

straightforward answer; indeed, every different psychological perspective on human behaviour is associated with a different theory of motivation and, thus, in general psychology it is not the lack but rather the abundance of motivation theories which confuses the scene.

Furthermore, motivation to learn an L2 presents a particularly complex and unique situation even within motivational psychology, due to the multifaceted nature and roles of language itself. Language is at the same time: (a) a communicative coding system that can be taught as a school subject; (b) an integral part of the individual's identity involved in almost all mental activities; and also (c) the most important channel of social organisation embedded in the culture of the community where it is used. Therefore, the motivational basis of language attainment is not directly comparable to that of the mastery of other subject matters in that knowing an L2 also involves the development of some sort of 'L2 identity' and the incorporation of elements from the L2 culture (cf. Gardner, 1985); thus, in addition to the environmental and cognitive factors normally associated with learning in current educational psychology, L2 motivation also contains featured personality and social dimensions.

In sum, L2 motivation is necessarily a multifaceted construct, and describing its nature and its core features requires particular care. Unfortunately, it is common to find a limited or superficial representation of motivation in the L2 literature, for example, when the results of a few questionnaire items are equated with 'motivation'. It also happens that researchers take the concept of motivation for granted and refer to it without specifying in what sense they use the term: as affect? cognition? motivated behaviour? a personality trait? some kind of a process? mