t(313) = -1.83$, $p = 0.069$. This finding makes intuitive sense as it is likely that students with long L2 learning histories had a clearer view of their future identity as L2 speakers. All in all, these tests indicated that the inclusion of these participants would not have significantly affected the results. It could be argued that similar tests should have been computed for every variable that was unevenly distributed across the four samples. However, the construction of sample groups which perfectly align is deemed unrealistic in cross-national studies, given the plethora of contextual factors to be controlled, and goes beyond the scope of the present investigation. In this study, demographic differences were simply taken into consideration in the process of data interpretation and analysis. Future research can determine whether it is feasible to achieve a greater homogenization of considerably different sample groups while also retaining their representativeness.

6.2 Factor analysis

It was noted in 5.6.1 that a factor analysis was needed as most of the variables targeted in the questionnaire did not display internal consistency, as measured by

computing the Cronbach's alpha coefficient. This figure, which ranges from 0 to +1 should normally be between 0.80 and 0.60 (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 207), with 0.50 being attested by some scholars as the lowest cut-off point for reliability (Perry et al., 2004, p. 364). The fact that most of the variables did not reach this threshold indicates that the items which were meant to measure them did not actually refer to the same underlying construct. This finding was unforeseen, as all the items included in the questionnaire, apart from those measuring the variable "international posture"²⁴ and of context-specific items, were taken from surveys which were statistically validated in a variety of contexts (see 5.4.2.1). In fact, the variables reached acceptable alpha levels both in Oakes' (2013) and Busse and Williams' (2010) studies conducted in the UK. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that these questionnaires had not been statistically tested in the learning contexts under investigation and the sample size in the present study was considerably smaller than the ones in the other two investigations (see 5.4.2.1).

As the variables measured in the questionnaire could not be used to make comparisons between sample groups due to their lack of internal consistency, new variables needed to be developed to describe and compare the data at hand. Following previous studies (see e.g. Palmieri, 2018; Schmidt, 2011), it was decided to compute a factor analysis of the principal component, followed by an oblique rotation (see 5.6.1). Since Palmieri (2018) employed a questionnaire that included, among others, all the variables targeted in the present investigation, the adoption of the same statistical procedure in this research has the benefit of enabling inter-study comparability.

Preliminary considerations: combining sample groups and correcting for context and degree

Since the factors were to be used to make comparisons between sample groups, the factor analysis needed to be computed on the overall data set, i.e. the data set comprising all four sample groups together. The reader is referred to Appendix 3, A for an overview of the Likert items submitted to the analysis, together with their mean values in the four samples and in the two EFL and LOTE samples combined. A preliminary consideration is due at this stage. The factor analysis aims to find patterns across items,

²⁴ As noted in 5.4.2.1, the construct labelled "international posture" was measured by a scale developed by the researcher which was based on Yashima's (2002, 2009) definition of the construct.

the patterns being identified statistically depending on the items pairwise correlations. While it is expected that item scores may vary between sample groups, it is important that the pairwise correlations for most items have the same directionality (positive or negative) in each sample group in order to perform a factor analysis on the whole sample. In fact, if the correlations between pairs of items have an opposite direction in different sample groups, the combination of samples would not be appropriate, as these differences would cancel each other out when performing the analysis. Pearson's correlation coefficients were calculated to determine whether the items pairwise correlations were consistent between sample group. This coefficient takes ranges from +1 and -1, where 1 indicates a total positive linear correlation, 0 signals no linear correlation, and -1 indicates a total negative linear correlation (see Dörnyei, 2007, p. 223). As can be seen in Table 6.11, all sample groups were positively correlated, signalling that the items that were highly correlated in one sample group were also likely to be highly correlated in the other samples. Hence, it was decided that merging the sample groups together would not have led to substantial data loss.

Pairwise comparison	Pearson's correlation coefficient
E _I vs E _G	0.60
E _I vs I _A	0.54
E _I vs G _A	0.51
E _G vs I _A	0.45
E _G vs G _A	0.48
I _A vs G _A	0.60

Table 6.11 Pearson's correlation coefficients between sample groups

Additional considerations were made to avoid confounding effects which may occur when correlations are computed between items using all the sample groups together. First, it is fair to assume that the average effect that one item has in one sample may be different from the effect that it has in the other samples. Second, it was hypothesized that the study-context variable "degree" may have affected participants' responses, as students' degrees of enrolment differed considerably in the EFL and in the LOTE samples (see 6.1.2.4. and 6.1.2.5). It was thus decided, following statistical advice, to perform the factor analysis on the residuals of the item scores obtained after adjusting for each sample group and for the variable "degree" via a multivariate regression analysis.

The residuals were computed by subtracting the mean value of the answers given by respondents enrolled in a specific degree in each sample group from the value that the item had for each given participant in that specific sample group. For example, if one item had a mean of 1.3 for I_A learners enrolled in an Arts degree and one respondent, who was an Arts student, selected “strongly agree” (value 5), the final value to be used, known as residual, would have been 3.7, i.e. the original value minus the mean calculated on the answers of Arts students in that sample.

Merging all contexts together and imputing missing values

An exploratory factor analysis of the principal components, followed by an oblique rotation (oblimin), was computed on the overall dataset, after correcting for context and degree. All the Likert items targeted in each sample group were submitted to the analysis. The context-dependent items (see 5.4.2.1) were excluded from the factor analysis, and will be described separately in section 6.4.

In the Likert items submitted to analysis 12 missing values were present. As missing values were distributed randomly and were only present to a minimal degree in the dataset²⁵, a likelihood estimate for each value was calculated, so as not to exclude participants, given the critical need to maintain a high sample size. This statistical procedure is normally used to input missing data and draws upon calculations of the median value of the responses that other participants gave to the item in question (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 204-205 for an overview of this procedure).

Cattell’s (1966) scree test was used to obtain indications about the number of factors to extract. This statistical method calculates the variance associated with each factor and plots the components on the X axis and the corresponding eigenvalues (i.e. estimates of the amount of variance explained by each factor) on the Y axis. Figure 2 on the next page presents the scree plot of the eigenvalues for the overall dataset. According to this test, only the factors on the “slope”, i.e. above the horizontal line, should be considered (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2007, p. 235). The test indicated that 6 factors could account for most of the variance observed in the sample. Items with factors loadings of less than 0.3 were

²⁵ The missing values were distributed as follows: six in the E_I sample, one in the G_A sample and five in the I_A sample. Each participant did not have more than one missing value and each variable had only one missing value, except for one variable which had two.

excluded, following general practice in the field of applied linguistics (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2007, p. 235; Kline 1994; Pallant 2005). The complete statistical data yielded by the factor analysis and the factor matrix are reported in Appendix 3, B1a.

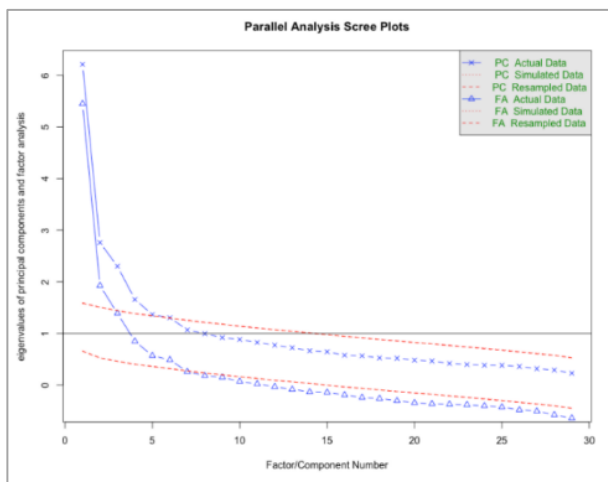


Figure 2 Cattell's scree test (number of factors to extract)

The following table offers an overview of the six factors resulting from the factor analysis, next to their measure of internal reliability assessed via the Cronbach's alpha coefficient, their assigned name and the main questionnaire variable represented in each factor:

Factors	Cronbach's alpha	Name	Key questionnaire variable represented in each factor
Factor 1	0.85	Desire for language proficiency	Desire for L2 proficiency
Factor 2	0.72	Desire to affiliate with L2 communities and to create L2-speaking identities	Integrative orientation
Factor 3	0.73	Ought-to L2 self	Ought-to L2 self
Factor 4	0.71	Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals	Instrumental orientation
Factor 5	0.72	Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities	Intrinsic orientation
Factor 6	0.57	Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences	International posture

Table 6.12 Overview of the factors extracted, their internal consistency, their assigned label and the key questionnaire variables that they mostly represented

As can be seen, all the factors had highly reliable alpha values, with the exception of Factor 6. Although the alpha value of this factor showed moderate reliability, it was still above the minimal threshold of 0.50 (Perry et al, 2004, p. 364) and was thus not discarded.

As will be observed later, only two variables appeared as distinct factors, namely “desire for L2 proficiency” and “ought-to L2 self”, as reflected by the naming of the factors. For the others, new labels were developed. The rationale for the labelling of each factor will be discussed in more detail in the following sections, which focus on each factor separately and are structured as follows. First, each factor is described in terms of its internal structure: a table will be used to illustrate its items next to the variables that they measured (see 5.4.2.1) and their loading coefficients. The items are listed in descending order, from the one with the highest loading to the one with the lowest. An interpretation of each factor is provided and justifications are given for the correlations found between items/variables. Second, the findings on the effect of each factor on the four sample groups are described. Key trends in the findings are then explained in the discussion section.

The tables presented when comparing the effect of each factor on the four sample groups include: (1) the mean of each factor (M), (2) the standard deviation (SD), (3) the 95% CI²⁶ and (4) the F value. The F value was determined by computing the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA, see Appendix 3, B2). This figure informed us of whether each factor had the same effect in the four samples or whether there were significant differences between samples. Significant differences are present when the p value is at or below 0.05 (see Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 210-219). Asterisks are used in the tables to indicate whether the p values are significant, specifying whether they are less than 0.05 (*), less than 0.01 (**) or less than 0.001 (***). Since the F value indicated that there were significant differences between sample groups for each one of the six factors, all possible pairwise two-tailed t-test comparisons between sample groups were calculated to determine how the four samples compared in relation to each factor. When multiple

²⁶ This confidence interval yields insight into the variability of the sample by providing a range of scores - lower bound and upper bound - which can be considered statistically significant for a given population. As Dörnyei (2007, p. 211) notes, “a 95 per cent confidence interval of a mean score can be interpreted as a range of scores that will contain the population mean with a 0.95 probability”. Confidence intervals are recommended for reporting data because they yield insight not only into the variability of samples (like standard deviations), but also into potential significant differences between samples.

significance tests are computed, the likelihood of finding a significant value increases. Hence, the Bonferroni correction, a statistical procedure employed to guard against the problem of multiple testing (see Everitt & Skrondal, 2010, p. 59), was used to adjust the p-values obtained from the pairwise t-tests (see Appendix 3, B3). The following standard notation is used to present the significant results of the t-tests performed: $t(\text{degrees of freedom}) = t \text{ value}, p \text{ value}$.

6.2.1 Factor 1: Desire for language proficiency

The first factor that emerged from the analysis was named “Desire for language proficiency” as it bundled together the five items that measured this variable. The fact that the variable loaded onto one distinct factor indicates the high internal consistency of the five-item scale included in the questionnaire (see 5.4.2.1) as well as the presence of a clear-cut motivational disposition related to language proficiency in the overall sample. The items included in Factor 1 are listed in Table 6.13 next to the variables to which they referred and to their loading coefficients:

Variables	Questionnaire items	Loading coefficients	Cronbach's alpha
Desire for language proficiency	1) By studying the L2 ²⁷ I hope to improve my listening comprehension in the L2	0.83	0.85
	2) By studying the L2 I hope to improve my written L2	0.78	
	3) By studying the L2 I hope to improve my speaking skills in the L2	0.74	
	4) By studying the L2 I hope to improve my reading skills in the L2	0.68	
	5) I am studying the L2 because I want to improve my L2	0.64	

Table 6.13 Internal structure of Factor 1 (“Desire for language proficiency”)

As can be seen, all the items comprised in this factor had high loadings. This suggests that respondents for whom this factor was relevant were motivated to study the language to improve all four skills, as can be expected from individuals who decided to

²⁷ For the sake of brevity, the term L2 is used in all the tables presenting the internal structure of the six factors in replacement of English, Italian and German. Each target language was mentioned in the original items adopted in the questionnaires (see Appendix 1, A1).

focus on L2 studies at university level. The salience of proficiency-related motivations have been found in previous studies on university-based language students (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010 discussed in 3.1.2.2; Oakes, 2013; Schmidt, 2011, pp. 131-132).

6.2.1.1 Factor 1 in the four learner populations

Context	Factor	N	M	SD	95% CI		F value
					Lower	Upper	
English in Italy (E _I)	Factor1	91	10.12	0.81	9.96	10.29	F (3, 319) = 18.81*** (p < 0.001)
English in Germany (E _G)		70	9.18	1.34	8.87	9.49	
Italian in Australia (I _A)		74	10.16	0.80	9.98	10.34	
German in Australia (G _A)		88	10.15	0.82	9.98	10.32	

Table 6.14 Data on the effect of Factor 1 (“Desire for language proficiency”) on the four sample groups

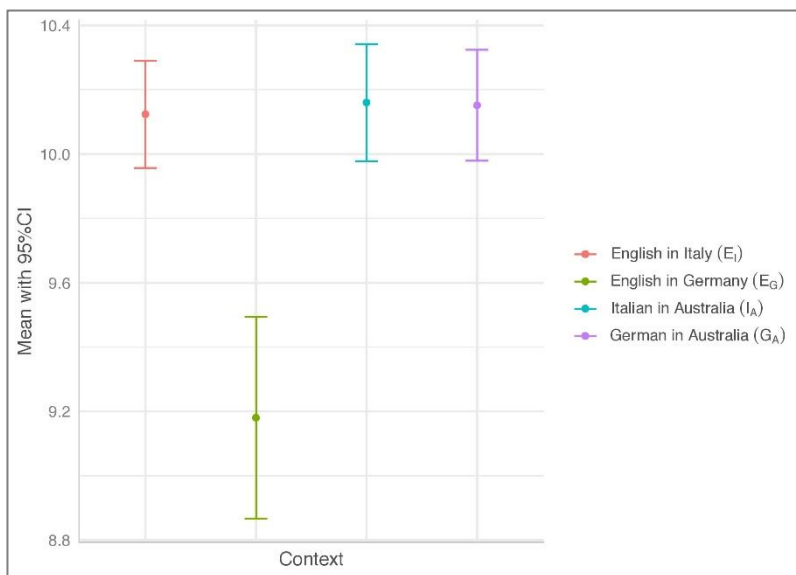


Figure 3 Visual representation of the effect of Factor 1 (“Desire for language proficiency”) on the four sample groups

As Table 6.14 and Figure 3 show, this factor proved to have a similarly high effect on E_I, I_A and G_A learners ($M_{E_I} = 10.12$, $SD_{E_I} = 0.81$; $M_{I_A} = 10.16$, $SD_{I_A} = 0.80$; $M_{G_A} = 10.15$, $SD_{G_A} = 0.82$) and the lowest effect on E_G learners ($M_{E_G} = 9.18$, $SD_{E_G} = 1.34$). The low standard deviations and confidence intervals for the former three learner groups, as

illustrated by the spread of the corresponding segments in Figure 3, show that there was not notable variance in the respondents' answers within each group. Conversely, the considerable standard deviation and confidence intervals for the E_G sample ($SD_{E_G} = 1.34$, CI [8.87, 9.49]) indicate that the responses of E_G learners displayed more variability. Pair-wise t-tests (see Appendix 3, B3a) confirmed that the effect of this factor on E_G learners was significantly different from the effect that it had on all other samples: (1) the E_I sample, $t(159) = -5.54$, $p < 0.001$; (2) the I_A sample, $t(142) = -5.38$, $p < 0.001$, as well as on (3) the G_A sample, $t(156) = -5.60$, $p < 0.001$. These findings will be explained in the discussion section below.

Discussion

The high mean ratings of Factor 1 in all sample groups suggest that the attainment/improvement of L2 skills represented a primary motive for L2 learning for the participants in this study, in keeping with previous research (see e.g. Ammon, 1991; Busse & Williams, 2010; Leal et al., 1991; Oakes, 2013; Oakes & Howard, 2019; Petersen, 1993; Schmidt, 2011).

The significant difference observed for E_G students with respect to the other three learner populations can be explained in relation to their existing L2 proficiency. As discussed in section 6.1.2.3, more than half of E_G respondents reported having advanced L2 skills ($E_G = 54.3\%$), a much higher percentage than in the other samples: the lower L2 proficiency of E_I learners in comparison to E_G respondents can explain their alignment with LOTE respondents in relation to this factor. It is likely that E_G students with advanced proficiency did not view an improvement in the L2 as a primary motivation. This hypothesis found confirmation in the qualitative data (see 7.3.1), which showed that many E_G respondents perceived language proficiency as a prerequisite for their studies at university or as an additional benefit of their degree, rather than as a primary reason for continuing L2 study.

The large degree of variation observed within the E_G sample can be explained in relation to respondents' language skills at the time of data collection. When examining the responses of E_G learners with different levels of proficiency, a trend is visible: this factor had a slightly lower mean for E_G learners with an advanced proficiency than for those with an upper-intermediate and intermediate proficiency ($M_{advanced} = 8.97$ vs M_{upper-

intermediate = 9.42 vs $M_{\text{intermediate}} = 9.46$). No significant differences, however, were found between these sample groups.

6.2.2 Factor 2: Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities

As Table 6.15 below shows, the second factor grouped five items measuring two of the variables included in the questionnaire, i.e. “integrative orientation” and “ideal L2 self”.

The factor mainly represented the desire to learn the L2 to spend time in L2 countries (item 2) and to meet people from these countries (item 3). This desire was linked to learners’ perceived sense of affiliation with L2 speakers (item 1) and, to a lesser extent, as the lower loading coefficient of item 5 shows, to their willingness to become more like them (loading coefficient_{item₅} = 0.37 vs loading coefficient_{item₁} = 0.68). Processes of affiliations with L2 communities and the desire for intercultural experiences and encounters were associated with identity processes (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2009): item 4, referred to learners’ desire to develop an L2-speaking self able to use the language effectively. In order to capture the connection between integrative orientation and identity processes, this factor was labelled “Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities”.

Variables	Questionnaire items	Loading coefficients	Cronbach’s alpha
Integrative orientation	1) I feel an affinity with people who live in L2-speaking countries	0.68	0.72
	2) I like to spend time in the L2-speaking country/countries	0.64	
	3) I like meeting people from L2-speaking countries	0.56	
Ideal L2 Self	4) Being able to converse in the L2 is an important part of the person I want to become.	0.44	
Integrative orientation	5) I would like to become more like people from L2-speaking countries	0.37	

Table 6.15 Inner structure of Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities”)

As noted in 2.4, the recasting of L2 motivation from an identity viewpoint, albeit yielding multiple advantages, is also associated with the emergence of an individualistic perspective, i.e. a perspective which is “learner internal and L2-community-independent” (see Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 459). Factor 2 brings together a learner internal and an L2-community-dependent perspective, in that it provides evidence of the fact that the motivations of the learners for whom this factor was relevant were influenced not only by processes of identification with an internal future-oriented self-image (i.e. items 4 referring to the ideal L2 self), but also by processes of affiliation with well-defined L2 communities (i.e. items 1, 2, 3, 5 referring to integrative orientation).

The presence of a correlation between items measuring integrative orientation and the ideal L2 self is not surprising, as the two variables are conceptually related (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 29). It was observed that the ideal L2 self was developed to expand the scope of integrativeness in order to account for the motivations of learners of global English, which is perceived by many as a disembodied language (Pinner, 2016) transcending ethno-linguistic communities and cultures (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017b). Studies have shown that the two variables are positively correlated (see e.g. Taguchi et al., 2009).

The lower loading coefficient of the motivational disposition encapsulated in the item “I would like to become more like people from L2-speaking country/countries” in comparison to the loadings of the other three items measuring integrative orientation suggests that it is more common for people navigating the globalised world to develop affiliation with L2 communities without necessarily wishing to completely identify with them (weak version of integrative orientation, see 2.2.1). Indeed, as Arnett (2002, p. 777) notes, “most people now develop a bicultural identity, in which part of their identity is rooted in their local culture while another part stems from an awareness of their relation to the global culture”. In other words, the desire to harness a global self appears not to be incompatible with the preservation of a strong sense of local identity (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2005, p. 97).

6.2.2.1 Factor 2 in the four learner populations

As Table 6.16 and Figure 4 show, Factor 2 had high mean scores in all samples. However, it can be seen that the scores were higher for the two EFL learner populations ($M_{E_1} = 8.21$, $SD_{E_1} = 0.83$; $M_{E_2} = 8.32$, $SD_{E_2} = 0.88$), and were the lowest for G_A learners

($M_{G_A} = 7.81$, $SD_{G_A} = 1.03$). The pair-wise t-tests conducted (see Appendix 3, B3b) showed that the G_A sample was significantly different from both the E_I sample ($t(177) = 2.85$, $p < 0.05$) and from the E_G sample ($t(156) = 3.29$, $p < 0.01$). No significant differences were found between the I_A sample and the other samples, even though it can be observed that the I_A sample had a lower mean score than the EFL samples and had a higher mean score than the G_A sample.

Context	Factor	N	M	SD	95% CI		F value
					Lower	Upper	
English in Italy (E_I)	Factor2	91	8.21	0.83	8.04	8.38	F (3, 319) = 4.99** (p < 0.01)
English in Germany (E_G)		70	8.32	0.88	8.12	8.53	
Italian in Australia (I_A)		74	8.05	0.80	7.87	8.23	
German in Australia (G_A)		88	7.81	1.03	7.60	8.03	

Table 6.16 Data on the effect of Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities”) on the four sample groups

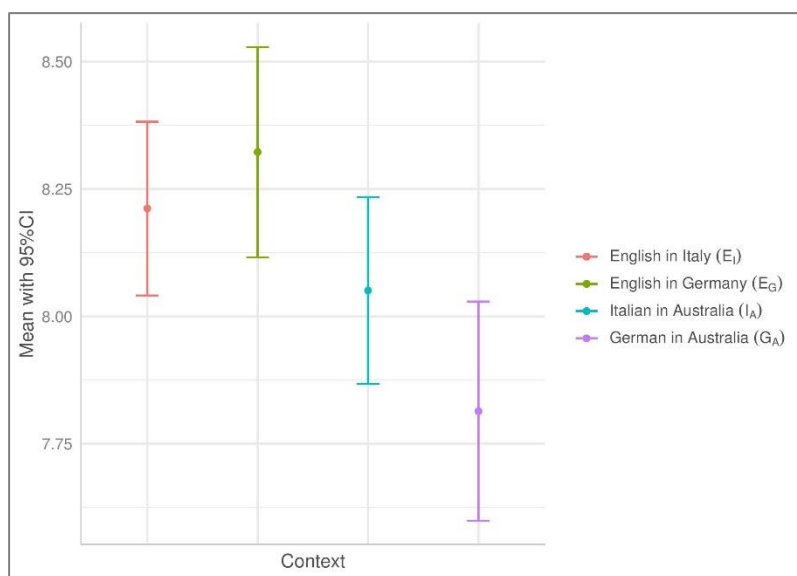


Figure 4 Visual representation of the effect of Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities”) on the four sample groups

Discussion

The fact that the desire to connect to L2 communities and to develop an L2-speaking persona was found to have a significantly higher effect on EFL respondents in comparison to G_A respondents may at first appear counterintuitive, given that the

integrative construct has fallen out of fashion in the field of L2 motivation since it was unable to account for the motivations of learners of global English (see 2.2.2 and 2.4). It is also in disagreement with Oakes and Howard's (2019) recent cross-linguistic study on university learners of English and a LOTE (French) in Sweden and Poland, respectively, which found that the variable "integrative orientation" in its weak version (desire to affiliate with rather than assimilate into and identify with L2 communities) was significantly higher in the latter learner group. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the EFL learners under investigation were studying cultural and linguistic aspects associated with specific geographically-situated inner-circle countries (see 5.4.1 and 6.1.2.4) and were also likely to have been exposed to inner-circle norms throughout their schooling histories, since the teaching of English in Italy and in Germany is strongly focused on British and American linguistic and cultural standards (for Italy see e.g. Aiello, 2017, p. 120; Santipolo, 2016; for Germany see e.g. Bieswanger, 2008; see also 4.2 and 4.3, respectively).

The high ratings of EFL learners for the items comprised in this factor suggest that these learners still viewed their target language as a way to access English-speaking countries and their culture(s). These findings are in line with studies conducted on the motivations of students of English studies (see e.g. Erling, 2007), which show that English plays an important role in reshaping students' sense of self not only in relation to a global community (see 6.2.6.1 and 7.3.2.4), but also to English-speaking countries (see 3.1.2.1).

The fact that the responses of G_A respondents significantly differed from those of their EFL counterparts may be linked to their more limited exposure to German-speaking communities. Busse and Williams (2010) have shown that learners of German in the UK did not perceive a strong sense of emotional identification with German communities mainly because they did not have enough contacts with them. It can be assumed that G_A respondents in this study were less exposed to L2 speakers than EFL learners: the latter were likely to encounter English on a daily basis through English-speaking media, which often retains an association with inner-circle countries (Chik & Breidback, 2011). It should be noted, however, that the effect of this factor on G_A respondents was still considerably high ($G_A = 7.60$), in line with previous studies pointing to the importance of integrative orientations for learners of German (see e.g. Schmidt, 2011; Riemer 2016 for

learning contexts which are geographically distant from German-speaking countries) and with the qualitative data (see 7.3.2.2).

I_A learners may have not significantly differed from G_A learners as these two sample groups were likely to envision similar communities of affiliation (i.e. easily identifiable communities that use the L2 and own the language). However, the lack of significant differences observed for EFL and I_A respondents in relation to this factor may be reflective of a more frequent exposure of I_A learners to L2 communities in comparison their G_A counterparts, possibly due to the visibility and community presence of Italian in Melbourne and to the higher portion of I_A respondent with a heritage background (see 6.4.2.2)

6.2.3 Factor 3: Ought-to L2 self

Variables	Questionnaire items	Loading coefficients	Cronbach's alpha
Ought-to L2 self	1) I study the L2 because people around me expect me to do so	0.82	0.73
	2) If I fail to learn the L2, I will be letting other people down	0.62	
	3) I consider learning the L2 important because the people I respect think that I should do so	0.56	
	4) People around me (e.g. parents, partner, relatives, friends, teachers) believe that I ought to study the L2	0.53	

Table 6.17 Inner structure of Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”)

As shown in Table 6.17, Factor 3 grouped the four items measuring the ought-to L2 self, which, like the variable “desire for L2 proficiency” loaded onto one single factor. This shows the high internal consistency of the multi-item scale that measured it. While items associated with the ideal L2 self had high means in all sample groups (see Appendix 3, A) and loaded onto two factors (Factor 2 and Factor 5, see 6.2.2 and 6.2.5, respectively), items belonging to the ought-to L2 self had the lowest means in all sample groups (Appendix 3, A) and did not appear as part of any other factor emerged from the factor analysis. This gives some evidence that the ought-to L2 self is conceptually different from the other motivational variables included in the questionnaire (see 5.4.2.1). This finding is due to the fact that all the other variables/items have a promotion rather

than a prevention focus (Higgins, 1987), i.e. they describe motivations connected to personal gains and advantages, rather than to external responsibilities and duties.

This factor represented future L2 identities that emerge due to the influences that learners experience from their environment (items 1, 3, 4) and their perceived need to comply with external expectations (item 2). It was labelled ought-to L2 self as it perfectly matched the initial variable targeted in the questionnaire (see 5.4.3.1).

6.2.3.1 Factor 3 in the four learner populations

Context	Factor	N	M	SD	95% CI		F value
					Lower	Upper	
English in Italy (E _I)	Factor 3	91	1.52	0.86	1.34	1.69	F (3, 319) = 5.71*** (p < 0.001)
English in Germany (E _G)		70	1.18	0.63	1.03	1.33	
Italian in Australia (I _A)		74	1.80	1.01	1.57	2.03	
German in Australia (G _A)		88	1.52	1.02	1.30	1.73	

Table 6.18 Data on the effect of Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”) on the four sample groups

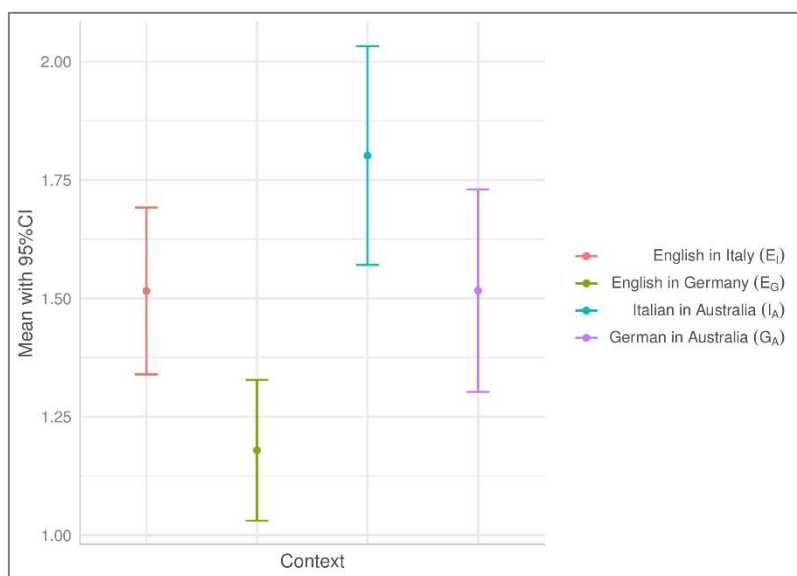


Figure 5 Visual representation of the effect of Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”) on the four sample groups

As Table 6.18 and Figure 5 show, the factor had considerably low ratings in all samples, and particularly in the E_G sample ($M_{E_G} = 1.18$, $SD_{E_G} = 0.63$). Pairwise t-tests (see Appendix 3, B3c) indicated that the E_G sample was significantly different from all other samples: (1) the E_I sample, ($t(159) = -2.76$, $p < 0.05$); (2) the I_A sample, ($t(142) = -4.39$,

$p < 0.001$); and (3) the G_A sample, ($t(156) = -2.41, p < 0.05$). No significant differences were observed between the other three samples, although it can be noted that the scores for the I_A sample were higher than the ones for the E_I and G_A samples.

Discussion

The low effect of the ought-to L2 self on all sample groups coheres with previous literature on elective language learners at tertiary level (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; de Burgh-Hirabe, 2019; Oakes, 2013; Oakes & Howard, 2019), confirming that motivations driven by a prevention focus (Higgins, 1987) are not relevant to this category of learners. As will be discussed in 6.3.2, this does not mean that the students under investigation were free from external influences when they decided to pursue L2 study at university, but rather that these influences did not manifest themselves in the form of coercion.

One reason which can account for the significant difference observed between the E_G respondents and all other samples in relation to this factor is the higher L2 proficiency of E_G students. As E_G learners already spoke English at an advanced level, it can be assumed that they did not experience external pressures to study it, in keeping with the data discussed in section 6.3.2. As will be elaborated in section 7.3.6, some E_G respondents enrolled in English and North American studies rather experienced discouraging attitudes from their milieu, due to the non-vocational nature of their degree and to the perceived relatively commonplace nature of their skillset of specialisation (i.e. English).

E_I learners may have been subject to more pressures than E_G respondents not only for their lower level of L2 proficiency, but also for the presence of mainstream discourses surrounding English language learning in Italy, which often emphasise the poor aptitude of Italians towards foreign language learning as well as the essential role played by English for ensuring job opportunities (Aiello, 2017; Faez, 2011; Pulcini, 1997). The currency afforded by English mastery may have been even more crucial in Italy at the time of data collection in the context of high unemployment rates (see 4.2 and 6.2.6.1).

The higher effect of this factor on LOTE respondents in comparison to E_G respondents may at first appear unexpected, as no substantial pressures to learn LOTES are expected in Australia (see 4.5). In addition, neither Italian nor German are perceived

as “must-do languages”, unlike English (see e.g. Ushioda, 2013b; Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017). This finding is also not in agreement with Oakes and Howard’s (2019) comparative study on EFL and LOTE learners in Sweden and Poland, which found that although the ought-to self held scarce relevance for all learner groups, it had a lower effect on LOTE learners. It is argued that heritage reasons can account for the higher relevance of the ought-to L2 self for the LOTE learners in the present study. Since around 50% of I_A respondents and around 28% of G_A respondents had a heritage background (see 6.1.1), it is likely that family influences played an important role in their decision of pursuing L2 study, in keeping with the literature on heritage learning (see e.g. Chiro & Smolicz, 1993, 1994, 1997; Berardi-Wiltshire, 2016; Pitronaci, 1998; Noels, 2005). The higher portion of I_A respondents with a heritage background may explain why the I_A sample was found to have the highest mean score. These speculations found further validation in the data discussed in 6.3.2 and in 7.3.6.

6.2.4 Factor 4: Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals

Variables	Questionnaire items	Loading coefficients	Cronbach’s alpha
Instrumental orientation	1) Knowing the L2 will help me to obtain a better job	0.78	0.71
	2) I think the L2 will help in my future career	0.71	
	3) Studying the L2 to a high level of proficiency will allow me to earn more money	0.53	
International posture	4) Mastering the L2 gives me access to a global community	0.30	

Table 6.19 Inner structure of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”)

As Table 6.19 illustrates, Factor 4 bundled together three items measuring the variable “instrumental orientation” and one item with a considerably lower loading measuring “international posture”. The factor described a set of characteristics labelled “Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”. It represented the desire to study the L2 to obtain professional gains: from a better job (item 1) to improved career opportunities (item 2) and a better salary (item 3). These future career

advantages derive from to the ability to access a global community through L2 skills (item 4).

The presence of a correlation between international posture and instrumental orientation is not surprising, as the former variable encompasses the latter (Yashima, 2009): acquiring a global standing enables individuals to become international professionals. This taps into societal discourses on the necessity of English for job opportunities in Europe (see e.g. Aiello, 2017) and on the disadvantages associated with monolingualism in the Australian job market (see e.g. Clyne, 2006, 2008; Group of 8, 2007; Mason & Hajek, 2018).

6.2.4.1 Factor 4 in the four learner populations

Context	Factor	N	M	SD	95% CI		F value
					Lower	Upper	
English in Italy (E _I)	Factor 4	91	7.76	0.79	7.60	7.92	F (3, 319) = 19.02*** (p < 0.001)
English in Germany (E _G)		70	7.51	0.91	7.29	7.72	
Italian in Australia (I _A)		74	6.74	0.92	6.53	6.95	
German in Australia (G _A)		88	7.17	1.01	6.96	7.38	

Table 6.20 Data on the effect of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”) on the four sample groups

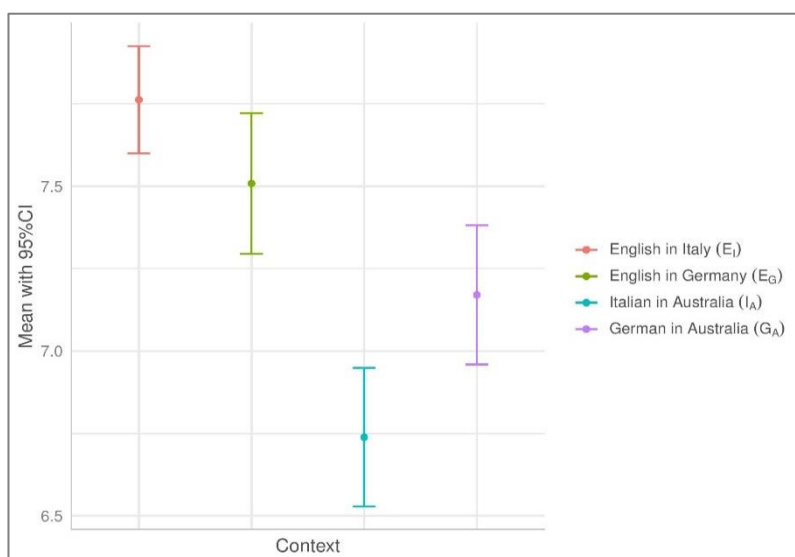


Figure 6 Visual representation of the effect of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”) on the four sample groups

As can be seen in Table 6.20 and Figure 6, a clear separation between the EFL and LOTE samples was found in terms of mean ratings. This factor was more relevant to the former ($M_{E_I} = 7.76$, $SD_{E_I} = 0.79$; $M_{E_G} = 7.51$, $SD_{E_G} = 0.91$), it had a considerable, albeit lower, effect on G_A students ($M_{G_A} = 7.17$, $SD_{G_A} = 1.01$) and it had the lowest influence on I_A students ($M_{I_A} = 6.74$, $SD_{I_A} = 0.92$). Pair-wise t-tests (see Appendix 3, B3d) showed that the I_A sample was significantly different from all other samples: (1) the E_I sample ($t(163) = 7.67$, $p < 0.001$); the (3) the E_G sample ($t(142) = 5.04$, $p < 0.001$); and (2) the G_A sample, ($t(160) = 2.82$, $p < 0.05$). The E_I sample was also significantly different from the G_A sample ($t(177) = 4.38$, $p < 0.001$). No significant differences were found between the E_G and G_A samples.

Discussion

The observable trend towards a higher relevance of this factor for EFL learners as opposed to LOTE learners confirms the instrumental function of English in the modern globalised world (see 3.1). This result is even more striking if we consider that EFL respondents were mostly enrolled in humanities degrees, whilst the I_A and G_A samples, and particularly the latter, included several students enrolled in STEMM degrees, which are generally associated with better employment prospects. Enhanced career opportunities were particularly envisioned by E_I learners, who, as noted previously, differed significantly from the two LOTE samples. As observed previously (see 6.2.3.1), mastering English may have been perceived as crucial by young Italians aiming to increase their own competitiveness in the job market. The ability to market oneself as international (see also the discussion for Factor 6, 6.2.6.1) could also have been particularly appealing for young university students who were willing to seize professional opportunities overseas in the context of high unemployment in Italy. This latter speculation is in line with Aiello's (2017 p. 153) finding that many young people learning English in Italy view the language as a way "to overcome the current economic situation [of Italy], escape their milieu and have hope in a better future" and can also explain why E_I students were the ones most willing to acquire global standing, as revealed by the effect of Factor 6 ("Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences") on this learner cohort (see 6.2.6.1).

The significant difference found between the I_A sample and all the other samples

can be explained in relation to the scarce instrumental appeal of Italian in comparison to English and German. It was elaborated in 3.2 that large-scale studies on the motivations of Italian L2 learners attest that the language is mainly studied for cultural, heritage and travel-related reasons (see e.g. Giovanardi & Trifone, 2012). As Palmieri (2017, p. 176) notes while discussing the appeal of the language, “the ‘investment’ of students in learning Italian may be generated by the desire to acquire some forms of symbolic capital rather than material resources, as in the case of other more ‘global’ languages (e.g. English)”.

The attainment of material resources through L2 proficiency was more relevant to EFL and G_A respondents. As noted previously, English holds a considerable instrumental value as the language at the top of the global linguistic hierarchy (see 3.1; Ushioda, 2013c, p. 234). German also enjoys a considerable reputation as a business language (see e.g. Ammon, 2015; DaF, 2015; Riemer, 2016), with Germany being the second most important European business partner of Australia after the United Kingdom (Ammon, 2015, p. 1059), and also has a role, albeit rather context-specific and secondary to English, of lingua franca in the scientific field (for an overview see Ammon, 2015, pp. 519-693). In addition, evidence of the instrumental appeal of German has been found both in large-scale empirical investigations (Riemer, 2006, 2011, 2016, see 3.3) and in the Australian context (Schmidt, 2011). Schmidt (2011, p. 110), for instance, found that instrumental reasons represented the third most influential motivational factor for tertiary students of German, in keeping with previous research conducted on this learner population in Australia (Ammon, 1991; Petersen, 1993). She also found that instrumental motives were particularly common among students enrolled in economics, science and engineering. The considerable proportion of non-Arts students in the G_A sample and the high effect of this factor on this learner cohort further attest to the instrumental appeal of German and can also explain why no statistical difference was found between this sample and one EFL population, i.e. the E_G sample.

6.2.5 Factor 5: Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities

Variables	Questionnaire items	Loading coefficients	Cronbach's alpha
Intrinsic orientation	1) I really enjoy learning the L2	0.74	0.72
	2) Learning the L2 is one of the most important aspects of my life	0.55	
	3) I like the intellectual challenge of learning the L2	0.46	
	4) I find it exciting to be able to communicate in the L2	0.38	
Ideal L2 self	5) Whenever I think of my future, I imagine myself being able to use the L2	0.34	

Table 6.21 Inner structure of Factor 5 (“Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities”)

Factor 5 brought together five items which referred to two of the variables included in the questionnaire, i.e. “intrinsic orientation and the “ideal L2 self”. As Table 6.21 shows, all the items targeting the variable “intrinsic orientation” displayed a high correlation, confirming the high internal consistency of the initial variable targeted in the questionnaire. The combination of these items identified a set of characteristics which was labelled “Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities”.

The factor described individuals who considered learning the L2 an enjoyable (item 1), mentally stimulating (item 3) and exciting (item 4) process which played a central role in their lives (item 2). Students who were intrinsically invested in L2 learning could also envision themselves at the end of the process as successful language users (items 5).

The presence of a correlation between items measuring intrinsic orientation and the ideal L2 self is not surprising, as intrinsic motivations have a promotion focus like the ideal L2 self: from the perspective of the L2MSS, learners who invest in their future identities as L2 speakers are intrinsically motivated to reduce the gap between who they are and who they wish to become (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009, see 2.4.1). This correlation has also been found in Oakes’ (2013) study on learners of French and Spanish in the UK.

6.2.5.1 Factor 5 in the four learner populations

As Table 6.22 and Figure 7 show, this factor had high mean scores in all sample groups. By comparing these means with those obtained for Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”),

it is immediately clear that most learners in all samples were intrinsically rather than extrinsically motivated. It can be noted that EFL samples had higher scores ($M_{E_I} = 8.06$, $SD_{E_I} = 0.80$; $M_{E_G} = 7.78$, $SD_{E_G} = 0.80$) than LOTE samples ($M_{I_A} = 7.57$, $SD_{I_A} = 0.98$; $M_{G_A} = 7.45$, $SD_{G_A} = 0.94$). Pair-wise t-tests (see Appendix 3, B3e) indicated that E_I learners were significantly different from both I_A learners, ($t(163) = 3.52$, $p < 0.001$), and from G_A learners ($t(177) = 4.64$, $p < 0.001$). The E_G sample was significantly different from the G_A sample ($t(156) = 2.31$, $p < 0.05$), but not from the I_A sample.

Context	Factor	N	M	SD	95% CI		F value
					Lower	Upper	
English in Italy (E_I)	Factor 5	91	8.06	0.80	7.90	8.23	F (3, 319) = 7.97*** (p < 0.001)
English in Germany (E_G)		70	7.78	0.80	7.59	7.97	
Italian in Australia (I_A)		74	7.57	0.98	7.35	7.80	
German in Australia (G_A)		88	7.45	0.94	7.26	7.65	

Table 6.22 Data on the effect of Factor 5 (“Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities”) on the four sample groups

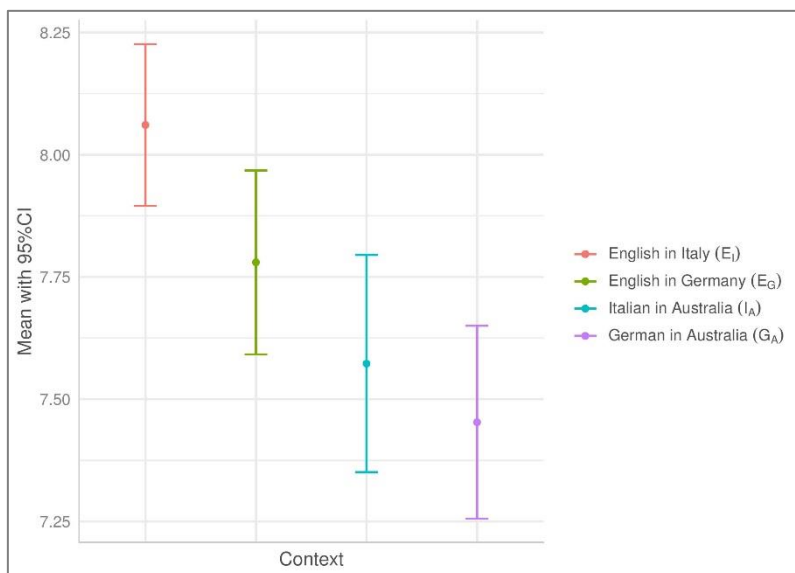


Figure 7 Visual representation of the effect of Factor 5 (“Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities”) on the four sample groups

Discussion

The significant difference found between E_I learners and LOTE learners and between E_G learners and G_A learners may be directly linked to the longer L2 learning

histories of EFL learners (see 6.1.2.1 vs 6.1.2.2). Scholarship has shown that prior learning experiences play a pivotal role in shaping motivation (see e.g. Carpenter et al., 2009; de Burgh-Hirabe, 2019; Falout & Falout, 2005) and that positive experiences, in particular, can help shape students’ attitudes towards the L2 and L2 learning (see e.g. Dörnyei, 1994; Gardner, 1985; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Riemer, 2016; Falout & Falout, 2005), potentially impacting on their decision to continue L2 study. It can also be speculated that EFL students, who had studied the language for many years, had a more clear and tangible idea of their future selves (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2009) than their LOTE counterparts, and may thus have scored higher in the items measuring the ideal L2 self included in this factor. In addition, it can be assumed that students in the European context, who were studying the L2 as part of specialised degrees focussing predominantly on language studies (6.1.2.4), were more invested in L2 learning than their LOTE counterparts, who were pursuing language studies alongside other degree areas (6.1.2.5).

Following a similar interpretation, the longer L2 learning experiences of I_A respondents in comparison to G_A learners (6.1.2.2) may explain why no statistical differences were found between the former and E_G respondents.

6.2.6 Factor 6: Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences

Variables	Questionnaire items	Loading coefficients	Cronbach’s alpha
International posture	1) Mastering the L2 allows me to feel that I am a citizen of the world	0.56	0.57
Instrumental orientation	2) I think knowing the L2 will help me to become a more knowledgeable person	0.37	
International posture	3) Mastering the L2 gives me access to a global community.	0.33	

Table 6.23 Inner structure of Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences”). Item 6 is in italics as it correlated negatively with the other items included in the Factor

The last factor that emerged from the analysis grouped three items which referred to two of the variables included in the questionnaire (“international posture” and “instrumental orientation”), confirming the conceptual link between these two constructs (Yashima, 2009, see also discussion in 6.2.4.1). As noted in 6.2, although considerably low, the Cronbach’s alpha coefficient of this factor (0.57) was close to 0.60 and above the minimal threshold of 0.50 (Perry et al., 2004, p. 364), and was thus deemed

acceptable.

This factor, which aligns with Yashima’s (2002, 2009) construct of “international posture”, was labelled “Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences”. The term identity was included in the labelling of the factor as the items comprised in it refer to students’ desire to shape an identity as global citizens (item 1) and members of a global community (item 3). This motivation was linked to students’ awareness that the partaking in a global community would allow them to become more more knowledgeable (item 2), perhaps thanks to the material and symbolic resources (Norton Peirce, 1995) that L2 knowledge affords.

6.2.6.1 Factor 6 in the four learner populations

Context	Factor	N	M	SD	95% CI		F value
					Lower	Upper	
English in Italy (E _I)	Factor 6	91	4.23	0.66	4.10	4.37	F (3, 319) = 6.9*** (p < 0.001)
English in Germany (E _G)		70	3.69	0.82	3.50	3.89	
Italian in Australia (I _A)		74	3.87	0.86	3.67	4.06	
German in Australia (G _A)		88	3.87	0.82	3.70	4.04	

Table 6.24 Data on the effect of Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences”) on the four sample groups

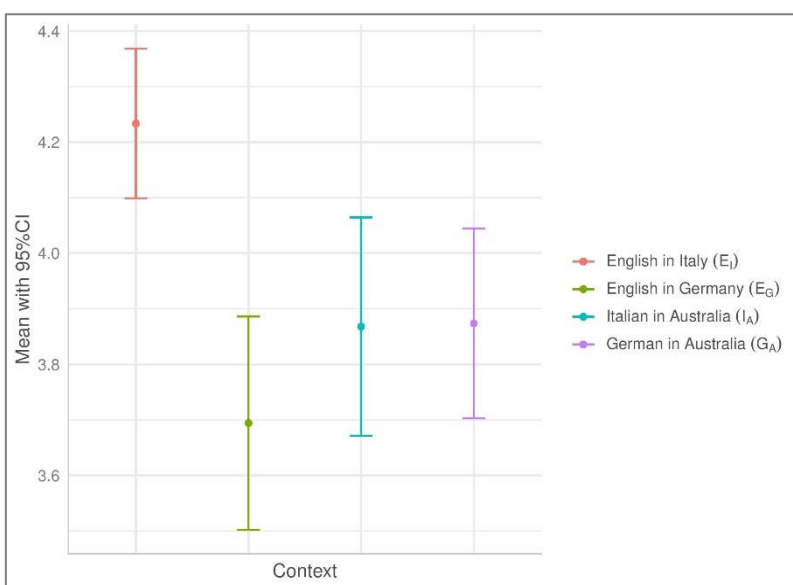


Figure 8 Visual representation of the effect of Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences”) on the four sample groups

As can be seen in Table 6.24 and Figure 8, Factor 6 had the highest mean values for E_I learners ($M_{E_I} = 4.23$; $SD_{E_I} = 0.66$). Pair-wise t-tests (see Appendix 3, B3f) showed that the E_I sample was significantly different from the other three: (1) from the E_G sample ($t(159) = -4.65$, $p < 0.001$); (2) from the I_A sample ($t(163) = 3.09$, $p < 0.05$); and (3) from the G_A sample ($t(177) = 3.25$, $p < 0.05$). No significant differences were found between the E_G , I_A , and G_A , samples, even though it can be observed that the E_G sample had a slightly lower mean than the other two samples.

Discussion

The finding on the highest effect of this factor on E_I learners confirms previous hypotheses about the desire for international mobility of young Italians (see 6.2.4.1). The wish to acquire an international dimension is likely to be linked with young students' need to access employment opportunities overseas, which may have been perceived as crucial considering the high unemployment rates in Italy, in line with the previous literature (see Aiello, 2017, p. 62, see also Factor 4, 6.2.4.1). It was noted in 4.2 that the current unfortunate situation of the Italian job market has forced an increasing number of young people to leave Italy and move abroad. Emigration from Italy increased by almost 50% between 2006 and 2016 (Fulloni, 2016). As noted in 4.2, recent statistics from the Registry of Italian Resident Abroad (AIRE) also attest to an increase of roughly 30% in the number of young Italian migrants aged from 20 to 40 between 2011 and 2012 (see Aiello, 2017, pp. 31-32). These trends suggest that language proficiency can become now more than ever a necessity for youth attempting to acquire a global standing and access careers, resources and opportunities overseas. The effect of this factor for this learner population confirms that E_I learners' motivations were not only L2 community-dependent, as Factor 2 suggests (see 6.2.2.1), but they were also community-independent, thereby reflecting the multifaceted identity of English as a language associated with inner-circle countries and with the world at large.

The significant difference observed between E_I , I_A and G_A sample may be directly linked to the global status of the L2: learners of English were more likely to envision the potential that their language holds as a means to affiliate with a global culture, as confirmed by a wealth of literature on the status of English as a global language (see e.g. Dörnyei et al., 2006; Yashima, 2002, 2009). While this hypothesis is plausible, it does

not explain the low effect of this factor on E_G learners, who, as noted previously, were found to be significantly different from E_I learners, but not from LOTE learners. The low effect of this factor for E_G learners may be attributable to the fact that German respondents believed that their current L2 proficiency already afforded them access to a global community. This sample group may also have had fewer desires to seek job opportunities overseas, given the current economic situation in Germany and the fact that many of them were pursuing a vocational degree in teaching (see 6.1.2.4) which would qualify them as professionals in Germany. Overall, this finding suggests that E_G learners did not view L2 study at university as conducive to a more meaningful form of global participation, but rather as a way to deepen their understanding of cultural and linguistic aspects of well identified L2 communities, as shown by the high effect of Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2 communities and to create L2-speaking identities”) on this learner group (see 6.2.2.1).

It can be noted that this factor still had a relatively high mean for I_A and G_A learners, who were not significantly different from E_G respondents. This suggests that the desire to acquire a global standing through L2 learning was not only relevant to learners of English but also to learners of LOTEs. This is in keeping with the literature on Anglophone learners (e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013; see 3.1.2.2). The relevance of this motivational dimension to LOTE learners can also be directly associated with the discourse surrounding language education in Australia, which often emphasises the benefits of language learning to expand one’s own horizons and acquire an international outlook. As noted in 4.5, Mason and Hajek (2018), for instance, have shown that Australian press and media often frame language proficiency as a gateway to the world and as a skill which offers considerable advantages not only as a personal but also on a professional level (see also Bradshaw et al., 2008).

6.2.7 Some final considerations on the factor analysis

This section briefly comments on the analysis conducted. Overall, the explanatory factor analysis enabled us to test the presence of latent motivations in the sample and to determine whether the variables initially targeted would also hold validity for the learner populations under investigation.

The findings showed that only two variables (i.e. desire for language proficiency,

ought-to L2 self) held meaning for the learners in this study as distinct motivations, while the others cohered into new more complex motivational categories that acted as a whole. Specifically, the ideal L2 self was linked to integrative (see 6.2.2) and intrinsic orientations (see 6.2.5); instrumental orientation was associated with international posture (6.2.4 and 6.2.6).

The fact that these latter variables were not validated in this study may appear surprising, considering that they are highly established in the field and, as we previously noted, have been validated in several contexts (see 5.4.2.1). However, it should not be forgotten that, as Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011, p. 248) note, “variables are the outcome of a reductionist logic, a quest for the smallest common denominators of the social world in terms of discrete modular entities”. The results of the factor analysis are reflective of the complexity of learners’ motivational systems, which cannot be simply encapsulated along reductionist lines.

A particularly interesting finding worth discussing is the fact that the ideal L2 self, despite having high mean values in all sample groups (see Appendix 3, A), did not emerge as a distinct motivational variable. This may shed some further light on the scarce construct validity of the multi-item scale measuring it, which has attracted some criticism for not operationalising the construct in sufficient detail (see e.g. Hessel, 2015, pp. 104-105). It may also show that the ideal L2 self was not distinct from other variables included in this study. As the qualitative findings illustrated, the ideal L2 self represented a broad overarching construct from which learners’ identities could be explored. The link between the ideal L2 self and the other motivational dimensions targeted in this research will be further examined in Chapter 7

6.3 Close-ended questions

This section discusses the most salient findings obtained from the analysis of the close-ended questions included in the second part of the questionnaire (see 5.4.3.1). The data are displayed in percentages. Tables with frequencies for each close-ended question are included in Appendix 3, C.

6.3.1 Attributes associated with L2 proficiency

In the first close-ended question students were prompted to answer the following:

“What attributes would you associate with yourself as a speaker of the L2 in the future?”. They could select more than one answer and could also add additional attributes and/or comment on their choice(s)²⁸. Figure 9 displays the data. Percentages were calculated on the total number of responses collected. As one I_A student did not reply to this question, the percentages of the I_A group were calculated on a sample of 73 rather than 74.

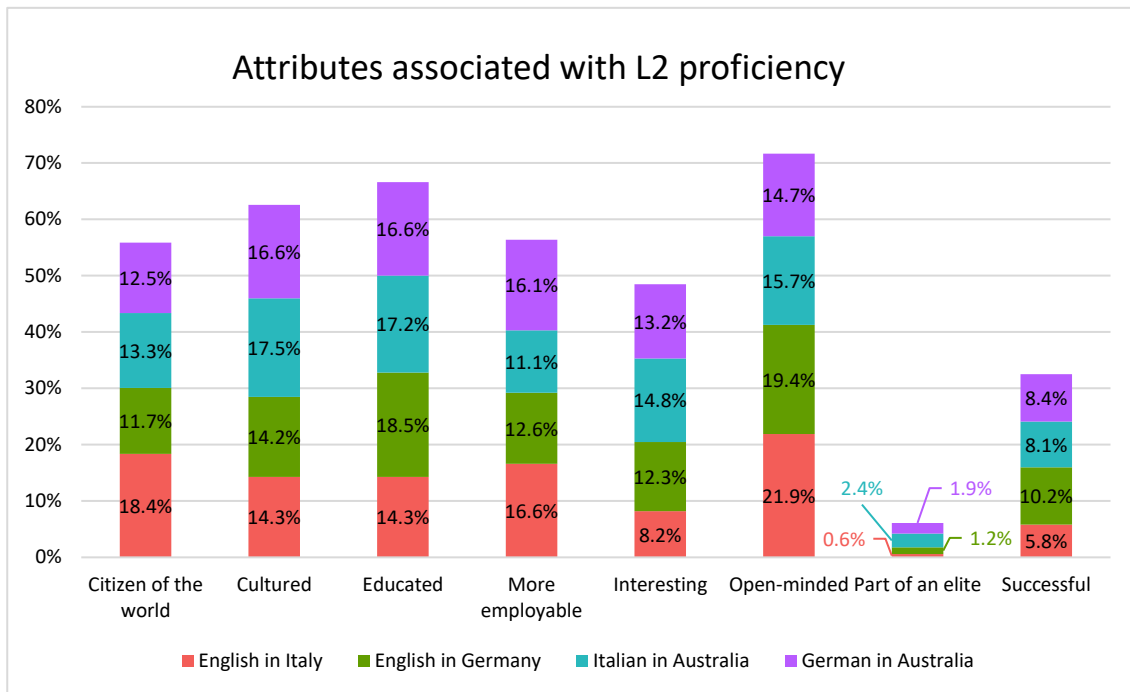


Figure 9 Respondents in the four samples report on the attributes that they would associate with themselves as future L2 speakers

Similar trends can be found in the data across learner groups, suggesting that the students under investigation aimed to accrue similar forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Norton Peirce, 1995) by pursuing L2 study at university level, regardless of the language being learnt. As can be seen, a considerable portion of respondents in all samples envisioned themselves in the future as (1) cultured, as expected from students who were not only studying the L2, but rather language studies; (2) educated, as anticipated for a group of L2 learners who had decided to pursue L2 study at tertiary level; and (3) open-minded, which suggests that respondents considered L2 learning as affecting their world view. It is likely that this latter attribute encompasses the broader construct of intercultural

²⁸ The additional attributes mentioned in the comments were included in QDS1 (see 7.1).

competence (Gudykunst, 1991; Kim, 1991, see also Byram, 2008), which includes, as Yashima (2009, p. 146) summarises, “openness to different perspectives, adaptability, empathy, tendency to approach people who are different and non-ethnocentric attitude”, with all these skills being part of the conceptual underpinnings of the construct international posture (see 2.2.2). The view of L2 proficiency as associated with the projection of a learned and knowledgeable self found confirmation in the qualitative data (see 7.3.1 and 7.3.4), suggesting that in all samples L2 learning at university level was also linked to an investment in an identity as educated individuals, what Busse (2015, 2017, see also 2.4.1) labels “ideal *Bildungs-Selbst*” (see further discussion in Chapter 7).

The least selected response in all samples was the attribute “part of an elite”, which may have been perceived as problematic, as the term implies a degree of superiority due to quality or ability (see Oxford Dictionary, n.d.). It can be observed that this option was selected marginally more frequently by LOTE learners, a finding which can be explained by the fact that knowledge of an additional language does not represent the norm in Anglophone countries (see 4.5).

The data also show that students in all samples associated L2 proficiency with global citizenry: this attribute was chosen not only by the EFL samples ($E_I = 18.4\%$, $E_G = 11.7\%$), as one might expect due to the linguistic capital that English imparts as a global language (Pauwels, 2014b, see also 3.1), but also by a considerable portion of LOTE respondents ($I_A = 13.3\%$; $G_A = 12.5\%$). As the qualitative data showed (see 7.3.2.4), the acquisition of global citizenship in the LOTE samples was not necessarily connected to the communicative reach of the language being learnt, but it was rather associated with the ability to speak *a* language. This resonates with discourses around language education in Australia, which, as noted in the discussion Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences”, see 6.2.6.1), place emphasis on the importance of L2 learning for acquiring new and meaningful forms of global participation.

It can be seen that the attribute “employable” was least popular among I_A respondents ($I_A = 11.1\%$). This trend coheres with the lowest effect of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”, see 6.2.4.1) on I_A learners and also substantiates our hypothesis on the higher economic capital attached to English and German in comparison to Italian.

The findings presented in this section suggest that students’ investment in an L2-

speaking self was connected to broader aspirations to access real and/or imagined communities of educated, cultivated, globally oriented and more employable individuals (see also Chapter 7), thereby lending insight into the transformative power of language learning experiences (Norton, 2000; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Kinginger, 2004). Of course, conceiving identity markers as discrete and stable entities which can be measured quantitatively does not do justice to the complexity of identity processes, as framed by poststructuralist scholarship (see 2.6). Chapter 7 will explore in more depth how these identity dimensions are connected to broader process of identity creation and development.

6.3.2 External factors impacting on L2 choice at university

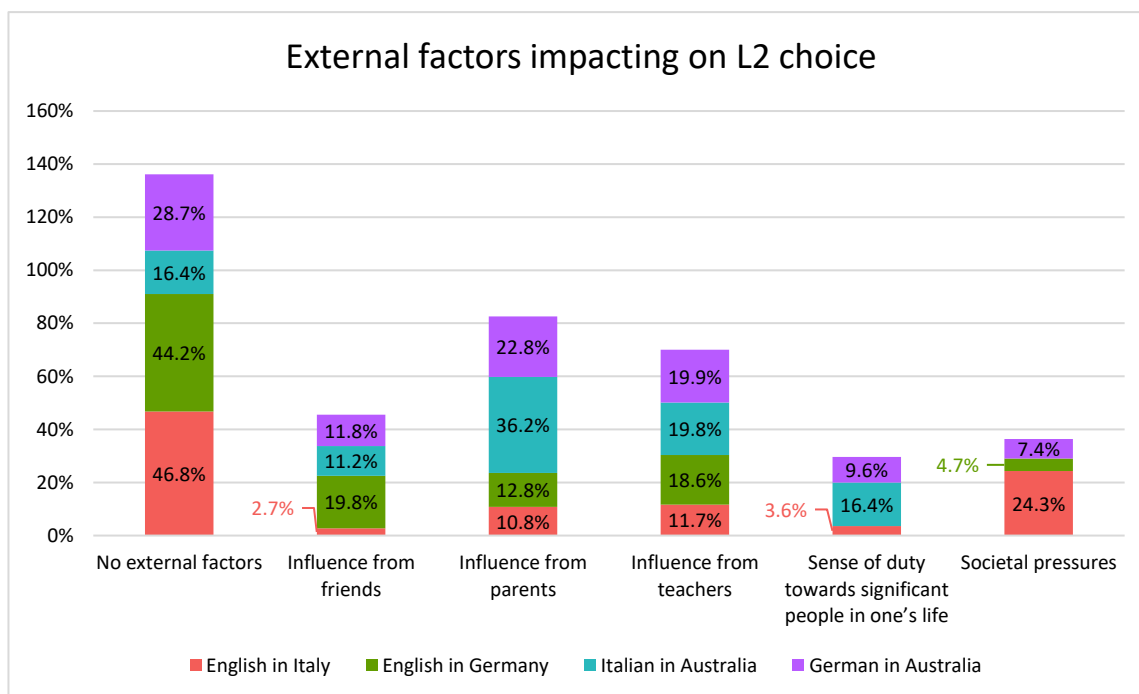


Figure 10 Respondents in the four samples report on whether they experienced external influences when they decided to pursue L2 studies at university level

Respondents were also prompted to indicate whether external factors impacted on their decision to study the L2 at university and were invited to specify the source(s) of these influences. They could select more than one option and add comments²⁹. 6 missing

²⁹ The optional qualitative comments left in the questionnaire are incorporated in the discussion presented in 7.3.6.

values were found in the overall dataset: 89 (of 91) E_I learners, 69 (of 70) E_G learners, 72 (of 74) I_A learners and 87 (of 88) G_A learners responded to this question. Since participants could choose more than one answer, percentages were calculated on the total sample of responses given.

As can be seen in Figure 10, a remarkably higher percentage of learners in the EFL samples in comparison to the LOTE samples reported *not* being influenced by external factors ($E_I = 46.8\%$ and $E_G = 44.2\%$ vs $I_A = 16.4\%$ and $G_A = 28.7\%$), in keeping with the lowest ratings of Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”) in these sample groups. As will be discussed in the qualitative chapter, while EFL respondents recognised the social and economic capital associated with English, they often emphasised that the decision for pursuing L2 study was intrinsically driven, rather than the result of a form of compliance with popular discourses about the importance of English.

It can be noted that the respondents in Australia were mainly influenced by parents ($I_A = 36.2\%$; $G_A = 22.8\%$). In addition, a considerable portion of I_A learners also reported being influenced by significant people in their lives ($I_A = 16.4\%$). This can be explained in relation to the fact that heritage learners made up more than half of the former sample (see 6.1). As the qualitative data showed (see 7.3.6), external influences for pursuing L2 learning originated from family members for which the knowledge of the heritage language is considered important. This can also explain why the I_A sample had the highest rating in Factor 3 (Ought-to L2 Self, see 6.2.3.1).

It can also be observed that the answer option “influence from teachers” was chosen by a considerable portion of respondents in all four sample groups ($E_I = 11.7\%$; $E_G = 18.6\%$; $I_A = 19.8\%$; $G_A = 19.9\%$), in line with scholarship outlining the pivotal role played by educators and positive learning experiences in affecting L2 learners’ motivations not only short-term through classroom practices, but also long-term (see e.g. Carpenter et al., 2009; Guilloteaux & Dörnyei, 2008).

Consistent with the reported lack of broader societal support for L2 learning in a country characterised by a considerable monolingual mindset (see e.g. Clyne, 2006, 2008; Hajek & Slaughter, 2014), the option “societal pressure” was not chosen by I_A respondents and was selected by only a small portion of G_A learners ($G_A = 7.4\%$). These pressures were mainly perceived by E_I respondents ($E_I = 24.3\%$), in line with previous studies (Aiello, 2017; Faez, 2011) and with the hypotheses advanced to provide justification for

the high effect of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”, see 6.2.4.1) and Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities”, see 6.2.6.1) on this learner population. The recurrence of societal pressures in the E_I sample is even more striking if compared to the low incidence of reported influences from friends ($E_I = 2.7\%$) and from other significant people ($E_G = 3.6\%$) in this sample. This finding sheds further light on the perceived need for some E_I learners to master English to be more competitive in the Italian job market and/or to seek employment opportunities overseas. The high L2 proficiency of E_G respondents and their more secure employment opportunities in Germany can explain why this learner group did not experience considerable societal pressures ($E_G = 4.7\%$), as discussed in section 6.2.3.1.

6.3.2.1 Understanding external influences

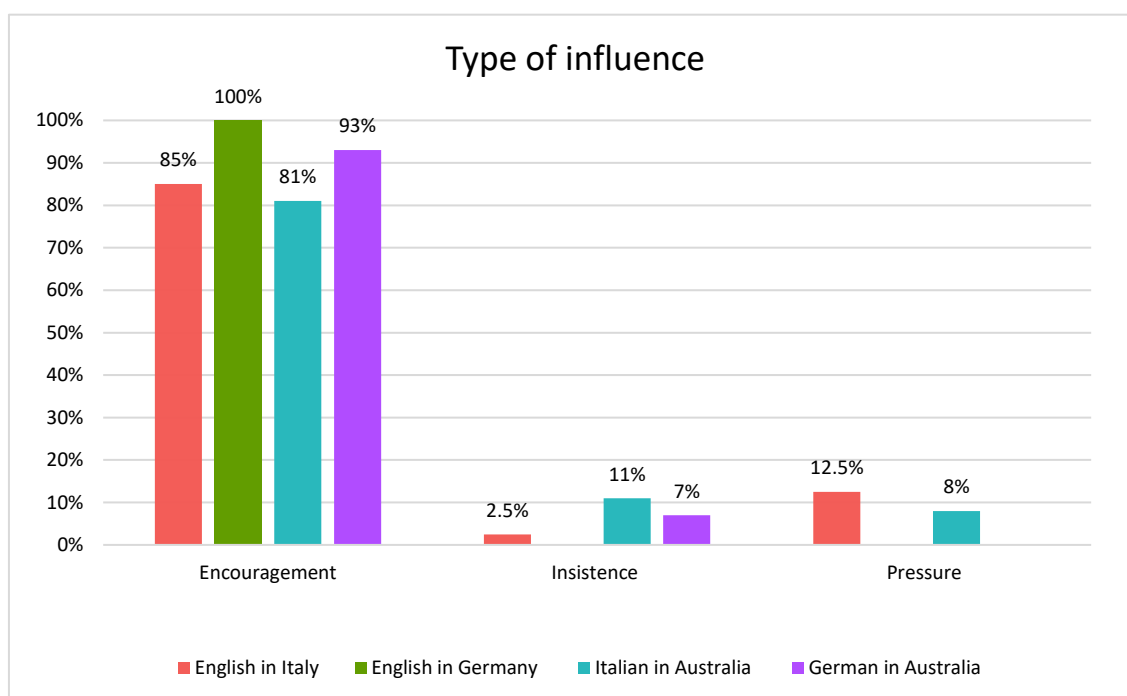


Figure 11 Respondents report on the type of influence they experienced when they decided to pursue L2 studies (results add up to 100%)

The students who reported being influenced by others when choosing to pursue L2 study at university level in the previous question were also invited to provide details regarding what kind of influence they experienced (“If in the previous question you replied that you have experienced external influences when you decided to study the L2, how would you define the influence that you experienced?”). Students could only select

one option out of the three reported in Figure 11 or could add an additional answer if they wished.

As Figure 11 illustrates, most respondents in the four samples chose the option “encouragement” ($E_I = 85\%$, $E_G = 100\%$, $I_A = 81\%$ and $G_A = 93\%$). The presence of external influences manifesting themselves in the form of encouragement rather than coercion, the latter being associated with the answer options “insistence” and “pressure”, is in keeping with a wealth of literature on elective language learners (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; de Burgh-Hirabe, 2019; Oakes & Howard, 2019).

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (n.d.), the word “encouragement” has two primary meanings. It indicates (1) the action of giving someone support, confidence, or hope, and (2) the action of persuading someone to do or to continue doing something. If one considers the first meaning, it can be assumed that the decision to pursue L2 study arose in the learners and that forces coming from their milieu provided additional support and validation for its actualisation. If one considers the second meaning, it can be speculated that students had not initially envisioned themselves as university language students and that external influences contributed to the emergence of this vision³⁰. Did these external influences give shape to an ideal L2 self or to an ought-to L2 self? As noted in 2.4.1, the main differences between these two constructs lies in the source of origin of the individual’s self-image, which is internal for the ideal L2 self and external for the ought-to L2 self (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 460) and in the nature of the end-state (Higgins, 1987): whilst the ideal L2 self has a promotion focus, the ought-to L2 self has a prevention focus. From this perspective, the first form of encouragement discussed above served to sustain an ideal L2 self dimension. That is, the decision to pursue L2 study originated in the learners and was found in harmony with external expectations (see Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 84-95), which provided further validation to this decision. By contrast, the encouragement described by the second meaning is likely to have contributed to the creation of an ought-to L2 self dimension. Nevertheless, the fact that respondents chose the option “encouragement” rather than “insistence” and “pressure”

³⁰ The answer options for this question did not require students to express which one of these two meanings of the word “encouragement” was relevant to them, as the question mainly intended to discriminate between “encouragement” and “insistence/pressure”. Future research could explicitly distinguish between “encouragement to do something I wanted” and “encouragement to do something I had not thought about”, so as to facilitate data interpretation regarding the nature of these influences.

suggests a certain degree of interiorisation, thereby throwing some light into learners' agency in their choice of pursuing L2 study at university level. It is argued that Teimouri's (2017, see 2.4.1) construct of the "ought-to L2 self/own", which implies an internalisation of external influences, has a strong explanatory power in relation to these latter respondents, who, as the qualitative data showed (see also 7.3.6), were not numerous in any of the four samples. This suggests that the motivations of most respondents in this study were driven by an ideal L2 self.

It is also worthwhile observing that some I_A learners reported experiencing influences in the form of insistence (11%) and pressure (8%). Both terms, unlike the term encouragement, imply a less agentic role on the part of the learners, who are rather compliant with external expectations imposed on them. While the term "insistence" suggests a more direct and persistent persuasion, pressures can be either direct or indirect. This finding in the I_A sample is probably linked to the considerable number of heritage learners. It is likely that some heritage learners were pressured to study Italian by their immediate milieu (family and/or local L2 communities), in keeping with scholarship pointing to the influence of families and communities on heritage language learning (see e.g. Berardi-Wiltshire, 2016). This was confirmed by the qualitative findings (see 7.3.6).

Finally, 12.5% of E_i respondents reported experiencing pressures for the study of English. It is argued that the presence of these pressures should be understood in relation to the high effect of Factor 6 ("Desire to create global identities and to have overseas experiences", see 6.2.6.1) on this sample group. As previously noted, these pressures were likely to derive from the need to master English to be able to secure employment opportunities both in Italy and abroad (see Aiello, 2017) in the context of high unemployment rates (see Eurostat, 2018b).

6.3.3 Employment sector

Students were also invited to indicate which careers they envisioned for themselves and were given the option to select more than one answer and/or to add additional occupations in the comments. The professions indicated in the comments were then coded and clustered into four categories ("culture and entertainment", "law", "publishing" and "STEMM"), which are presented in Figure 12 alongside the answer options already given. The percentages were calculated on the total number of responses.

It should be noted that one E_I learner, one E_G learner and one G_A learner did not answer this question.

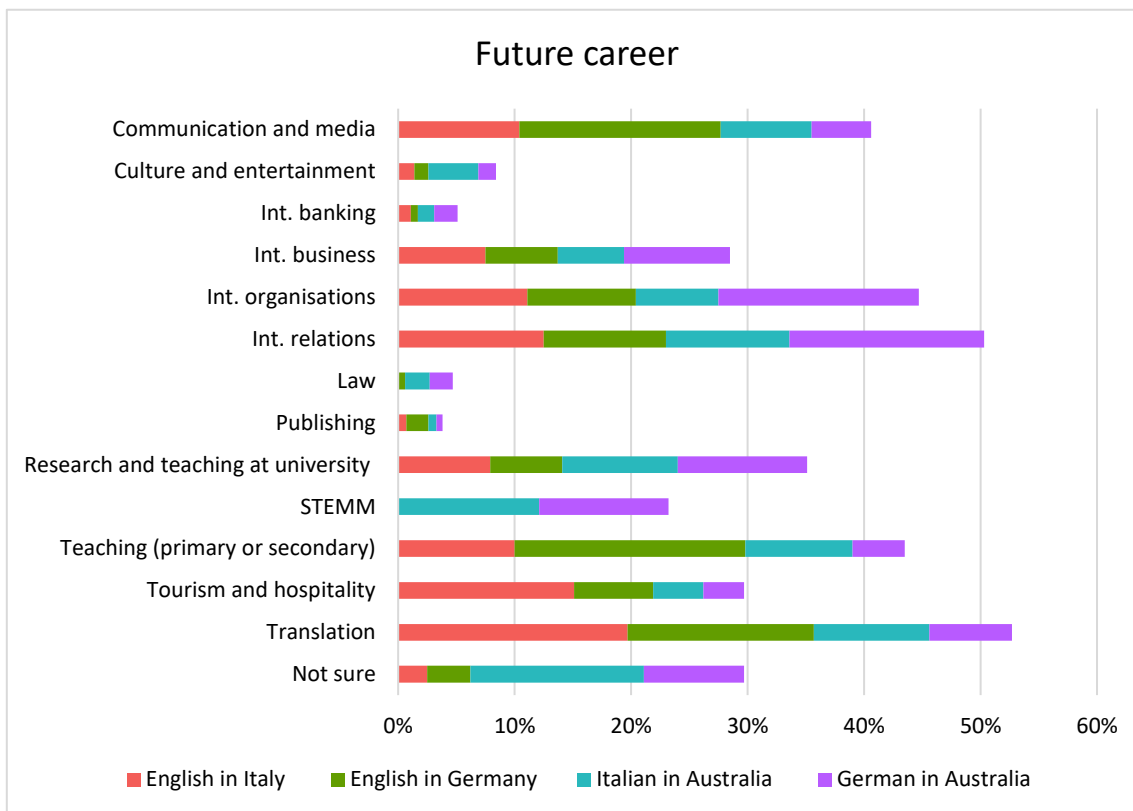


Figure 12 Respondents in the four samples report on their future career plans. More than one answer could be selected

If one considers the whole sample, it can be observed that the most popular responses, albeit with varying percentages across sample groups, were “translation”, “international relations”, “international organisation”, “communication and media” and “teaching (primary or secondary)”, which are career fields traditionally associated with language studies at university level (see e.g. Schmidt, 2011, pp. 124-126; Schmidt, 2014b). Teaching was envisioned as a possible career predominantly by the E_G sample ($E_G = 19.8\%$), which, as observed in section 6.1.2.4, included a considerable portion of students enrolled in a teaching degree. However, this option was also selected with varying degrees in other samples ($E_I = 10\%$, $I_A = 9.2\%$ and less frequently for $G_A = 4.5\%$).

Some items had a relatively even distribution in the four samples. For instance, the item “international relations” and the item “international business” ($E_I = 7.5\%$, $E_G = 6.2\%$, $I_A = 5.7\%$ and $G_A = 9.1\%$). It can also be noted that a portion of participants in each sample chose the item “research and teaching at university” ($E_I = 7.9\%$, $E_G = 6.2\%$, $I_A =$

9.9 % and $G_A = 11.1\%$), which confirms the language learners under investigation were not only interested in learning the L2, but also in acquiring more knowledge about cultural and linguistic aspect associated with the L2.

The data also shed some light on the status and appeal of each language. For instance, it can be noted that a markedly larger proportion of E_I respondents in comparison to other samples ($E_I = 15.1\%$, $E_G = 6.8\%$, $I_A = 4.3\%$ and $G_A = 3.5\%$) selected the option “tourism and hospitality”, a trend which may be reflective of the standing of Italy as a popular tourist destination (see e.g. Eurostat, 2018c).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that only respondents in the LOTE samples reported envisioning a career in STEMM ($I_A = 12.1\%$ and $G_A = 11.1\%$). This points to context-specific degree differences in the EFL and LOTE samples (see 6.1.2.4 and 6.1.2.5). As previously observed (see 5.4.1), while language learners in Australia can access language studies from a range of different degrees, their students in Italian and German universities are more limited in the choice of degree areas if they intend to specialise in language studies at tertiary level.

6.4 Context-specific Likert items

This section discusses the context-specific Likert items which were included in the questionnaires to cater to the specificities of each L2 and/or learning context (see 5.4.3.1). Respondents could select only one rating on a scale that includes the following: “strongly agree”, “agree”, “not sure”, “disagree”, “strongly disagree”. A summary of the most salient trends is provided and percentages are used to display the data. Complete tables with frequencies and percentages of the context specific items included in this section can be found in Appendix 3, C.

6.4.1 European context (EFL respondents)

6.4.1.1 English as a necessity

EFL respondents were prompted to indicate to what extent they agreed with the following statement: “I think that learning English is a necessity for speakers of languages spoken in only one or few countries”. This item aimed to cast some light on students’ perception of the necessity of English in the modern globalised world. Two missing values (one for each sample) were present in the data. Hence, the percentages were

calculated on a total sample of 90 rather than 91 E_I respondents and 69 rather than 70 E_G respondents.

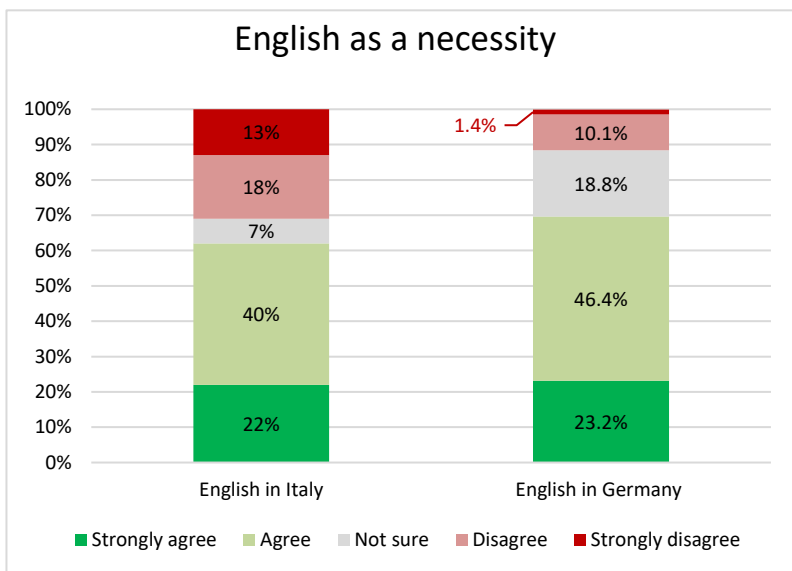


Figure 13 EFL respondents report on whether English is a necessity for speakers of languages spoken in only one or few countries

As can be seen in Figure 13, there were similarities in the responses of the two samples. It can be observed that the largest portion of learners chose the option agree ($E_I = 40\%$, $E_G = 46.4\%$) and strongly agree ($E_I = 22\%$, $E_G = 23.2\%$). While the high agreement rate confirms that English was perceived as a must-have language by many respondents, in line with previous studies (see Pauwels, 2014a, 2014b; Kramsch, 2014, see also qualitative data in 7.3.3.1), there was a considerable, albeit lower, percentage of students who held a different opinion: 18% and 10.1% of respondents in the E_I and in the E_G sample disagreed and 13% and 1.4% strongly disagreed with the statement, respectively. This finding may suggest that some students were aware that their L1 is enough to partake in local practices within their own communities/countries (see Ammon, 2006; Faez, 2011). It may also be reflective of some degree of resistance towards language globalisation, which could be perceived by some as a threat to their own local and national identities (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 463).

The considerable disagreement rate of E_I respondents requires further consideration, especially because other data discussed in this chapter point to the need for young Italians to master English to seek job opportunities overseas (see e.g. our interpretation on the high effect of Factor 6 on E_I respondents). E_I students' awareness

about the limited spread of English proficiency in Italy may explain this finding. Since (advanced) knowledge of English is still not widespread in Italy (see 4.2), even among highly esteemed individuals in position of power (e.g. the Italian prime minister, as discussed in Faez, 2011), some students may have perceived L2 skills as unnecessary to become productive and successful members of Italian society.

6.4.2 Australian context (LOTE respondents)

6.4.2.1 L2 knowledge as a marker of education

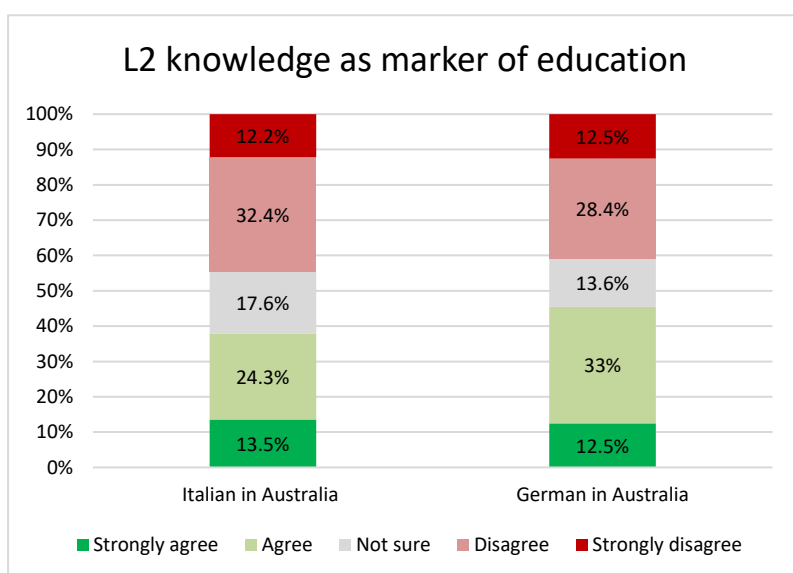


Figure 14 LOTE respondents report on whether they believe that an educated person is supposed to be able to speak at least a language other than one’s own L1

LOTE students were invited to indicate how they felt about the following statement: “I study Italian/German because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak at least a language other than one’s own native language”. This item aimed to shed light on whether students believed that the ability to speak the L2 was associated with the creation of an ideal *Bildungs-Selbst* (Busse, 2015, 2017, see 2.4.1).

As Figure 14 displays, the responses in the two samples were distributed rather evenly across answer options. If one considers levels of agreement (i.e. portions of students who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement) and disagreement (i.e. percentages of students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement) obtained by collapsing answer choices, it can be noted that the percentages of students who expressed agreement were slightly higher in the G_A sample than in the I_A sample ($I_A =$

37.8%; $G_A = 45.5\%$). Nevertheless, the portion of respondents who expressed disagreement were high in both samples ($I_A = 44.6\%$; $G_A = 40.9\%$). On the one hand, the trends observed on the levels of agreement are in line with the finding that many students in this study associated L2 proficiency with education and culturedness (see 6.3.1). On the other hand, the levels of disagreement may reflect students' awareness of the scarce value that language learning holds in some social circles in a country characterised by a widespread monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2006, 2008; see also Hajek & Slaughter, 2014 and 4.5).

6.4.2.2 The influence of L2 communities in Melbourne

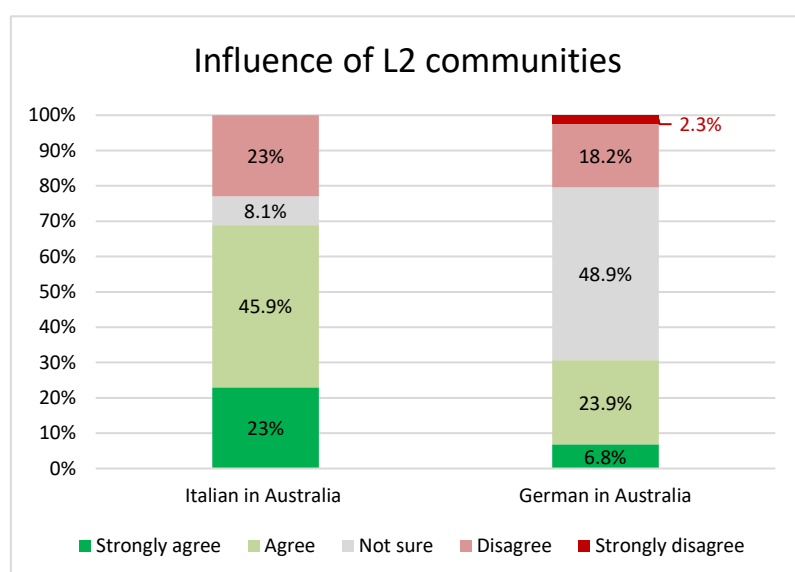


Figure 15 LOTE respondents report on the influence of heritage communities in Melbourne on their motivation

The respondents in the two LOTE samples were also asked to indicate whether the presence of local communities in the context of learning influenced their motivations, in acknowledgment of the status of Italian and German as community languages in Australia (see e.g. Clyne, 1991; Lay, 2015; Rubino, 2002, see 4.2 and 4.3). The following items were included in the questionnaires that targeted the I_A and G_A sample, respectively: (1) “Learning Italian allows me to come closer to the Italo-Australian and/or Italian-speaking Swiss-Australian community in Melbourne”; (2) “Learning German allows me to come closer to the German-Australian/Austrian-Australian and/or German-speaking Swiss-Australian community in Melbourne”.

As Figure 15 shows, the data point to a clear trend, which was also found in the qualitative data set (see 7.3.2.3): I_A learners were more influenced by local communities than G_A respondents. In fact, it can be observed that I_A respondents mainly agreed (I_A = 45.9%) or strongly agreed (I_A = 23%) with the statement, while the largest portion of G_A respondents were unsure about it (G_A = 48.9%). This expected difference reflects the different degree of visibility of the two communities in Melbourne and confirms our research hypothesis that the motivations of I_A students is influenced by the presence of local communities. As noted in 4.8, the Italian community is not only larger than the German community, but it is also more visible in the local socio-context, due to the presence of an Italian suburb. Since, as Rubino (2002, p. 9) puts it, “(better) language competence and (higher) language use may [...] mark a stronger in-group membership”, it can be speculated that the learning of Italian can represent a primary motive for heritage language learners. This is consistent with several studies which have shown that L2 learning represented one of the strategies used by heritage to recuperate a missing component of their identity as Italo-Australians and to take part into local community practices (e.g. Pitronaci, 1998, see 4.6.1). The high agreement rate also suggests that non-heritage learners may have chosen to study the language for “community reasons” (Lo Bianco & Aliani, 2013, p. 45), due to the presence of thriving language communities in Melbourne to which they may come into contact. This is in line with Palmieri’s study (2018) on adult non-heritage learners of Italian in Sydney (see 4.6.1), a city characterised, like Melbourne, by the presence of a sizeable and visible Italian community (see e.g. Rubino, 2019).

The influence of local communities casts some light on the context-dependent nature of motivation, which, as noted in 2.5.2, emerges and develops from the dynamic interaction between individuals, their identities and the contexts which they inhabit (Ushioda, 2009). It also suggests that contextual resources influence individuals’ decisions to study certain languages, confirming the fact that the status and appeal of a language is not only linked to its global standing, but is also highly dependent on its status in the context of learning. Indeed, the process of language learning derives from the interaction between learners and the resources available to them in their local socio-contexts (see Palfreyman, 2006; Palmieri, 2017, 2018). The presence and visibility of local communities and the interactions with local speakers in the context of learning can

contribute to the rise of positive feelings towards the L2, its culture and speakers, as the qualitative data further confirms (see 7.3.2.3). The finding that learners' L2 motivations were driven by their desire to affiliate with local communities confirms Palmieri's (2018) claim that the integrative construct (Gardner, 1985, 2001) in multilingual contexts should include a broader range of reference: students may not only have wished to affiliate with the expected L2 community (Italy, Italian-speaking Switzerland or Germany, Austrian and German-speaking Switzerland), but also with the local L2 community, which is visible and directly accessible to them as a linguistic and cultural resource (see e.g. Group of 8, 2007; Huang & Cordella, 2016).

6.4.2.3 Interacting with L2 speakers in Melbourne

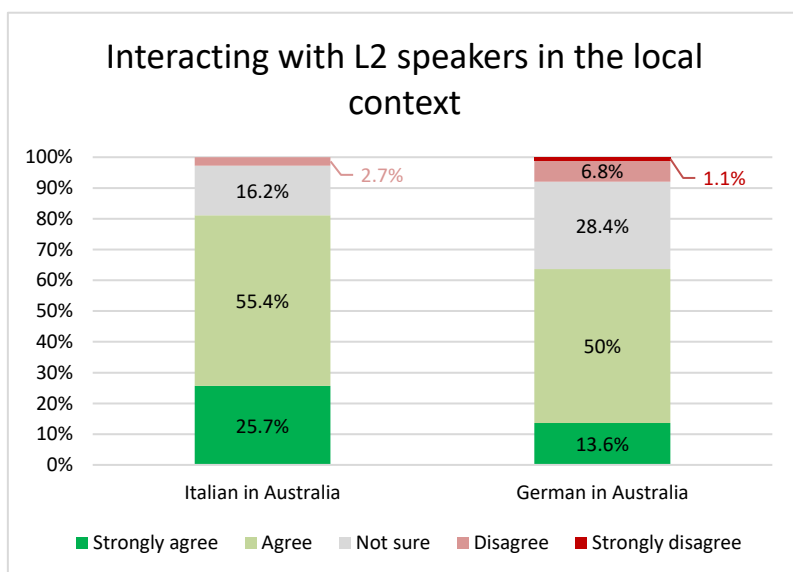


Figure 16 LOTE respondents report on whether the L2 allows them to interact with L2 speakers in Melbourne

LOTE respondents were also prompted to express whether they agreed with the following statement: “Learning Italian/German allows me to interact with Italian/German speakers in Melbourne”. As noted in section 5.4.3.1, this item was included in the questionnaires to shed further light on whether the status of German and Italian as community languages impacted on students' motivations.

As Figure 16 shows, in both samples there was a preponderance of respondents who agreed ($I_A = 55.4\%$; $G_A = 50\%$) with the statement. This suggests that encounters with L2 speakers in the context of learning are common in multicultural cities in the

globalised world (see e.g. Pauwels, 2014b). It can also be noted that I_A learners were considerably more in agreement than G_A learners, with around one quarter of the former sample strongly agreeing with the proposition, as opposed to around one seventh of the latter. This finding, together with the substantial portion of G_A respondents who selected the “not sure” option (G_A = 28.4%), suggests that I_A students’ foresaw a higher chance of interacting with Italian speakers in Melbourne than their German counterparts. This can be explained in relation to the higher degree of visibility of the Italian community in the context of learning in comparison to the German community (see 4.8). It can be speculated that both I_A and G_A envisioned tourists and exchange students as potential L2 speakers in their local context. However, it is likely that only I_A respondents imagined possible interactions with members of local L2 communities, due to the fact that the Italian community is associated with a specific geographical space in Melbourne, it has shown fewer signs of linguistic and cultural attrition (see e.g. Clyne et al., 2015), and has now been enriched by a new wave of young Italian migrants (Armillei & Mascitelli, 2017). The qualitative data discussed in 7.3.2.3 will offer further insight into students’ perceptions of these local L2 communities and on students’ perceptions of the relevance of L2 skills in the context of learning.

6.5 Concluding remarks

This section briefly summarises how the quantitative data collected address the three research questions that underpin this investigation. An in-depth summary and critical discussion of the results, which are compared and integrated with the qualitative findings, is presented in Chapter 9.

(RQ1) How do the L2 motivations of university students of English studies in Italy and in Germany and of university students of Italian and German in Australia compare?

The quantitative analysis delineated a latent motivational system represented by six factors, which presented significant differences between the four L2 populations under investigation. Several hypotheses have been advanced to account for similarities and differences across samples. In a nutshell, (1) the status of each L2 (its communicative range, its instrumental value, etc.); (2) students’ L2 learning profiles; (3) socio-economic factors (e.g. unemployment rates in Italy); (4) the visibility of the L2 and of a local L2

community in the context of research; (5) heritage background; and (6) non-language-specific outcomes of language education (e.g. the acquisition of markers of cultivation and openness, cultural sensitivity, etc.) could account for trends in the data.

With regard to the comparison between EFL and LOTE learners, it should be noted that in no instance were both EFL samples significantly different from the two LOTE samples, suggesting that these learner groups shared many similarities. However, some trends separating EFL and LOTE samples could be observed for some factors by looking at the mean scores: (1) Factor 2 “Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities” (more relevant to EFL); (2) Factor 3 “Ought-to L2 self” (more relevant to LOTEs); (3) Factor 4 “Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals” (more relevant to EFL); and (4) Factor 5 “Intrinsic desire to expend effort in the creation of future L2 identities” (more relevant to EFL).

This chapter provided evidence that motivational constructs developed for EFL learners were also relevant to LOTE learners and vice versa. On the one hand, it was shown, for instance, that the desire to create a globally-oriented identity through L2 proficiency was not only applicable to EFL learners but also, to some extent, to learners of Italian and German, in keeping with studies on Anglophone learners (see 3.1.2.2). On the other hand, while it is true that one of the consequences of the fact that the ownership of global English cannot be claimed by specifically geographically situated communities (see e.g. Widdowson, 1994; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011 p. 72; Sung, 2013), this study suggests that English-speaking countries continue to hold considerable appeal for learners of English studies (see Factor 2 “Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities”, 6.2.2.1), in keeping with prior empirical studies (e.g. Erling, 2007).

(RQ2) Are students’ L2 motivations associated with processes of self-discrepancy and identity development? Which identities do students wish to shape by studying the L2?

This chapter showed that both EFL and LOTE learners’ motivations to study the L2 were associated with processes of identity creation and development (Oakes & Howard, 2019), as will be further discussed in the next chapter. The items measuring the ideal L2 self had high mean values in all sample groups (see Appendix 3, A) and loaded

on two of the six factors extracted: Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2 communities and to create L2-speaking identities”) and Factor 5 (“Desire to expend effort in the creation of future L2 identities”). Although Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”) and Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have global experiences”) did not comprise items measuring this variable, they still tapped into identity dimensions. In fact, they included items associated with international posture, which is conceptually linked to the ideal L2 self (see Yashima, 2009).

In addition, it was found that both EFL and LOTE respondents envisioned similar attributes as part of their desired L2 identities: the respondents wished to create an educated, open-minded and cultured self, regardless of the L2 and of the context of learning, and to enhance their sense of global connectedness. Some respondents reported experiencing external influences when they decided to invest in their future identities by pursuing L2 study at university level. Close-ended data provided some evidence that these influences either contributed to the creation of an ideal L2 self or of a strongly internalised ought-to L2 self, the latter being a construct labelled by Teimouri (2017) as ought-to L2 self/own (6.3.2.1).

(RQ3) To what extent is the status that each L2 holds on a global scale and in the specific learning contexts reflected in students’ L2 motivations and in their desired L2 identities?

Several differences in learners’ motivations can be explained by considering the standing that each L2 has in the world and in the socio-contexts of research.

The effect of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”) on the EFL samples clearly showed that English is a language associated with instrumental returns. Nevertheless, the data also showed that the global status of English does not imply that the motivations of all EFL learners in the world are undergoing processes of convergence and homogenisation, as some scholarship has assumed (see 3.1.2.1 and Ushioda, 2013b for a critical overview). The two EFL samples in this study differed significantly in relation to Factor 1 (“Desire for language proficiency”), Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”) and Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have global experiences”), indicating how contextual differences and learners’ own circumstances (e.g. different spread of EFL proficiency in the country, current economic situation traversed by each country, societal pressures to master the L2

etc.) impacted on the meaning(s) that they attributed to the language that they had chosen to study at tertiary level.

The different status of Italian and German in the global marketplace of language education and in the context of research is also reflected in the findings. As previously noted, G_A students were more instrumentally motivated than their Italian counterparts, as noted in relation to the statistical significance of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”) on these learner populations. This suggests that German has a higher instrumental appeal than Italian. In addition, Italian clearly represents a prominent heritage and community language. The visibility of Italianness in Melbourne can also explain why a higher portion of I_A learners reported studying the L2 to affiliate with local communities and to interact with L2 speakers in the context of research.

Chapter 7 Findings from QDS1 (Qualitative data set 1)

This chapter offers an overview of the demographic and study-context characteristics of the qualitative sample and discusses the findings obtained from the analysis of the qualitative questionnaire data and of the first round of interviews (QDS1). The analysis operationalises the construct of identity, which is a key notion included in the theoretical framework of this investigation (see 5.1) and which was found to underpin the themes and subthemes that emerged from a content analysis. The results presented in this chapter shed further light on the nature and occurrence of the motivations which emerged from the four sample groups (RQ1), on the link between language learning and processes of identity creation (RQ2), and on how both students' L2 motivations and L2 identities are reflective of the status that each L2 holds on a global scale in the specific socio-context of learning (RQ3).

7.1 An overview of QDS1

Table 7.1 offers a summary of the key features of QDS1, by recapitulating the information presented in section 5.6.2.

	Data elicitation	Purpose	Type of data analysis
Qualitative dataset 1 (QDS1)	(a) Three open-ended responses in the questionnaire (QRs), see 5.4.2.1 and Appendix 1, A2 (b) Optional qualitative comments in the questionnaire (QCs), see 5.4.2.1 and Appendix 1, A2 (c) First round of interviews (INT-1), see Appendix 1, B1	Triangulation of the quantitative results	Questionnaire variables used as a coding template. General content analysis principles for the development of the analytical framework (see e.g. Charmaz, 2006; O'Leary 2010 pp. 256-277).

Table 7.1 An overview of key features of QDS1 (see also 5.6.2)

The number of respondents in QDS1 is presented in Table 7.2 and compared with the quantitative sample. Although it can be noted that not all survey participants answered the three open-ended questions, the most striking difference between the quantitative and qualitative samples can be found in the number of respondents who left qualitative comments (QCs), as shown in column 4. The reason for these low numbers is that QCs

were optional.

Samples	Quantitative sample (see also Table 6.2)	Respondents who answered open-ended survey questions (QRs)	Respondents who left qualitative comments (QCs)	Respondents in the first round of interviews (INT-1)
English in Italy (E _I)	91	87	29	5 per sample group
English in Germany (E _G)	70	65	33	
Italian in Australia (I _A)	74	74	29	
German in Australia (G _A)	88	86	40	
Total sample	323	312	131	20

Table 7.2 Overview of the number of respondents in QDS1 and comparison with the number of quantitative survey respondents (column 2)

The demographic data discussed in 6.1 offer some information about the respondents who completed the questionnaire. Background and L2-study-related details about the 20 survey participants who volunteered to be involved in the second part of the study were collected in the recruitment phase and in the first round of longitudinal interviews (see 5.4.3). In line with the typical trends observed for the quantitative sample (see 6.1.1), the participants were all university students under 26 years of age, had had previous L2 learning experiences before university and were predominantly female (female = 85% vs male = 15%).

As can be seen in Table 7.3, all the E_I respondents were enrolled at the University of Bologna and were also studying an additional language and culture in addition to English, due to the structure of the degree in which they were enrolled (see 5.4.1). All the E_G respondents were studying at LMU University and three out of five were pursuing English studies as part of a vocational degree in teaching.

Participants (pseudonyms)	SG	Gender	University	Degree	Age
Aurora	E _I	F	University of Bologna	English studies and French studies	19
Giorgia		F		North American studies and Spanish studies	19
Marco		M		English studies and Japanese studies	19
Martina		F		North American studies and German studies	23
Mia		F		North American studies and Spanish studies	19
Charlotte	E _G	F	LMU University	North American studies and politics	24
Johanna		F		Teaching (English studies and Catholic Theology)	19
Karin		F		Teaching (English studies, French studies and Childhood Psychology)	19
Lina		F		English studies and Linguistics	24
Stefan		M		Teaching (English studies and Spanish studies)	24

Table 7.3 Overview of respondents who partook in the second phase of the study in the two European countries under investigation

As they stated in INT-1, most EFL respondents had complemented their L2 learning with study abroad experiences, private tuition and conversation classes. They also all reported daily contacts with English both in their personal life (e.g. through media, travels, etc.) and through their university studies. Their learning histories and domains of contact with English align with those described by Chik & Breidback (2011) and Erling (2007) in relation to university L2 students of English and North American studies at the Free University of Berlin (see 4.3.1).

Table 7.4 illustrates some key demographic data about the LOTE participants, who were recruited from three universities. Most of them were enrolled in an Arts degree, were studying Italian and German as a major or as part of a Diploma in Languages and had an intermediate level of L2 proficiency. As can be seen, three I_A and two G_A heritage learners featured among the respondents. This will enable us to shed further light on heritage-related motivations in this chapter.

Participants (pseudonyms)	SG	Gender	Age	L2 origin	Proficiency	University	Degree
Alexa	I _A	F	18	Yes	Beginner	UoM	BA with Diploma in Languages
Bianca		F	19	Yes	Intermediate		BA with double major
Emma		F	19	No	Intermediate		BA with Diploma in Languages
Olivia		F	19	No	Intermediate		BA (indecisive about role of Italian in her degree)
Rachel		F	19	Yes	Intermediate	Monash	Double degree in Science and Arts
Andrew	G _A	M	18	No	Advanced	Monash	Double Degree in Arts and Law, with a Diploma in Languages
Clara		F	18	No	Intermediate	UoM	BA with Diploma in Languages
Julia		F	19	No	Intermediate	RMIT	BA in International Studies with German as a major
Rebecca		F	19	No	Advanced	Monash	Double degree in Science and Global studies, with German as a major
Sarah		F	18	Yes	Advanced	Monash	BA in Global studies with Diploma in Languages

Table 7.4 Overview of respondents who partook in the second part of the study in Australia

7.2 Some considerations on the presentation of the findings from QDS1

Some considerations are due before delving into the analysis of the QDS1. In the presentation of the findings, an indication of the number of respondents who mentioned each variable utilised for the analysis (questionnaire variables and the newly developed variable “heritage”, see 7.3) is provided for the open-ended responses (QRs) to facilitate comparison with the quantitative data set and to facilitate the reader’s identification of trends in the findings. Quantification is not utilised in relation to recurring themes in the

qualitative questionnaire comments (QCs) and in the interviews (INTs) as some themes were mentioned in the data elicited by these two research tools because the respondents were asked to elaborate on them. In addition, since interview participants also completed the questionnaire, their main motivations are already included in the count of themes mentioned in the questionnaire responses. QC and INT data are utilised to provide a more nuanced interpretation of the trends emerged from the analysis of the QRs.

As for the comparability between quantitative and qualitative findings, it is important to point out that quantitative and qualitative data convey different types of information. While the former offer an insight students' levels of agreement and disagreement in relation to given statements (Likert scales) or into their choice of an answer over a series of pre-determined alternatives (close-ended questions), the latter shed light on what students report spontaneously when prompted to elaborate on their motivations. Hence, it is not necessarily the case that the most popular qualitative variables mentioned are the ones which also display higher levels of agreement in the quantitative data set.

While quantifying qualitative data offers several advantages, as it enables “to facilitate pattern recognition or otherwise to extract meaning from qualitative data, account for all data, document analytic moves, and verify interpretations” (Sandelowski, Voils, & Knafl, 2009, p. 210), numbers should not be used in an acritical manner in a qualitative data report (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2007; Maxwell, 2010). Maxwell (2010) contends that a quantification-led discussion of qualitative results can ultimately be detrimental, as the focus of qualitative analysis should be placed on uncovering hidden meanings, “processes” and “overarching themes” rather than on identifying only the most common topics mentioned. In the presentation of the findings, this chapter attempts to attain a balance between discussing broad tendencies and presenting dissonant voices (see e.g. Richards, 2003). The rationale for this decision is to give justice to the complexity of the data at hand, which cannot be fully captured by focussing exclusively on the most frequently mentioned themes.

7.3 Findings from Qualitative dataset 1 (QDS1)

The analysis of QDS1 revealed that identity had a considerable explanatory power in relation to the qualitative data, offering a broad framework to describe learners'

decision to invest time and effort in the L2 learning process. This should not suggest that all participants considered L2 study as deeply ingrained within their self-concept. In line with trends observed for the interview participants (see 8.3.2.1), respondents differed in their ability to envision an elaborate L2 self, but were all still able to describe a future identity as L2 speakers. The cross-sectional qualitative data showed that a personally desired identity (ideal L2 self) had conceptual overlaps with all the variables included in this study, with the exception of the variable “ought-to L2 self” and thus represented a broad lens to make sense of students’ investment in L2 learning.

Table 7.5 on the next page provides an overview of the qualitative codes which will be discussed in this chapter and shows how they relate to the construct of identity. As can be seen, the ideal L2 self is not discussed as a separate variable, since, as noted previously, it was found to underpin all the others, with the exception of the variable “ought-to L2 self” (Teimouri, 2017, see 7.3.6). Although the ideal L2 self represented an overarching lens to understand the identity aspirations of the learners in this study, new selves related to the ideal L2 self are discussed in this chapter to provide a more nuanced description of particular aspects of their desired identities. Some of these selves were found in previous studies (i.e. “ideal plurilingual *Bildungs-Selbst*”, Busse, 2015; “anti-ought-to self”, Thompson & Vázquez, 2015; “ideal multilingual self”, Henry, 2015; “ought-to L2 self/own” and “ought-to L2 self/other”, Teimouri, 2017), the others were developed to make sense of participants’ investment in language learning. It should also be noted that the variable “L2 learning experience”, the third component of Dörnyei’s (2005, 2009) L2MSS, emerged as a subcomponent of other variables (i.e. “desire for proficiency”, “instrumental orientation”; “intrinsic motivation”) and will thus be discussed in relation to these variables. The motivations and identities described in this chapter should not be intended as fixed and mutually exclusive. In fact, respondents’ answers point to the complexity of their motivational profiles, with not one but multiple motivational dimensions and L2 identities being at play in their motivational systems.

Appendix 4, B offers an overview of the conventions utilised for labelling the sources of the quotes presented in this chapter and in Chapter 8. It also presents some considerations regarding some criteria that were followed to make minor changes to participants’ quotes to facilitate their readability. The reader is also referred to Appendix 4, C for a brief discussion of the steps undertaken for the qualitative analysis (see also

5.6.2) and for an overview of the subthemes that emerged in relation to each qualitative code and which will be utilised in this chapter to present the data.

Overarching category	Qualitative codes	L2 selves described by participants
Shaping an L2 identity	Desire for proficiency	(a) Ideal (Bilingual/plurilingual) <i>Bildungs-Selbst</i> (Busse, 2015) (b) Anti-ought-to self (Thompson & Vázquez, 2015)
	Integrative orientation and international posture: desire to affiliate with situated and global communities (a) L2-speaking country/countries (b) Local L2 community (c) Global community	(a) Seasoned tourist L2 self; anti-tourist L2 self (b) Community engaged L2 self (c) Global citizen L2 self
	Instrumental orientation (a) work-related reasons (b) non-work-related reasons	(a) International professional L2 self
	Intrinsic motivation ³¹	(a) Ideal (Bilingual/plurilingual) <i>Bildungs-Selbst</i> (Busse, 2015) (b) Ideal multilingual self (Henry, 2017; Ushioda, 2017)
	Heritage motivation	(a) Heritage L2 self
	External influences and the ought-to L2 self	(a) Ought-to L2 self/other and ought-to L2 self/own (Teimouri, 2017) vs ideal L2 self (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009)

Table 7.5 Qualitative themes emerged from the analysis of QDS1

7.3.1 Desire for language proficiency

The qualitative variable “desire for proficiency” grouped the accounts of respondents who explicitly referred to their desire to study the L2 to better their L2 skills. Hence, it triangulated the results obtained for Factor 1, which represented this variable. The desire to acquire L2 skills represented a central motive for the learner populations under investigation.

As Table 7.6 illustrates, proficiency-related motivations were more prevalent in the LOTE samples, and particularly in the I_A sample (I_A = 74.4%; I_A = 82.4%). This may

³¹ It should be noted that while in Chapter 6 the term “intrinsic orientation” was utilised in relation to the motivational dimensions targeted in the questionnaire, in line with the study from which the questionnaire was borrowed (Oakes, 2013), the term “motivation” is used in this chapter to describe learners’ reported intrinsic reasons for pursuing L2 study at university level. This coheres with a wealth of recent literature, where the term “motivation” is more commonly utilised (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Schmidt, 2014b).

be due to the presence of several respondents with elementary L2 skills in the Australian context ($I_A = 39.2\%$, $G_A = 36.4\%$, see 6.1.2.3). It is also worthwhile pointing out that 66.2% of E_G respondents mentioned this motivational disposition, even though this sample group was the least affected by Factor 1 (see 6.2.1.1). However, it will be further elaborated at the end of this section that the responses of E_G participants differed considerably from those of the respondents in the other sample groups.

Qualitative variable	Corresponding factor	Sample groups	Total corpus (QRs)	Freq.	%
Desire for language proficiency	Factor 1 Desire for language proficiency	English in Italy (E_I)	87	57	66%
		English in Germany (E_G)	65	43	66.2%
		Italian in Australia (I_A)	74	61	82.4%
		German in Australia (G_A)	86	64	74.4%

Table 7.6 Frequencies and percentages of participants in each sample group who expressed a desire to improve L2 proficiency in the open-ended responses of the questionnaire

Enhanced L2 skills as linked to the attainment of L2 resources

An improvement in L2 skills was often mentioned as a primary motivation in all samples, with words like “communicate”, “speak”, “converse”, “write” being used many times. Generally, when the attainment and/or the improvement of L2 proficiency was cited as a motivational drive, students in all samples also referred to the material and symbolic resources afforded by enhanced L2 skills (see e.g. Norton Peirce, 1995):

I really want to improve my English and to have a good knowledge of the language because I really enjoy learning it and I would love to use it in the future (career, life, travels...). (E_G , QR-48)

My main motivation for studying Italian is the ability to be able to speak it fluently so that when travelling, visiting family in Italy or even studying in Italy, it will become almost second nature to me. (I_A , QR-16)

A comparison of learners’ motivations in relation to the material and symbolic

advantages connected to language proficiency (work and travel opportunities, access to L2 media and literary texts, connection with international friends and relatives) is provided later in the chapter when discussing the other variables emerged from the qualitative data analysis. Suffice to say here that the centrality of proficiency-related motivations is in keeping with the previous literature (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013; Schmidt, 2011) and with the quantitative data, which showed that Factor 1 (“Desire for language proficiency”, see 6.2.1) had high loadings and a considerable influence on all sample groups, although, as we noted, E_G respondents differed significantly from the other samples.

Enhanced L2 skills as a form of personal accomplishment

The data showed that for some learners in all samples the mastery of L2 skills represented a form of personal accomplishment, regardless of the attainment of specific material returns:

I can imagine myself having to communicate in English just as I am now doing in Italian, and perhaps even more. (E_I, QR-31)

A main aim in my life is to speak English fluently like a native speaker. (E_G, QR-3)

The ability to envision oneself as a proficient L2 speaker was for most learners a source of motivation, in line with the previous literature on the motivating potential of an ideal L2 self dimension (see e.g. Csizér & Kormos, 2009; Magid, 2014; Magid & Chan 2012, see 2.4.1). The attainment of advanced proficiency in the L2 was viewed as a prerogative of educated individuals in all samples, in keeping with the quantitative data, where the attributes “cultured” and “educated” were selected by a considerable portion of participants in each cohort (see 6.3.1). As will be observed later in this chapter (see 7.3.3.1), there was some evidence in the data that the introduction of English at school level in both Italy and Germany is gradually making its knowledge, particularly in the latter context where English proficiency is more common, an unremarkable skill. Nevertheless, some respondents from both EFL samples still regarded the attainment of high level of proficiency in English at university level as an element of social distinction. In both samples groups, participants associated a university level of English with personal and professional benefits and with the projection of an educated self, i.e. what Busse

(2015, 2017; see 2.4.1) labels “ideal *Bildungs-Selbst*”. This coheres with Ushioda’s (2013c, p. 234) observation that an advanced level of English proficiency continues to hold a considerable role in determining access to more elite career pathways both in countries where proficiency in English is more widespread (such as Germany) and in those where it is comparatively much less common (such as Italy).

For some learners in all samples the attainment of native-like proficiency represented the desired learning goal, associated with full ownership of the language and legitimacy as proficient L2 speakers. This finding may be directly linked to the fact that language education explicitly or implicitly portrays highly idealised and standardised native-like models as the desired target of L2 learning (Ortega, 1999; see also e.g. Horwitz, 1988). Native-like proficiency was framed by respondents as the ability to use the L2 with a native or near-native accent. Moyer (2013, p. 12) notes that accent “situates the speaker in terms of group belonging and affirms personal identity and stance in an immediate way”. A native-like accent was thus perceived as a means for students to distinguish themselves from others and to acquire more social prestige (see e.g. Buckingham, 2015). This was also the case for learners of English, who still considered inner-circle varieties as their desired target language. This finding, which resonates with previous studies (see e.g. Buckingham, 2015; Dewaele & McCloskey, 2014), is likely to be the direct consequence of students’ exposure to these native varieties through their university degrees and through their compulsory schooling (see 4.2 and 4.3). A case in point is that of Lina, who was highly critical about the pronunciation skills of Germans, which were assessed against inner-circle norms:

They [Germans] can’t pronounce the “th” and they have a very strong accent. They just don’t do the voicing at the end of a word. (EG, INT-1, Lina)

As will be noted in section 7.3.2.2, native-like proficiency was also viewed as particularly advantageous for travelling, as for many respondents this attribute served to reduce the sense of “otherness” generally experienced by international travellers due to the language and cultural barrier.

Shaping a non-language-specific bilingual identity: the LOTE samples

A considerable difference between the EFL and LOTE samples resided in the presence of a specific motivational dimension: the desire to acquire L2 skills to claim membership in an imagined community (Kanno & Norton, 2003) of bilingual speakers. While this motivation was not mentioned by any of the EFL participants, it transpired from the accounts of a considerable number of LOTE learners ($I_A = 15$; $G_A = 18$).

The fact that no EFL respondent cited this motivational dimension can be explained with the fact that bilingualism is relatively common in Europe, where students are exposed to English from an early age and often to other languages during their schooling (Council of Europe, 2007, Eurostat, 2018a) and their university studies. Another possible reason for this finding is that English may not be perceived as “a” language, but rather as “the” language, since it is a compulsory language included in the educational system of many countries, including Italy and Germany (see 4.2 and 4.3). The ideal *Bildungs-Selbst* (Busse, 2015, 2017) described by EFL respondents was thus not tied to bilingual aspirations, as in the case of LOTE learners, but rather to the ability to master English at a level which was reflective of their university education.

Congruent with Dörnyei’s (2005) reconceptualisation of Gardner’s (1985) notion of integrativeness as an internal process of self-discrepancy (see 2.4), the motivations of LOTE participants with bilingual aspirations had more to do with the attainment of a future projected vision of themselves rather than with a sense of identification with a particular L2 community. For these learners, the choice of a specific L2 was often linked to circumstantial factors, with L2 learning being mostly perceived as a process conducive to the attainment of a bilingual identity through the expansion of one’s own linguistic repertoires, regardless of the L2 studied:

I study Italian mainly because I want to become thoroughly competent at a second language and this is the one I’ve studied throughout my schooling.
(I_A , QR-17)

The investment in a bilingual identity of these LOTE respondents should be understood in relation to the English-dominant socio-context that they inhabited, where elective bilingualism obtained through the learning of languages that hold social and economic prestige in formal settings represents the exception rather than the norm (Clyne, 2006, 2008, see 4.5). Several LOTE participants were fully aware of their status as “privileged and powerfully situated social actors” (Demont-Heinrich, 2010, p. 282), due

to the linguistic capital associated with English, and held negative attitudes towards the pervasive monolingualism which characterises the Anglophone world, in line with observations made on Anglophone language learners (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013; Lanvers, 2012). This identity dimension coheres well with Busse's (2015, 2017, see 2.4.1) "ideal plurilingual *Bildungs-Selbst*". The *Bildungs-Selbst* of the LOTE learners in this study was not only linked to plurilingual (see 7.3.5), but also to bilingual aspirations (i.e. to what can be labelled an "ideal bilingual *Bildungs-Selbst*") and acted as a powerful counter-discourse against their monolingual English-dominant surroundings (see 4.5). These learners' positioning as bilinguals was associated with their partaking in an imagined community (Kanno & Norton, 2003) of cultivated individuals and global citizens and with the rejection of a monolingual identity, which was perceived by many as a stigma:

I think being monolingual has a certain stigma and by learning Italian it shows that you want to broaden your knowledge and are open to other cultures. (I_A, QR-56)

I feel like not learning a second language and expecting others to know English is a bit lazy. (G_A, QR-38)

These learners' motivational dispositions can also be explained by drawing upon the notions of the "anti-ought-to self" (Thomson & Vázquez, 2015) and "rebellious self" (Lanvers, 2016, 2017), which both describe the motivation to study a language to go against external expectations (see 2.4.1). As noted in 3.1.2.2, these motivational dimensions are particularly relevant for learners of LOTEs in Anglophone countries, where monolingualism represents the social norm and where language learners may wish to create an "anti-stereotype" (Thomson & Vázquez, 2015, p. 166) by rejecting the image of Anglophone speakers as poor at languages and as reliant on the English skills of others (Busse & Williams, 2010; Lanvers, 2012; Oakes, 2013, see 3.3.2.2).

Although rebellious to some extent, LOTE students' investment in an imagined community (Kanno & Norton, 2003) of cultivated bilinguals was likely to be sustained by surrounding discourses about the importance of L2 skills that are gaining some weight in Australia (Mason & Hajek, 2018) and other English-speaking countries (see e.g. Lanvers, 2017 for the UK). As noted in 4.5, these counter-discourses promote L2 knowledge as a skill that sets individuals apart from others in their personal and

professional life (see e.g. Amorati, 2018; Group of 8, 2007; Scarino, 2014; Mason & Hajek, 2018, 2019). Evidence of the internalisation of this rhetoric transpires from the accounts presented above, which show that learners drew upon discourses on the importance of bilingualism and framed their investment in L2 learning as a process of identity reconstruction towards a more culturally sensitive and globally oriented identity which challenges assumptions against the linguistic compliance of Anglophone speakers (see also 7.3.2.4).

The presence of a non-language-specific motivation in the LOTE samples may also be directly connected with the fact that Australian media, promotional material for language learning and policy documents in Australia often refer to languages in a collective manner (see e.g. Mason & Hajek, 2018, p. 8). This phenomenon may weaken the boundaries between L2-specific visions. This was shown by Dörnyei and Chan (2013) in relation to the ought-to-L2-selves of learners of English and Chinese in Hong Kong, which did not divide into language-specific clusters. As the scholars postulated, this was due to the fact that “[in the context of research] language proficiency is often referred to in a collective manner by external sources (e.g. the media), which weakens and can even diminish the boundaries between L2-specific visions” (ibid., p. 456).

Developing previously acquired L2 proficiency

It was already noted that many learners in this study had long L2 learning histories (see 6.1.2.1 and 6.1.2.2), due to the compulsory nature of EFL learning in Italy and Germany and to sampling procedures utilised for participant recruitment in Australia (see 5.4.1). When asked about their main motivations for studying the L2, some participants in all samples expressed their desire to develop a previously acquired skillset, in line with the previous literature (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013; Ushioda, 1996; Schmidt, 2011, p. 127):

[My main motivation for studying English is that] I’ve been studying English since I was 12. (E_I, QR-11)

Italian was the only language offered at my high school so I learnt it there, and when I got to university I didn’t want to start from the beginning with a different language when I’d already done 5 years of Italian. (I_A, QR-11)

EFL respondents often framed the advantages associated with university language

study in terms of highly specialised proficiency goals, with students often referring to their L2 learning experiences in previous schooling. For these learners, a university-level education enabled them to raise “the English language bar” (Ushioda, 2013c, p. 234) from a secondary school level to a tertiary level:

I guess and hope that studying English at university level should make me able to use this language as a native speaker, which means that at the end of this path I should be able to speak a real “everyday life” English (so something way different than what I’ve learnt at high school), but I should also be able to switch to a formal and “more professional” English with no problems at all. (E_I, QR-47)

English at university level goes much more into detail than school English. The knowledge of historical transformation and all parts of linguistics of English bring you closer to the language itself and let you forget that its only your second or third language. (E_G, QR-14)

The qualitative data also provided some evidence to account for the low effect of Factor 1 (“Desire for language proficiency”) on the E_G sample. Although, as noted previously, proficiency-related motivations still featured in the accounts of E_G learners (see Table 7.6), they were rarely mentioned as stand-alone motivations, but rather as additional benefits of L2 study at university level. This was due to the advanced L2 skills of these respondents, as the following response suggests:

Studying English at university is not too complicated, as I already had a high level of language skills before doing so which for me means that I do not have to spend an awful lot of time learning vocabulary or studying grammar. (E_G, QR-6)

As the interview data confirmed, E_G students were not primarily motivated to improve L2 skills, but rather to explore cultural, literary and linguistic aspects associated with the language. This can be expected from highly proficient L2 users who decided to pursue a specialised degree focusing on English studies.

7.3.2 Connecting to situated and global communities

This section discusses the findings relating to the variables “integrative orientation” (see 2.2) and “international posture” (see 2.2.2). The former bundled together the accounts of participants who displayed strong (e.g. desire to fully integrate into the L2 community and to identify with it) or weak (e.g. interest in the L2 and positive

attitudes towards the L2 community and its associated culture/cultures) integrative dispositions and who wished to travel to and live in the L2 community/communities (see 2.2.1). The second variable grouped the responses of students who expressed their desire to be part of an imagined international community and to cultivate a global identity. Hence, the findings discussed in this section triangulated the results obtained in relation to Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2 communities and to create L2-speaking identities”, see 6.2.2) and Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have global experiences”, see 6.2.6), respectively. An analysis of the accounts coded under these two variables showed that participants mentioned numerous communities, thereby fully reflecting the communicative range and ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al., 1977) of the languages under investigation. Before presenting a general overview of the communities included in participants’ accounts, it is deemed necessary to include some considerations on some challenges encountered during the coding process.

Some considerations on the coding process: integrative vs instrumental reasons

A considerable difficulty in the analysis of the data was to discriminate between integrative and instrumental orientations. Differentiating between the two was important for this study, not only because the qualitative data aimed to triangulate the results of the quantitative study, where items measuring these variables loaded onto different factors, but also because one aim of the present research was to present comparative evidence regarding the relevance to the four samples of “L2-community-oriented” and “work-oriented” reasons for L2 learning. It is worthwhile pointing out, however, that integrative and instrumental orientations had considerable overlap in the qualitative data, with responses like the following being frequent in the four sample groups:

I want to go abroad and live, work and study there. (EG, QR-16)

Accounts like the previous one were coded as referring to both “integrative orientation” (“go abroad and live [...] there”) and “instrumental orientation” (go abroad [...] work and study there). The considerable overlap between these two variables lends support to Yashima’s (2009, p. 146) claim that integrative and instrumental reasons have blurred boundaries in the globalised world for languages with considerable ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al., 1977) and associated with forms of capital. This finding also aligns

with prior literature on the overlaps of these two constructs (see e.g. Lamb, 2004, 2007; Schmidt, 2011). Conceiving motivation from an identity perspective represents a viable way to make sense of students' motivations: the ideal L2 self (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) had a strong explanatory power in relation to the motivations of the learners in this study, whose L2 community-related and work-related reasons for L2 learning could be interpreted as facets of their desired future L2 identities.

7.3.2.1 Overview of the communities mentioned

Comparative trends

	Total corpus (QRs)	L2 country/countries		Europe		Local community/local presence		Global community	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
English in Italy (E _I)	87	42	48.3%	0	0%	1	1.1%	49	56.3%
English in Germany (E _G)	65	39	60%	0	0%	0	0%	39	60%
Italian in Australia (I _A)	74	54	73%	7	9.5%	9	12.2%	11	14.9%
German in Australia (G _A)	86	67	77.9%	21	24.4%	0	0%	23	26.7%

Table 7.7 Frequencies and percentages of the communities mentioned by survey participants in the open-ended responses

As Table 7.7 illustrates, learning the L2 to affiliate with the L2 country/countries was a salient motivation in all sample groups. References to inner-circle countries were more prevalent in the LOTE samples (I_A = 73%; G_A = 77.9), but were also frequent in the EFL samples (E_I = 48.3% and E_G = 60%), where respondents exclusively mentioned inner-circle countries, rather than outer-circle countries (e.g. India) as communities of interest. This finding shows that the connection between English and native English-speaking communities was still vivid for the EFL participants in this study, in keeping with the previous literature on EFL learners in Italy and in Germany (for the Italian context, see e.g. Aiello, 2017, p. 49; Faez, 2011; for Germany, see e.g. Erling, 2007) and with the high effect of Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and

to create L2-speaking identities) on the EFL samples (see 6.2.2.1).

It can also be noted that a smaller percentage of E_I respondents mentioned English-speaking countries in comparison to E_G respondents. This is in agreement with the quantitative data: although the two sample groups did not differ significantly in relation to Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2-speaking communities and to create L2-speaking identities”), the factor had lower mean ratings in the former compared to the latter.

With regard to the LOTE samples, the majority of respondents who expressed an integrative disposition referred to the L2 country/countries. Italy and Germany were mentioned by almost the entirety of participants, with only two I_A and three G_A learners referring more broadly to “Italian-speaking countries” and “German-speaking countries”. Only two G_A learners mentioned Austria and three mentioned Switzerland, primarily for personal (e.g. exchange experiences, family connections) and/or heritage reasons. The position of Germany as the default community of reference for G_A respondents is in line with the literature on German L2 learners (see e.g. Riemer, 2016; Schmidt, 2011, 2014b, see 3.3).

It can also be observed that respondents from LOTE samples, and particularly G_A learners, referred to a European community and displayed positive attitudes towards a European culture in general ($I_A = 9.5\%$; $G_A = 24.4$). As will be explained in 7.3.2.2, this finding is possibly due to the way in which Italian and German are classified and talked about in the Australian educational marketplace. The absence of references to Europe in the accounts of EFL respondents suggests that English did not function as a language of European identification, a trend which is not in keeping with Erling’s (2007) findings on the motivations of university students of English and North American studies in Berlin (see 4.7.1) and that should be explored in further studies. This rather unexpected result may be due to the fact that EFL respondents were already members of the EU, regardless of their mastery of English. In addition, these respondents can keep abreast of current European affairs through their L1 alone, through their existing knowledge of English or through other L2s that they may have studied during their schooling.

The category “local community/local presence” included the responses of participants who explicitly referred to opportunities for using the L2 to interact with L2 speakers in the local context. It can be seen that local communities were almost

exclusively mentioned by I_A respondents ($I_A = 12.2\%$). Although this number accounted for a small portion of the whole I_A sample, the presence of this motivation substantiates the quantitative findings on the influence of L2 communities on learners' motivations (see 7.3.2.3). It also lends support to Palmieri's (2018) claim that integrative dispositions have a broad range of reference for community languages that hold a strong local presence and visibility in Australia, where the target L2 community is not only represented by the one living in the L2 country and which traditionally "owns" the language, but also by local communities in the local socio-context of research. Although one E_I respondent referred to the usefulness of English as a way to communicate with foreigners in Italy, the use of English did not appear to be a primary motivation in the other samples. While this finding is probably reflective of the less visible "community" presence of English in Bologna and Munich, it should be noted that many EFL respondents talked about the linguistic capital associated with English as a language which enabled them to communicate with people from all over the world (see 7.3.2.4), possibly also implicitly hinting at its domains of use in the local context. The interview data discussed in 7.3.2.3 will allow us to briefly expand on these findings.

As for global communities, it can be noted that they were not only frequently mentioned by EFL respondents ($E_I = 56.3\%$ and $E_G = 60\%$), as fully anticipated in light of the global status of English (see 3.1), but also by some I_A ($N = 14.9$) and particularly G_A learners ($N = 26.7$), revealing that a construct akin to international posture was relevant to these learner populations as well, in keeping with the previous literature (see e.g. Lanvers, 2012, 2017; Oakes, 2013) and with the relatively high mean ratings of LOTE learners in items comprised in Factor 6 ("Desire to create global identities and to have global experiences", see 6.2.6). The frequent mention to both inner-circle countries and to global communities in the EFL samples fully reflects the complex identity of English as both a situated and global language (see 3.1.1).

The following three sections discuss key themes in the data which were identified in relation to geographically defined (7.3.2.2), local (7.3.2.3) and global communities (7.3.2.4).

7.3.2.2 Geographically defined foreign communities

Participants in all samples expressed positive attitudes towards the L2 country/countries, L2 speakers and cultural aspects of the L2 community/communities, confirming the link between integrative dispositions and positive attitudes towards the L2 group (see 2.2). The presence of positive attitudes is also reflective of the status that the three languages under investigation hold on a global scale (Chapter 3) and in each socio-context of research, in line with the hypotheses advanced in 4.4 and 4.9. Although both weak and strong integrative reasons were represented in all samples, the former were considerably more frequent than the latter. Most of the respondents who mentioned integrative dispositions had an interest in and positive attitudes towards the L2 community and its members but did not necessarily wish to fully integrate into the L2 country nor to completely identify with L2 speakers, in line with previous studies (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Busse & Williams, 2010; Schmidt, 2011). These findings lend credence to Clément and Kruidenier's (1983, pp. 287-288) observation that when a language is not learnt in the L2 country/countries where it is officially spoken, integrative dispositions mostly manifest themselves in a broader interest in the L2 and its associated culture(s) rather than in a wish to assimilate with L2 speakers. It also coheres with the previous literature: both Aiello (2017), Busse and Williams (2010), Oakes (2013) and Oakes & Howard (2019) found that while their respondents enjoyed travelling to L2-speaking countries and meeting L2 speakers, they did not necessarily wish to become like people from the L2 community, suggesting that a strong version of integrative orientation may lose its relevance in the globalised world. This finding also substantiates the hypotheses advanced for explaining why the item "I would like to become more like people from L2-speaking country/countries" comprised in Factor 2 ("Desire to affiliate with L2 communities and to create L2-speaking identities") had a lower loading coefficient than the other items measuring integrative orientation (see 6.2.2).

The respondents' accounts showed the presence of an affective relationship with the L2 community/communities, which could often be traced back to direct experiences that learners had through travels or study abroad periods and which spurred their interest in the language. Time spent abroad as well as the connections established during that period were found to be strong motivating forces for pursuing and/or continuing L2 study (Isabelli-García, 2006; Schmidt, 2014b):

I have travelled to Germany a few times and would love to go again. I just love the environment, the lifestyle, and I love being able to interact with people in their language, I feel like it's a better experience. (G_A, QR-17)

Cultural dispositions and attitudes towards the L2 country/countries

Several students from all sample groups were culturally motivated. This was also true for a considerable number of EFL learners, who expressed an interest in specific English-speaking communities, usually England and America (see 5.4.1), and/or to English-speaking countries in general:

My dream is to live in England, probably because people I admire live or were born in England or in English-speaking countries in general. (E_I, QR-31)

My main motivation is my own interest in the English language and literature. (E_G, QR-3)

For some EFL respondents, cultural motivations were framed against the backdrop of broader discourses on the instrumental role of English as the desired linguistic capital (Pauwels, 2014b, p. 31, see also 3.1). This is clearly illustrated in the following excerpt:

It is a pleasure to me to study English because I like the Anglo-Saxon culture, and this is not a matter of job opportunities. I am interested in studying the way of life of Anglo-saxon (sic) people and test it on my skin. I am fascinated by Anglo-Saxons and their language. (E_I, QR-33)

The participant explained that his/her interest in English studies bore no relation to the widely recognised instrumental value of the language (“this is not a matter of job opportunities”) linked to its global status, but rather stemmed from an appreciation of aspects linked to its status as situated language associated with inner-circle communities. In doing so, the respondent positioned his/her desire to master English in direct contradiction to the discourses surrounding the appeal of English as a global language. The “cultural irrelevance” - “instrumental relevance” of English (Edmondson & House, 2003, see 4.3.1) did not find empirical evidence in the motivations of L2 students of English and North American studies. The interest in L2 communities is possibly linked to the L2 learning histories of the students, who were exposed to inner-circle varieties throughout their schooling and were studying cultural and linguistic norms of specific

inner-circle countries in their current degrees (see 5.4.1).

EFL respondents also expressed their appreciation for English media, suggesting that the motivation for studying English is linked to its pervasiveness in their sources of daily entertainment:

The books, the films, the plays, the media, the translations... Many interesting cultural aspects are realized in English, so I wish to be able to discover and to understand them as best as possible. (E_I, QR-31)

I like to read books in English, watch TV series in English. (E_G, QR-44)

The interview data confirmed that the exposure to English through media can lead to the development of favourable attitudes towards the language (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Erling, 2007; Grau, 2009). In keeping with Chik & Breidback (2011, p. 146), popular cultural practices represented for the EFL learners in this study a “sideways entrance into English-speaking communities”, thereby contributing to the emergence and/or increase of their L2 motivation:

I think I grew up like most people with Hollywood and series from the US [...] so the fact that I had more contact with that as well as on the Internet factored in as well [in the development of my passion for English]. (E_G, INT-1, Stefan)

The recurrence of references to media is however not in keeping with Busse’s (2017) study on secondary school learners of English in Germany and other three European countries, which showed that interest in media was rarely mentioned by German respondents. It is likely, however, that university language specialists are more likely to appreciate and seek undubbed English-speaking media in comparison to non-language specialists.

Cultural motives were also frequently mentioned by LOTE learners. The qualitative data lend support to the claim (see e.g. Giovanardi & Trifone, 2010, 2012; Palmieri, 2018; Rubino, 2002; Tamponi, 2017, see also 3.2) that the success of Italian abroad stems from the appreciation of Italian art history, music, culinary culture and from the current modern appeal of Italian society. The centrality of positive attitudes towards the L2 culture in the motivations of learners of Italian is clearly illustrated in the following QRs:

I'm also interested in the history and literature in Italy and I'd love to visit some of the ancient towns and cities. (I_A, QR-53)

I am also learning Italian because I love the food and culture and would love further insight into such a vibrant country. (I_A, QR-50)

Similarly, G_A respondents expressed positive attitudes towards Germany, with interests spanning from German history, culture and politics to a more general appreciation of the German lifestyle, in keeping with prior studies on this learner population (see e.g. Riemer, 2011; Schmidt, 2011; 2014). In addition, several G_A respondents emphasised the appeal that Germany holds as a technologically advanced country and as a leading centre of scientific research, hinting at possible instrumental reasons (see 7.3.3). The observed trends are clearly exemplified by the following two responses:

Germany is an extremely well-known country and has always been a powerful nation full of highly acclaimed scientists, writers, you name it. I really identify with Germany for their environmental consciousness as well, they are so fantastic with recycling and reducing waste efforts. (G_A, QR-12)

Because I want to be an engineer in the future, I believe that German will help me because Germans are considered world-class in engineering in the world. (G_A, QR-16)

The frequency of comments like the latter lends insight into the instrumental appeal of German for L2 learners (see e.g. Ammon, 2015; Riemer, 2006; Riemer & Wild, 2016) and may also be directly associated with the high number of STEMM students in the G_A sample (see 6.1.2.5).

Affiliating with a European community

As noted in section 7.3.2.1, a considerable number of G_A respondents (N = 21) and some I_A respondents (N = 7) mentioned that they were studying the L2 for a general interest in European affairs and/or because they wished to travel, live and work in Europe:

[I] want to live in Europe. [Italian] will be beneficial. (I_A, QR-25)

I am interested in European comparative politics especially, but also related economics, philosophy and history. (G_A, QR-70)

These accounts suggest that some respondents considered L2 learning as a means to access not only L2-speaking countries, but also, by extension, Europe. This finding may be directly linked to the fact that languages like Italian and German are often talked about in a collective manner as European languages in the Australian educational marketplace and in Australian media (see e.g. Mason & Hajek, 2018; see 4.5). In line with Schmidt (2014b), some LOTE participants expressed a close affinity with European culture and perceived the L2 as a point of access to other Romance and Germanic European languages and cultures. As Table 7.7. shows, many more G_A learners referred to Europe in comparison to I_A respondents. This can be explained by the spread of German and its prominent status in the EU (see 3.3), as the following statement demonstrates:

I think knowing German would be very useful as it is one of the most used languages in Europe. (G_A, QR-87)

Desire to travel and live in the L2 country

For the vast majority of respondents in the four samples the desire to become proficient in the L2 was linked to their desire to travel and/or live in the L2 community. While for many learners L2 proficiency contributed to the development of an identity as a seasoned tourist, others – and particularly LOTE respondents – appeared to be willing to move away from this identity and rather invest in the creation of what can be labelled as an “anti-tourist L2 self”, a person that is so perfectly at ease in the L2 country thanks to their knowledge of the L2 and its associated culture that the discrepancy between the tourist and the member of the L2 community is diminished:

Italian is a tool. Using this tool, I will be able to travel to Italian (sic), walk on the streets of Florence, Rome and Tuscany, visit all the beautiful places without feeling like a tourist, but feeling like a local. I see myself visiting the art galleries, the cathedrals, the monuments, wearing a pale maxi dress, with an Italian novel in my hands. (I_A, QR-67)

While there I hope it will allow me to be more of a contributor to Italy than a voyeur. (I_A, QR-72)

The accounts above show that L2 knowledge can reduce the sense of “otherness” experienced by tourists during travelling experiences, allowing them to visit the L2 country without a linguistic and cultural barrier. In the first quote, the respondent associated her highly elaborate L2 identity as an anti-tourist with markers of cultivation

and sophistication (see e.g. Kinginger, 2004). In the second quote, the participant framed L2 learning as a means to become a contributor to L2 community, rather than a voyeur, implicitly rejecting an identity as a monolingual (English-speaking) tourist.

In the LOTE samples, the anti-tourist L2 self was sometimes connected to the aspiration to move away from the stereotype of the lazy Anglophone tourist who only uses English to communicate in non-English-speaking countries and is restricted to touristy places. Although LOTE respondents were fully aware that the linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) afforded by English would allow them to communicate internationally, they believed that the ability to speak the L2 not only made travel experiences more authentic, but also enabled them to be more respectful towards members of the L2 community by speaking their language rather than being reliant on their knowledge of English (see also e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013):

Although they can speak English it would be nice I think, and more respectful, if I made the effort/was able to communicate in their language too. (G_A, QR-3)

The scarce occurrence of references to an anti-tourist L2 self among EFL learners may be due to the fact that these learners were likely to envision using English not only in inner-circle countries, where the cultivation of high command of the language may enable them to have non-touristy experiences, but also, and perhaps more commonly, in the context of international travelling (see e.g. Aiello, 2017), where resorting to English as a lingua franca would immediately position them as cultural and linguistic outsiders.

7.3.2.3 Local communities and local presence

This section reports on the influence of local communities on students' motivations. It discusses the data obtained in the QRs and integrates them with those yielded in the first interviews, when participants were explicitly asked whether L2 skills would be relevant to them in the city where they were pursuing L2 study.

Italian communities in Melbourne

It was noted in section 7.3.2.1 that 9 QRs included references to local L2 communities. Interestingly, these communities never featured as the only L2 group with which they wished to associate. In fact, they were always mentioned alongside references

to Italy and/or Italians, as the following response illustrates:

I will be able to converse with Italians in my community and overseas. (I_A, QR-29)

Interview data offered further insight into the effect that the visibility of local L2 communities had on students' motivations. When asked to describe the relevance of their L2 skills in Melbourne, all five respondents alluded to the presence of Italians in the city. Bianca, for instance, claimed that Melbourne is "a big Italian community", identified the geographical spaces associated with the Italian presence in Melbourne ("Lygon Street" see 4.8) and went on to describe who these Italians are:

People know Carlton and areas like that, there's a lot of Italian people and stuff like that. I think in Melbourne appears to me to be like a big Italian community [...] A lot of people in Melbourne are international students so I might make some friends that way, or I might go to Lygon Street or find someone in a restaurant, or [...] if you are in an environment with a lot of older people... there's a good chance that one of them would be Italian. (I_A, INT-1, Bianca)

Her account clearly shows that the Italian presence in Melbourne is not restricted to the migrants who arrived in the 50s and 60s (the "older people"), but also includes young international students and possibly also new young Italian migrants, who are highly represented in hospitality jobs despite being highly educated and skilled (Armilli & Mascitelli, 2017).

The visibility of a local community increases the chances of exposure to the L2 and its culture through intercultural encounters, which may contribute to the development of positive attitudes towards the L2 (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 463; Palmieri, 2018; Rubino, 2002) and thus to sustain their motivations. Emma, for instance, reported feeling ill at ease with her current level of Italian, which prevented her from understanding what she heard in the Italian suburb in Melbourne. This feeling of inadequacy appeared to have an impact on her motivation:

I live near Lygon Street where all of the Italian restaurants are, and I always hear people speaking Italian on the street and I always think: "oh I wish I knew exactly what they are saying because I can only understand bits and pieces". (I_A, INT-1, Emma)

The interview and questionnaire data revealed that the knowledge of a community

language also represented a way for learners to engage more deeply with local communities and to access a wide range of resources available in the local context (Group of 8, 2007; Huang & Cordella, 2016; Palmieri, 2018; Palfreyman, 2006):

There is a very big Italian community [...] it [Italian] opens up a whole range of resources in Melbourne that you might not be able to access otherwise. (I_A, INT-1, Olivia)

It's something you can put on a resume... especially if you are applying for a job... especially on Lygon Street I work in Coburg and there are Italian people there, old people that come in, so it would be useful in that sense. (I_A, INT-1, Alexa)

As I am studying psychology, I will be able to assist in the treatment of Italian immigrants. (I_A, QR-59)

It is argued that these I_A learners were involved in the construction of a “community engaged L2 self”. This self bears some resemblance to the rooted L2 self developed by MacIntyre and colleagues (2017), in that it represents a desired “localised” identity which subsumes both the ideal L2 self and an integrative orientation directed to the local context (Gardner, 1985). It is however not “rooted”, a term which implies a connection to ancestral roots for heritage learners and the maintenance of folkloristic traditions in the local context, as in the case of learners of Gaelic in Canada (see 2.4.1). A community engaged L2 self is intended as a broader concept which characterises both heritage and non-heritage learners’ positioning in transcultural spaces shaped by diasporic communities visible in the local socio-context. It describes learners who cultivate an aspiration to learn a community language to access local L2 community resources (Huang & Cordella, 2016) and to acquire more meaningful forms of local participation. The emergence of this self among I_A respondents is likely due to the visibility of local communities and suggests that the process of language learning derives from the interaction between learners and the resources available to them in their local socio-contexts of learning (Palfreyman, 2006). This confirms our research hypothesis on the influence of local communities on I_A learners (see 4.9) and, as noted previously, Palmieri’s (2018) findings on the community-related motivations of adult learners of Italian in Sydney.

German communities in Melbourne

As noted previously, no G_A questionnaire respondent expressed the desire to use the language to connect with local L2 communities. When asked about the relevance of their L2 skills in Melbourne, interview participants mainly mentioned international students and tourists:

There's a lot of backpackers and they are German. There are a lot of German tourists... like I've been wondering around the city a few times and I've just come across these German... you know German speakers... conversation in German. (G_A, INT-1, Sarah)

I don't know any German speaking communities in Melbourne... It might be good for me meeting backpackers or people from university who are international students, but I don't think it would have much of an impact for someone just living in Melbourne. (G_A, INT-1, Rebecca)

While one participant was well aware of the presence of local communities in Melbourne due to family connections, all the others appeared to have a very vague idea about them and generally displayed indifference or negative attitudes towards these groups. Andrew's excerpt encapsulates this finding:

I have a vague knowledge of some of the German communities in Melbourne and I'm honestly not very intrigued by them. It's kind of stereotypical but I really do think of really boring old people just hanging out in those sorts of clubs. (G_A, INT-1, Andrew)

All in all, these trends confirm the different degree of visibility and vitality of the German/Austrian and Swiss communities in Melbourne in comparison to the Italian community, in keeping with the quantitative data (see 6.4.2.2).

English in Bologna and Munich

As noted previously, although EFL respondents were fully aware of the linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) afforded by English as an instrument for transcultural communication (see 7.3.2.4), the role of the L2 for communication in the local socio-context was almost never mentioned in the questionnaires. When asked directly during the interview whether English would be necessary for them in Italy/Germany, all interviewees said that the language could be useful to communicate with foreigners. After discussing the presence of several tourists and exchange students in Bologna, Aurora, for

instance, noted that the knowledge of English is important in her local context, as the language provides a common means of communication:

People come from all over the world and one cannot speak all the languages of the world and often, English is the one that allows you to communicate easily [with them]. (E_I, INT-3³², Aurora, *transl.*)

This finding sheds some light on the role of English as a lingua franca to communicate with non-native speakers in non-English speaking countries, where linguistic superdiversity in urban centres due to increased social mobility represents the norm rather than the exception (see e.g. Duarte & Gogolin, 2013; Pauwels, 2014b). This coheres well with previous research on the domains of use of English in Italy (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Faez, 2011) and in Germany (see e.g. Erling, 2007).

7.3.2.4 Global community

As noted in section 7.3.2.1, the presence of a motivational dimension akin to international posture (Yashima, 2002, 2009) among EFL respondents was anticipated, as it is in line with a wealth of literature on the motivations of learners of English in different contexts (see 3.1.2.1). For many respondents, the linguistic capital afforded by English enabled them to relate to other speakers in international settings and to position themselves as members of an imagined global community. In other words, L2 learning was associated with the creation of a “global citizen self”:

It’s like a global community when I speak English... everyone does it [...] so I have access to this community too speaking English. (E_G, INT-1, Charlotte)

While scholars have noted that learners of global English are motivated to affiliate with a global unbounded community rather than with a specific Anglophone group (see Coetzee-Van-Rooy, 2006; McClelland, 2000; Lamb, 2004, see 2.2.2 and 3.1.2.1), it is worthwhile pointing out that the EFL learners in this study envisioned both inner-circle and global communities as targets of affiliation. This suggests that international posture

³² As can be seen, this quote is taken from INT-3. It was included in the discussion of QDS1 rather than QDS2 as it refers to “choice motivation” rather than “executive motivation” (see 5.6.2 for an overview of the criteria followed for the categorisation of the data into QDS1 and QDS2).

should not be conceived as an alternative to integrativeness (Yashima, 2009, p. 145) for students of English studies, but rather as a motivational disposition that can co-exist with L2-community-related motivations (see e.g. Aiello, 2017):

Being able to communicate (sic) with native people from English-speaking countries & being a part of the world. (E_G, QR-65)

It's not just to communicate with people from English-speaking countries, it also enables me to connect with people from so many countries even in Europe or I don't know, any continent really. (E_G, INT-1, Karin)

The data also revealed that some I_A and several G_A learners (see Table 7.7) respondents were invested in the creation of what we labelled “global citizen L2 self”, that is, they viewed L2 learning as instrumental to the acquisition of a more global standing. This finding is in keeping with the quantitative results discussed in section 6.3.1, which showed that 13.3% and 12.5% of I_A and G_A respondents respectively associated the attribute “global citizen” with their future ideal L2 self. It also coheres with the previous literature on Anglophone language learners (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013, see also 3.1.2.2):

My Italian abilities will allow me to travel and communicate in a world that extends beyond Australia. (I_A, QR-42)

I believe that by learning German, I will be able to expand my horizons in the future and become a useful member of a global society [...] I see German as something that will allow me to be a global citizen and connect me to the world. (G_A, QR-15)

While in a few instances G_A respondents drew upon the global reach of their chosen L2 to justify their investment in a global citizen L2 self (e.g. “German is also one of the most spoken languages so I hope I will be able to use it around the world.”, G_A, QR-3), a finding which certainly testifies to the spread and range of influence of the language (see 3.3), for the vast majority of LOTE students the pursuit a future international identity was linked to their renegotiated identity as bilinguals (see 7.3.1). This new identity allowed them to connect with the world on a deeper level thanks to the expansion of their “meaning-making repertoires” (Ushioda, 2017, p. 477). During the first interview, Bianca and Julia clearly articulated how L2 learning had changed their world view, regardless of the communicative range of their chosen L2:

It's funny because you only really use Italian if you travel to Italy. [...] I think that in the process of learning another language you meet other people that you wouldn't otherwise meet and also you understand, you learn about a lot of other things [...] it really does make you think about the world as a bigger place than just Australia. (I_A, INT-1, Bianca)

I think that it really does make you be able to understand the world a bit better... I focus on German politics but now I know a lot more about the Turkish refugee situation, the Syrian refugee situation... just because I focus on Germany. It gives you a really rounded view of the world I think, just from focussing on one region because everything is interconnected. (G_A, INT-1, Julia)

Despite being aware of the limited utilitarian value of Italian, Bianca connected proficiency in Italian with her ability to engage with the world on a deeper level. This suggests that the ability to speak another language and to familiarise with its associated culture enables language learners to acquire a new sense of global connectedness (Balboni, 2008, p. 92). Indeed, many respondents like Bianca framed L2 learning as a process connected to the acquisition of “intercultural competence” (Gudykunst, 1991; Kim 1991, Byram, 2008), which denotes openness and willingness to interact with people who are different, adaptability, positive attitudes and empathy towards other cultures and communities. These all represent key features of Yashima's (2002, 2009) conceptualisation of international posture (see 2.2.2). As Julia's excerpt above also illustrates, the forces of globalisation were often called into question when learners explained how L2 proficiency was associated with the acquisition of a new global standing. Since, as Julia affirmed, “everything is interconnected” in the globalised world (see e.g. Blommaert, 2010, see also 3.1), the focus on one L2 community (in her case Germany) is not limiting, as it opens up a window to world trends and events connected to that community. These responses demonstrate that L2 learning experiences are transformative processes whereby learners renegotiate the way that they relate to the world and the way they perceive themselves as individuals (Kanno & Norton, 2003, see also discussion on the attributes associated with L2 proficiency in 6.3.1).

Although LOTE learners were aware of the prominent role that English has in the world, they believed that by mastering another language they could access new resources precluded to monolingual speakers. A case in point is Rebecca, who viewed language learning as the means for connecting to an international community so as to explore

beyond her Anglophone world:

[Knowing another language] means I'm not locked into my English-speaking world, I can see other places more easily, interact with other people more easily but I know their language, rather than expect them to know English... and yeah... I feel like it makes you more open to know new people, new experiences and new places to live and work. (G_A, INT-1, Rebecca)

The use of the term “lock into” in relation to the English-speaking world is reminiscent of Wierzbicka’s (2014, p. 4) claim that English represents “a conceptual prison” (p. 4) for monolingual Anglophone speakers: the lack of incentive for learning other languages in an English-dominated world means that these speakers are unable to think beyond what Hajek (2014, para. 2) calls “Anglobubble”. The view of English as a language that imprisons and restraints its speakers is in direct contradiction with the dominant discourse surrounding its role as a gateway to the world (see e.g. Graddol, 2006; Ushioda, 2013b, 2017). As the three responses presented at the beginning of this section illustrate, this discourse was often drawn upon by EFL learners to justify their investment in a language which grants access to an unbounded global English-speaking community. For Rebecca, however, this community represented an enclosed space from which she wanted to escape. In the quote above, she also referred to the reliance of native English speakers on the proficiency in English of their interlocutors. As discussed in section 7.3.2.2, this attitude, which derives from a position of linguistic power (see 3.1), was perceived as embarrassing by many respondents in this study, who appeared to be consciously involved in defying the monolingual mindset normally attributed to monolingual English speakers, in keeping with scholarship on Anglophone language learners (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013; Lanvers, 2016, see also 3.1.2.2).

The relevance of international posture to the LOTE sample groups may also be directly associated with discourse surrounding the benefits of language education in Australia (4.5) as a process which enables individuals to project an international identity. This discourse also permeates the way language studies are marketed at university level, as shown in a recent case study of promotional material used by the University of Melbourne (see Amorati, 2018). Evidence of a motivational disposition akin to international posture in the Australian context was also found in Campbell and Storch’s (2011) study on the motivations of university learners of Chinese in Melbourne.

The accounts discussed in this section demonstrate that the students in this study were involved in a process of identity negotiation which allowed them to gain membership in a community of globally oriented individuals. While for EFL learners the acquisition of a global standing was linked to the status of their L2, for LOTE respondents it was mostly associated with their re-negotiated identity as bilingual and/or plurilingual speakers.

7.3.3 Instrumental orientation

This section reports on the main trends that were observed in the data coded under the variable “instrumental orientation”. This variable triangulated the findings obtained for Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”, see 6.2.4).

Qualitative variable	Corresponding factor	Sample groups	Total corpus (QRs)	Work-related reasons		Non-work-related instrumental reasons	
				Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Instrumental orientation	Factor 4: Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals	English in Italy (E _I)	87	70	80.5%	12	13.8%
		English in Germany (E _G)	65	54	83%	11	16.9%
		Italian in Australia (I _A)	74	42	56.8%	26	35.1%
		German in Australia (G _A)	86	73	84.5%	26	30.2%

Table 7.8 Frequencies and percentages of questionnaire participants in the four samples who mentioned reasons related to the variable “instrumental orientation” in the open-ended responses. The data are classified into the two dimensions work-related and non-work-related benefits

As Table 7.8 shows, participants’ instrumental reasons for L2 learning were grouped into two categories: (1) work-related and (2) non-work-related. This latter category included the benefits linked to L2 study, such as the easiness in learning additional languages, the opportunity to study abroad, the development of one’s own cognitive skills, a deeper understanding of one’s own L1 as well as other degree-related considerations (see 7.3.3.2). Although work-related reasons were frequently mentioned

in all samples, they were much more common in the E_I, E_G and G_A samples than in the I_A sample (E_I = 80.5%; E_G = 83%; G_A = 84.5% vs I_A = 56.8%). This is in keeping with the significantly lower effect of Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”) on I_A learners (see 6.2.4.1). It can also be observed that non-work-related reasons were mainly reported by LOTE participants. As will be elaborated in section 7.3.3.2, many of these respondents referred to the general benefits of bilingualism and also indicated the personal and degree-related advantages of including a language subject in their study plan.

7.3.3.1 Work-related reasons

Necessity of the L2 for work: English vs LOTEs

The majority of EFL learners highlighted the benefits that the mastery of English could bring, especially in terms of social and career progression:

I believe that English will be necessary for me to work as it is for most Italian people. (E_I, QR-33)

I am studying English because I feel it is an important language to have mastered in such international times of globalisation. (E_G, QR-37)

Their accounts contained several expressions of obligation (e.g. “necessary”, “essential”, “important”) which were not found in the recounts of LOTE learners. EFL respondents hinted to societal expectations regarding English skills for social and career progression, which were reflective of discourses around the instrumental value of global English as the desired linguistic capital (Pauwels, 2014b; Ushioda, 2017, p. 472, see 3.1), in keeping with previous studies on EFL learners (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Busse, 2017; Hilgendorf, 2007). The often-cited conviction that English plays an important role in the world seemed to constitute a motivating source also for learners who did not necessarily welcomed its broad range of influence in their lives. The following respondent, for instance, affirmed that English will be part of everyone’s life in the future, regardless of personal interest, and went on to contend that its knowledge is necessary:

English in the future is going to play a key role in everyone’s life, whatever (sic) you like it or not. Everything is going to be in English I think, starting from the medias to everyday’s (sic) life. (E_I, QR-61)

His/her reference to media sheds light into the non-instructional domains in which young Italians are likely to come into contact with English (see 4.2). The motivations of learners like the one above were clearly associated with forms of “instrumentality-prevention” rather than “instrumentality promotion” (see 2.2.1). As will be further discussed in section 7.3.6, for these learners, the study of English represented a means to comply with external expectations, with their motivation being driven by an ought-to L2 self dimension.

It should be noted, however, that responses like the ones described so far represented dissonant voices in the qualitative data set. In fact, the vast majority of respondents related beliefs about the linguistic capital afforded by English to the realisation of personally relevant goals (see also 7.3.4). A case in point is offered by the following quote, where an E_I respondent clearly described an ideal L2 self when talking about his/her career prospects (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009; Higgins, 1987):

I think that being Italian but being an excellent English speaker will help me to get the job that I want and become the person I dream of being. (E_I, QR-6)

Interestingly, the respondent presented his/her Italian identity and his/her ability to speak fluent English as two elements in contrast with each other (“being Italian but being an excellent English speaker”), perhaps hinting at the general poor language skills of Italians, a trend confirmed by the interview data.

As fully anticipated, there was agreement among LOTE respondents that it was not necessary for them to learn another language to enter the job market in Australia, but that this skill represented a bonus for seizing job opportunities. This is because L2 knowledge is uncommon in Australia and L2 proficiency gained through L2 learning was viewed as a form of social capital, being associated with positive qualities:

It shows a commitment and self-determination to be able to learn a language from scratch when there is no cultural need or requirement in order to participate in a global society. (G_A, QR-2)

All in all, the data showed that for EFL learners English represented a necessary language to possess in the job market, whilst LOTE learners perceived the knowledge of a LOTE as a plus, a “non-default” skill which could open up new career options (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, see also 3.1.2.1). The difference in the level of societal pressures to master the L2 for future job prospects in the European and in the Australian contexts was

lucidly articulated by Bianca:

I think when you think about like European people getting jobs... it's necessary to speak a different language, but in Australia it's like a plus. (IA, INT-1, Bianca)

The fact that the instrumental reasons mentioned by both EFL and LOTE respondents had a promotion rather than a prevention focus, even when the L2 skill was perceived as necessary in the job market, shows that the work-related motivations of the learners in this study were propelled by an ideal rather than ought-to L2 self dimension (see also 7.3.6). This finding lends support to Dörnyei's (2009, p. 28) claim that "in our idealized image of ourselves we naturally want to be professionally successful and therefore instrumental motives that are related to career enhancement are logically linked to the ideal L2 self".

The exotic vs commonplace continuum

Although there was agreement in the EFL samples on the economic and social capital associated with English as the language at the top of the global linguistic hierarchy, respondents held different and sometimes contradictory opinions regarding the pragmatic benefits linked to the mastery of the language in their socio-contexts. On the one hand, some considered language learning as instrumental to the attainment of a level of L2 competence which would allow them to differentiate themselves from others:

Nowadays, many people know English. But how many of them know English at a medium-high level? I think university helps me [in] improving my spoken and written English and becoming an expert of this language. (Ei, QR-9)

In Germany, nearly everyone speaks English at a certain level. But when you have studied English at university, you have an above average knowledge of this language and you can use it, not only on a basic level but in a professional context as well. (EG, QR-1)

In these accounts, the participants recognised that the knowledge of English is commonplace in Italy and in Germany, but argued that speaking English at university level allowed them to have an edge in the job market, as mastery of the L2 is not the norm yet. Learners like the ones above were driven by an *Exotenmotiv* (Riemer, 2006), a

motivation which, as noted in section 3.1.2.2 and 3.3, describes the desire to do something that not many do so as to attain a unique skillset associated with pragmatic advantages (see 3.1.2.2 and 3.4). On the other hand, some respondents admitted that since English is widely learnt and spoken (see Graddol, 2006; Ushioda, 2017, p. 469), its mastery is no longer remarkable:

It is an advantage [to be able to speak English] but in the meantime there are so many people here in Germany that speak English... so it's kind of... yeah, the least you can do is to speak English well... like in business or career... [...] but still it's not like... "oh my god you're so good in English" because most people are good in English. (E_G, INT-1, Charlotte)

Since English "seems to lose its premium value" (Siridetkoon & Dewaele, 2018, p. 12) due to, ironically, its global spread (Ushioda, 2017, p. 469), the knowledge of a niche language might equip non-Anglophone learners with a more valuable asset, thereby allowing them to have an edge in a job market now saturated with English speakers (see Graddol, 2006). This tendency was clearly expressed by Marco, who claimed that Finnish would be more useful than English in terms of job opportunities, as it is not as commonly taught/learnt as English and is thus not perceived as a "default" skillset:

If I was only thinking about future possibilities, I would have thought that probably there aren't many people that are studying Finnish because Finnish isn't such an easy language and you don't study Finnish in high school... so let's study Finnish and have more or less sure job employment in the Finnish society or with a Finnish company. No, I know that English is spoken by more or less everyone, so having only an English degree on my curriculum vitae wouldn't be enough, of course. (E_I, INT-1, Marco)

An argument similar to the one put forward by Marco in relation to the instrumental value of Finnish was also found in the LOTE samples, where an *Exotenmotiv* (Riemer, 2006) was more common. These learners believed that L2 proficiency may yield instrumental benefits due to the "special" and "unique" nature of this skillset in their milieu and framed their desired L2 identities in terms of processes of differentiation from their in-group. This is in keeping with literature on Anglophone learners (see e.g. Schmidt, 2014b; Stolte, 2015, see also Lanvers, 2017 for a recent overview). While the "English-is-enough mentality" may discourage some Anglophone speakers to pursue language studies (Clyne, 2008), the flip-side-of this phenomenon is that those who develop proficiency in an L2 are more likely to have advantages over others, due to the

“non-default” nature of their skillset (Amorati, 2018, p. 324):

Learning Italian at university level means I can stand out from the crowd in the job market. Studying a language at university is seen as very cultured and being very open minded, meaning that I will be a more successful candidate when being employed. (I_A, QR-3)

I think having a major in a language, particularly at an advanced level, sets you apart from other people, who may only speak English. Languages are a skill that no one can take away from you and can be big assets to potential employers. (G_A, QR-13)

The presence of this motivational disposition among LOTE respondents may be directly linked to the fact that the discourse around language education in Australia tends to emphasise the instrumental and economic value of language proficiency, often at the expense of the intrinsic benefits associated with L2 learning per se (see 4.5). These findings confirm that the global status of English has not removed the instrumental value of other languages in English speaking countries, congruent with other studies conducted in other Anglophone contexts at the tertiary level (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013). Indeed, as Lanvers (2017, p. 522) observes, “despite global English luring Anglophones easily into the belief that ‘English is enough’, university language students tend to be motivated by the prospect of instrumental benefits of their language skills”.

Creating international professional identities

Respondents in all samples mentioned the role that L2 proficiency could have for expanding their career options and for developing what we labelled “international professional L2 self”, a motivational dimension which aligns well with the one described by Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”, see 6.2.4). In some cases, the choice of the specific L2 was linked to specific career ambitions:

When thinking about my future I picture myself as a translator working for a big company such as Nintendo, or a professional parliament interpreter. Both of which require a constant use of English. (E_I, QR-12)

In others, L2 proficiency served to expand career opportunities, by enabling learners to market themselves as globally oriented and to acquire membership in the international workforce:

Learning a language will allow me to work internationally and have international connections for the future. (I_A, QR-42)

I think there is a big opportunity to study or work abroad learning the language. (G_A, QR-19).

The interview data showed that for some E_I respondents, the desire to shape global identities originated from the urgency of responding to overwhelming unemployment rates in Italy (see 4.2). A case in point is that of Giorgia, who particularly appreciated the capital that English could afford her in terms of mobility (see 6.2.6.1) and who wished to accrue this capital to find employment opportunities overseas, due to her inability to envision a professional future in Italy:

The advantage [of knowing English] is in the fact that in the future I can't see myself working in Italy [due to the current economic situation] and so I think that English is a bit like that key that could open all my doors, no? (E_I, INT-1, Giorgia, *transl.*)

This finding can explain why E_I respondents were more motivated by the desire to fashion globally oriented identities than all other respondents (see Factor 6, “Desire to create a global identity and to have global experiences”, see 6.2.6.1) and why they experienced more societal pressures than learners in the other sample groups (see 6.3.2).

Add-on qualification

EFL and LOTE samples also differed in their perception of L2 skills as an add-on qualification, with this motivation only being mentioned in the latter samples (11 I_A and 17 G_A respondents). This can be explained by considering the characteristics of the students' degrees. While for EFL respondents English was a compulsory subject that represented the focus of their studies, LOTE learners could study the L2 alongside other degree areas (see 5.4.1). For this reason, some I_A and G_A respondents perceived L2 skills as complementing their study plans, in keeping with previous research on the motivations of university language students in Australia (Schmidt, 2014b). While, as mentioned previously, for some students the driving motivation for choosing their target language was associated with clear future personal or professional ambitions, for others the L2 represented a bonus, an additional talent to include in their resume and on which they could fall back:

It gives me another skill to add to my resume and makes me more employable. (G_A, QR-78)

7.3.3.2 Non-work-related reasons

Participants in all samples also referred to additional pragmatic advantages related to language learning at university level, such as the ability to have an academic certification of their language skills, advantages related to overseas study, a deeper understanding of one's own L1, the acquisition of a new-found world view and means of meaning-making (Scarino, 2014), the easiness in learning additional languages, and the development of one's own knowledge and cognitive skills:

Getting a degree in English will certify that I can use English at a certain level. (E_I, QR-44)

It creates a diversity in how I think and talk in German too. Just like any other language it reassembles or renews ways of thinking and in that way your sight on the world in all aspects. (E_G, QR-39)

[Learning Italian] allows me to learn other similar languages, e.g. Spanish. (I_A, QR-36)

Learning German is also useful because learning a second language can assist in brain development. (G_A, QR-1)

In the Australian context, where languages are studied alongside other degree areas (see 5.4.1), several respondents also reported having chosen the L2 for particular advantages that a language subject offers, with some noting that it represented a break or mind-refresher from their main study areas or that it allowed them to develop a more academic or creative side of their brain³³. The frequent occurrence of these themes, together with references to the benefits of obtaining an add-on qualification, can explain why non-work-related benefits were more frequently mentioned in the LOTE rather than in the EFL samples (see Table 7.8).

³³ When students placed emphasis on the pragmatic advantages associated with learning a linguistic subject outside their study area, their accounts were coded as part of instrumental orientation. Conversely, when they explicitly referred to the enjoyment of L2 learning classes, their accounts were coded as part of "intrinsic motivation" (see 7.3.4), in keeping with Oakes (2013, p. 187).

7.3.4 Intrinsic motivation

The qualitative variable “intrinsic motivation” grouped together the responses of participants who expressed a passion and appreciation for the L2 and for languages in general, and who associated L2 proficiency with intrinsic benefits, such as personal achievement and personal growth. The findings reported in this section triangulated the results obtained for Factor 5 (“Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities”, see 6.2.5).

As Table 7.9 below shows, intrinsic motivations were mentioned by a considerable number of respondents in all samples, and particularly by G_A , E_I and E_G students ($G_A = 65.1\%$; $E_I = 57.5\%$; $E_G = 53.8\%$). The qualitative data suggest that intrinsic dispositions were highly relevant to all learner populations, as expected from elective language learners and in keeping with the generally high mean scores of Factor 5 on all sample groups (see 6.2.5.1). The lower, albeit still high, recurrence of intrinsic reasons in the I_A sample may be due to the presence of more considerable external influences on these respondents which manifested themselves in the form of insistence (see 6.3.2 and 6.3.2.1). This section discusses the main features emerged from the data in relation to this variable.

Qualitative variable	Quantitative factor mainly associated with this variable	Sample groups	Total corpus (QRs)	Freq.	%
Intrinsic motivation	Factor 5 Intrinsic desire to expend effort in the creation of future L2 identities	English in Italy (E_I)	87	50	57.5%
		English in Germany (E_G)	65	35	53.8%
		Italian in Australia (I_A)	74	34	45.9%
		German in Australia (G_A)	86	56	65.1%

Table 7.9 Frequencies and percentages of survey participants in the four samples who mentioned intrinsic reasons in the open-ended responses

Passion for the L2

A passion for the L2 represented the strongest intrinsic reason for learners in all sample groups and was often linked to previous positive L2 learning experiences (Busse & Williams, 2010; Campbell & Storch, 2011; de Burgh-Hirabe, 2019). Students utilised several emotional expressions to connote their attachment to the L2, with words denoting affection being ubiquitous in their accounts:

I want to study English for several reasons, but mainly because I really love the language. (E_I, QR-11)

My motivation is free from external influence; it is an internal drive to learn German and continue it at a university level. (G_A, QR-88)

Some learners explicitly referred to their enjoyment of L2 learning as a primary motivation, others attributed their appreciation for the L2 to its specific features, such as its sounds, rhythm, melody, displaying a motivational dimension which Noels (2001) labels “intrinsic-stimulation”. The two comments below illustrate these two trends in the data:

When I’m studying English, I can’t realise time is flowing (sic), I think that’s just because I am really interested in it. (E_I, QR-34).

I think it’s beautiful and a really nice-sounding language. (I_A, QR-66)

Affective and emotion-laden accounts were common among EFL learners. While the utilitarian, social and economic value of English was surely a factor weighing up in their decision to continue learning the language at university level (see e.g. 7.3.3.1), the respondents in this study were mainly motivated by an internal drive to further deepen their understanding of a language towards which they felt a personal connection. Learners often emphasised this latter aspect in their accounts, thereby challenging assumptions that others could make about their choice of specialising in English solely for its status as world language (see also 7.3.3.1):

I believe it’s a very important part of one’s education but most importantly, I study it because I’m passionate about it. (E_I, QR-26)

A similar trend was also found in the LOTE samples, where several respondents justified their decision to study the L2 on the ground of an intrinsic interest in the

language, rather than of potential practical benefits that the L2 could afford them:

I think there isn't any benefit learning a language that you're not interested in... lots of people have said... aw you should learn Mandarin, it's very good for business, but I said... I don't want to learn it... (G_A, INT-1, Julia)

Language learning enjoyment and personally relevant identity goals

For respondents in all samples a passion for the L2 was often linked to a general enjoyment of the L2 learning process and to previous positive learning experiences. This confirms that the L2 learning experience plays an important role in the creation and maintenance of motivation, as suggested by both theoretical models (see e.g. Gardner, 1985; Dörnyei's, 2005; 2009) and empirical literature (see e.g. Riemer, 2016; Campbell & Storch, 2011; Ushioda, 1996). As for the intrinsic motivations displayed, (1) some respondents described the feelings and sensations experienced when using and learning the language; (2) others emphasised the intrinsic pleasure experienced when trying to understand something new and satisfying their own curiosity; (3) and finally others were more focused towards achievement, and their reasons for L2 study were mainly sustained by their desire to surpass themselves, to overcome challenges and to accomplish a deep-seated goal. The following accounts provide evidence of these three motivational dispositions:

When I have a conversation in English or I read a book written in English I feel at home. (E_I, QR-4)

There's no specific reason I want to study it [Italian] for my future, other than the satisfaction of having learnt it and not given [sic] it up. (I_A, QR-12).

I feel very achieved when I find myself using skills that I thought I would never be able to use and I chase the feeling of surprising myself with my abilities when I am able to perform skills I thought I hadn't yet mastered. (G_A, QR-83)

Students' accounts also cast some further light on the transformative power of language learning experiences (Norton Peirce, 1995), as processes which for intrinsically motivated learners are associated with positive emotions, changes in self-perception (Palmieri, 2017) and personal growth (Schmidt, 2014a):

English is probably the most important part of my life. It is the only subject where I know I am the best. I need English to feel comfortable with myself. (E_I, QR-42)

I love the language, I want to speak English every day, I feel a lot more open and expressive when I'm speaking English. (E_G, QR-21)

Passion for languages

Several participants in all samples also expressed a general passion for languages, often linked to prior L2 learning experiences and connected to a general aspiration to expend effort in the creation of an ideal multilingual self (Henry, 2017):

I'm pretty interested in studying languages. (E_G, QR-63)

I love learning languages and find it exciting and rewarding to be able to speak to people in their own language. (I_A, QR-24)

Many respondents considered language learning as a process which contributed to an expansion of what Ushioda (2017) labels “people’s meaning-making repertoires as multilingual (rather than L2 expert) communicators”. Indeed, many learners in all samples were not only involved in shaping an ideal L2 self, but rather an ideal multilingual self (Henry, 2017, see also Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017 p. 460; Ushioda, 2017). Since, as Busse (2017, p. 578) notes, “the image of an ideal self speaking various languages can have a powerful effect on motivation”, it is likely that their multilingual aspirations played a considerable role in their decision to pursue L2 studies. These multilingual selves were also associated with a “ideal plurilingual *Bildungs-Selbst*” (Busse, 2015, 2017), in that fluency in multiple languages was perceived as a marker of openness and culturedness:

To be able to speak many languages it (sic) makes me more open-minded and cultured. (E_I, QC-17)

The presence of a general interest towards language learning is not surprising because the sample under investigation was highly multilingual, with many respondents in all learner groups reporting speaking an additional language besides their L1 and the L2 under investigation (see 6.1.1). A general positive disposition towards languages was also found in other studies (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Schmidt, 2011). Schmidt

(2011), for instance, found that an interest in German, paired with an appreciation for language learning in general, was the most salient factor underpinning the motivations of university learners of German in Australia (see 4.7.1).

7.3.5 Heritage motivation

This section grouped together the responses of participants who mentioned heritage reasons for pursuing L2 study. This qualitative theme emerged inductively in the process of data analysis.

As Table 7.10 shows, heritage-related motivations were almost only present in the two LOTE samples, and particularly in the I_A sample (I_A = 45.9%; G_A = 25.3%). This trend was anticipated, as it was noted in section 6.1.1 that roughly one in two I_A respondents and three in ten G_A learners reported having a heritage background (see 6.1.1).

Qualitative variable	Sample groups	Total corpus (QRs)	Freq.	%
Heritage motivations	English in Italy (E _I)	87	1	1.1%
	English in Germany (E _G)	65	0	0%
	Italian in Australia (I _A)	74	34	45.9%
	German in Australia (G _A)	86	22	25.3%

Table 7.10 Frequencies and percentages of survey participants in the four samples who mentioned heritage-related motivations for L2 learning in the open-ended responses

As the following excerpt illustrates, students' investment in their heritage language ("heritage L2 self") led to the creation, development and/or performance of one important aspect of their self-concept, in keeping with a wealth of scholarship on heritage language learning (see e.g. Berardi-Wiltshire, 2016; Leeman, 2015; Noels, 2005):

I have grown up being exposed to elements of Italian culture and feeling that being Italian is part of my identity. Learning Italian would allow me to

... speak to my nonna³⁴ more easily and make me feel more Italian in general, something that's important to me because I really enjoy learning about and kind of honouring my heritage. (IA, QR-2)

There was also evidence in the data that the inability to speak Italian was perceived by some learners as a missing component of their heritage identities, in line with the previous literature on Italo-Australian communities (see e.g. Pitronaci, 1998, see also 4.6.1). A case in point is that of Alexa, a third generation Italo-Australian learner. During the first interview, she expressed uneasiness with her lack of knowledge of Italian and described her learning efforts as instrumental to regaining a connection with a culture that she still perceived as “hers”, despite the fact that her parents did not teach her the language and did not maintain Italian cultural traditions:

I do like the culture because my family is Australian now... I feel like I'm not as in touch with my Italian culture as some of the other people that I know, which is kind of sad. (IA, INT-1, Alexa).

Another recurrent theme which transpired from participants' accounts was the need to learn the L2 to interact with Italian-speaking or German-speaking family members either in Australia or overseas, confirming the role that heritage language learning plays in enhancing the sense of belonging to families and communities (Baldassar et al., 2012; Berardi-Wiltshire, 2016):

The main thing it would do is allow me to speak to my relatives and not have a language barrier present. (IA, QR-68)

I am the only one out of my family on my mother's side that doesn't speak German so Christmas dinners are boring as I don't understand much of the conversation. (GA, QR-64)

Heritage reasons were nurtured in the social environments navigated by students, as will be discussed in the next section.

³⁴ Italian word for “grandmother”

7.3.6 An overview of the main influences reported and the (limited) explanatory power of the ought-to L2 self

Some details about the effect of external influences on learners' motivations have already been provided in other parts of this chapter (e.g. the effect of the socio-context on the creation of a bilingual identity, the presence of L2 communities in the context of learning, perceived necessity of the L2 etc., see 7.3.1, 7.3.2.3 and 7.3.3 respectively). This section discusses the extent to which the influences reported by students could be brought back to the variable “ought-to L2 self”. The analysis integrates the data yielded by the QRs with interview data and with the comments left by participants in response to the close-ended question discussed in sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.2.1.

Some considerations on the coding process: the ought-to L2 self

Qualitative variable	Corresponding factor	Sample groups	Total corpus (QRs)	Ought-to L2 self/own		Ought-to L2 self/other	
				Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Ought-to L2 self	Factor 3: Ought-to L2 self	English in Italy (E _I)	87	5	5.7%	4	4.6%
		English in Germany (E _G)	65	4	6.2%	1	1.5%
		Italian in Australia (I _A)	74	5	6.8%	1	1.4%
		German in Australia (G _A)	86	4	4.7%	0	0%

Table 7.11 Frequencies and percentages of survey participants in the four samples who mentioned external influences which were coded as part of the ought-to L2 self in the open-ended responses. The data are classified into the two dimensions “ought-to L2 self/own” and “ought-to L2 self/other”

The variable “ought-to L2 self” (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) was included in the coding framework utilised for approaching the qualitative data in an attempt to triangulate the findings obtained from Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self, see 6.2.3) and from the multiple choice questions on the external influences perceived by respondents once they decided to pursue L2 study. A further distinction was made between the two components “ought-

to L2 self/own” and “ought-to L2 self/other” (Teimouri, 2017), which, as noted in 2.4.1, can help us explore the level of internalisation of external influences.

Table 7.11 provides an overview of the participants who reported motivations which could be associated with an ought-to L2 self dimension in the four samples. As can be seen, no more than 5 respondents per sample group mentioned external influences as their primary motivations. The low incidence of externally sourced motivations is in line with the limited effect of Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”, see 6.2.3) on all sample groups. It can also be observed that the ought-to L2 self/own dimension was more common in all samples, indicating that external pressures, when present, tended to be internalised. This further substantiates previous claims that the motivations of the learners in this study had a promotion rather than a prevention focus (Dörnyei, 2009), as suggested by the frequent mention of intrinsic motivations in all sample groups (see 7.3.4) and by the overlap of the ideal L2 self with most of the other motivational variables in the quantitative and qualitative data. This finding was expected since the students in this study were likely not to experience strong societal pressures to speak their chosen L2 since they were, on the one hand, highly proficient speakers of English as an L2 and, on the other, native or highly proficient speakers of English who had decided to study a language at university level in an inner-circle country (see 6.1.2.3).

Necessity of the L2 skill linked to the status of the L1

It was discussed in section 7.3.3.1 that the participants in this study attributed a different value to their L2 in terms of career development. This section briefly discusses respondents’ perceptions of the necessity of L2 knowledge.

This necessity or lack thereof of L2 skills was undoubtedly connected to the status of the participants’ L1. On the one hand, Italian and German do not have the same communicative range of English (see 3.1), albeit being both languages with a certain status (see 3.2 and 3.3). On the other hand, English enables Anglophone speakers to access a global community, removing the instrumental value associated with L2 proficiency. Only a few responses mentioned by EFL participants could be brought back to an ought-to L2 self/other dimension, as they had a prevention rather than a promotion focus and appeared not to be internalised:

Today, English is required everywhere. (E1, QR-28, *transl.*)

I study English because nowadays it is essential to travel around the world and to do any job. (E_I, QR-87)

For these participants, the decision to study English reflected a compliance with external expectations. As noted previously (7.3.4), however, in the majority of cases the knowledge of English appeared instrumental to the attainment of personal goals and/or personally relevant L2 vision, suggesting that it was led by an ideal and/or an ought-to L2 self/own dimension:

In my country learning English is considered important but I also choose to study this language because I want to teach English literature. So it is my dream. (E_I, QR-23)

Apart from the fact that we have been educated to think that English is fundamental for our life, maybe it has influenced me at first, now I definitely think that my decision is led by myself. (E_I, QC-22)

The second comment may suggest that the importance of English and mainstream discourses on its social cachet can lead to the internalisation of societal expectations, in that individuals might be brought to perceive these societal forces as personally relevant, with their motivations reflecting forms of integrated and identified regulation. This was also found in prior studies on young EFL learners (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Bier, 2013).

Societal expectations related to the mastery of Italian and German or L2 proficiency in general were not mentioned among LOTE respondents in relation to work-related opportunities (see 7.3.3). Ought-to L2 self-related motivational dispositions were mainly reported by heritage learners and were directly associated with influences from their milieu.

Significant others

In all samples, external influences from significant others (parents, friends, etc.) were rarely indicated as driving motivations in the QRs. The data on external influences were mainly collected through interviews, where students were explicitly asked to elaborate on whether they experienced external influences when they decided to study a language at university level and to reflect on the nature of these influences. Further data were collected via survey comments to a close-ended question eliciting this topic (see 5.4.3.1). The qualitative data confirm that students were influenced by significant others

when they decided to pursue L2 study at university. Teachers and peers were often mentioned in participants' accounts (Carpenter et al, 2009; Guilloteaux & Dörnyei, 2008), as the following excerpts exemplify:

My English teacher in high school had a fundamental role in my choice as she greatly contributed to my love of the English language, literature and culture. (E_I, QR-20)

An acquaintance of mine is fluent in French. And I thought maybe I could be fluent in Italian someday as well. (I_A, QR-3)

Several participants reported being encouraged to continue studying a language in which they had invested time and effort. This was mostly the case in the LOTE samples, where continuity in language studies at school level is not the norm (see e.g. Martín et al., 2016), and students who decided to study a language till the end of secondary school were strongly encouraged by their teachers to do so. For some, the persistence with L2 study represented a way to fulfil the expectations of significant others and to prevent negative consequences (e.g. losing the previously acquired proficiency in the L2). These influences may be interpreted in light of an ought-to L2 self/own dimension (Teimouri, 2017).

People often encourage you to keep up with a language particularly when you are several years into it... so teachers at school encouraging me... lecturers from Melbourne Uni... and I know they don't have a lot of power over you, but you feel like you should do it by that point. Also, when you are so invested in it yourself, you realise, oh I probably shouldn't drop this now. (G_A, INT-1, Andrew)

External influences mainly manifested themselves in all samples in the form of encouragement rather than coercion, in line with the findings obtained in the quantitative component of the study (see 6.3.2.1) and with the previous literature (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; de Burgh-Hirabe, 2019). In the LOTE samples, influences from significant others were mostly reported in conjunction with heritage reasons (Berardi-Wiltshire, 2016; Thompson, 2017a, p. 496):

My family are all Italian speakers and want me to be able to speak to them. (I_A, QR-48)

My Oma wishes all of the grand children to speak German or Dutch as it is a part of my heritage. I am the only one out of my family on my mother's side that doesn't speak German, so Christmas dinners are boring as I don't understand much of the conversation. (G_A, QR-64)

The occurrence of these motivations can explain the trends discussed in section 6.3.2, where it was observed that a remarkably larger percentage of LOTE respondents in comparison to their EFL counterparts were influenced by their parents and by significant people in their lives in their decision to pursue L2 studies at university level. These learners were not only interested in pursuing the L2 to (re)gain a connection to their heritage and to obtain membership in the communities in which they partook, but they also wished to comply with external expectations. In sum, the motivations of these heritage learners often had both a promotion and prevention focus and were propelled by an ought-to L2 self/own dimension, a finding which coheres with Thompson's (2017a, p. 496) observations on the language choice of university-based heritage language learners in America.

Although significant others were generally supportive of students' decision to pursue L2 study, there was also evidence in all samples of discouraging influences. For some EFL interviewees, this discouragement was mainly associated with the non-vocational nature of their chosen degree in English and North American studies. A case in point is that of Charlotte, who identified a source of demotivation in the negative attitudes that some of her friends have towards her study area:

Some people in my social environment sometimes asked me what are you doing with that [degree], they were very sceptic about North American studies [...] were like ok, so what are you doing to do next? Driving taxis? [...] There are people who mock it and don't take it serious[ly]. (E_G, INT-1, Charlotte)

Some LOTE participants were met with resistance from others who did not understand the value of L2 learning. Andrew, for instance, reported experiencing demotivating influences from his peers, who were unable to see the value of language proficiency for Anglophone speakers:

I have had friends who discouraged me from continuing German [after secondary school] because they don't see the value of learning a language when I already speak English. (G_A, INT-1, Andrew)

The comments of Andrew's friends clearly testify to the presence of a monolingual mindset in his socio-context (Clyne, 2006, 2008). Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011, p. 84) note that social or group norms which are not in harmony with one's own desired L2 identity can impact negatively on motivation. While for Andrew these remarks had a demotivating effect (see further discussion in 8.4.2), for other respondents in the LOTE samples the presence of a monolingual mindset acted as a powerful motivating factor for investing in a bilingual and/or multilingual identity, as explained in sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.5.

7.4 Concluding remarks

The analysis presented in this chapter has offered an insight into participants' motivations to pursue L2 study. This section shows how the data address the three research questions informing this study (see also Chapter 9).

(RQ1) How do the L2 motivations of university students of English studies in Italy and in Germany and of university students of Italian and German studies in Australia compare?

The **desire to improve L2 skills** was found to be linked in all samples to pragmatic benefits, to forms of personal accomplishment (7.3.1) and to the wish to maintain a previously acquired skillset. Although several E_G respondents mentioned this motivational drive, the data suggest that many did not view these skills as a primary motivation but rather as a side benefit of pursuing a degree in language studies at university, due to their already high L2 proficiency.

It was noted that **integrative orientation** (7.3.2.2) and **international posture** (7.3.2.4) shared qualitative similarities in the EFL and LOTE samples: for all groups L2 learning was instrumental to the creation of forms of affiliation with L2-speaking countries and L2 speakers as well as with a global community (7.3.2.3). The communicative range of each L2 and its community presence in the contexts of research can explain differences in the communities mentioned and in the nature of these two variables.

Qualitative differences were found in terms of **instrumental orientation** (7.3.3): although they were mentioned by both EFL and LOTE learners, the former viewed L2 skills as necessary for job opportunities. Conversely, LOTE learners were adamant about the fact that L2 skills represented a bonus, which could provide advantages in the job

market due to the “exotic” nature of this skillset. Context-specific differences were found in terms of the perception of L2 skills as an add-on qualification, this motivation being only relevant to the LOTE samples.

No differences were observed in the qualitative nature of **intrinsic motivation** (7.3.4) in the four samples, with L2 learning being associated with the pursuit of a personally valued goal, to the enjoyment of previous learning experiences and to a passion for languages in general and/or the L2 in particular.

It was also noted that the variable “**heritage motivation**” (7.3.5) emerged inductively as several I_A and a lower but considerable portion of G_A participants mentioned this motivational disposition, in keeping with the demographic composition of these sample groups (6.1.1)

(RQ2) Are students’ L2 motivations associated with processes of self-discrepancy and identity development? Which identities do students wish to shape to by studying the L2?

The qualitative data discussed in this chapter showed that students envisioned multiple communities of affiliation and viewed L2 learning as a means to fashion new identities. All the three components of Dörnyei’s (2005, 2009), albeit to varying degrees, could be drawn upon to explore students’ investment in language studies. It was noted that learners’ motivations at university level were for the most part related to the attainment of personally relevant goals, leaving no doubt that they were propelled by an ideal L2 self. Although students’ experienced external influences, the variable “ought-to-L2 self” (7.3.6) had limited explanatory power for both EFL and LOTE learners. The L2 learning experience was found to be associated to students’ desire to maintain L2 proficiency (7.3.1) and to their intrinsic motivations (7.3.5).

Learners in all samples viewed L2 proficiency as a form of cultural capital and envisioned ideal L2-speaking identities as cultivated individuals (**ideal Bildungs-Selbst**, Busse, 2015, 2017). L2 learning allowed them to affiliate both with geographically defined (**tourist L2 self and anti-tourist L2 self**) and with global communities (**global citizen L2 self**), and to increase their career chances (**globally oriented professional L2 self**). The development of an English-speaking identity enabled EFL respondents to position themselves in relation to social expectations. Conversely, for many LOTE learners the desire to fashion a bilingual identity was instrumental in defying societal

expectations of monolingualism (**ideal bilingual *Bildungs-Selbst***, Busse, 2015, 2017; **anti-ought-to self**, Thompson & Vázquez, 2015; Thompson, 2017a, 2017b) and enabled them to mark their belonging to an imagined community of highly cultivated, well-travelled and open-minded individuals. LOTE learners were aware of the benefits that they could attain through L2 proficiency, such as more authentic travelling and study-related opportunities overseas (**anti-tourist L2 self**), a more direct engagement with local communities (**community engaged L2 self**) and global affairs (**global citizen L2 self**) and improved job opportunities, linked to the relatively uncommon nature of their linguistic skillset (*Exotenmotiv*, Riemer, 2006) and of the capital associated with such skill in a highly monolingual English-dominant society.

Identities		Comparisons between sample groups
Ideal bilingual/plurilingual <i>Bildungs-Selbst</i> (7.3.1, 7.3.4)		Although respondents in all samples considered a knowledge of the L2 at university level as a sign of education and culturedness (7.3.1) and envisioned plurilingual selves (see 7.3.4), only LOTE learners wished to fashion a bilingual identity associated with cultivation, as a high proficiency in a language other than English is not the norm in Australia and bilingualism is associated with positive identity markers (e.g. intelligence, openness).
Anti-ought-to self (7.3.1, 7.3.4)		Only relevant to LOTE respondents, as a socially constructed identity which stems from the rejection of the monolingual mindset.
Community-related	Seasoned tourist L2 self / anti-tourist L2 self (7.3.2.2)	While the tourist self was relevant to all samples, as L2 knowledge facilitates mobility, evidence of an anti-tourist L2 self was mostly found in the LOTE samples, as these learners wished to move away from the stereotype of the lazy Anglophone tourist who only relies on English to communicate and is restricted to touristy places.
	Community engaged L2 self (7.3.2.3)	Relevant to the I _A sample, due to the visibility and vitality of the local L2 community
	Global citizen L2 self (7.3.2.4)	Relevant to all samples, but qualitatively different for EFL and LOTE learners. Linked to language-specific features for EFL learners, and to a renegotiated identity as bilingual/multilingual users for LOTE respondents.
International professional L2 self (7.3.3.1)		Relevant to all samples, linked to language-specific features for EFL learners, and to the positive attributes associated with an educated bilingual identity for LOTE respondents.
Ideal multilingual self (7.3.4)		Relevant to all samples, with only LOTE respondents aspiring to cultivate a bilingual rather than an ideal multilingual self.
Heritage L2 self (7.3.5)		Relevant to LOTE respondents

Table 7.12 The selves emerged from the qualitative analysis and some key differences between sample groups

By way of summary, Table 7.12 on the previous page provides an overview of the selves which emerged from the analysis of QDS1 and indicates how they compared in the four sample groups (see also 9.1.2):

(RQ3) To what extent is the status that each L2 holds on a global scale and in the specific learning contexts reflected in students' L2 motivations and in their desired L2 identities?

This chapter provided evidence that the status and appeal of each L2 is reflected in students' accounts of their motivations. First, EFL participants were clearly aware of the instrumental value associated with the global status of English. Nevertheless, the data showed that its global spread may impact on its perceived utility (Ushioda, 2017), with some participants observing that the ability to speak English is gradually becoming commonplace (see Graddol, 2006; Siridetkoon & Dewaele, 2018). Second, Italian was confirmed to hold a considerable appeal as a language of culture which is also studied in Australia for heritage and community reasons (Lo Bianco & Aliani, 2013). Finally, while the community status of German in Australia is reflected in the occurrence of heritage reasons in the G_A sample, the qualitative data confirmed that local German-speaking communities in Melbourne did not play any role in influencing students' motivations. German was mostly viewed as a means to affiliate with the culture and history of Germany and was associated with enhanced job opportunities, in keeping with the findings obtained in the quantitative data set (see 6.2.4.1). It was also noted that LOTE respondents, unlike EFL respondents, often referred to the EU community in addition to the L2 country and viewed the L2 as means to connect to Europe.

Chapter 8 Findings from QDS2 (Qualitative data set 2)

This chapter presents the findings obtained from the analysis of QDS2. As noted in section 5.4.3, a longitudinal component was included in this study to examine the relationship between motivational change and contextual factors, in order to counteract the paucity of literature on motivational dynamicity (see 2.5) and to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamic nature of the constructs of L2 motivation and L2 identity targeted in RQ1 and RQ2 (see 5.1). The data analysed in this chapter yield insight into the motivational influences at play once learning commences (actional stage), and, to a lesser extent, also on the retrospective evaluation of the learning process once it is interrupted, e.g. because of the end of the teaching period, as for the learners in this study (post-actional stage, see Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998).

It was observed in 5.4.3 that the rationale for focussing on a limited number of participants was to attain a greater level of detail in the analysis of motivational change. Owing to the small sample size, however, the findings reported cannot be extended to the whole student populations under investigation. Hence, this chapter does not intend to examine comparative trends across sample groups systematically. Rather, trends in the whole longitudinal sample will mostly be explored.

The chapter begins with an overview of the sample under investigation and delineates how the analytical framework for the discussion of motivational change was developed. After that, it presents broad trends in the data regarding variations in students' motivational states and long-term motivations over the period of data collection, focussing in particular on changes to students' perception of their desired possible selves. Subsequently, a more detailed analysis of the external factors impacting on learners' motivations over time and of their interactions with their motivational system is presented.

8.1 An overview of QDS2

Table 8.1 offers an overview of QDS2, summarising the information presented in 5.4.3. Demographic and L2-study related details about the 20 respondents who partook in the longitudinal component of the study have already been presented in section 7.1.

Qualita- -tive dataset 2 (QDS2)	<u>Respondents:</u> 5 participants from each sample group	Tools of data collection and time points		Purpose	Type of data analysis
		INT-1	Before the beginning of the second semester	To shed light on key external and internal factors which trigger motivational changes over time and on how they are associated with the activation of and/or revisions to students' future L2 identities	<u>Factors associated with change</u> Data driven
		D-1	Beginning of the third week after the commencement of semester		Grounded theory coding methods (Charmaz, 2006, pp. 42-71) and general content analysis principles (see e.g. O'Leary, 2010, pp. 256-277) ³⁵
		INT-2	Mid semester		+
		D-2	Two weeks before the end of semester		<u>Properties of future self-guides that learners referred to over time</u>
		INT-3	The week immediately after the end of the semester		Theory-driven

Table 8.1 Overview of QDS2

8.2 Developing an analytical framework

As noted in section 5.6.2, the first step of the data analysis involved the evaluation of continuities and discontinuities in students' motivational states over time and in the identification of the elements which contributed to these changes.

Throughout the course of the research, participants referred to a plethora of different factors, a finding which is fully reflective of the complexity of motivational change. Due to space limitations, decisions had to be made regarding which elements to include for discussion. Following Lyons (2016, p. 127), the selection of codes to report was based on two criteria: (1) the data set contained multiple references to that code; (2) the references occurred not only in one instance of data collection, but at different points in time.

The elements which were found to influence learners' motivational systems are discussed in relation to three levels of context: (1) the psychological context; (2) the

³⁵ A similar approach to data analysis was followed by Schmidt (2014b) in her qualitative study on university students of German in Australia (see 4.7.1).

instructional context; and (3) the non-instructional context. Although the distinction between these contexts should not be intended as clear-cut, as the boundaries between them are permeable, this analytical framework is suitable to explore “the situated complexity of the L2 motivation process and its organic development in dynamic interaction with a multiplicity of internal, social and contextual factors” (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 72, see also Ushioda, 2009).

Table 8.2 presents an overview of the elements that emerged from the analysis in relation to the three levels of context identified. Congruent with a systemic view of motivation (Dörnyei 2005, 2009; Ushioda, 2009), these elements should not be understood as discrete, but rather as highly inter-dependent, with learners’ motivational states resulting from their complex and non-linear dynamic interactions.

Contexts	Elements involved in motivational variations
Psychological context	<pre> graph TD A["L2 identity/identities ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self/own (internalised extrinsic motivations), fearing self"] B["Self-reflection on learning progress as a control parameter affecting learners' investment in their identity within a self-discrepancy framework (Dörnyei 2005, 2009)"] C["Key theories to make sense of motivational change goal orientation theory (Ames, 1992), attribution theory (Weiner, 1992); psychological scholarship on the dynamic nature of future self-guides (2.5.2)"] A --- B A --- C </pre>
The instructional context: L2 learning experience and course-related factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Students, teachers and classroom practices (2) Exams and other assessment tasks (3) Influence of other subjects and of the study load (4) Exchange programs
Non-instructional context: immediate context and broader socio-context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Significant others and broader socio-cultural attitudes (2) Opportunities for language use (3) Changes in personal circumstances and prosaic factors

Table 8.2 Sub-codes emerged during the analysis of QDS2 classified in relation to the three levels of context identified

The psychological context grouped the accounts of respondents which referred to

psychological factors impacting on their investment in L2 learning and in their L2 identities. The L2 visions described by participants over time included (1) an ideal L2 self (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009), linked to intrinsic motivations, (2) an ought-to L2 self/own (Teimouri, 2017), i.e. a self which encompasses internalised external pressures, and (3) fearing selves (Sampson, 2016), i.e. selves which arise when students are worried about the likelihood of achieving their future vision (see later discussion in 8.3.2.2). As Table 8.2 shows, students' reflections on their own progress acted as a key control parameter for the learners in this study, who evaluated their learning trajectories in light of their overarching long-term plans and desired identities within a self-discrepancy framework. Theories from the field of motivational psychology (see 2.5) are drawn upon in this chapter to make sense of the psychological processes underpinning students' motivational trajectories, i.e. (1) goal orientation theory (Ames, 1992); (2) attribution theory (Weiner 1992); (3) self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987); and (4) scholarship on the dynamic nature of future self-guides and on the conditions necessary for their activation (see e.g. Henry, 2015 and 2.5.2). These models offer a theoretical perspective to understand students' (a) self-regulation, i.e. their ability to give direction to their behaviours, cognitions and affect to attain a desirable goal/identity; (b) their sub-goal formation and enactment; and (c) formation of causal attributions, which occurred when students attributed changes to their motivational levels and/or L2 identities to personal circumstances and learning behaviours and/or to external events. In Dörnyei & Ottó's (1998) Process-oriented Model, the first two motivational functions (a and b) refer to the actional stage, while the latter (c) pertains to the post-actional stage. Of course, the patterns of behaviour predicted by these models offer a loose interpretative framework to understand the complexity of the motivations of the learners in this study, which were found to develop in a non-linear fashion.

The instructional context grouped the elements associated with motivational change which were related to the immediate learning environment – the component “L2 learning experience” of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS – and to the broader academic setting in which learners operated (e.g. the possibility to undertake study exchanges organised by the university, etc.).

The non-instructional context included the elements affecting learners' motivations which were not associated with the instructional context (e.g. significant

others, life events), as well as macro-contextual factors which characterise the broader socio-context where L2 learning occurred (e.g. societal perceptions, socio-cultural attitudes, etc.).

8.3 Trajectories of change over one semester

In INT-1 participants were asked to elaborate on how they felt about commencing the upcoming semester, and on how they envisioned themselves in the future in relation to L2 learning. Most respondents were motivated to commence the new semester: they reported having a strong intrinsic motivation and expressed a general excitement for the new study period, as expected from elective language learners. It is notable that no one mentioned extrinsic motivations, a finding which corroborates prior observations on the relevance of intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivations for the students in this study (see Chapter 6 and Chapter 7) and which is congruent with prior findings on elective language learners (see e.g. Busse and Walter, 2013; Busse & Williams, 2010; Stolte, 2015). In all subsequent stages of data collection, respondents were asked to report on whether their motivation had changed or had remained the same and on whether their image of themselves in the future in relation to L2 learning had undergone revisions. The following sections report on trajectories of motivational change over the period of data collection. Following Campbell and Storch's (2011) method of data presentation, quantification is used in relation to the frequency of reporting of motivational states and of students' reflections on their L2 visions. As already noted in 7.2, numbers should not be uncritically utilised in the presentation of qualitative findings. This is particularly true when displaying data on motivational change: current complexity perspectives on motivational dynamicity (see e.g. Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2015) generally refute quantification, on the assumption that learners' motivational systems are unique and should thus be reported on a case study rather than group basis. In this thesis, however, quantification enables us to offer an overview of trends observed in the data for a longitudinal sample of 20 students within our space constraints. In this section and in the rest of the chapter, we will first present quantitative trends and then expand on them from a qualitative viewpoint, by discussing the experiences of individual learners in more depth.

8.3.1 Students' motivational states over the semester

Figure 17 below (see data table associated with this figure in Appendix 4, D1) offers a visual representation of respondents' reported motivational states in each sample group after the first interview, which is not included in the data display as it was conducted before the beginning of the semester and elicited data on choice motivation (see 5.4.3.1). The term "motivational state" is used here to indicate students' reported level of motivation at each time point (Busse & Walter, 2013, p. 439). As it is immediately evident, respondents' motivational states were subject to considerable alterations over time, lending support to the perhaps unremarkable claim that "within the context of institutionalized learning especially, the common experience would seem to be motivational flux rather than stability" (Ushioda, 1996, p. 240).

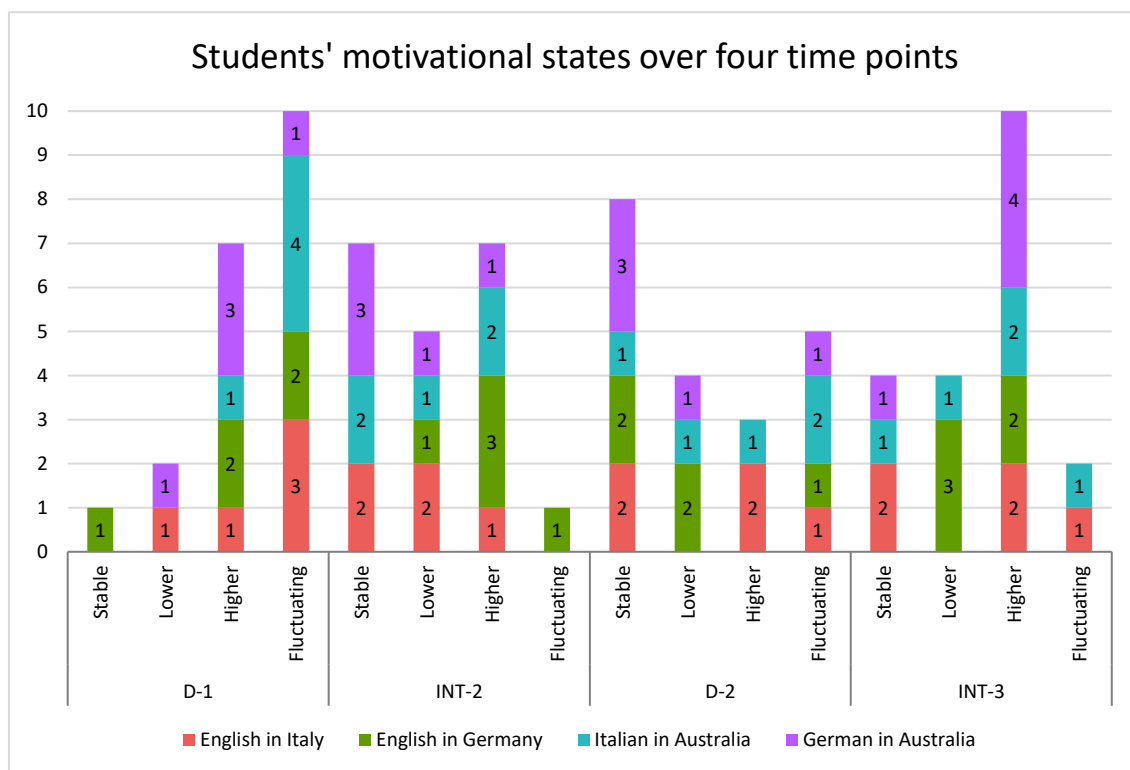


Figure 17 Frequency of students' motivational states over the four time points after INT-1

Once the teaching period began, students in all samples experienced either motivational fluctuations (N = 10) or an increase in motivation (N = 7), mostly in response to their appraisal of elements of the instructional context (e.g. teachers, students and learning content, see 8.4.1). Towards mid-semester (INT-2), participants' motivational states varied considerably across sample groups: motivations stabilised for some

respondents (N = 7), decreased (N = 5) or increased (N = 7) for others, in response to a plethora of different factors, mostly pertaining to the instructional context. In D-2, motivation tended to stabilise for many respondents (N = 8). This was mainly because most students were now familiar with the pace and the requirements of the subjects that they were studying and had regulated their learning behaviours accordingly, so as to cope with the study load. It can also be observed that students' levels of motivation tended to rise again towards the end of the semester (INT-3), mostly due to the upcoming exam period, which required them to focus towards the achievement of a tangible goal. Exams were indeed associated with a heightened motivational state, with most students investing more time and energy in L2 learning to meet personally relevant goals and/or external expectations. Section 8.4.1 and 8.4.2 elaborate on the elements of the instructional and non-instructional context which participants mentioned in relation to motivational change.

8.3.2 Students' reflections on their own L2 identity over the semester: L2 learning as a process of self-discrepancy

8.3.2.1 Consistency versus revision

Sample groups	Total sample size	Consistency of the vision	Considerable revisions
E _I	5	5	0
E _G	5	5	0
I _A	5	4	1
G _A	5	3	2
Tot.	20	17	3

Table 8.3 Changes to students' L2 vision over the period of data collection

In INT-1, all participants were able to elaborate on a vision of themselves as future L2 speakers. For some, this vision was still quite vague and still in the process of being defined, whilst for others it was clearer and more elaborate. In keeping with the findings about choice motivation, this vision was perceived for all respondents as personally relevant. That is, it aligned well with an ideal L2 self rather than an ought-to L2 self. Participants were classified into two groups depending on whether their L2 vision remained stable or underwent considerable revisions over the period of data collection, based on an interpretation of their account of their long-term motivations over time.

As Table 8.3 shows, most respondents displayed consistency in their L2 vision (N = 17) over time. If compared with the findings obtained on short-term motivations (see Figure 17), it is clear that for respondents in this study change mostly affected their short-term motivations rather than to their long-term investment in their desired L2 identities. Interestingly, students' accounts often revealed a mismatch between their long-term intrinsic motivations, linked to a more stable ideal L2 self, and their investment in language studies, which was much more susceptible to change. Olivia (I_A), for instance, experienced a decrease in her engagement L2 study during the semester due to her disappointment with the perceived disorganisation of her language subject, but did not change her long-term plan of fashioning an L2-speaking identity, which still retained its motivating potential. When asked about her motivation in the last interview, she reported a tension between these two opposite pulls in her motivational system:

Well, [I am] kind of torn between very motivated to learn to speak Italian but very demotivated to actually do any work for uni... (I_A, Olivia, INT-3)

As was the case for Olivia, Sarah's (G_A) levels of motivation sank during the semester, mainly because she had to sustain a heavy study load. Despite this, she was able to maintain her long-term motivation by activating her L2 vision, which built upon the richness of her experiential capital in relation to L2 learning (see e.g. Ushioda, 1996) and of previous positive L2 learning experiences (see e.g. de Burgh-Hirabe, 2019). Sarah's investment in the "big picture" (Dörnyei, 2014, p. 12), i.e. in an identity that she had cultivated over time and which had enabled her to attain "returns on [...] investment" (Norton, 2000, p. 10) in the form of symbolic and material resources, served to offset demotivating influences stemming from the day-to-day reality of "the long and often tedious learning process" (Dörnyei, 1998, p.117):

when I am sitting through a difficult grammar class I kind of go: "Why am I choosing German, why am I continuing with it?", but then I kind of think: "Well I couldn't stop learning German... I can't imagine myself not learning German. It's just strange since I've done it for so long now. [...] I've invested so much time, I've got a lot of good friends and a lot of good memories associated with learning German, I mean I loved my high school class of German, I loved my exchange experiences, there's so much positive that I associate with learning German that dropping it doesn't seem right. (G_A, INT-1, Sarah)

Sarah's account also suggests that retrospective thinking plays an important role in providing direction to L2 motivation and shows that affective processes underpin motivated behaviour (see e.g. Carpenter et al., 2009; Sampson, 2016; Ushioda, 2001).

As Table 8.3 displays, only three respondents, Olivia (I_A), Andrew (G_A) and Rebecca (G_A), modified their desired L2 identity considerably over the period of data collection and generated a new vision of themselves by the end of the semester, which was either stable or still in the process of being defined, but which appeared to be considerably different from the one that they had described in the first interview. Olivia was mainly motivated to study Italian to shape a non-language specific bilingual identity (see 7.3.1) and had chosen this L2 only for reasons of convenience, as she had previously studied it at school. This non-language specific vision as a bilingual became language-specific over the course of the semester: her exposure to Italian literature and history during Italian classes enabled her to fashion a desired identity not only as a bilingual speaker and seasoned traveller (see 7.3.1 and 7.3.2.2), but also as a sophisticated connoisseur of Italian culture. Both Andrew and Rebecca developed a personally relevant professional self, as they were able to give tangible form to an initial abstract and vague idea of the instrumental advantages of their L2 skills. This was possible thanks to their exposure to positive role models and to their sense of developing competence in the L2. Rebecca, who was enrolled in a double degree in Science and Global studies at the time of data collection, is a particularly interesting case. In her first diary entry, she reported that her perception of herself as a student of German had undergone considerable revision since the start of the semester:

Even though my motivations haven't really changed, my attachment/identification to being a student of German has. I am studying a double degree in Arts (Global Studies) and Science, and even though the two degrees are equally weighted, I feel more like a "science student who also does German" rather than a "German and science student". Perhaps because my end career goal is more focused on the science industry [...] rather than something like diplomacy or international relations that German might be more useful for. (G_A, D-1, Rebecca)

Rebecca's perception of herself as a "science student who also does German" rather than a "German and science student" was also reflected in the different degrees of expended effort in her studies. While she devoted time and effort in her science subjects, as they were more directly associated with her desired professional identity as a medical

researcher, she did not invest much time in German. The reason was twofold: (1) she had already reached a working level of proficiency in German which allowed her to use the language for her envisioned purposes; and (2) she did not consider the language to be as essential as other subjects for her future career plans. From an identity perspective, it was clear that Rebecca's "professional self" did not entail a developed L2-specific facet: there was no integration between her future desired professional identity as a scientist (dominant identity) and her desired identity as an L2 speaker of German (add-on identity). This latter identity became more elaborate and more integrated into her future international professional self (see 7.3.3.1) thanks to the exposure to a role model during a career orientation event organised by her university:

[The idea of myself as a future speaker of German] is a little bit more tangible as I've been to some industry nights [...] I went to a chemistry industry panel and one man was talking about how he works in South Korea and he's the link between the Koreans and the English-speaking scientists... if I could do something like that in a similar vein, that would be great... and that's definitely a tool for my German abilities. (G_A, INT-3, Rebecca)

This critical incident enabled her to formulate a clearer and unitary vision of herself as an L2-speaking scientist and to appreciate the role of German "as a tool in order to move a bit to a further path of [her] career in the future" (INT-3). Through social comparison (see Lockwood & Kunda, 1997), she was able to develop a more elaborate vision of herself as an L2 speaker which now included a professional facet.

All in all, the observed trends suggest that future L2 selves are generally more resistant to change than other motivational dimensions, due to the fact that they are a representation of "people's enduring hopes and dreams" (Henry, 2015, p. 84; see also Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009b, p. 352; Oakes & Howard, 2019). This finding substantiates the claim that the construct of vision is one of the most reliable predictors of long-term intended effort (Dörnyei, 2014, p. 12).

8.3.2.2 Moving pictures: reflections on and changes to future L2 identities

Despite the general stability of most students' identity trajectories (see Table 8.3), the data showed that possible selves were far from being static, as L2 motivation literature has tended to conceive them, but were rather "moving pictures" (Henry, 2015, p. 83; see

also Schumann, 2015, and 2.5.2), constantly revisited by learners in relation to internal and external factors.

As noted previously, students' ongoing appraisal of their progress was evaluated against their L2 visions, with learners framing their learning experience as a process of self-discrepancy (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009; Higgins, 1987). Over the period of data collection, students referred to their L2 visions both explicitly, when asked to elaborate on them, and implicitly, when spontaneously reflecting on their learning process and on the experiences that they were having in classroom and out-of-classroom contexts in light of their long-term aspirations and ambitions. The following two comments offer an example of an explicit (Johanna, E_G) and implicit (Olivia, I_A) reference to an overarching L2 vision which was part of the learners' motivational system:

When I see good teachers, I always have this thing that I want to become like this as well. (E_G, INT-2, Johanna)

And I am looking forward to finishing that [a book she had to read as part of her coursework] and then having read a whole book in Italian for the first time. (I_A, INT-2, Olivia)

While Johanna clearly referred to a future identity in the account presented above, in the second one Olivia did not mention an L2 vision explicitly, but her investment in a future identity can be inferred if one considers her long-term plan to fashion an L2-speaking self, which she expressed in INT-1: her excitement at the prospect of finishing a book in Italian derived from her perception that this represented a step forward in her journey towards an identity as a competent L2 user. This impacted on the elaborateness of her L2 vision as a competent L2 user, which now included a clearer perception of advanced reading skills.

As noted in 5.4.2, students' explicit and implicit references to their L2 visions throughout the semester were analysed in terms of the properties associated with the motivational power of future self-guides (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 83-84; see 2.5.2). It is important to note that students were not directly asked whether their L2 vision had undergone changes with respect to specific parameters, so as not to pre-impose any answer, but were simply prompted to talk about their current and previous motivational states and to discuss whether their future image of themselves as L2 speakers had altered.

The analysis of the entire dataset revealed that students mainly evaluated and/or reflected on their possible selves in terms of the following characteristics: (1) their elaborateness, i.e. the clarity of their future identity goal(s) and the richness of the mental imagery underpinning it/them; (2) their plausibility, i.e. the perception of the gap existing between their current identity and their future desired identity, and (3) their perceived harmony with external expectations. In addition, students often referred to (4) counterbalancing fearing self (Sampson, 2016), i.e. they feared the negative consequences associated with failing to achieve the vision. Congruent with Sampson (2016, p. 110), the term “fearing self” is used in this thesis as opposed to the term “feared self” (Dörnyei, 2009, p. 13), as the former term places emphasis on “dynamic experiencing” of negative feelings associated with an unwanted self.

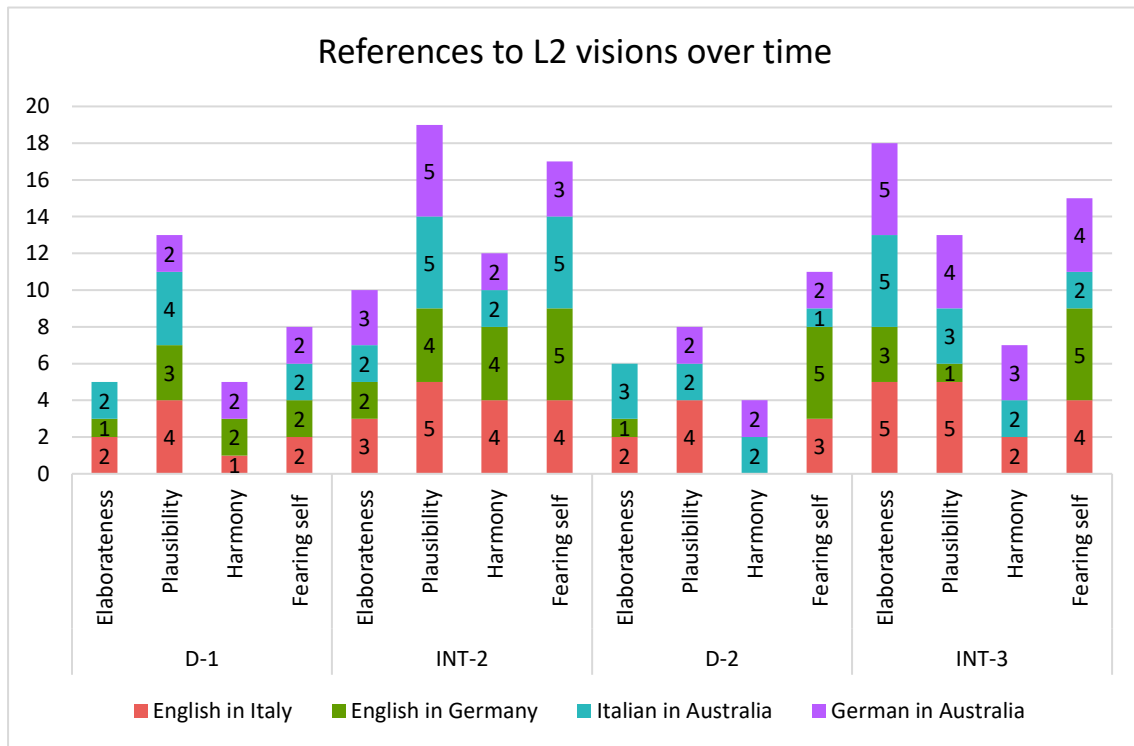


Figure 18 Explicit and implicit references to L2 identity over time in light of four parameters (freq.)

Figure 18 shows the recurrence of explicit and implicit references to these four features over the four time points of data collection (see data table associated with this Figure in Appendix 4, D2). Due to the complexity involved in the interpretation of implicit references to identity dimensions, some care should be taken when considering the data below. Nevertheless, it is clear that students reflected on aspects on their L2

vision at all time points and evaluated the relevance of external experiences and stimuli to their own motivational system on the basis of their broader investment in an L2 identity.

If one focuses on the frequency of reporting of the four parameters in the whole sample, it can be seen that considerations on the **elaborateness** of the vision were relatively low at the beginning of the semester (N = 5), they doubled towards mid-semester (N = 10), decreased in D-2 (N = 6) and peaked at the end of semester (N = 18). Reflections on elaborateness in D-1 and INT-2 were often connected to students' considerations on the plausibility of the L2 vision, which, in turn, derived from their appraisal of their ability to progress in L2 learning (Fryer & Roger, 2018; Hessel, 2015). In other words, students' perceptions of the likelihood of achieving the L2 vision impacted on the vividness of the mental imagery associated with it, thereby leading to changes in its elaborateness. As the peak in INT-3 suggests, the vision described by respondents in INT-3 tended to be more elaborate than the one they had described at the beginning of the data collection, due to the experiences that they had had in instructional and non-instructional contexts during the semester. This confirms that future L2 selves develop when students are engaged in the L2 learning process (see e.g. de Burgh-Hirabe, 2019; Henry, 2015; You & Chan, 2015).

References to the **plausibility** of the L2 vision mainly occurred at the beginning (D-1) and in the first half (INT-2) of the semester (N = 13 and N = 19, respectively), when students reflected on their ability to cope with new content and evaluated whether the goals that they had set themselves at the beginning of the semester could be met. Considerations of plausibility were generally linked to L2 learning experiences, which served to make clearer the discrepancies between their current and future selves (see Fryer & Roger, 2018). Such considerations decreased considerably in D-2 (N = 8), but still represented the second most mentioned parameter in the whole sample. As can be seen, this parameter increased again in INT-3 (N = 13), when students reflected on their learning process and discussed whether their goals had been met and whether their improvement (or lack thereof) could be considered as evidence of the likelihood (or unlikelihood) of attaining their desired L2 self.

The parameters “**harmony** with external expectations” and “**fearing self**” were found to be related, in that students' anxieties about non achieving the vision were often

linked to the need to meet external expectations (e.g. course requirements) and to not disappoint others (e.g. parents). However, the higher recurrence of the latter parameter in comparison to the former at all time points of data collection also suggests that for many learners the fearing self did not originate from the need to fulfil externally imposed requirements and expectations, but rather personal goals (see discussion at the end of this section). Students' rarely made considerations about the harmony of their L2 vision with external expectations at the beginning of the semester (N = 5 and N = 8, respectively), when course-related external influences were lower. The frequency of reporting increased towards mid-semester (N = 12 and N = 17), when students mainly mentioned expectations from family members and started to worry about course-related requirements. From D-2, more noticeable differences between the two variables were observed: the fearing self decreased slightly in D-2 (N = 11) and peaked in INT-3 (N = 16), again due to exam-related pressures linked to the upcoming exam period. Conversely, harmony with external expectation remained quite low in both D-2 and INT-3 (N = 4 and N = 7, respectively), suggesting that fearing selves were mostly internalised rather than linked to external expectations (see discussion at the end of this section).

Figure 19 below offers an overview of the most common elements of the three levels of contexts identified which were found to interact with aspects of the L2 visions of the sample group under investigation. Elements of the psychological, instructional and non-instructional contexts are shaded in green, blue and yellow, respectively.

It can be noted that most of the elements included in the analytical framework (see 8.2) influenced students' L2 visions. Due to space limitations, only a brief summary of the relevance of these elements to students' L2 visions can be provided in the following paragraphs. A further discussion about the influence of elements of the instructional and non-instructional context on students' motivations is presented in 8.4.1 and 8.4.2, respectively.

With regard to the six elements linked to **elaborateness** in Figure 19, the triggers most commonly associated with reflections on and/or changes were the following: (1) the exposure to role models in classroom settings (e.g. students and peers) and to learning content and/or experiences which were deemed personally relevant; (2) feedback received in exams and/or assessment tasks; (3) the opportunity to hear about and/or go on exchange programs; (4) students' exposure to role models through friends and family

members; (5) concrete opportunities to use the language and to get into contact with L2 speakers and L2 communities; and finally (6) students' appraisal of how well they were progressing, which led them to think more about their L2 vision.



Figure 19 Key elements associated with reflections on and/or revisions to four key parameters of learners' L2 identities

Considerations on the **plausibility** of the vision were associated with most of the elements presented in Table 8.2. In particular, students' reconsiderations of their ability to achieve the L2 vision were prompted by: (1) students' exposure to role models in the classroom; (2) feedback in exams; (3) perception of coping potential in relation to the study load; (4) external support or hindrance from significant others; (5) ability to use the language outside the classroom context; and (6) perceived sense of progress. It should be noted that students' appraisal of their learning progression was crucial in their evaluation

of the plausibility of the vision (see e.g. Carpenter et al., 2009; Falout & Maruyama, 2004; Fryer & Roger, 2018), as the following comments illustrate:

I feel like I'm learning more because I've learnt three new tenses [...] so I feel [...] more hopeful about being able to speak Italian because I can speak it better now [...] I just feel like I'm getting closer [to the idea that I have of myself as an L2 speaker]. (I_A, INT-2, Alexa)

I see myself getting to that very advanced level... study, work... in Germany... I think... what changed is in gaining confidence in the last few months [...] I probably realised that it is achievable, it's just not that something far off... (G_A, INT-2, Sarah)

While for some learners the perception of their own progression was motivating, with each achievement mapping their journey towards their personally relevant vision, for others it was discouraging, as it made them aware of the size of the gap existing between their current self and their L2 self:

Every time we learn something, I then realise still how much there is to learn, so sort of that question... we'll do one small thing but then I realise how much I don't know... (I_A, INT-2, Emma)

For students like Emma, these realisations led to a re-assessment of the plausibility of the L2 vision which from an “idyllic self” (Lyons, 2014) morphed into a more attainable self which was still similar the one she had described in the first interview (a fluent L2 speaker), but more attainable (someone who is able to interact and make oneself understood). The data also indicated that L2 visions should not be too comfortably certain to retain their motivating potential (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, p. 84). Students, for example, were often adamant about the demotivating influence of activities which were deemed too simple. This was particularly true for EFL learners, in virtue of their generally longer L2 learning background:

I like “Writing skills” and “Core Skills Lexis” but at times I find these classes very easy, which can also have a demotivating effect. (E_G, D-1, Karin)

Students' reflections on the **harmony** of their own identities with external expectations showed that expectations mainly came from (1) teachers and classroom practices; requirements related to their degree, such as (2) exams and (3) study load; (4)

exchange programs; (5) significant others (e.g. teachers and parents) and broader societal perceptions of the relevance of their degree (see also 7.3.6); and (6) students' appraisal of the fitness of their learning progression with external requirements and/or with their own personal aspirations.

A **fearing self** was found to be associated with worries about not meeting personally set goals and/or external expectations. Students' worries related to (1) being unable to keep pace with the content covered in class; (2) failing or doing badly in exams; (3) not being able to sustain an intense study load; (4) meeting requirements to go on exchange programs; (5) low societal perception of their degrees; and finally (6) unsatisfactory progress. Fearing selves were very often conjured up when students believed that their learning was stagnating or not satisfactory, due to their own personal self-assessment or negative feedback received in both instructional and non-instructional contexts. Students elaborated on the anxieties associated with non-achieving the vision: from disappointing themselves and impacting on their sense of self-worth (see e.g. Busse & Walter, 2013), to disappointing teachers, parents and friends. Although fearing selves were usually triggered by external events, they were always sustained by internalised pressures and were almost always associated with self-regulatory strategies, initiated by learners to re-adjust their learning trajectories towards the "wanted" L2 self (see e.g. Dörnyei, 2009, p. 13):

I feel a lot of pressure because I wasn't able to do much for the exams, so the motivation is on risky low level, but I will force myself to study more the next weeks. (EG, D-2, Lina)

For the learners in this study, fearing selves had both a promotion and prevention focus and were thus propelled by an ought-to-L2 self/own (Teimouri, 2017) dimension. While the ought-to-L2 self had limited explanatory power in relation to students' initial motivations (see e.g. 6.2.3.1 and 7.3.6), it held more weight in relation to their executive motivations. This was because students needed to satisfy several course-related requirements and meet external expectations as part of their language studies at university.

8.4 The key external factors associated with change and their interactions with the learners' psychological context

The data will be presented as follows in this section. First, the relevance of each element to students' motivational systems is discussed in relation to the four time points (D-1, INT-2, D-2, INT-3) of data collection. The data yielded by INT-1 are not discussed since, as previously mentioned (8.3.2.2), they refer to choice motivation rather than executive motivation. Second, a more comprehensive summary and discussion of each element and its influence on learners' psychological context are presented. This will allow us to expand on the relevance of the four motivational functions which provide the interface between L2 vision and motivated behaviour.

8.4.1 The instructional context

Elements	SG	D-1	INT-2	D-2	INT-3	Trends in the whole sample
Students, teachers and content	E _I	5	5	4	4	<p>D-1 INT-2 D-2 INT-3</p>
	E _G	5	4	5	3	
	I _A	4	5	5	4	
	G _A	4	4	5	5	
Exams and other assessment tasks	E _I	2	3	3	5	<p>D-1 INT-2 D-2 INT-3</p>
	E _G	4	5	5	5	
	I _A	1	2	3	5	
	G _A	0	2	4	5	
Influence of other subjects and of the study load	E _I	2	3	2	2	<p>D-1 INT-2 D-2 INT-3</p>
	E _G	0	3	1	1	
	I _A	2	2	5	1	
	G _A	2	4	1	1	
Exchange programs	E _I	1	1	0	2	<p>D-1 INT-2 D-2 INT-3</p>
	E _G	1	1	0	2	
	I _A	2	1	4	3	
	G _A	2	2	2	2	

Table 8.4 Overview of the occurrence of elements of the instructional contexts over four time points

Table 8.4 provides an overview of the recurrence of elements of the instructional context over time. It should be noted that students were explicitly asked in INT-2 and INT-3 whether other subjects influenced their L2 learning process (see Appendix 1, B2), in acknowledgement of the fact that, as Ushioda (1998, p. 83) notes, “the language learner, unlike the researcher, seems unlikely to perceive the motivation for language learning to be wholly independent of the motivation (or lack of motivation) for other areas of learning”. The number reported in Table 8.4 for the variable “influence of other subjects and of the study load” only refer to participants who responded affirmatively to the question.

Elements associated with the L2 learning environment were found to be the most salient in explaining motivational fluctuations over the four time points, with all the participants mentioning the instructional context when discussing changes in their L2 learning behaviour (see e.g. Busse & Walter, 2013; Campbell & Storch, 2011). The centrality of the L2 learning experience in shaping executive motivation was fully anticipated, as it is recognised in several motivational theories, such as Gardner’s (1985) socio-educational model and Dörnyei’s (2005, 2009) L2MSS (see 2.2 and 2.4.1, respectively).

As can be seen in the table, the influence of **students, teachers and L2 content** was mentioned at all time points in all sample groups. This suggests that these elements played a pivotal role in triggering motivational changes, regardless of students’ progression throughout the semester. It can be seen that there was a slight decrease only in INT-3, probably due to the fact that students had already finished the semester when the interview was conducted and they were mostly concerned with the upcoming exam period.

As fully anticipated, references to **exams and other assessment tasks** increased steadily over time. This finding is reflective of the organisation of the assessment in students’ subjects, which all comprised a final exam. The frequency of reporting of this element in students’ accounts almost doubled from D-1 (N = 7) to INT-2 (N = 12), when many students started to refer to exams and reported being in the process of developing self-regulating strategies to devote more time to studying. References to this element increased again in D-2 (N = 15) and reached a peak in INT-3 (N = 20), when all respondents recognised exams as elements influencing their motivation.

The influence of **other subjects** and the effect of the **study load** was low at the beginning of semester (N = 6), peaked in INT-2 (N = 12) and then decreased steadily as the semester progressed (N = 9 in D-2 and N = 5 in INT-3). As noted previously, students were asked in both INT-2 and INT-3 to elaborate on the influence of other subjects on their L2 motivations. The considerable decrease in the frequency of reporting from INT-2 to INT-3 can be explained in light of the trends observed in relation to the previously discussed element “exams and other assessment tasks”. Since students were starting to think about the final exams and some were developing strategies to prepare for them, they were also in the process of evaluating their coping potential in relation to the study load. It can also be noted that in D-2 all I_A respondents mentioned the influence of other subjects and of the study load. This was due to the fact that 4 out of 5 respondents were involved in a university project for their language subject and were under pressure to finalise it. Hence, all of them referred to the time needed to work on it in relation to their overall study load.

Exchange programs were also mentioned by several participants at different points during the semester, both because of information sessions about the possibility of study abroad, or because students were in the process of organising exchange. The organisation of an information session about exchange in Italy organised by the University of Melbourne can explain why 4 I_A respondents mentioned exchange programs as associated with motivational change in D-2.

Students, teachers and L2 content

The classroom was described by many respondents as a safe space where they could develop their L2 identities with other students engaged in the same learning endeavour (see Palmieri, 2017, 2018). It represented for some a community of identification (see 2.6), in addition to the multiple communities with which they wished to affiliate through L2 learning (see 7.3.2):

In the Italian class that I'm in right now... there's like 1st year students, 2nd year students, 3rd year students [...] it's a nice... little... I guess a community of people who can have this one thing in common and can share it, even though we have all different experiences, which is nice. (I_A, INT-3 Rachel)

Students experienced fewer pressures when using the L2 in the classroom. Alexa (I_A), for instance, appeared to be comfortable with her identity as a language learner in an instructional context where no asymmetries between her and her peers were present. However, she was scared about being positioned as an L2 speaker outside the instructional context, as she believed that her L2 identity was still in the process of being defined, with the settings and the interlocutors being the key variables impacting on her desire to communicate:

I'm too scared to speak Italian, especially with people who can speak fluently. In the class it's fine because I feel comfortable and everyone is just learning. (I_A, Alexa, INT-1)

Alexa's sense of discomfort also derived from the fact that fluent L2 speakers were members of her future desired imagined community of identification (Norton, 2001, p. 166). For learners like her, the development of fluency in low-stakes classroom served to remove the sense of fear for using the L2 in high stakes context with individuals who were physical embodiments of the communities with which they desired to affiliate.

Classmates were found to affect participants' short-term and long-term motivations both directly, through everyday interactions, and indirectly, through their actions and examples (see e.g. Carpenter et al., 2009). While in some cases other students were considered role models to emulate, with social comparisons contributing to an increase in the elaborateness, plausibility of learners' desired L2 visions, in others they had the opposite effect on them. Mia and Rebecca offer illuminating examples of these two opposite trends in the data:

During the *esercitazioni* [practical language classes] [...] people that are better than me in speaking [...] well, they motivate me, because I say to myself, you can do better and you can reach this level too. (E_I, INT-2, Mia)

The comparison between myself and my other classmates... like I'm not a native speaker [...] so compared to the native speakers I feel a little bit demotivated because they do really well without even trying. (G_A, INT-2, Rebecca)

By comparing herself with other classmates, Mia was able to activate a future ideal L2 self which entailed a higher proficiency goal. As she noted in INT-2, this motivated her to invest time and effort in L2 learning. However, this motivational response was possible

only because Mia considered the L2-speaking identities of such students as realistic within her individual circumstances (Oyserman et al., 2006; Sampson, 2016, p. 113). For Rebecca this was not the case, as most of her classmates were raised bilingual and she perceived the discrepancy existing between her current level and their level too broad to serve as a source of motivating behaviour. All in all, these trends are testament to the fact that while L2 self-guides are mostly receptive to phenomena which offer “new or inconsistent information about the self” (Markus & Nurius, 1986, p. 956), it is also true that, as MacIntyre, Mackinnon and Clément (2009, p. 197) postulate, “a highly unlikely possible self probably will have little relation to motivation”.

Social interactions with peers also contributed to increasing the elaborateness and plausibility of future L2 visions, especially when students’ envisioned identity was perceived in harmony with external expectations. An interesting case in point is Bianca, who aspired to fashion an identity as a linguist through L2 learning (“I feel very motivated to learn languages to call myself a linguist”, INT-2). In INT-2 she observed that her motivation increased when other students acknowledged her expertise as a linguist during a group project, thereby providing validation for a future professional identity that she had envisioned for herself:

There was one job called “linguist” which I got [...] I guess other people perceived me as like... that would be something that I would be good at... so that was an interesting... for my motivation... for my ego, [...] it feels nice to think that people think I am good at this. (I_A, INT-2, Bianca)

Teachers’ instructional practices and teaching styles, as well as the content covered during classes were also often mentioned in relation to participants’ reported L2 enjoyment or lack thereof (see e.g. Carpenter et al. 2009; Guilloteaux & Dörnyei, 2008). Students’ inability to keep pace with the content covered often led to the emergence of fearing selves, and to the formulation of short-term goals to revert the undesired outcome (e.g. fall behind with their studies or fail the subject). The data also showed that students evaluated the content covered in light of its relevancy to their own long-term plans (Agawa et al., 2011; Sampson, 2016) and of their personal enjoyment. Sometimes, subject content perceived as personally relevant contributed to an increase in the elaborateness of their L2 self:

I would love to work overseas, and potentially in Italy, and the work that we have been doing recently has given me a taste in the areas which I could potentially work in, thus inspiring me to aim for these goals. (I_A, D-2, Emma)

Finally, several students mentioned university timetabling as an important element which impacted on their level of focus during classes and enjoyment of the learning process. Martina, for instance, affirmed that she often missed her English class on Thursdays as she did not have any other classes that day. Although timetabling is a trivial element usually neglected in motivational scholarship, it had a substantial influence on students' day-to-day engagement with L2 learning, as previous studies have found (see e.g. Sampson, 2016, p. 102; Waninge et al., 2014).

Exams and other assessment tasks

Students often referred to assessment tasks as critical events towards which they could channel their language learning efforts (e.g. “I have a point to reach, something to do, I want to do it well, E_I, INT-2, Mia). External influences linked to exams appeared to be fully internalised and were thus driven by an ought-to L2 self/own dimension (Teimouri, 2017, see 2.4.1). Mia's comment clearly illustrates this:

My motivation comes from the fact that I have to do this exam [...] It [the pressure to study for an exam] is external because of course there is the exam that pushes me and internal because I want to do it well. (E_I, INT-3, Mia)

Assessment tasks were often linked to the emergence of fearing selves and of considerations on harmony of the L2 vision with external expectations. Students utilised various action control mechanisms, self-motivating and self-regulatory strategies to prepare for assessment tasks, from maximising their exposure to the L2, to devoting more time to L2 study. Goal orientation theory (Ames, 1992, see 2.5.1) offers an appropriate framework to describe them. While some displayed “performance goals” (the desire to obtain high marks), the majority had a mixture of performance and mastery goals, in that they did not only wish to do well, but also to come closer to their personally relevant L2 vision as graduates and as L2 learners:

I just pressure myself to extend myself into doing well at school and this is something that you know I've been trying for a couple of years... I have

no intention of giving up and so I kind of pressure myself to do really well so I can be a better speaker of it. (G_A, INT-2, Julia)

Although good performance generally had positive effects on participants' motivations and contributed to enhancing the elaborateness and plausibility of their L2 visions, this was not always the case (Campbell & Storch, 2011). Bianca, for instance, found that a high mark that she obtained for a test for which she had not studied had the reverse effect of decreasing her motivation:

We had a test [...] it was a test where I went into very unprepared and I actually did OK in it, much better than I expected. [...] It actually kind of made me think.. maybe it's OK not doing anything... so I haven't been studying much since then. (I_A, INT-3, Bianca)

As the excerpt illustrates, this experience made her realise that there was a mismatch between expended effort and expected outcome and that her goal to do well was too comfortably certain to require extensive effort.

Poor grades were also often not perceived as demotivating, in line with the previous literature (see e.g. *ibid.*; Lyons, 2014). Many participants attributed them to lack of effort rather than inability on their part. According to Weiner's (1992) attribution theory (see 2.5.1), the ascription of success/failure to the degree of expended effort rather than personal (in)ability has a positive effect, in that it does not impact on students' sense of self-worth. This is clearly shown in the following quote, where Andrew attributed low marks to insufficient work on his part rather than to his own ability:

As the semester has progressed, all my subjects have got.... there has been a bigger workload in all of my subjects... I've noticed my marks dropping a little bit in German, which is concerning and that's a little warning for me that I need to get back on top of it and work a bit harder. (G_A, INT-2, Andrew)

Andrew's quote also indicates the presence of a fearing self in his motivational system, linked to an unwanted outcome associated with his current learning behaviour. His decision to "get back on top of it and work a bit harder" served to re-direct his learning trajectory towards the desired outcome.

Influence of other subjects and of the study load

Students motivations generally increased when they were able to see the

connection between the language that they were studying and other areas of study. Karin and Johanna, for instance, observed that the ubiquitousness of English in academic articles that they had to read for other subjects were a welcomed reminder of the linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) that the language affords. This, in turn, provided validation to their investment in their ideal L2 self.

Demotivating states were often associated with an increase in the study load from mid-semester till the exam period (see Table 8.4), with students often struggling to sustain increased coursework, which impacted on their perceived coping potential (Carpenter et al., 2009). This trend was clearly expressed by Rachel:

As you get like through the semester, obviously you get more tired, you get more work to catch up on, so it gets a bit tedious because you don't necessarily want to do a lot of work. (G_A, INT-2, Rachel)

This often led to considerations on the plausibility and harmony of their L2 visions with external expectations and, at times, to the emergence of fearing selves. The inability to spend enough time on L2 learning also left students unsatisfied, suggesting that autonomy and control over one's own learning (Deci & Ryan, 1985) were closely related to their intrinsic motivations.

Exchange programs

The prospect of study-abroad experiences was associated with heightened motivations in all sample groups. For many students, even being informed about the possibility of going on exchange evoked positive feelings around the possibility of language use (see e.g. Isabelli-García, 2006):

This was a real peak in my motivation, as it means that I have a practical way to use all my years of language learning [...] I'm so excited to use all the Italian that I've learned when I go to Italy! (I_A, D-2, Rachel)

It was also linked to the emergence of new and more elaborate self-images (Fryer & Roger, 2018): students envisioned themselves in the L2 country, and their vision released considerable motivational energy.

The opportunity to secure a place on an exchange program was perceived by some learners as a tangible goal associated with the emergence of instrumental reasons, as in the case of Andrew, whose motivation surpassed the confines of the merely theoretical

and became a tangible conduit for his future career goals, suggesting a heightened awareness of the pragmatic benefits accrued through L2 proficiency (Lim, 2002):

There's been a shift in the kind of drives of my motivation. [...] I was more interested in the language itself, just enjoying it for learning sake, since hearing about the exchange opportunities again, I am really putting effort into the language as an investment in a like... career, in my future. (Andrew, G_A, INT-2)

Study abroad experiences were also often connected to the emergence of an ought-to L2 self/own dimension and with fearing selves: students' plans to go overseas required compliance with external expectations (e.g. bureaucracy etc.) and the activation of self-regulation strategies for the avoidance of failures (e.g. completing exams, achieving a sufficient level of proficiency, etc.).

8.4.2 The non-instructional context

Elements	Sample group	D-1	INT-2	D-2	INT-3	Trends in the whole sample
Significant others and broader socio-cultural attitudes	E _I	1	3	0	1	<p>D-1 INT-2 D-2 INT-3</p>
	E _G	1	4	0	0	
	I _A	0	2	1	1	
	G _A	2	3	2	4	
Opportunities for language use	E _I	1	4	3	3	<p>D-1 INT-2 D-2 INT-3</p>
	E _G	0	1	0	1	
	I _A	1	1	2	1	
	G _A	0	2	1	3	
Changes in personal circumstances and prosaic factors	E _I	2	1	2	0	<p>D-1 INT-2 D-2 INT-3</p>
	E _G	1	4	2	2	
	I _A	2	2	1	1	
	G _A	1	2	1	2	

Table 8.5 Overview of the occurrence of elements of the instructional contexts over four time points

As Table 8.5 illustrates, the influence of **significant others** was particularly noticeable in INT-2 (N = 12). This is likely to be due to chance, as the majority of respondents mentioned fortuitous conversations related to language learning with friends, parents and family members. With regard to the **opportunities of language use**, it can be noted that they were mentioned more frequently as elements impacting on motivation as the semester progressed, with students seeking for ways to practice the language. In terms of **changes in personal circumstances and prosaic³⁶ factors**, the data did not point to any clear pattern in relation to temporality, as these elements impacted on learners' motivational systems unpredictably.

If one compares the frequency of reporting of the elements in Table 8.5 with the frequency of reporting of the elements pertaining to the instructional contexts in Table 8.4, it is immediately evident that elements of the instructional context were more commonly mentioned in relation to motivational change. This further confirms the centrality of the L2 learning experience in influencing motivational processes (see e.g. Busse & Walter, 2013; Campbell & Storch, 2011). However, the frequent occurrence of elements of the non-instructional context in the description of motivational change lends further credence to Ushioda's (2009, p. 220) claim that it is important to explore motivation not only in light of the immediate classroom environment, but also in consideration of the multiplicity of "micro- and macro-contexts "in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of".

Significant others and broader socio-cultural attitudes

Parents and friends appeared to be involved not only in the students' decision to pursue L2 learning, as previously shown (see 6.3.2 and 7.3.6), but also throughout their learning process. When asked about external influences that they were experiencing at different points of the semester, several students affirmed that interrupting L2 study and/or investing little time in it would disappoint their family, with such a prospect being linked to a fearing self:

³⁶ Following Sampson (2016, p. 100), the term "prosaic" is used here to refer to matter-of-fact contextual elements which were found to influence motivation (university timetabling, the weather, etc.).

I am not experiencing any external pressures from anyone. My teacher and mother are supportive; I feel they may be saddened if I stopped learning as it has been a commitment to myself. (G_A, D-2, Julia)

Congruent with the observation made for classmates, social comparisons with friends and individuals who were having experiences similar to the ones desired by participants, as well as the acknowledgement of one's own expertise from significant others, were frequently mentioned in relation to short-term motivational change. Social comparisons tended to be also linked to changes in the elaborateness and plausibility of students' L2 visions, as well as in their perceived harmony with external expectations. These two excerpts represent two cases in point of reflections on elaborateness and plausibility:

[...] probably seeing my friends working overseas [...] like... most people I know are bilingual and I definitely see there's a benefit if I want to work overseas. (G_A, INT-2, Rebecca)

I think my motivation also increases when people ask me about German stuff and asked me to help them and I realised that I can actually help them. (G_A, INT-2, Julia)

Significant others, however, could also have a demotivating effect. Andrew, who frequently mentioned that his friends were not supportive of his decision to pursue language study (see 7.3.6), is an interesting case. Although he initially declared to be unaffected by these external influences, he reported in the same interview that his confidence was shaken when he found out that the university would not have activated some mainstream language subjects for the next academic year, due to shrinking enrolment rates. This event had a significant impact on his motivation, as it brought him to reflect on broader societal perceptions towards language learning and on the utility of German in the Australian context:

I found out that the university isn't running the next step of units [...] because of lack of interest which is pretty sad and shakes my confidence a little bit in how valued German is as a language asset [...] it kind of sends the message that the University isn't willing to invest in German... that it might not be valued so much... and that can also be a reflection of wider societal views and while I think that it would be beneficial to my employment prospects to have German as a language on my resume, maybe people don't care so much about that... so, that's demotivating. (G_A, INT-2, Andrew)

Opportunities for language use

Opportunities for language use in non-instructional contexts were also mentioned in relation to heightened motivations, congruent with the previous literature (see e.g. Campbell & Storch, 2011; Carpenter et al., 2009; Mercer, 2011; Sampson, 2016). This is clearly encapsulated by Karin's comment:

Everytime you kind of go to use your knowledge learnt in university outside this university context, I think that's always a very good thing. (E_G, Karin, INT-3)

Fortuitous contacts with L2 speakers in the local context and exposure to the L2 during leisure activities were found to be the most common events related to motivational change and to influence, as noted previously, the elaborateness and plausibility of students' L2 visions. Giorgia (INT-3), for instance, talked about helping a couple in a bank in Bologna who could not speak Italian, Mia (D-1) recounted a short trip to Bulgaria where she had to rely on her English skills to communicate, Rachel talked about an encounter with an Italian couple in a park in Melbourne (INT-1) which made her reflect on the importance of L2 skills. It should also be noted that both EFL respondents talked about opportunities for enhancing L2 skills by watching TV programs in English, suggesting that L2 media and popular cultural practices related to English can take L2 learning beyond the constraints of the classroom (Chik & Breidbach, 2011, p. 155) and provide opportunities for L2 learners to monitor their L2 skills. Marco, for instance, talked about watching the American series "The Twilight Zone" in its original language and realising that he could watch it without subtitles:

Of course [...] sometimes I find expressions that are unknown to me, so I need to re-activate the subtitles. To be fair, as I'm starting the second season I can already see a certain decrease of that need, so I'm confident that in the near future I won't use them. (E_I, Marco, D-2)

Changes in personal circumstances and prosaic factors

Students also described how changes in their own personal circumstances (e.g. tiredness, sickness) and prosaic factors prompted motivational fluctuations. Rather than impacting on students' L2 visions, these events were associated with changes in students' expended effort in language studies. A case in point is that of Stefan, who stated in both INT-2 and INT-3 that his motivation had considerably dropped due to heat and humidity.

Although not immediately relevant to language learning, this seemingly prosaic element had a considerable effect on his motivational system. In INT-3, for instance, he observed:

I guess it's a really weird thing... recently, because we are approaching the end of summer, we are having a lot of rain [...] but that's not nearly as annoying as mosquito bites [...] it's definitely really hard to bring up the energy to go [to university]. (EG, INT-3, Stefan)

This suggests that prosaic factors can have considerable impact on some students' expended effort in their studies (see e.g. Campbell & Storch, 2011; Sampson, 2016, pp. 100-102) and should not be overlooked in scholarship on longitudinal variation.

8.5 Concluding remarks

The longitudinal data offered evidence of the dynamic nature of students' motivations (RQ1) and desired L2 identities (RQ2). The chapter shed light on the key factors associated with motivational change over time and on how they interacted with learners' motivational states and L2 visions. It showed that the learners in this study considered L2 learning as a process of self-discrepancy, with their perceived progress acting as a parameter for the evaluation of their learning experiences in light of their L2 visions.

The elements of the instructional and non-instructional context were found to be mostly responsible for alterations in students' expended effort in L2 learning rather than in their L2 visions, the latter being associated with long-term motivated behaviour (see Dörnyei, 2014). The general stability of future L2 visions is reflected in the considerable number of students whose motivational trajectories displayed consistency over the course of the research. It was also found that the presence of an overarching L2 vision could override demotivating forces coming from the L2 learning environment, in line with previous scholarship (see e.g. Campbell & Storch, 2011; Lyons, 2014). However, this study shows that learners' L2 selves are far from being "fixed targets" (Henry, 2015, p. 83): learners frequently reflected on and sometimes revisited their L2 visions over time (You & Chan, 2015), mainly in terms of their elaborateness, plausibility and perceived harmony with external expectations. In addition, fearing selves were also often activated at different time points and prompted the development of self-regulating strategies to preserve the vision. The ought-to-L2 self/own, which had limited explanatory power in

relation to learners' choice motivations (see 6.2.3.1 and 7.3.6), was found to carry more weight in learners' motivational system once L2 study commenced, due to students' internalised desire to comply with external course-related requirements.

Due to space limitations, this chapter focused considerably on group rather than individual results and could only provide some limited evidence about the complex, emergent and dynamic interaction of the elements associated with change between each other. Further research can fill this research gap by implementing a CDS approach for the analysis of this data set and focus in more depth on case studies (see 2.5.2).

Chapter 9 Summary and conclusions

As noted in 1.1, this study was designed to counteract the “global English bias” (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 456) in the field of L2 motivation, by advancing scholarly knowledge on learner populations which have not received enough scholarly attention (students of English studies and LOTE learners). As a case in point, it set out to explore how the L2 motivations and desired L2 identities of university students of English studies in Bologna (Italy) and Munich (Germany) and those of students of Italian and German studies in Melbourne (Australia) compare and examined how similarities and differences in the findings across sample groups are reflective of the status that each L2 holds on a global scale and in the specific socio-contexts of learning. This study shows that (1) the status of each L2 (its communicative range, its instrumental value, etc.); (2) students’ L2 learning profiles; (3) socio-economic factors (e.g. unemployment rates in Italy); (4) the visibility of the L2 and of a local L2 community in the context of research; (5) heritage reasons; and (6) non-language-specific outcomes of language education (e.g. the acquisition of markers of cultivation and openness, cultural sensitivity, etc.) are the key elements accounting for similarities and differences among the four sample groups.

This chapter summarises and integrates the results obtained from the analysis of the quantitative (Chapter 6) and qualitative data (Chapter 7 and Chapter 8) in light of the three focal questions that underpin this inquiry (see 5.1). It also discusses the suitability of the theoretical approach employed for examining L2 motivation and L2 identity. It then considers the limitations of the study and its novel contribution to scholarly research. Finally, it advances possible suggestions for future research.

9.1 Main findings of the study

9.1.1 Research question 1 (RQ1)

(RQ1) How do the L2 motivations of university students of English studies in Italy and in Germany and of university students of Italian and German studies in Australia compare?

As discussed in section 6.2, a factor analysis conducted on the whole dataset returned six motivational factors which can explain choice motivation. Significant differences between sample groups were found in relation to each factor. These results

were triangulated and expanded by those obtained from the quantitative close-ended questions and the context-specific Likert items (see 6.3 and 6.4, respectively) as well as from the cross-sectional qualitative component of the study (QDS1), which yielded seven qualitative codes (see 7.3).

In addressing RQ1, this section brings together quantitative and qualitative data. First, it presents the findings in relation to each variable targeted in this study. It then offers a final concise summary regarding some key trends observed in the EFL and LOTE samples. Finally, it provides an overview of trends in the longitudinal data on choice motivation.

Desire for proficiency

Factor 1 (“Desire for language proficiency”, see 6.2.1) was found to have a similarly high effect in all sample groups, except for E_G learners, whose answers differed significantly from those of the other learner cohorts. As the qualitative data suggested (7.3.1), this finding is linked to the higher level of L2 proficiency of E_G respondents in comparison to the other samples (see 6.1.2.3). Although L2-proficiency-related motivations were frequently reported in the E_G sample (see 7.3.1), several learners clarified that an improvement in L2 proficiency represented an additional benefit related to the pursuit of a degree in English studies, but not their primary motivation.

The qualitative data presented in section 7.3.1 confirmed that survey respondents in all samples wished to learn/improve the L2 to maintain and/or develop previously acquired language skills. These findings cohere with previous studies on elective language learners (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Schmidt, 2011). Standard varieties represented the learning target in all sample groups, including EFL learners, whose proficiency goals and attitudes towards English were framed against the language norms of inner-circle countries, in line with previous studies (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Buckingham, 2015; Erling, 2007). It was noted that EFL respondents often described their desired proficiency in English at the end of their university education in a highly specific way, often highlighting the discrepancy between the English learnt at school and the one learnt at university. As will be summarised in 9.1.2, for several LOTE respondents the attainment of L2 skills was linked to their desire to gain access to an imagined community (Kanno & Norton, 2003) of bilinguals, with bilingualism being associated with positive

identity markers and forms of cultural and social capital within an English-dominant context.

Integrative orientation

Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2 communities and to create L2-speaking identities”) was found to have high mean values in all learner populations and particularly in the EFL samples, which proved to be significantly different from the G_A sample, but not from the I_A sample. As explained in section 6.2.2.1, this significant difference may be due to the lower exposure of G_A learners to L2-speaking communities in comparison to EFL respondents, which could have had an impact on their perceived sense of affiliation with L2 speakers and the L2 culture (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010). The higher exposure of I_A learners to L2 communities through travelling, heritage connections and/or contacts with Italians in Melbourne may explain why no statistical difference was found between this sample group and EFL learners. The high mean ratings of Factor 2 in the EFL samples suggest that the link between English and inner-circle countries had not faded for the learners in this study, in line with previous research (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Erling, 2007) and with theoretical predictions on the cultural relevance of English for students of English studies (see e.g. Edmondson & House, 2003).

The qualitative data confirmed the relevance of L2-community-related motivations to all learner populations, showing that many learners in all samples, including EFL respondents, were culturally driven and wished to affiliate with the target L2 country/countries and its/their speakers, without necessarily wishing to identify with them (see e.g. Aiello, 2017; Busse & Williams, 2010; Erling, 2007; Oakes, 2013; Arnett, 2002). Their motivations were often associated with previous travelling experiences and/or with the exposure to and appreciation of specific cultural aspects of the L2 community/communities (e.g. media, literature, gastronomic culture etc.). It was also observed (see 7.3.2) that the respondents in this study envisioned multiple geographically defined groups of reference in addition to English, Italian and German-speaking countries, such as local (i.e. the Italo-Australian community for I_A learners), transnational (i.e. Europe for LOTE learners) and global (learners in all samples, but particularly EFL respondents) communities.

In terms of local influences on motivation, it was found that I_A learners were influenced by the presence of an Italo-Australian community in Melbourne. While the largest portion of I_A respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the knowledge of Italian enabled them to affiliate with L2 communities in the context of research, a considerable percentage of G_A learners reported being unsure about the statement (6.4.2.2). These trends were confirmed by the qualitative data: references to L2 use in the local context were almost exclusively made by I_A respondents (7.3.2.3) and interview data showed that while all I_A participants could elaborate on the Italian presence in Melbourne (see 7.3.2.3), most G_A learners did not know or had a vague idea about these communities. These trends cast some light on the higher visibility of the Italian community in comparison to the German-Swiss community in Melbourne (see 4.8) and suggest that integrative reasons are at play in multicultural contexts where an L2 community is visible and permeates the social fabric (Palmieri, 2017; 2018, see 4.6.1).

Extrinsic influences

Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”) had a low effect on all sample groups and particularly on the E_G sample, which was found to be significantly different from all other samples. This is possibly due to the fact that most E_G learners were already highly proficient in English at the time of data collection and were thus less likely to experience extrinsic pressures to continue L2 study at tertiary level (6.2.3.1). Students in all samples reported various influences when they decided to pursue L2 study (see 6.3.2), the qualitative data presented in 7.2.6 showed that external factors were rarely mentioned as primary motivations, a finding which is clearly reflective of the intrinsic rather than extrinsic nature of their motivations. Among the influences reported (6.3.2, 7.3.6), the most common came from parents, teachers and friends (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010). Influences from significant others both in instructional (e.g. teachers) and non-instructional (e.g. parents, friends) contexts continued to be present throughout students’ L2 learning process, contributing to changes in their motivations (see 8.3.2.2, 8.4.1 and 8.4.2).

Quantitative and qualitative data also showed that family influences particularly affected heritage learners, in line with previous literature on this particular learner population (see e.g. Berardi-Wiltshire, 2016): the answer options “sense of duty towards

significant people in my life” and “influence from family” were mainly selected by G_A and particularly I_A respondents (6.3.2) in the questionnaire and Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self) had the highest mean ratings in the latter sample (6.2.3.1). It is also notable that societal pressures were mainly perceived by E_I respondents, who, as the qualitative data suggested, were motivated to master English to seek better employment opportunities (see also 6.2.6.1), in line with previous studies conducted on EFL learners in Italy (Aiello, 2017; Faez, 2011).

For the vast majority of respondents in all samples, the reported external influences manifested themselves in the form of encouragement rather than coercion (6.3.2.1), in keeping with a wealth of literature on university language learners (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013; Schmidt, 2011; 2014a, 2014b). Although the majority of EFL students were aware of the necessity of English for speakers of languages with a limited global reach (6.4.1.1), only few identified an externally imposed necessity as the primary reason underpinning their decision to study the L2 at tertiary level, again suggesting the intrinsic rather than extrinsic nature of the motivations of the learners in this sample.

Instrumental orientation

Factor 4 (“Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals”) had a significantly lower effect on the I_A sample in comparison to all other samples. As noted in section 6.2.4.1, this finding can be explained in light of the status of each L2: English and German are more commonly perceived as holding a higher instrumental value than Italian (see Chapter 3 and further discussion in RQ3).

The qualitative data discussed in section 7.3.3.1 showed that the instrumental reasons mentioned by most respondents were linked to a form of instrumentality promotion rather than prevention. This was also the case for learners of English, despite the fact that there was general agreement that the language is necessary in the job market.

Work-related reasons were also mentioned by several LOTE learners, in keeping with the previous research on Anglophone language learners (see 3.1.2.2). The accounts of LOTE respondents were often non-language-specific and mostly included general considerations on the benefits of possessing a unique skill in a monolingual English-dominant country, which was perceived as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991;

Norton Peirce, 1995), associated with determination, openness and intelligence. These learners were driven by what Riemer (2006) has labelled *Exotenmotiv*, i.e. a motivation linked to the perception of the instrumental benefits associated with the attainment of a highly uncommon or difficult skill (see 3.1.2.2 and 3.3). Evidence of an *Exotenmotiv* was also found by Schmidt (2014b, see 4.7.1) in her study on university students of German in Australia. This motivational construct was found to hold limited explanatory power for EFL learners: whilst some framed a university level of English as “exotic”, others affirmed that English language skills are gradually becoming commonplace rather than a stand-out skill (see 7.3.3.1).

Qualitative data also revealed that respondents in all samples envisioned similar non-work-related benefits associated with L2 proficiency, such as the ability to have their L2 knowledge certified, the easiness in learning other languages, a better understanding of their L1, etc. It is also worthwhile pointing out that LOTE respondents mentioned degree-related considerations more frequently than their EFL counterparts, often highlighting the benefit of L2 skills as an add-on qualification to their main degree area (Schmidt, 2014b). This finding is in line with previous studies on LOTE learners in Australia (see e.g. Schmidt, 2014b) and is reflective of differences in degree structure in the EFL and LOTE samples.

Intrinsic motivation

As discussed in 6.2.5.1, Factor 5 (“Intrinsic desire to expend effort on the creation of future L2 identities”) had high mean values in all samples, a finding which, in combination with the generally low effect of Factor 3 (“Ought-to L2 self”), further substantiated our hypothesis that most learners in this study were intrinsically rather than extrinsically motivated. The quantitative data showed that EFL respondents were generally more intrinsically motivated than LOTE respondents, with the E_I sample being significantly different from the I_A and the G_A sample and the E_G sample being significantly different from the G_A sample. The generally higher statistical effect of this factor on EFL learners in comparison to LOTE learners may be due to the fact that the former had chosen to study English as a central component of their degrees (see 6.1.2.4), while many of the latter studied the L2 as an elective or as a minor (6.1.2.5) and considered the L2 as an add-on-qualification to their main degree area (see 7.3.3.1).

Intrinsic motivations were found to be qualitatively similar in all sample groups (see 7.3.4): several participants expressed a passion for the L2 or for language learning in general, which was linked to a general enjoyment of the L2 learning process and to the view of L2 learning as a means for the fulfilment of personally relevant goals and/or identity options as multilingual speakers (Ushioda, 2017; Henry, 2017, see 9.1.2). These findings highlight the centrality of intrinsic motivations for elective language learners (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Busse, 2015; Oakes, 2013; Schmidt, 2014a, 2014b).

International posture

As noted in section 6.2.6.1, Factor 6 (“Desire to create global identities and to have global experiences”) had a significantly higher effect on the E_I cohort in comparison to the others. The qualitative data confirmed that many E_I learners were invested in L2 learning to shape a global identity, associated with forms of economic and cultural capital. Some wished to “escape their milieu” (Aiello, 2017, p. 153) and find employment opportunities overseas, in keeping with previous research on secondary learners of English in Italy (see e.g. Aiello, 2017) and on EFL learners in Spain (Busse, 2017, p. 578). Interestingly, this factor was found to be applicable to LOTE learners as well, as suggested by the high mean ratings and the lack of significant differences between the LOTE samples and the E_G sample. This was confirmed by the qualitative data: several LOTE respondents expressed their desire to learn the L2 to gain access to an imagined international community and acquire a deeper sense of global participation and a new worldview through the L2 (Yashima, 2002, 2009, see e.g. 7.3.2.4). This coheres with studies on Anglophone learners (see 3.1.2.2).

It was also noted in section 6.3.1 that several EFL and LOTE respondents selected the item “citizen of the world” when prompted to describe which attributes they would associate with themselves as future L2 speakers. While European respondents viewed the affiliation with a global community as dependent on the mastery of English, often framing their strive for internationalisation in terms of the linguistic capital that English affords, most LOTE respondents associated their attainment of a form of global participation with their renegotiated identity as bilinguals, regardless of the communicative range of their chosen L2. Contrary to Yashima’s (2009, p. 145) claim that international posture “captures a tendency to relate oneself to the international community rather than any

specific L2 group”, both EFL and LOTE respondents envisaged both global and L2 communities as groups of affiliation, suggesting that this construct should not be uncritically implemented in replacement of integrative orientation.

Heritage motivation

As discussed in section 7.3.5, heritage motivations were almost exclusively found among LOTE respondents and particularly in the I_A sample. This was expected due to the presence of several heritage learners in the two LOTE groups (see 6.1.1). Many heritage learners in this study were involved in a process of heritage identity development and perceived L2 skills as fundamental for interacting with family members in Australia and/or overseas and for enhancing in-group membership (see 7.3.5). This confirms Noel’s (2005, p. 301) claim that “a sense of ancestral heritage makes salient the important of language to one’s ethnic identity”, in keeping with a wealth of literature on heritage language learners (see e.g. Berardi-Wiltshire, 2016; Leeman, 2015 for recent overviews).

Summary of choice motivation with a focus on EFL vs LOTES

Table 9.1 on the next page offers a comparative overview of the similarities and differences discussed so far, with a comparative focus only on EFL and LOTE respondents. For the quantitative data, the variable which were mostly represented by each factor are displayed. In case of differences, the sample group for which the variable was more relevant is marked in bold.

With regard to the quantitative data, in no instances were the two EFL samples both significantly different from both LOTE samples, even though some trends separating EFL and LOTE samples could be observed by simply looking at mean scores (see 6.5). In terms of qualitative data, no considerable differences were found in the qualitative nature of L2-community related and intrinsic motivations, as well as in their considerations of the benefits of L2 proficiency as a personal goal or as a means to maintain a previously acquired skillset. Differences were mainly observed in the desire to attain a bilingual identity through L2 proficiency (relevant only to the LOTE samples), in the specificities of learners’ proficiency goals (more specific for EFL learners), in the nature of international posture, instrumental reasons and in the relevance of heritage

motivations (only relevant to LOTEs). We will come back to the implications of these findings when discussing the contributions of this study in 9.3.

Data set	Similarities	Differences
Quantitative data set (main variables represented in each factor)	<p><i>No significant differences found:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>desire for proficiency</u>: E_I and LOTEs 2) <u>integrative orientation</u>: EFL and I_A 3) <u>extrinsic influences</u>: E_I and LOTEs <u>instrumental orientation</u>: E_G and G_A 4) <u>intrinsic orientation</u>: E_G and G_A 5) <u>international posture</u>: E_G and LOTEs 	<p><i>Significant differences found</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <u>desire for proficiency</u>: E_G vs LOTEs - <u>integrative orientation</u>: EFL vs G_A - <u>extrinsic influences</u>: E_G vs LOTEs - <u>instrumental orientation</u>: EFL vs I_A, E_I vs G_A - <u>intrinsic orientation</u>: E_I vs LOTEs - <u>international posture</u>: E_I vs LOTEs
Qualitative data set (key findings)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>desire for proficiency</u>: maintenance of a previously acquired skillset, personal goal, attainment of resources through the L2 2) <u>integrative orientation (weak form)</u>: travelling and cultural reasons, positive attitudes towards L2 communities, etc. 3) <u>intrinsic motivations</u>: passion for L2 and L2 learning, prior positive learning experiences 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) <u>desire for proficiency</u>: bilingual identity in LOTEs; university vs secondary school in EFL 2) <u>international posture</u>: status of L2 for EFL; renegotiated identity as bilinguals for LOTEs 3) <u>instrumental orientation</u>: commonplace (EFL) vs unique (LOTEs); necessity (EFL) vs bonus (LOTEs) 4) <u>heritage motivations</u>: (LOTEs).

Table 9.1 Similarities and differences with a comparative focus on EFL and LOTE samples only in light of the motivational variables targeted

Trends into executive motivations

The longitudinal data (see Chapter 8) showed that learners' motivations underwent constant ups and downs as a result of their interactions with the elements of the instructional and non-instructional contexts in which they operated. The 20 students under investigation commenced the semester with high levels of intrinsic motivation. This motivation either stabilised or declined towards mid semester, primarily due to an increased study load at university. Motivation then rose again towards the end of the semester, when students needed to focus on the upcoming exams. The factors associated with motivational change mainly came from the instructional context, in line with other studies (see e.g. Busse & Walter, 2013; Campbell & Storch, 2011; Sampson, 2016). This suggests that the motivational dimension L2 learning experience (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009)

is crucial in shaping executive motivation (Campbell & Storch, 2011; Dörnyei, 1994, p. 280; Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998). However, elements of the psychological context and non-instructional contexts, and particularly sense of progress (Busse & Walter, 2013) and opportunities for language use outside the classroom (Mercer, 2011; Sampson, 2016) were often mentioned in relation to motivational change (see 8.4.2). All in all, this study confirms the centrality of intrinsic motivation in maintaining motivational trajectories and also highlights the relevance of internalised extrinsic motivations related to assessment tasks in triggering motivational change over time. Key findings about the identity trajectories observed in the longitudinal sample will be summarised in 9.1.2.

9.1.2 Research question 2 (RQ2)

(RQ2) Are students' L2 motivations associated with processes of self-discrepancy and identity development? Which identities do students wish to shape by studying the L2?

The analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data confirmed that an identity perspective is suitable for making sense of students' choice and executive motivations and to investigate the multiple symbolic and material resources that they wished to accrue through L2 proficiency.

This section first considers learners' motivations in relation to students' visions of themselves as future L2 users, as conceptualised in Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS. It then discusses other selves which emerged from the qualitative data and elaborates on whether or not they were found to be language specific. Although these selves fall within the umbrella of an ideal L2 self dimension, they provide a more nuanced representation of the envisioned identities of the learners in this study. After offering a concise summary on the relevance of the selves emerged in the EFL and LOTE samples, an overview of the longitudinal findings regarding identity trajectories is presented.

Ideal L2 self vs ought-to L2 self

As summarised in section 6.5, the questionnaire items which measured the variable "ideal L2 self" (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009, see also 2.4.1) had high mean values in all sample groups (see Appendix 3, A) and loaded onto two of the six factors extracted: Factor 2 "Desire to affiliate with L2 communities and to create L2-speaking identities"

(see 6.2.2) and Factor 5 “Desire to expend effort in the creation of future L2 identities” (see 6.2.5). In addition, items measuring the variable “international posture”, which builds upon the ideal L2 self (see Yashima, 2009), loaded on two other factors (see Factor 4 “Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals” 6.2.4 and Factor 6 “Desire to create global identities and to have global experiences”, 6.2.6). Conversely, items measuring the ought-to L2 had the lowest mean values in all sample groups (see Appendix 3, A) and loaded onto only one factor, which had the lowest effect on all samples (see 6.2.3).

As the qualitative data showed, the ideal L2 self had a considerable explanatory power in relation to the motivations of both EFL and LOTE students, who considered L2 learning as instrumental to the pursuit of a personally relevant L2 identity, in line with Oakes & Howard’s (2019) findings on the relevance of the ideal L2 self to both EFL a LOTE learners.

By investing time and energy in their L2 identities, the participants in this study believed that they could acquire new forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Kubota, 2011; Norton Peirce, 1995), which allowed them to claim new identity options in the communities in which they were positioned, and to position themselves as members of real or imagined communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003). The identity markers that learners associated with their envisioned L2-speaking identities had striking similarities across sample groups: both EFL and LOTE learners wished to create educated, open-minded and cultured selves, to become more globally connected and more employable (see 6.3.1). These similarities lend insight into general non-language specific outcomes of language education, such as the openness to other languages and cultures and to the world in general, culturedness, the development of an international outlook and of intercultural competence (see e.g. Balboni, 2008, p. 92; Gudykunst, 1991; Kim, 1991). These findings also testify to the transformative power of L2 learning experiences, which enable participants to project new identity options not only as L2 speakers (ideal L2 self), but also as individuals (ideal self, see Higgins, 1987, 2.4.1). This warrants further investigation on the multiple interactions between an ideal L2 self and an ideal self dimension and on how these interactions play out within specific socio-contexts of research.

As noted previously, an ought-to L2 self dimension, i.e. the facet of the one's own L2 self which is held by others and operates with a prevention focus (see 2.4.1), was found to have limited explanatory power in relation to all the learners in this sample, as reflected by both the low mean of Factor 3 ("Ought-to L2 self", see 6.2.3) and by the scarce number of respondents from all sample groups who mentioned ought-to-L2-self-related motivations in the qualitative component of the study (see 7.3.6). In the few instances in which an ought-to L2 self was salient in learners' motivational systems, it manifested itself in the form of an ought-to-L2 self/own rather than an ought-to-L2 self/other (Teimouri, 2017).

The low incidence of the ought-to L2 self to the learners under investigation coheres with previous studies (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; de Burgh-Hirabe, 2019; Oakes, 2013; Oakes & Howard, 2019) and makes intuitive sense. Firstly, EFL students already had long L2 learning histories and working proficiency in the L2 and were thus less likely to perceive strong extrinsic pressures to study the language as university. Secondly, LOTE learners were expected to be free from societal pressures since, as noted in section 3.1, the native or advanced knowledge of English acts as a deterrent to the cultivation of L2 skills (see e.g. Clyne, 2006).

An overview of the selves emerged from the data

The analysis of QDS1 revealed the presence of multiple selves in all samples, as summarised in section 7.4. Although these selves mainly fall under the umbrella of an ideal L2 self dimension, in that they all have a promotion rather than prevention focus (including the anti-ought to L2 self), they were deemed more suitable to provide a more nuanced account of some aspects of students' desired identities as L2 users.

Respondents in all samples wished to shape an **ideal *Bildungs-Selbst*** (Busse, 2015, 2017) through L2 proficiency, i.e. they considered L2 learning as a means to acquire markers of sophistication and cultivation, and thus to enhance their cultural capital (Norton Peirce, 1995; Kubota, 2011). EFL respondents associated the mastery of the language, rather than simple working knowledge of it, with a university education, LOTE respondents viewed elective language learning in a monolingual English-dominant environment as connected to positive identity markers (**ideal bilingual *Bildungs-Selbst***). This self can also be understood from the lens of an **anti-ought-to self dimension**

(Thompson & Vázquez, 2015; Thompson, 2017a, 2017b), i.e. an identity which results from the rejection of external expectations. Indeed, some LOTE respondents reported being invested in L2 learning to reject the stigma associated with the English-is-enough mentality (see e.g. Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013; Lanvers, 2012) and to be acknowledged by others as cultivated. For these respondents, motivation should be conceptualised as the effort expended in the expansion of their “meaning-making repertoires” (Ushioda, 2017, p. 478) as bilingual individuals rather than in the attainment of proficiency in a specific L2.

As noted in 7.3.2.2, both EFL and LOTE respondents envisioned a **seasoned tourist L2 self** who is able to navigate L2-speaking countries by speaking the L2. Other learners, particularly in the LOTE samples were invested in what we labelled an **anti-tourist L2 self**, a future persona who is perfectly integrated in the host community and who is no longer restricted to touristy places, as he/she is able to reduce the cultural and linguistic separation from the host community. In the LOTE samples, an investment in an anti-tourist self was sometimes associated with the desire to reject the image of the lazy Anglophone tourist, who only uses English to communicate in non-English-speaking countries and cannot have “authentic” travelling experiences.

While some participants in both LOTE samples were invested in the creation of a heritage identity, which received support from the social groups with which they interacted (parents, grandparents etc.), only I_A learners envisioned what we labelled a **community engaged L2 self**, a future desired identity as a person who has a better understanding of the multicultural makeup of his/her local community and is able to access L2 resources and to interact with members of the L2 community in the local context (see 7.3.2.3). It is argued that this self can hold relevance in other transcultural spaces shaped by diasporic communities which are visible in the local socio-context and which are socially desirable.

Students from all samples also cultivated a **global citizen L2 self**, which, as noted previously, was linked to the global reach of English for EFL learners and to a renegotiated identity as bilinguals for LOTE learners. For many respondents in all samples, an investment in a global identity was also connected to the construction of an identity as international professionals (**international professional L2 self**).

By means of summary, Table 9.2 displays similarities and differences in the identities discussed so far in the EFL and LOTE samples. In case of differences, details in brackets are given regarding the sample groups for which each variable was found to be more relevant.

Identities described in the EFL and LOTE samples	
Similarities	Differences
1) Ideal <i>Bildungs-Selbst</i>	1) Anti-ought-to self (LOTEs);
2) Plurilingual <i>Bildungs-Selbst</i>	2) Ideal bilingual <i>Bildungs-Selbst</i> (LOTEs)
3) Seasoned tourist L2 self	3) Anti-tourist L2 self (LOTEs)
	4) Community engaged L2 self (LOTEs, particularly I _A)
	5) Global citizen L2 self (relevant to both but qualitatively different)
	6) International professional L2 self (relevant to both but qualitatively different)

Table 9.2 Overview: similarities and differences between the identity aspirations of EFL and LOTE learners as emerged in QDS1

L2 learning as a process of self-discrepancy

Chapter 8 provided further evidence that L2 motivation was framed as a process of self-discrepancy (Higgins, 1987) by respondents in this study, who were invested in L2 learning to reduce the gap between their current self and their envisioned L2 self. In the majority of cases, the identities of respondents remained stable over time (8.3.2.1). Nevertheless, reflections and revisions to their L2 vision in terms of elaborateness, plausibility, and harmony with external expectations were found to occur at all points of data collection. In addition, students often envisioned fearing selves counteracting their L2 visions over time (8.3.2.2). This is in keeping with previous studies showing the dynamic nature of future self-guides (see 2.5.2). In terms of frequency of reporting, it was noted that references to the elaborateness of the vision were generally low at the beginning of the semester and generally high at the end, when students reflected on the experiences that they had had during the semester and on how they impacted on the clarity of their L2 vision. This gives further support to Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS, which postulates that the L2 learning experience plays a role in shaping learners' future self-guides. Students mainly reflected on the plausibility of the L2 vision at the beginning and

in the first half of the semester, when they evaluated their coping potential in relation to new learning content. It was also noted that references to the fearing self tended to increase towards mid semester, mostly due to internalised exam-related pressures and anxieties about disappointing others. Fearing selves also emerged in the data when students reflected on the harmony of their vision with external expectations (Sampson, 2016). Whilst the ought-to L2 self/own did not have considerable explanatory power in relation to choice motivation, it was found to hold more weight in explaining students' day-to-day engagement with language studies at university level, which required them to meet external expectations. The presence of an overarching L2 vision counteracted demotivating influences stemming from the instructional and non-instructional contexts (Campbell & Storch, 2011; Lyons, 2014), the former accounting for most of the changes in learners' short-term expended effort in language studies. Students' ability to visualise themselves in the future as L2 speakers served to strengthen their motivation and their investment throughout the learning process, thereby confirming the power of imagination and of future self-guides in supporting L2 motivation (see 2.4.1).

9.1.3 Research question 3 (RQ3)

(RQ3) To what extent is the status that each L2 holds on a global scale and in the specific learning contexts reflected in students' L2 motivations and in their desired L2 identities?

It was previously noted that many similarities were found among sample groups: most students in each sample were intrinsically rather than extrinsically motivated and considered language learning as instrumental to the attainment of symbolic and material resources (Norton Peirce, 1995), which, in turn, would grant them affiliation with multiple real or imagined communities of reference: the L2 country/countries, global communities, internationally-oriented professional communities, etc. Considerable differences across samples, however, could be explained in terms of the status that each target language holds on a global scale and in the specific socio-contexts of learning.

English

a. Situated language and global language

The participants in this study understood English as a language with a vast range of reference and justified their investment in their L2-speaking identities both in terms of the linguistic capital that English imparts as the world's global language and in terms of their own emotional identification with Anglophone communities and their culture(s). While there was no doubt among EFL learners about the necessity of English as a tool to navigate the globalised world (7.3.6) and to obtain higher work-related benefits (see e.g. higher effect of Factor 4 "Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals" on EFL learners, 6.2.4.1), EFL participants often highlighted that their decision to pursue English studies at university was mainly sustained by their own passion for English rather than by considerations about its instrumental value. In so doing, EFL respondents positioned themselves at odds with local and global discourses about the necessity to study English primarily or entirely for an improvement of one's own employment opportunities (7.3.3.1). Their affiliation with Anglophone communities was also reflected in their preference for native varieties of English and in the desire for some participants to acquire a native-like accent to position themselves as legitimate speakers of English (7.3.1).

Congruent with Aiello (2017, p. 121), EFL participants in this study drew upon different definitions of English to describe the social, economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) that the language afforded them as a tool to access inner-circle communities (standard inner-circle varieties) and their cultural products (e.g. literature, media and entertainment), global communities (English as a lingua franca or for specific purposes) and professional communities (English as a lingua franca). For EFL learners, the situated and global nature of English were not irreconcilable, but rather contributed to their understanding of English and of the capital that it afforded them. Indeed, this study suggests that learners of English studies represent a particular learner population, for whom the desire to integrate (Gardner, 2001) into English L2 communities co-exists with their wish to partake in the global culture and to cultivate an L2-community-independent world citizen identity (international posture, Yashima, 2002, 2009, see 2.2.2). The presence of L2-community-related motivations, which were expected for LOTE learners (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017, p. 465), clearly distances EFL learners in

this study from learners of global English, with the latter generally conceiving the target language as stripped from inner-circle countries (see 3.1.2.1). This suggests that the integration of the ideal L2 self with community-based motivational variables (e.g. integrative orientation) can do more justice not only to the learner-internal and L2-community-dependent motivations and identity aspirations of LOTE learners (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2017; MacIntyre et al., 2017), but also of learners of English studies.

The findings of this study indicate that EFL students should not be treated as a homogenous category in the field of L2 motivation (see Ushioda, 2013b). Scholarship on these learners should examine in detail their prior learning histories (e.g. which English varieties have students been students exposed to during their learning?) and their current learning situation (what other subjects are they studying alongside English?) in order to make predictions on their investment in the language and thus in deciding which theoretical frameworks to implement to shed light on their motivations (see also 9.3).

b. Local appeal: English in Italy vs English in Germany

The motivations of EFL learners and their attitudes towards English displayed several similarities. Both sample groups envisioned inner-circle varieties as their learning target (7.3.1), mainly considered English as a must-do language (6.4.1.1), recognised its instrumental value (7.3.3.1), wished to gain membership in similar L2 communities (7.3.2), were culturally motivated (7.3.2.2), and were exposed to the language frequently, particularly through media and through interactions with native speakers and non-native speakers through travelling and in the cities where they attended university at the time of data collection (7.3.2.2 and 7.3.2.3).

Nevertheless, learners' motivations also displayed context-specific features, substantiating Ushioda's (2009, p. 225) claim that it is important to consider learners as socially situated individuals who "are [...] enabled to engage directly with their possible future selves as users of the L2, but within the scope and security of their current communicative abilities, interests and social contexts". As summarised in section 6.5, EFL learners differed significantly in relation to Factor 1 ("Desire for language proficiency"), Factor 3 ("Ought-to L2 self") and Factor 6 ("Desire to create global identities and to create overseas experiences"): E₁ respondents wished to improve L2 skills, experienced more external influences and were more invested in English language

learning to acquire membership in an international community in comparison to their German counterparts. These findings can be explained in relation to the lower L2 proficiency of E_I learners (see 6.1.2.3), and to broader socio-economic trends. As the qualitative data confirmed, E_I respondents experienced more external influences to capitalise on their knowledge of English to access communities of professional and residents abroad in order to find alternatives to worrying levels of unemployment in Italy (see 7.3.3.1). These findings cohere with previous observations made about Italian and Spanish learners of English (Aiello, 2017, p. 123; Busse, 2017) and suggest that – despite homogenising traits in the motivations of learners of English – contextual differences still play an important role in shaping EFL students’ motivations and attitudes towards this language (see also Ushioda, 2013b).

Italian

A European language of culture and prominent community language

The data collected as part of this study confirmed that the success of Italian abroad resides in three main features: its prestige as a European language of culture, its status as a heritage language and finally the appeal of Italy as a modern sophisticated country (ICoN, 2014, see 3.2).

The qualitative data corroborated the claim that Italian is appreciated as a prominent European language in the Australian context, with some questionnaire respondents identifying Europe as a target community of affiliation and considering Italian as a gateway to other European languages and cultures (7.3.3.2). The appeal of Italian today does not only reside in the appreciation of Italy’s historical and cultural past, but also in the modern appeal and sophistication of Italian society, with both dimensions being represented in participants’ accounts (7.3.2.2, see also Palmieri, 2018). The low relevance of instrumental reasons in comparison to L2-community-related motivations for the I_A learners in this study is congruent with large-scale empirical investigation on its global appeal (e.g. *Italiano, 2000; Italiano 2010*, see 3.2).

Echoing Palmieri’s (2018) conclusions on adult learners of Italian in Sydney, it was found that the motivations of many participants in this study were linked to the presence of a lively local Italian community in their learning environment (Lo Bianco & Aliani, 2013), which afforded them opportunities to establish contacts with Italians and

Italo-Australians and their culture, ultimately shaping their desire to invest time and effort in the L2 learning process (see also Palmieri, 2017, 2018). The local presence and visibility of Italian can explain why only I_A respondents referred to local communities (see 6.4.2.2; 6.4.2.3 and 7.3.2.3) when prompted to elaborate on their motivations. In addition, heritage reasons (7.3.5) were found to be common in this learner population.

All in all, these findings corroborate Lo Bianco and Aliani's (2013, p. 45) observation that Italian in Australia appeals to migrants and their descendants for heritage reasons and to non-heritage learners for community reasons, as a result of its presence in the local context, and that it is learnt by both groups for its widely acknowledged status as a European language of culture.

German

A European language of culture associated with enhanced career prospects and with a rich culture and history

The analysis of the motivations of G_A learners showed that the success of German abroad resides in its prestige as the European language, with respondents considering German as an important language to possess to affiliate with Europe (7.3.2.1 and 7.3.2.2), in its instrumental value, linked to the image of Germany as a business powerhouse, a technologically advanced country and as a nation at the forefront of scientific research (see effect of Factor 4 “Desire to have work-related advantages as international professionals” on G_A respondents, 6.2.4.1, see also 3.2 for an overview), and finally in the appeal of Germany, whose history, cultural, modern society and politics are particularly appreciated, in line with the previous literature (Riemer, 2016; Schmidt, 2011, 2014b).

Although Factor 2 (“Desire to affiliate with L2 communities and develop L2-speaking identities”, see 6.2.2.1) had the lowest mean ratings for learners of German, the qualitative data reveal that L2 community-related motives play an important role for this learner group (see 7.3.2.2). In line with previous studies (see e.g. Riemer, 2016; Schmidt, 2014b), Germany represented the default country associated with German for the learners in this study, while other German-speaking countries were only mentioned in relation to specific personal circumstances (e.g. heritage, friends, family connections etc.).

The qualitative data showed that the German-speaking communities in Melbourne did not have an influence on learners' motivations: the majority of respondents were

unsure about their presence (see 7.3.2.3). Hence, the findings suggest that German in Melbourne is mostly studied for its prestige as a “foreign” language of international repute, with its community status in Australia not contributing to its appeal.

9.2 Limitations

An inevitable limitation of this study derives from its reliance on data collected from four sample groups which differed considerably in terms of demographic and L2-study-related variables (see 6.1.1 and 6.1.2), specifically in terms of participants’ heritage origins, their previous L2 learning histories, level of L2 proficiency, degrees of enrolment and standing of the L2 in their degrees (e.g. major/ minor/elective, etc.). Although some measures were taken during the recruitment phase to reduce the expected heterogeneity of the four sample groups in terms of degree areas and length of L2 experience before university (see 5.4.1), the construction of homogeneous samples was deemed unrealistic for the present study. Since differences in demographic and L2-study-related variables were likely to have an impact on learners’ motivations, they were taken into consideration in the phase of data analysis and interpretation. For instance, it was speculated that the fact that intrinsic motivation had higher mean ratings among EFL respondents (see 6.2.5.1) was due, among other things, to the fact that these cohorts had chosen to study English as the focus of their studies, rather than as a minor or elective subject within a broader degree with a focus outside languages, as in the case of many LOTE learners. As for L2-study-related characteristics, it should be noted that many students included in this thesis were multilingual, particularly in the EFL samples, with some being involved in the study of other languages in addition to the L2 under investigation. Recent literature on multilingual language learners has shown that different future L2 selves can interact with each other (see e.g. Siridatkoon & Dewaele, 2017; see also Henry, 2017 for an overview). These possible interactions, however, were not the focus of this investigation and were thus not discussed in this thesis.

As noted in 5.4.2, the questionnaires were administered in this study over a long timeframe, due to the need to recruit a considerable group of students. It cannot be excluded that students’ progression in the semester may have impacted on their answers, particularly with regard to the variable “intrinsic motivation”, which also collected data on L2 learning enjoyment.

It is also worth mentioning that the variable “international posture” was measured in the quantitative component of the study by means of items developed by the researcher on the basis of Yashima’s (2009) conceptualisation of this motivational variable rather than through the items utilised by Yashima (2009, see 5.4.2.1). As explained in 5.4.2.1, this was done to reduce the length of the questionnaire. Further research could utilise this scholar’s questionnaire to test the statistical relevance of international posture to EFL and LOTE learners.

An additional limitation of this study resides in the fact that it is based on the views and experiences of a limited number of participants recruited from a selected number of universities located in only three cities, i.e. Bologna (Italy), Munich (Germany) and Melbourne (Australia). The cities might be specific in some respects (e.g. large Italian community in Melbourne), but so might the specific universities (e.g. in Australia, RMIT has a predominantly STEMM student population, the University of Melbourne attracts students from the private or confessional sector, with many of the latter schools often having a strong affiliation with the Italian community, etc.). While the narrow geographical focus made it possible to explore the influence of the local context on students’ L2 motivation (see e.g. 7.3.2.3), the findings of this study are not necessarily generalisable to other urban and non-urban settings in the countries under investigation. Further research can determine whether the experiences and motivations of the learners in this study are also found among learners in other geographical areas within the three countries targeted, as well as in other non-Anglophone and Anglophone settings. Due to the alignment of most of the findings with previous studies conducted in other settings (e.g. the UK, see e.g. Oakes, 2013; other European countries, see e.g. Busse, 2017; large-scale investigations such as Riemer’s *Länderstudien*, see Riemer 2011, 2016; *Italiano 2010*, see Giovanardi & Trifone, 2010), this is likely to be the case.

It was also observed that the longitudinal component of this study included a low number of participants ($N = 20$). This clearly compromises the generalisability of the findings. Future research could utilise the analytical framework developed for the longitudinal data set (see 8.1) for the analysis of data obtained from a larger sample of learners.

This study also suffers from a general limitation which affects research on L2 motivation (see Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011, pp. 197-198): it is based on learners’ self-

reports of their motivations rather than on direct observations of their learning behaviours and/or of their psychological responses. One of the pitfalls of non-observatory research is that participants may not disclose their true feelings about a given topic, but rather indicate how they think that they should feel. In order to minimise the risk of receiving untruthful answers, efforts were made in both the first and second part of the study to assure participants of the full confidentiality and anonymization of their answers.

Finally, it should be acknowledged that although the integration of different theoretical perspectives enables researchers to obtain a better understanding of the phenomenon under investigation by capturing its complexity from different angles, not each theory can be fully accommodated when a multi-faceted theoretical framework is utilised. For instance, while quantification was adopted in the presentation of the qualitative data in keeping with previous studies adopting a mixed method design (e.g. Palmieri, 2018), poststructuralist and complexity-based perspectives on motivation eschew from a quantitative logic, which implies that motivations and L2 identities can be compartmentalised and essentialised as fixed entities.

9.3 Contributions of the study and suggestions for further research

By shedding light on learners of English studies in an EFL context and by comparing their motivations and desired identities with those of learners of Italian and German studies in an Anglophone context, the findings of this study not only advance scholarly research on each of these learner populations, but also offer the first analysis on how their L2 motivations and desired L2 identities compare.

Theoretical framework employed and some considerations on the variables included

The multifaceted theoretical framework at the basis of this study has enabled us to explore motivation by drawing upon traditional motivational variables in the field as well as upon current identity-based theoretical perspectives. While the exploration of motivation in terms of traditional variables has allowed us to pinpoint key aspects of such a complex and multi-layered construct (e.g. its L2-community related features, the nature of internal and external influences on motivations, students' perception of the pragmatic returns associated with L2 proficiency), the discussion of identity-related aspects has served to present a more emic perspective on students' expended effort in language

studies. As noted previously, of the two possible selves at the forefront of Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) L2MSS, only the ideal L2 self was found to be relevant to most learners in this study. The third component of Dörnyei's model, the L2 learning experience, was found to be associated both with learners' choice motivations (e.g. their intrinsic desire to invest time and energy in L2 learning due to previous and current positive learning experiences) and with their executive motivations (elements of the instructional context were mentioned more frequently in relation to motivational change).

The findings obtained in this study show the relevance of prior and past variables in the field to the learner under investigations and are testament to the complexity of students' motivational systems, which see the coexistence of different motivational constructs. This suggests that, congruent with Oakes and Howard's (2019, p. 12) observation, multiple variables in the field may work "in a complementary as opposed to supplementary, mutually exclusive manner". It is hoped that the multifaceted theoretical framework presented in this thesis, which capitalises on the potential that the integration of multiple theoretical paradigms can yield, can be adopted in future research aiming at shedding light into the complex nature of the motivations and identity aspirations of L2 learners in the globalised world.

EFL vs LOTEs

This thesis contributes to reducing the gap between EFL and LOTE learners, addressing recent claims on the need for a better integration between scholarship on these two learner populations (see e.g. Oakes & Howard, 2019, p. 13). The implementation of a multifaceted theoretical framework made it possible to test whether variables traditionally associated with English are apt to describe the motivations of learners of LOTEs, and vice versa, offering new insight on the relevance to the learners in this study and qualitative nature of a series of variables (e.g. "integrative orientation", Gardner, 1985, "*Exotenmotiv*", Riemer, 2006; "international posture", Yashima, 2002, 2009, etc.)

While differences between EFL and LOTE learners can be explained in terms of students' L2-study-related profiles and to the status that each L2 has both on a global scale and in the local L2 learning context, the similarities can be brought back to the transformative power that L2 learning experiences have per se, as journeys of identity development and reconstruction which see learners engaged in the attainment of identities

as travel-oriented, globally positioned, open-minded and educated individuals. The presence of several similarities in the motivations of differently situated language learners clearly problematises the uncritical application of Dörnyei's (2005, p. 118) two-tier approach (see Chapter 1) for the study of L2 motivation for global and non-global languages and paves the way for future investigations examining the similarities between the motivations of learners of English studies and of LOTEs and discussing the results in relation to the status of each L2 and to contextual factors.

Motivation as a socially situated construct

In line with current debates, this study substantiates the significance of context in the emergence and development of motivation and shows that learners' own circumstances (e.g. their current learning experiences, their communicative abilities, need to seek employment opportunities overseas etc.) and interactions with their local socio-context and the linguistic resources that they afford (see e.g. 6.4.2.2; 6.4.2.3; 7.3.2.3) played an important role in sustaining their investment (Norton Peirce, 1995, Norton, 2013) in L2 learning. As summarised in 9.1.3, learners' motivations and envisioned identities were clearly reflective of the global and local standing that each L2 holds. This was also the case for learners of English, whose motivation differed due to local circumstances. As observed previously, this means that it is pivotal to consider learners of English as situated in specific socio-contexts and as individuals with specific socio-histories, without assuming that the universally recognised status of the language completely eliminates the effect of contextual differences (Ushioda, 2013b, 2017). This paves the way for future comparative literature on learners of English studies. In the European context, for instance, studies comparing learners of English studies from various countries could be conducted to determine the influence of country-related differences on learners' attitudes and motivations, while also examining homogenising trends linked to prominent status of English as a global language (Graddol, 2006). As noted in Chapter 4, these differences are expected to be more marked between Northern European and Southern/Eastern European countries, which vary noticeably in terms of the spread and range of influence of English (Busse, 2017; Hoffmann, 2000, see 4.1).

The findings obtained for LOTE learners in this study also lend further support to calls in the field of language education in Australia for capitalising on the linguistic

resources offered by the Australian context (see e.g. Group of 8, 2007; Huang & Cordella, 2016; see also Palfreyman, 2006). The promotion of forms of local participation for heritage and non-heritage learners involved in shaping heritage selves and community engaged L2 selves respectively should be encouraged not only to improve students' L2 proficiency, but also their engagement with their local socio-context. This can lead to new forms of participation and active citizenship (see e.g. Bouvet, Cosmini-Rose, Palaktsoglou, & Vanzo, 2017). The findings obtained in this study on LOTE learners also advance scholarship on these learner populations in the Australian context (for Italian, Palmieri, 2018; for German, Schmidt, 2011, 2014).

Motivation as linked to processes of identity creation and development

The findings of this study corroborate previous literature on the explanatory power of the ideal L2 self (Dörnyei, 2005, 2009) in relation to university-based language learners (see 2.4.1) and show that this construct is better suited to describe the motivations of both EFL and LOTE participants than the integrative-instrumental (Gardner, 1985, 2001) dichotomy (see 7.3.2.1). Nevertheless, in keeping with recent calls in the field (see e.g. Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017; Thompson & Vázquez, 2015), the qualitative data suggested that the ideal L2 self is too broad to provide a nuanced description of the desired identities of the L2 learners under investigation: several selves, conceptually linked to the ideal L2 self, emerged in the motivational system of the learner populations under investigation. Some of these selves had been identified in prior studies (e.g. anti-ought-to self, Thompson & Vázquez, 2015; L2 multilingual self, Henry, 2017; ideal plurilingual *Bildungs-Selbst*, Busse 2015, 2017 see 2.4.1), whilst others were developed specifically to make sense of the identity strivings of the learners under investigation (e.g. community engaged L2 self; anti-tourist L2 self, etc.). Understanding L2 motivation in terms of multiple selves, within the framework of the L2MSS, is warranted to make sense of the complexity of the L2 learning process from an identity perspective. This also suggests that the trichotomy at the core of the L2MSS should not be conceived as an orthodoxy (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p. 104), but rather as a starting point for a reflection on motivation through an identity lens, which can be complemented and broadened by new and prior theories and models, depending on the specific learner groups under

investigation (MacIntyre et al., 2010; Sugita McEown et al., 2014; Oakes & Howard, 2019, p. 13).

This study also contributes to current debates on the dynamic nature of possible selves (see 2.5.2), confirming that they are far from being static (see Henry, 2015; Sampson, 2016; Schumann, 2015) and paves the way for future studies examining changes to various parameters of students' L2 visions over short and long time scales.

Pedagogical implications

Although the study mostly aimed to make a theoretical rather than pedagogical contribution, its findings also have implications for language teaching and learning in the three learning contexts.

As previously observed, this research gives an insight into the importance of the L2 learning experience for sustaining motivation over time, showing, for instance, that the presence of a vivid and elaborate vision is a key element associated with motivated behaviour. Given the abundance of scholarship on the implementation of visualisation activities in the classroom (see e.g. Arnold, Puncta, & Rivoluceri, 2007; Hadfield & Dörnyei, 2014) and the promising effects of imagery training programs on learners' motivations (see e.g. Magid, 2014; Magid & Chan, 2012; Sampson, 2012), the exploration of strategies for assisting the learner cohorts under investigation in envisioning and developing their personally relevant identities in the classroom is argued to represent a promising research avenue with considerable implications for student retention (see e.g. Amorati, forthcoming). In keeping with Hadfield and Dörnyei's (2014) visionary training program, language practitioners should help students activate the identities that they perceive as personally relevant, encourage them to develop strategies for their achievement and keep them active throughout the learning process. It is argued that a project-based pedagogy, where learners are engaged in working on real tasks with real-life significance (see e.g. Du & Han, 2016) can be particularly effective not only in helping students give shape to their visions, but also to make learning relevant to their interests and to create meaningful opportunities for them to use the language for a practical purpose, with both these elements being associated with heightened motivational states (see Chapter 8).

The centrality of identity in learners' framing of their motivations also suggests

that the findings obtained in this research can be drawn upon both to recruit students, for instance through course advertising. In a recent paper, Amorati (2018) has observed that rethinking marketing material for language learning in terms of the creation and operationalisation of future L2 selves can provide new insight into recruitment strategies at the tertiary level. In the marketing of degrees for English, Italian and German studies in the three cities under investigation, the desired identities emerged from this study should be taken into consideration, as they are likely to represent appealing L2 selves that prospective students hold. For instance, universities in Melbourne should promote the development, among others, of a “community-engaged L2 self” for languages like Italian, in recognition of the expected relevance of this motivational construct to learners of community languages.

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Appendix 1 Research instruments

A) Questionnaires

A1) First part

Please read the following sentences and tick the box that best describes how you feel about the statement (strongly disagree; disagree; not sure; agree; strongly agree).

Desire for language proficiency

- 1) I am studying [English/Italian/German] because I want to improve my [English/Italian/German].
- 2) By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my speaking skills in [English/Italian/German].
- 3) By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my reading skills in [English/Italian/German].
- 4) By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my written [English/Italian/German].
- 5) By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my listening comprehension in [English/Italian/German].

Ideal L2 self

- 1) Being able to converse in [English/Italian/German] is an important part of the person I want to become.
- 2) If my dreams come true, I will use [English/Italian/German] effectively in the future.
- 3) I can imagine myself as someone who is able to use [English/Italian/German] well.
- 4) Whenever I think of my future, I imagine myself being able to use [English/Italian/German].

Integrative orientation

- 1) I like to spend time in [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.
- 2) I would like to become more like people from [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.
- 3) I like meeting people from [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.
- 4) I feel an affinity with people who live in [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.

International posture

- 1) Mastering [English/Italian/German] allows me to feel that I am a citizen of the world.
- 2) Mastering [English/Italian/German] allows me to interact with intercultural partners from other parts of the world in their first language.
- 3) Mastering [English/Italian/German] allows me to travel, live or work overseas.
- 4) Mastering the L2 gives me access to a global community

Instrumental orientation

- 1) Knowing [English/Italian/German] will help me to obtain a better job.
- 2) I think knowing [English/Italian/German] will help me to become a more knowledgeable person.
- 3) I think [English/Italian/German] will help in my future career.

- 4) Studying [English/Italian/German] to a high level of proficiency will allow me to earn more money.

Intrinsic orientation

- 1) I really enjoy learning [English/Italian/German].
- 2) Learning [English/Italian/German] is one of the most important aspects of my life.
- 3) I find it exciting to be able to communicate in [English/Italian/German].
- 4) I like the intellectual challenge of learning [English/Italian/German].

Ought-to L2 self

- 1) I consider learning [English/Italian/German] important because the people I respect think that I should do so.
- 2) People around me (e.g. parents, partner, relatives, friends, teachers) believe that I ought to study [English/Italian/German].
- 3) I study [English/Italian/German] because people around me expect me to do so.
- 4) If I fail to learn [English/Italian/German], I will be letting other people down.

Context-specific Likert items

E_I and E_G respondents

- 1) I think that learning English is a necessity for speakers of languages spoken in only one or few countries

I_A and G_A respondents

- 1) I study [Italian/German] because an educated person is supposed to be able to speak at least another language other than one's own native language.
- 2) Learning [Italian/German] allows me to interact with [Italian/German] speakers in Melbourne.
- 3) Learning [Italian/German] allows me to come closer to the [Italo-Australian and/or Italian-speaking Swiss-Australian] / [German-Australian, Austrian-Australian and/or German-speaking Swiss-Australian] community in Melbourne

A2) Second part

Please, answer the following three questions

- 1) What is your main motivation for studying [English/Italian/German]?
- 2) As a native or highly proficient speaker of [English/Italian/German] - a language with a certain status - what do you think are the main advantages for you of learning [English/Italian/German] at university level?
- 3) Think about yourself in the future. What role does [English/Italian/German] have in your future?

In the questions below, please choose the answers that apply to you (more than one answer is possible) and motivate your choice if you wish.

4) What attributes would you associate with yourself as a speaker of [English/Italian/German] in the future?

- Citizen of the world
- Cultured
- Educated
- More employable in the job market
- Interesting
- Open-minded
- Part of an elite
- Successful
- Other (please specify)

Feel free to comment on your answer(s)

5) Have external factors influenced your decision to study [Italian/German]? Please, explain.

- Influence from parents
- Influence from friends
- Influence from teachers
- Societal pressures (e.g. learning a language like [Italian/German] is considered important/necessary).
- Sense of duty towards significant people in your life
- No external factors

Feel free to add more factors and comment on your answer(s)

6) If in the previous question you replied that you have experienced external influences when you decided to study [Italian/German], how would you define the influence that you experienced? (Leave blank if not applicable).

- Encouragement
- Insistence
- Pressures
- Other (please specify)

Feel free to comment on your answer(s)

7) In what kind of employment sector would you like to be in the future?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Communication and media | <input type="checkbox"/> Tourism and hospitality |
| <input type="checkbox"/> International banking | <input type="checkbox"/> Teaching (primary or secondary) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> International business | <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure |
| <input type="checkbox"/> International organisations | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> International relations | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Research and teaching at university | |

A3) Third part (demographic and L2-study related items included in this thesis)

Please, provide the following information:

- 1) Gender
 - Male
 - Female
 - Other (Prefer not to say)

- 2) Age
 - 18- 25
 - 26-30
 - 31-35
 - over 35

- 3) First language(s)
 - English
 - Other (Please specify)

- 4) Do you speak any language(s) other than your native language and [English/Italian/German] ?
 - No
 - Yes. If yes, please specify

- 5) Do you study another language/any other languages at university level besides [English/Italian/German] ?
 - Yes
 - No

- 6) Do you have [American, Australian, British, Irish, South African, etc. (any English-speaking country)]; [Italian, Italian-speaking Swiss]; [Austrian, German, German-speaking Swiss] origins?
 - No
 - Yes. If yes, please specify

- 7) In which year of [English/Italian/German] studies are you?
 - 1st year
 - 2nd year
 - 3rd year
 - Other (please specify)

- 8) How would you rate your proficiency in [English/Italian/German] ?
 - Elementary
 - Intermediate
 - Upper-intermediate
 - Advanced

Context-specific items

E_I and E_G respondents

- 1) When did you start to learn English?
 - Kindergarten
 - Primary school
 - Other (please specify)

- 2) What degree program are you enrolled in? [E_I respondents only]
 - BA Modern Languages and Literatures
 - BA Languages, Markets and Cultures
 - Other (please specify)

- 3) What degree program are you enrolled in? [E_G respondents only]
 - BA Anglistik
 - BA Nordamerikastudien
 - Other (please specify)

I_A and G_A respondents

- 1) Had you already studied [Italian/German] before enrolling at university?
 - Yes. If yes, please specify
 - No
 - Other (please specify)

- 2) If you replied YES in [the previous question], how many years did you study it/were you exposed to it before university?
 - 1-3
 - 4-6
 - more than 6
 - Other (please specify)

- 3) Did you study [Italian/German] at school? If YES, where did you study it? If NO, leave blank.
 - Primary school
 - Secondary school
 - Community Language School, e.g. Saturday School
 - Victorian School of Languages
 - School in Italy/ [Italian/German]-speaking Switzerland. (please explain)
 - Other (please specify)

- 4) Was [Italian/German] one of your VCE subjects or equivalent? Leave blank if you did not study Italian/German at school.
 - Yes
 - No

- 5) In which degree program are you enrolled?
 - Bachelor of Arts with [Italian/German] as a major

- Bachelor of Arts with [Italian/German] as a minor/breadth subject
- Bachelor of Arts with Diploma in Languages
- Bachelor of Science with [Italian/German] as a major
- Bachelor of Science with [Italian/German] as a minor/breadth subject
- Bachelor of Science with Diploma in Languages.
- Other (Please specify your degree and whether [Italian/German] is a major, minor or breadth subject)

6) What other major(s) / minor(s) do you study at university?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ancient World Studies | <input type="checkbox"/> History and philosophy of science |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Anthropology | <input type="checkbox"/> Indonesian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> Islamic studies |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Art History | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arts minors | <input type="checkbox"/> Law |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian studies | <input type="checkbox"/> Linguistics and applied linguistics |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Indigenous studies | <input type="checkbox"/> Media and communications |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese | <input type="checkbox"/> Philosophy |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Classics | <input type="checkbox"/> Politics and international studies |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Creative writing | <input type="checkbox"/> Psychology |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Criminology | <input type="checkbox"/> Russian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Economics | <input type="checkbox"/> Screen and cultural studies |
| <input type="checkbox"/> English and theatre studies | <input type="checkbox"/> Sociology |
| <input type="checkbox"/> French | <input type="checkbox"/> Spanish and Latin American studies |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gender studies | <input type="checkbox"/> Other(s) (please specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Geography | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> German | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hebrew and Jewish studies | |

A4) Fourth part

Online questionnaire

Thank you very much for your help!

For the second part of the study we are looking for 5 students who are in their first year of [English/Italian/German studies] at university and who studied the language at school before enrolling at university.

The participants will be interviewed three times and will be asked to write two short diary entries in the period from [context-specific date] to [context-specific date], i.e. the second semester of your first year of language studies at university.

The interviews will be conducted via Skype or face-to-face. A total time commitment of 3-4 hours is required from you. Participants will be reimbursed with a gift card of the value of AUD 80 or equivalent in euros. The payment will be made at the end of the entire period of data collection [context-specific date].

If you would like more information or you want to express your interest, please leave any of your contact details below:

Name:

E-mail:

Skype username:

Students who completed paper copies

Thank you very much for your help!

For the second part of the study we are looking for 5 students who are in their first year of [English/Italian/German] at university and who studied the language at school before enrolling at university. The participants will be interviewed three times and will be asked to write two short diary entries in the period from [context-specific date] to [context-specific date], i.e. the second semester of your first year of language studies at university.

The interviews will be conducted via Skype or face-to-face. A total time commitment of 3-4 HOURS is required from you. Participants will be reimbursed with \$80. The payment will be made at the end of the whole data collection [date indicated].

If you would like more information or you want to express your interest, please contact the researcher at: ramorati@student.unimelb.edu.au ☺

B) Template for interviews

B1) First round of interviews

- 1) How long have you been studying [English/Italian/German]?
- 2) What degree program are you enrolled in? What year/semester are you in?
- 3) Do you speak/study any other language in addition to your native language and [English/Italian/German]?
- 4) Could you talk me through your reasons for studying [English/Italian/German] at university?
- 5) How do you see yourself in the future? What role does the knowledge of [English/Italian/German] play in your future image of yourself?
- 6) Are your reasons for studying [English/Italian/German] linked to any long-term plans?
- 7) Could you explain a bit what you hope to gain from studying [English/Italian/German] at university level?
- 8) Did job consideration play a role for you in choosing to study [English/Italian/German]?
- 9) Do/Did other external pressures (milieu-related, classroom-related) play a role?
- 10) Have people encouraged you to study the language at university level?
- 11) How was your first semester of study?
- 12) Do you have any expectations about the upcoming semester? Is there anything you look forward to or something that you are not excited about?

Context-specific questions

E_I and E_G learner:

- 1) As a speaker of [Italian/German], what are your main advantages for studying English? Do you think it is necessary to study English in [Italy/Germany]?

I_A and G_A learner:

- 1) As a speaker of English, what do you think your advantages for studying a foreign language are? Do you think it is necessary to study a foreign language in Australia to find employment?
- 2) Do you think that people your age speak a foreign language well in Australia?
- 3) Do you think [Italian/German] will be useful for you in Melbourne?

B2) Second and third round of interviews

- 1) How would you describe your motivation to learn [English/Italian/German] at this point in time?
- 2) Have any aspects of your motivation changed?
- 3) Has your motivation for learning [English/Italian/German] been influenced by anything that has happened inside the classroom and/or something related to the course?

- 4) Has your motivation for learning [English/Italian/German] been influenced by anything that has happened in your life?
- 5) If there have been changes, have any other factors caused them?
- 6) Do you enjoy studying [English/Italian/German]? Has your level of enjoyment changed over the past month?
- 7) How do you perceive yourself to be progressing in your study of [English/Italian/German]? Does this affect your motivation?
- 8) Do the other subjects that you study at university influence your motivation? If yes, how?
- 9) Has anything demotivated you/disappointed you?
- 10) At this point of the semester, do you feel pressures to improve your [English/Italian/German]?
- 11) Has your image of yourself in the future in relation to [English/Italian/German] changed?

Only second round of interviews:

- 1) Do you have any expectations for the rest of the semester? Is there anything you look forward to?

Only third round of interviews:

- 2) What do you think about this second semester? Can you provide an overview of your motivation and expended effort in your language studies in the past months?

C) Diary entries

You are required to write brief diary entries between the first and second interview as well as between the second and third interview. Diary entries are brief texts in which you keep track of your motivation to learn the language that you are studying and of your future expectations. You can also record aspects of your life and of your course that impact on your motivations.

In each diary entry you have to address the following points

1. What is your main motivation for studying [English/Italian/German]? How do you see yourself in the future in relation to [English/Italian/German]?
2. Are you motivated or demotivated to study [English/Italian/German] at this stage of the course?
3. If some aspects of your motivation and of your perceptions of yourself in the future have changed or are changing, what caused these changes? (e.g. other subjects that you are studying at university, people in your life, events/aspects of your life that have an influence on the time that you are dedicating to language learning, marks at university, positive/negative feedback from teachers/other people in your life, likelihood of achieving your desired goal(s), etc.)
4. How is your language learning experience at university? Does it affect your motivation? You can also mention other subjects you are taking at university this semester and discuss whether they have an influence on your motivation to learn [English/Italian/German].
5. Are you experiencing any external pressures in your life or linked to the course that you are enrolled in (e.g. Others tell me to do well...)? Are you experiencing any internal pressures (e.g. I want to do well because...)?

There is no recommended length for your diary entry. You can write as much as you like. The diary entry can be written in dot points (e.g. key words, lists etc.) or be a text. You can also include images, emoticons etc. You can write in the style that you prefer and add as much additional information as you wish.

You will be required to send these diary entries to the researcher by e-mail to ramorati@student.unimelb.edu.au at specific times.

Appendix 2 Recruitment material

A) Plain Language statement



School of Languages and Linguistics, University of Melbourne

A comparative study on the motivations and future self-images of learners of English, Italian and German³⁷.

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research project.

The study is conducted by Riccardo Amorati, PhD student at the University of Melbourne, under the supervision of Prof. John Hajek and Dr. Leo Kretzenbacher.

Aim of the study The purpose of this study is to analyse and compare the motivations and future self-images of a sample of first year university learners of English studies in Italy and in Germany with those of first year students of Italian and German studies in Australia. The study investigates how students give meaning to their language learning experiences in relation to the symbolic value that they attribute to the languages they are learning and to the investment that they make in their future identities as language speakers.

How to participate in the study Should you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire. By completing the questionnaire, you give your consent to participating in the project. Completion of the questionnaire should not take more than 10 minutes. At the end of the questionnaire, you will be asked to leave your contact details and/or to send an e-mail to the researcher in case you are also willing to participate in the second part of the study. The participants in this second part will be interviewed three times and will be asked to write two brief diary entries throughout one semester. Participation in this second part is reimbursed.

Conditions of participation Your participation is voluntary. If you do not wish to take part, you do not have to. If you begin participating, you can also stop at any time.

Confidentiality of the data In no way will your details be associated with the completed questionnaire. With your permission, your answers will be saved as coded anonymous data. The research data will be stored in a secure location at the School of Languages and

³⁷ This was the provisional title of the study at the time of data collection.

Linguistics, at the University of Melbourne. Your information is confidential to the researchers. In order to protect your identity as much as possible at all times, you will be assigned a unique code. Participants' real names will not appear in any form. Results from the study will be used for a PhD thesis and will be disseminated through academic publications, talks and conference presentations.

More information If you require any further information, wish to be e-mailed the findings or have any concerns, please do not hesitate to contact:

Mr Riccardo Amorati
PhD student
School of Languages and Linguistics, University of Melbourne
E-mail: ramorati@student.unimelb.edu.au
Number: +61 0466029705

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project and you do not wish to discuss them with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Office for Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010.
Tel: +61 3 8344 2073
Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au.

All complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name or ethics ID number of the research project [ethics ID number]

B) Recruitment material (e-mails)

B1) Advertisement of the project among teachers and lecturers

Dear [name of teacher/lecturer],

My name is Riccardo Amorati and I am a PhD student at the University of Melbourne, where I am conducting a study on the motivations for learning languages at university level under the supervision of Prof John Hajek and Dr Leo Kretzenbacher.

As part of my project, I am collecting data on the motivations of students of [English/Italian/German]. I will start with the data collection in [date].

I am writing to you to inquire if you would be able to help me by sharing the link to my online questionnaire with your students of [subject]. The questionnaires are completely anonymous, and the project was approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Melbourne [ethics ID number].

Thank you very much in advance.

Kind regards,

Riccardo Amorati

B2) Questionnaire invitation email

E_I and E_G learners

Dear student,

My name is Riccardo Amorati and I am a PhD student at the University of Melbourne, Australia. As part of my study I am collecting data on the motivations of learners of English

If: (1) you are in your **first year** of studies at university, (2) you are studying English as part of your degree, and (3) you are under 36 years old

I would like to invite you to participate in my study.

All you need to do is to click on the link below and complete an anonymous 10-minute survey. Participation is entirely voluntary, and you can stop at any time. At the end, you can leave your contact details if you're willing to participate in the second part of the study. Participation in the second part is reimbursed with AUD 80 (€ 54.10).

Link to the survey:

Thank you in advance!

I_A and G_A learners

Dear student,

My name is Riccardo Amorati and I am a PhD student at the University of Melbourne. As part of my study I am collecting data on the motivations of learners of [Italian/German]

If:

- (1) you are in your **first year** of [Italian/German] studies
- (2) you are under 36 years old
- (3) you are an **Arts student**[†]
- (4) you study [Italian/German] as a **major**[†]
- (5) you had **some previous knowledge** of [Italian/German] before enrolling at university^{†38}

I would like to invite you to participate in my study.

All you need to do is to click on the link below and complete an anonymous 10-minute survey. Participation is entirely voluntary, and you can stop at any time. At the end, you can leave your contact details if you're willing to participate in the second part of the study. Participation in the second part is reimbursed with AUD 80.

Link to the survey:

Thank you in advance!

^{†38} As noted in 5.4.1, the criteria for participation (3), (4) and (5) featured in the recruitment material only in the first month of data collection.

B3) Recruitment of participants in the longitudinal part of the study



School of Languages and Linguistics, University of Melbourne.

A comparative study on the motivations and future self-images of learners of English, Italian and German.

Thank you for your interest in participating in the second part of this research project. In this handout, you will be given information about the second part of the study. For an overview of the research project and its aims, please refer to the *Plain Language Statement*.

Who can participate in this study?

We are looking for 5 students of [English/Italian/German].

What will I be asked to do?

Interviews

If you agree to participate in this second part of the study, you will be interviewed three times throughout one semester. Each interview will be conducted via Skype or, when possible, face-to-face. Interviews will be audio-recorded and will be conducted at the beginning of the upcoming academic semester, mid-semester and at the end of the semester.

Diary entries

You are required to write brief diary entries between the first and second interview as well as between the second and third interview. Diary entries are brief texts in which you keep track of your motivation to learn the language that you are studying and of your future expectations. You can also record aspects of your life and of your course that impact on your motivations.

In each diary entry you have to address the following points

1. What is your main motivation for studying [English/Italian/German]? How do you see yourself in the future in relation to [English/Italian/German]?
2. Are you motivated or demotivated to study [English/Italian/German] at this stage of the course?

3. If some aspects of your motivation and of your perceptions of yourself in the future have changed or are changing, what caused these changes? (e.g. other subjects that you are studying at university, people in your life, new role models, events/aspects of your life that have an influence on the time that you are dedicating to language learning, marks at university, positive/negative feedback from teachers/other people in your life, likelihood of achieving your desired goal(s), etc.)
4. How is your language learning experience at university? Does it affect your motivation? You can also mention other subjects you are taking at university this semester and discuss whether they have an influence on your motivation to learn [English/Italian/German].
5. Are you experiencing any external pressures in your life or linked to the course that you are enrolled in (e.g. Others tell me to do well...)? Are you experiencing any internal pressures (e.g. I want to do well because...)?

There is no recommended length for your diary entry. You can write as much as you like. The diary entry can be written in dot points (e.g. key words, lists etc.) or be a text. You can also include images, emoticons etc. You can write in the style that you prefer and add as much additional information as you wish.

You will be required to send these diary entries to the researcher by e-mail to ramorati@student.unimelb.edu.au at specific times (see below).

Which language will I have to use?

You can use [English or Italian] (for E_I and I_A respondents); [English or German] (for E_G and G_A respondents).

Will my anonymity be preserved?

The data obtained from the interviews and the diary entries will be anonymized. Pseudonyms will be used to protect your anonymity. The findings from this study will be used for my doctoral thesis and for other publications (see Plain Language Statement).

When will I be contacted by the researcher?

Participants are expected to be in contact with the researcher for the duration of one semester. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to leave your contact details (e.g. your e-mail, WhatsApp number, Skype username) to be contacted.

The researcher will send you a reminder by e-mail or via text (e.g. via the messaging app WhatsApp) before every round of data collection. Convenient times and dates will be negotiated with the respondents.

The interviews and diary entries will be scheduled as follows:

Interview	Details	Dates of data collection
First interview	Immediately before the beginning of semester	[Context-specific date]
Diary entry	Beginning of semester	[Context-specific date]
Second interview	Mid semester	[Context-specific date]
Diary entry	Second half of semester	[Context-specific date]
Third interview	Immediately after the end of semester	[Context-specific date]

How much time will this project take me?

A total of maximum **3-4 hours** of commitment is expected from each participant throughout the whole 6-month period. A **reimbursement** of AUD 80 or equivalent in euros (€ 54.10) will be given to each participant for their time.

The payment will be made at the end of the data collection framework in the form of a gift card. Participants will be required to fill in a form to declare that they have been reimbursed, scan it and send it to the researcher.

If you have any doubts and/or you require more information, do not hesitate to contact:

Riccardo Amorati

PhD student at the School of Languages and Linguistics of the University of Melbourne.

E-mail: ramorati@student.unimelb.edu.au

Appendix 3 Statistical data

A) Likert items included in the factor analysis with mean values

Item	Variable	E _I	E _G	I _A	G _A	EFL (E _I + E _G)	LOTE (I _A + G _A)
I am studying the L2 because I want to improve my L2	Desire for proficiency	4.55	3.97	4.69	4.68	4.30	4.69
By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my speaking skills in [English/Italian/German].		4.76	4.33	4.80	4.80	4.57	4.80
By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my reading skills in [English/Italian/German].		4.66	4.19	4.62	4.62	4.45	4.62
By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my written [English/Italian/German].		4.64	4.36	4.65	4.64	4.52	4.64
By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my listening comprehension in [English/Italian/German].		4.62	4.01	4.69	4.66	4.35	4.67
Being able to converse in [English/Italian/German] is an important part of the person I want to become.	Ideal L2 self	4.57	4.23	4.39	4.07	4.42	4.22
If my dreams come true, I will use [English/Italian/German] effectively in the future.		4.63	4.49	4.41	4.39	4.57	4.40
I can imagine myself as someone who is able to use [English/Italian/German] well.		4.37	4.61	4.09	4.06	4.48	4.07
Whenever I think of my future, I imagine myself being able to use [English/Italian/German].		4.65	4.36	3.97	4.09	4.52	4.04
I like to spend time in [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.	Integrative orientation	4.51	4.67	4.55	4.49	4.58	4.52
I would like to become more like people from [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.		3.01	3.16	3.19	2.99	3.07	3.08
I like meeting people from [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.		4.60	4.73	4.53	4.39	4.66	4.45
I feel an affinity with people who live in [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.		3.48	3.93	3.74	3.49	3.68	3.60
Mastering [English/Italian/German] allows me to feel that I am a citizen of the world.	International posture	4.32	3.60	3.72	3.62	4.01	3.67
Mastering [English/Italian/German] allows me to interact with intercultural partners from other parts of the world in their first language.		4.82	4.54	4.08	4.26	4.70	4.18
Mastering [English/Italian/German] allows me to travel, live or work overseas.		4.73	4.56	4.46	4.59	4.65	4.53
Mastering the L2 gives me access to a global community		4.55	4.40	4.14	4.26	4.48	4.20

Item	Variable	E _I	E _G	I _A	G _A	EFL (E _I + E _G)	LOTE (I _A + G _A)
Knowing [English/Italian/German] will help me to obtain a better job.	Instrumental orientation	4.05	4.01	3.41	3.81	4.04	3.62
I think knowing [English/Italian/German] will help me to become a more knowledgeable person.		4.25	3.89	4.31	4.32	4.09	4.31
I think [English/Italian/German] will help in my future career		4.54	4.30	3.78	4.06	4.43	3.93
Studying [English/Italian/German] to a high level of proficiency will allow me to earn more money.		3.34	3.29	2.99	3.32	3.32	3.17
I really enjoy learning [English/Italian/German].	Intrinsic orientation	4.58	4.56	4.42	4.32	4.57	4.36
Learning [English/Italian/German] is one of the most important aspects of my life.		3.74	3.36	3.15	2.94	3.57	3.04
I find it exciting to be able to communicate in [English/Italian/German].		4.62	4.46	4.62	4.62	4.55	4.62
I like the intellectual challenge of learning [English/Italian/German].		4.20	4.00	4.26	4.17	4.11	4.21
I consider learning [English/Italian/German] important because the people I respect think that I should do so.	Ought-to L2 self	2.33	2.41	3.14	2.75	2.37	2.93
People around me (e.g. parents, partner, relatives, friends, teachers) believe that I ought to study [English/Italian/German].		3.21	3.17	3.11	2.76	3.19	2.92
I study [English/Italian/German] because people around me expect me to do so.		1.87	1.49	2.14	1.95	1.70	2.04
If I fail to learn [English/Italian/German], I will be letting other people down.		2.38	1.70	2.22	2.10	2.09	2.15

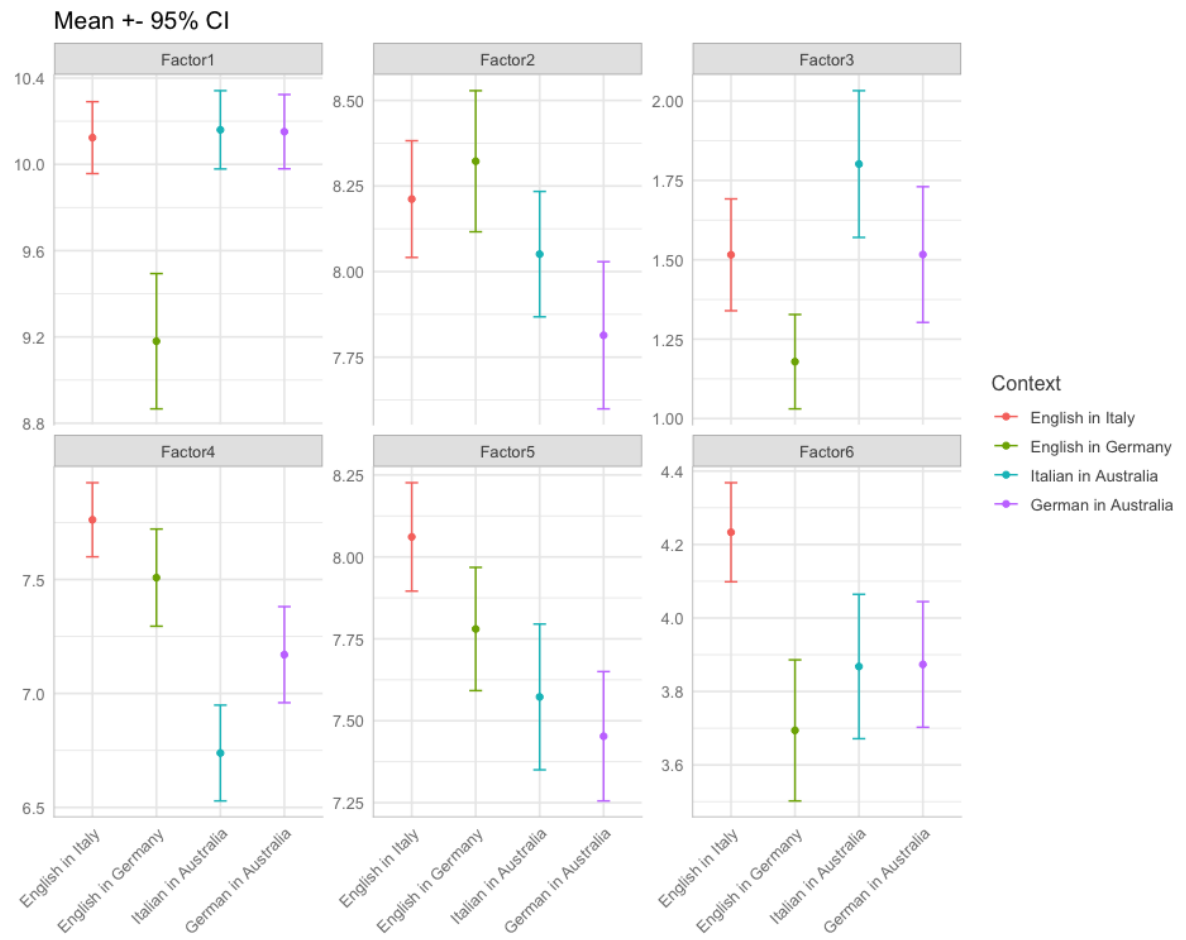
B) Factor analysis

B1a) Factor matrix (cut-off 0.3 in bold) and factors in the four samples

Item	Var.	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
I am studying the L2 because I want to improve my L2	Desire for proficiency	0.64	0.14	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	0.06
By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my speaking skills in [English/Italian/German].		0.74	0.12	-0.07	0.13	-0.15	-0.02
By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my reading skills in [English/Italian/German]		0.68	-0.13	0.01	-0.10	0.12	-0.01
By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my written [English/Italian/German].		0.78	-0.05	0.07	0.03	0.06	-0.04
By studying [English/Italian/German] I hope to improve my listening comprehension in [English/Italian/German].		0.83	-0.04	0.04	-0.05	0.04	0.05
Being able to converse in [English/Italian/German] is an important part of the person I want to become.	Ideal L2 self	0.06	0.44	0.04	0.13	0.13	0.10
If my dreams come true, I will use [English/Italian/German] effectively in the future.		0.15	0.29	0.04	0.21	0.21	-0.27
I can imagine myself as someone who is able to use [English/Italian/German] well.		0.09	0.14	0.05	0.22	0.24	-0.12
Whenever I think of my future, I imagine myself being able to use [English/Italian/German].		0.01	0.23	0.09	0.20	0.34	-0.02
I like to spend time in [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.	Integrative orientation	0.04	0.64	-0.05	-0.01	0.09	-0.03
I would like to become more like people from [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.		0.00	0.37	0.10	-0.06	0.04	0.27
I like meeting people from [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.		0.08	0.56	-0.08	0.01	0.10	-0.08
I feel an affinity with people who live in [English/Italian/German]-speaking countries.		-0.10	0.68	0.10	-0.07	-0.07	0.09
Mastering [English/Italian/German] allows me to feel that I am a citizen of the world.	International posture	0.06	0.04	0.06	0.13	0.01	0.56
Mastering [English/Italian/German] allows me to interact with intercultural partners from other parts of the world in their first language.		0.09	0.21	-0.17	0.14	0.14	0.18
Mastering [English/Italian/German] allows me to travel, live or work overseas.		0.29	0.19	-0.07	0.18	-0.02	0.26
Mastering the L2 gives me access to a global community		0.05	0.15	-0.19	0.30	0.16	0.33
Knowing [English/Italian/German] will help me to obtain a better job.	Instrumental orientation	-0.01	-0.04	0.07	0.78	-0.05	0.05
I think knowing [English/Italian/German] will help me to become a more knowledgeable person.		0.03	-0.02	0.05	0.06	0.22	0.37
I think [English/Italian/German] will help in my future career		-0.01	0.03	-0.07	0.71	0.03	-0.04
Studying [English/Italian/German] to a high level of proficiency will allow me to earn more money.		-0.01	-0.14	0.07	0.53	0.08	0.12
I really enjoy learning [English/Italian/German].	Intrinsic orientation	0.02	0.00	-0.11	-0.01	0.74	-0.03
Learning [English/Italian/German] is one of the most important aspects of my life.		-0.09	0.18	0.17	0.06	0.55	0.14
I find it exciting to be able to communicate in [English/Italian/German].		0.17	0.21	-0.02	0.10	0.38	-0.07
I like the intellectual challenge of learning [English/Italian/German].		0.17	-0.07	-0.01	-0.04	0.46	0.14
I consider learning [English/Italian/German] important because the people I respect think that I should do so.	Ought-to L2 self	0.08	0.02	0.56	0.04	-0.09	0.09
People around me (e.g. parents, partner, relatives, friends, teachers) believe that I ought to study [English/Italian/German].		0.01	0.04	0.53	0.17	-0.01	-0.10
I study [English/Italian/German] because people around me expect me to do so.		0.00	0.01	0.82	-0.02	-0.01	0.00
If I fail to learn [English/Italian/German], I will be letting other people down.		-0.01	-0.03	0.62	-0.05	0.06	0.01

Context	Factor	n	M of the factor	SD of the factor	SD of the mean	95 % Confidence interval	
						Lower	Upper
English in Italy (E _i)	Factor1	91	10.12	0.81	0.09	9.96	10.29
	Factor2	91	8.21	0.83	0.09	8.04	8.38
	Factor3	91	1.52	0.86	0.09	1.34	1.69
	Factor4	91	7.76	0.79	0.08	7.60	7.92
	Factor5	91	8.06	0.80	0.08	7.90	8.23
	Factor6	91	4.23	0.66	0.07	4.10	4.37
English in Germany (E _G)	Factor1	70	9.18	1.34	0.16	8.87	9.49
	Factor2	70	8.32	0.88	0.11	8.12	8.53
	Factor3	70	1.18	0.63	0.08	1.03	1.33
	Factor4	70	7.51	0.91	0.11	7.29	7.72
	Factor5	70	7.78	0.80	0.10	7.59	7.97
	Factor6	70	3.69	0.82	0.10	3.50	3.89
Italian in Australia (I _A)	Factor1	74	10.16	0.80	0.09	9.98	10.34
	Factor2	74	8.05	0.80	0.09	7.87	8.23
	Factor3	74	1.80	1.01	0.12	1.57	2.03
	Factor4	74	6.74	0.92	0.11	6.53	6.95
	Factor5	74	7.57	0.98	0.11	7.35	7.80
	Factor6	74	3.87	0.86	0.10	3.67	4.06
German in Australia (G _A)	Factor1	88	10.15	0.82	0.09	9.98	10.32
	Factor2	88	7.81	1.03	0.11	7.60	8.03
	Factor3	88	1.52	1.02	0.11	1.30	1.73
	Factor4	88	7.17	1.01	0.11	6.96	7.38
	Factor5	88	7.45	0.94	0.10	7.26	7.65
	Factor6	88	3.87	0.82	0.09	3.70	4.04

B1b) Visual representation of the factors in the four samples



B2) ANOVA between factors: data

The following notations are used in each ANOVA table below: DF = degrees of freedom; SS = sum of squares; M square = mean sum of squares; F = F statistics; and p value = value of statistical significance. In the tables presented in this section and in section A3, asterisks are used to indicate whether the p values are significant, specifying whether they are lower than 0.05 (*), lower than 0.01 (**), or lower than 0.001 (***).

FACTOR 1

Factor 1	DF	SS	M square	F value	p value (> F)
Context	3	51	17	18.81	2.93 e ^{-11***}
Residuals	319	288.2	0.90		

*** p < 0.001

FACTOR 2

Factor 2	DF	SS	M square	F value	p value (> F)
Context	3	11.95	3.99	4.99	0.0021**
Residuals	319	254.54	0.80		

** p < 0.01

FACTOR 3

Factor 3	DF	SS	M square	F value	p value (> F)
Context	3	13.96	4.65	5.71	0.00081***
Residuals	319	260.02	0.82		

*** p < 0.01

FACTOR 4

Factor 4	DF	SS	M square	F value	p value (> F)
Context	3	47.22	15.74	19.02	2.26 e ^{-11***}
Residuals	319	264.01	0.83		

*** p < 0.001

FACTOR 5

Factor 5	DF	SS	M square	F value	p value (> F)
Context	3	18.72	6.24	7.97	3.88 e ^{-05***}
Residuals	319	249.87	0.78		

*** p < 0.001

FACTOR 6

Factor 6	DF	SS	M square	F value	p value (> F)
Context	3	12.83	4.28	6.90	0.00016***
Residuals	319	197.68	0.62		

*** p < 0.001

B3) Comparisons between factors after correcting for multiple testing

For each factor two tables are presented. The first table indicates the p values obtained after performing the t-tests. As mentioned in section A2, asterisks are used to indicate whether the p values are significant, specifying whether they are less than 0.05 (*), less than 0.01 (**) or less than 0.001 (***). For ease of readability, all possible combinations between sample groups are presented below. Different shading is used to signal the combination of the same pairs:

Pairwise comparison: SG1 (sample group 1) vs SG2 (sample group 2)	Colour
E _I vs E _G	
E _I vs I _A	
E _I vs G _A	
E _G vs I _A	
E _G vs G _A	
I _A vs G _A	

The second table provides the data of the t-test for the samples which were found to be statistically significant.

B3a) Factor 1

Factor 1	E _I	E _G	I _A	G _A
E _I		0.0000015***	0.87	0.90
E _G	0.0000015***		0.0000028***	0.0000015***
I _A	0.87	0.0000028***		0.99
G _A	0.90	0.0000015***	0.99	

All the contexts are significantly different from learners of English in Germany (E_G learners).

	SG 1	SG 2	T value	Estimate 1	Estimate 2	CI (lower)	CI (upper)	DF	Adjusted p value
F1	E _G	E _I	-5.54	9.18	10.12	-1.28	-0.61	159	0.0000015***
	E _G	I _A	-5.38	9.18	10.16	-1.34	-0.62	142	0.0000028***
	E _G	G _A	-5.60	9.18	10.15	-1.31	-0.63	156	0.0000015***

B3b) Factor 2

Factor 2	E _I	E _G	I _A	G _A
E _I		0.50	0.27	0.012*
E _G	0.50		0.09	0.0041**
I _A	0.27	0.09		0.16
G _A	0.012*	0.0041**	0.16	

The sample German in Australia (G_A) is significantly different from English in Italy (E_I) and from English in Germany (E_G).

	SG 1	SG 2	T value	Estimate 1	Estimate 2	CI (lower)	CI (upper)	DF	Adjusted p value
F2	G_A	E_I	2.85	8.21	7.81	0.12	0.67	177	0.012*
	G_A	E_G	3.29	8.32	7.81	0.20	0.81	156	0.0041**

B3c) Factor 3

Factor 3	E_I	E_G	I_A	G_A
E_I		0.015*	0.09	0.10
E_G	0.015*		0.000089***	0.036*
I_A	0.09	0.000089***		0.12
G_A	0.10	0.036*	0.12	

The sample English in Germany (E_G) is significantly different from English in Italy (E_I), from Italian in Australia (I_A), and from German in Australia (G_A).

	SG 1	SG 2	T value	Estimate 1	Estimate 2	CI (lower)	CI (upper)	DF	Adjusted p value
F3	E_G	E_I	-2.76	1.18	1.51	-0.58	-0.01	159	0.015*
	E_G	I_A	-4.39	1.18	1.8	-0.90	-0.34	142	0.000089***
	E_G	G_A	-2.41	1.18	1.52	-0.61	-0.06	156	0.036*

B3d) Factor 4

Factor 4	E_I	E_G	I_A	G_A
E_I		0.09	0***	0.000089***
E_G	0.09		0.0000102***	0.05
I_A	0***	0.0000102***		0.013*
G_A	0.000089***	0.05	0.013*	

The sample English in Italy (E_I) is significantly different from German in Australia (G_A). The sample Italian in Australia (I_A) is also significantly different from English in Italy (E_I), from English in Germany (E_G) and from German in Australia (G_A).

	SG 1	SG 2	T value	Estimate 1	Estimate 2	CI (lower)	CI (upper)	DF	Adjusted p value
F4	E _I	G _A	4.38	7.76	7.17	0.32	0.86	177	0.000089***
	I _A	E _I	7.67	7.76	6.74	0.76	1.29	163	0***
	I _A	E _G	5.04	7.51	6.74	0.47	1.07	142	0.0000102***
	I _A	G _A	2.82	7.17	6.74	0.13	0.73	160	0.013*

B3e) Factor 5

Factor 5	E _I	E _G	I _A	G _A
E _I		0.05	0.002**	0.000038***
E _G	0.05		0.23	0.044*
I _A	0.002**	0.23		0.50
G _A	0.000038***	0.044*	0.50	

The sample English in Italy (E_I) is significantly different from Italian in Australia (I_A) and from German in Australia (G_A). English in Germany (E_G) is significantly different from German in Australia (G_A)

	SG 1	SG 2	T value	Estimate 1	Estimate 2	CI (lower)	CI (upper)	DF	Adjusted p value
F5	E _I	I _A	3.52	8.06	7.57	0.21	0.76	163	0.0019998**
	E _I	G _A	4.64	8.06	7.45	0.35	0.87	177	0.000038***
	E _G	G _A	2.31	7.78	7.45	0.05	0.61	156	0.044*

B3f) Factor 6

Factor 6	E _I	E _G	I _A	G _A
E _I		0.000038***	0.0065**	0.0041**
E _G	0.000038***		0.27	0.23
I _A	0.0065**	0.27		0.99
G _A	0.0041**	0.23	0.99	

All the samples are significantly different from the sample English in Italy (E_I)

	SG 1	SG 2	T value	Estimate 1	Estimate 2	CI (lower)	CI (upper)	DF	Adjusted p value
F6	E _I	E _G	-4.64	3.69	4.23	-0.77	-0.31	159	0.000038***
	E _I	I _A	3.09	4.23	3.87	0.13	0.60	163	0.0065**
	E _I	G _A	3.25	4.23	3.87	0.14	0.58	177	0.0041**

C) Data tables of close-ended and context-specific questions

Note: In a few instances, percentages do not perfectly add up to 100%, as the percentages for each response are rounded up to the nearest decimal when the second digit after the decimal is ≥ 0.5 . The cell with the most selected response (in percentages) for each sample group is shaded in orange.

Attributes associated with L2 proficiency

Attributes associated with L2 proficiency	English in Italy (E _I)		English in Germany (E _G)		Italian in Australia (I _A)		German in Australia (G _A)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Citizen of the world	63	18.4%	38	11.7%	44	13.3%	52	12.5%
Cultured	49	14.3%	46	14.2%	58	17.5%	69	16.6%
Educated	49	14.3%	60	18.5%	57	17.2%	69	16.6%
More employable	57	16.6%	41	12.6%	37	11.1%	67	16.1%
Interesting	28	8.2%	40	12.3%	49	14.8%	55	13.2%
Open-minded	75	21.9%	63	19.4%	52	15.7%	61	14.7%
Part of an elite	2	0.6%	4	1.2%	8	2.4%	8	1.9%
Successful	20	5.8	33	10.2%	27	8.1%	35	8.4%
Total	343	100%	325	100%	332	100%	416	100%

External factors impacting on L2 choice at university

External factors impacting on L2 choice	English in Italy (E _I)		English in Germany (E _G)		Italian in Australia (I _A)		German in Australia (G _A)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
No external factors	52	46.8%	38	44.2%	19	16.4%	39	28.7%
Influence from friends	3	2.7%	17	19.8%	13	11.2%	16	11.8%
Influence from parents	12	10.8%	11	12.8%	42	36.2%	31	22.8%
Influence from teachers	13	11.7%	16	18.6%	23	19.8%	27	19.9%
Sense of duty towards significant people in one's life	4	3.6%	0	0%	19	16.4%	13	9.6%
Societal pressures	27	24.3%	4	4.7%	0	0%	10	7.4%
Total	111	100%	86	100%	116	100.0%	136	100%

Type of influence

Influence	English in Italy (E _I)		English in Germany (E _G)		Italian in Australia (I _A)		German in Australia (G _A)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Encouragement	34	85%	29	100%	52	81%	51	93%
Insistence	1	2.5%	0	0%	7	11%	4	7%
Pressure	5	12.5%	0	0%	5	8%	0	0%
Total	40	100%	29	100%	64	100%	55	100%

Future career

Sector	English in Italy (E _I)		English in Germany (E _G)		Italian in Australia (I _A)		German in Australia (G _A)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Communication	29	10.4%	28	17.3%	11	7.8%	10	5.1%
Culture and entertainment	4	1.4%	2	1.2%	6	4.3%	3	1.5%
International banking	3	1.1%	1	0.6%	2	1.4%	4	2%
International business	21	7.5%	10	6.2%	8	5.7%	18	9.1%
International organisations	31	11.1%	15	9.3%	10	7.1%	34	17.2%
International relations	35	12.5%	17	10.5%	15	10.6%	33	16.7%
Law	0	0%	1	0.6%	3	2.1%	4	2%
Publishing	2	0.7%	3	1.9%	1	0.7%	1	0.5%
Research and teaching at university	22	7.9%	10	6.2%	14	9.9%	22	11.1%
STEMM	0	0%	0	0%	17	12.1%	22	11.1%
Teaching (primary or secondary)	28	10%	32	19.8%	13	9.2%	9	4.5%
Tourism and hospitality	42	15.1%	11	6.8%	6	4.3%	7	3.5%
Translation	55	19.7%	26	16%	14	9.9%	14	7.1%
Not sure	7	2.5%	6	3.7%	21	14.9%	17	8.6%
Total	279	100%	162	100%	141	100%	198	100%

English as a necessity in Italy and in Germany³⁹

Necessity Responses	English in Italy (E _I)		English in Germany (E _G)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Strongly agree	20	22%	16	23.2%
Agree	36	40%	32	46.4%
Not sure	6	7%	13	18.8%
Disagree	16	18%	7	10.1%
Strongly disagree	12	13%	1	1.4%
Total	90	100%	69	100%

L2 knowledge as a marker of education in Australia

Educated Responses	Italian in Australia (I _A)		German in Australia (G _A)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Strongly agree	10	13.5%	11	12.5%
Agree	18	24.3%	29	33%
Not sure	13	17.6%	12	13.6%
Disagree	24	32.4%	25	28.4%
Strongly disagree	9	12.2%	11	12.5%
Total	74	100%	88	100%

Table illustrating levels of agreement, obtained by clustering answer options (see 6.4.2.1)

Educated Responses	Italian in Australia (I _A)		German in Australia (G _A)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Levels of disagreement	33	44.6%	36	40.9%
Not sure	13	17.6%	12	13.6%
Levels of agreement	28	37.8%	40	45.5%
Total	74	100%	88	100%

³⁹ As explained in section 6.4.1.1, this questionnaire item had two missing values. Hence, the total sample was 90 rather than 91 for the E_I sample and 69 rather than 70 for the E_G sample.

Influence of L2 communities in Melbourne

Community	Italian in Australia (I _A)		German in Australia (G _A)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Strongly agree	17	23%	6	6.8%
Agree	34	45.9%	21	23.9%
Not sure	6	8.1%	43	48.9%
Disagree	17	23%	16	18.2%
Strongly disagree	0	0%	2	2.3%
Total	74	100.0%	88	100%

Desire to speak the L2 to interact with L2 speakers in Melbourne

L2 speakers in Melbourne	Italian in Australia (I _A)		German in Australia (G _A)	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Strongly agree	19	25.7%	12	13.6%
Agree	41	55.4%	44	50%
Not sure	12	16.2%	25	28.4%
Disagree	2	2.7%	6	6.8%
Strongly disagree	0	0%	1	1.1%
Total	74	100%	88	100%

Appendix 4 Qualitative data

A) Transcription conventions

The following conventions were used for the transcription of the interviews (see 5.6.2).

...	Pause
(xxx)	Aside comment (emotions etc.)
###	Unintelligible

B) Notes on the presentation of the qualitative data in Chapter 7 and 8

The following notations were used to identify the source of the quotes presented in the chapter:

Corpus	Notations
Questionnaire comments (QC)	E _I / E _G / I _A / G _A , QC-number associated with survey respondent
Open questionnaire responses (QR)	E _I / E _G / I _A / G _A , QR-number associated with survey respondent
Interview responses (INT)	E _I / E _I / I _A / G _A , INT-1 / INT-2 / INT-3, fictitious name of respondent
Diary entries (D)	E _I / E _I / I _A / G _A , D-1, D-2, fictitious name of respondent
(<i>transl.</i>)	Quote translated from Italian/German into English by the researcher

All the names included in this thesis are fictitious to protect the participants' anonymity, in keeping with ethics requirements. The gender of participants is not specified in relation to each quote as this study is not concerned with the influence of this demographic characteristic on learners' L2 motivations and desired L2 identities.

Although the editing of quotes was kept to a minimum, in some cases, following Berardi-Wiltshire's (2009, p. 291) approach, quotes from participants were slightly altered to facilitate readability, by eliminating repetitions, hesitations and fillers. When substantial omissions are present from the original quote, these are marked with three dots in between square brackets: [...]. In addition, minor typos (e.g. spelling mistakes) were corrected.

C) Final coding framework for the presentation of the data in Chapter 7

The following table presents the themes and subthemes emerged. These are used to present the qualitative data in Chapter 7.

Variables targeted	Subthemes emerged
Desire for language proficiency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Enhanced L2 skills as linked to the attainment of L2 resources</i> - <i>Enhanced L2 skills as a form of personal accomplishment</i> - <i>Shaping a non-language-specific bilingual identity</i> - <i>Developing previously acquired L2 proficiency</i>
Connected to situated and global communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Geographically defined foreign communities</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Cultural dispositions and attitudes towards the L2 country/countries b) Affiliating with a European community c) Desire to travel and live in the L2 country - <i>Local communities</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Italian communities in Melbourne b) German communities in Melbourne c) English in Italy and in Munich - <i>Global community</i>
Instrumental orientation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Work-related reasons</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) necessity of the L2 for work b) the exotic vs commonplace continuum c) creating international professional identities d) add-on qualification - <i>Non-work-related reasons</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) certification of skills b) overseas study c) better understanding of one's own L1, d) new world view and linguistic means for meaning-making e) easiness in learning additional languages f) development of one's own knowledge and cognitive skills
Intrinsic motivation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Passion for the L2</i> - <i>Language learning enjoyment and personally relevant identity goals</i> - <i>Passion for languages</i>
Heritage motivation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Investing in and/or recuperating one's own heritage identity</i> - <i>Communicating with family members and/or relatives in Australia/overseas</i>
Ought-to L2 self	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Ought-to L2 self/own</i> - <i>Ought-to L2 self/other</i> - <i>Necessity of the L2 skill linked to the status of the L1</i> - <i>Significant others</i>

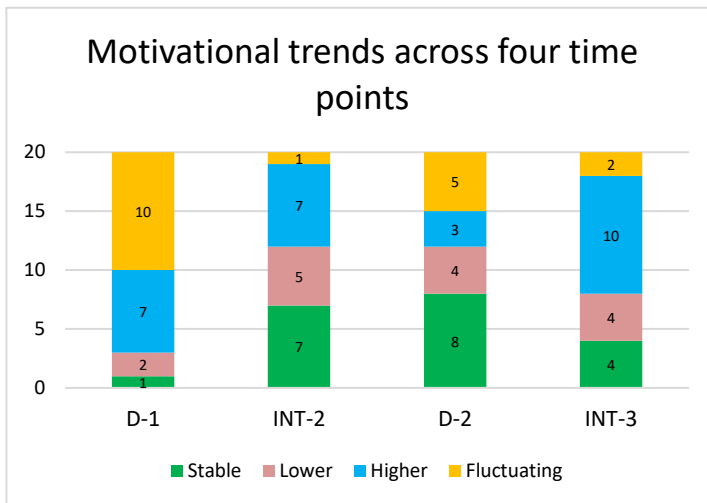
Some considerations are due regarding the process of data analysis. As noted in 5.6.2, a number of themes had been developed prior to the data collection process, i.e. the variables targeted in the questionnaire. Throughout the process of data analysis, the initial variables were targeted, and new codes were created and modified during the iterative data coding. In some instances, codes were discarded because the references were insignificant and/or because they lost their explanatory power once the coding process had become more refined. For instance, it was found that the category “English as an international lingua franca”, which initially appeared to be useful to make sense of the responses of EFL participants, could rather be incorporated within the category “global community”, which was mentioned by respondents in all samples and thus appeared to be more apt to make sense of the motivations of the learners included in this study.

D) Data tables related to Chapter 8

D1) Motivational states over time and visual representation of trends in the whole sample

Colour coding is utilised to facilitate pattern recognition.

	INT-1		D-1				INT-2				D-2				INT-3			
	Motivated	Demotivated	Stable	Lower	Higher	Fluctuating	Stable	Lower	Higher	Fluctuating	Stable	Lower	Higher	Fluctuating	Stable	Lower	Higher	Fluctuating
E _I	5	0	0	1	1	3	2	2	1	0	2	0	2	1	2	0	2	1
E _G	5	0	1	0	2	2	0	1	3	1	2	2	0	1	0	3	2	0
I _A	5	0	0	0	1	4	2	1	2	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1
G _A	5	0	0	1	3	1	3	1	1	0	3	1	0	1	1	0	4	0
Tot.	20	0	1	2	7	10	7	5	7	1	8	4	3	5	4	4	10	2



D2) Students' considerations on their L2 identity over one academic semester in light of four parameters

	D-1				INT-2				D-2				INT-3			
	Elaborateness	Plausibility	Harmony	Fearing Self	Elaborateness	Plausibility	Harmony	Fearing Self	Elaborateness	Plausibility	Harmony	Fearing Self	Elaborateness	Plausibility	Harmony	Fearing Self
E _I	2	4	1	2	3	5	4	4	2	4	0	3	5	5	2	4
E _G	1	3	2	2	2	4	4	5	1	0	0	5	3	1	0	5
I _A	2	4	0	2	2	5	2	5	3	2	2	1	5	3	2	2
G _A	0	2	2	2	3	5	2	3	0	2	2	2	5	4	3	4
Tot.	5	13	5	8	10	19	12	17	6	8	4	11	18	13	7	16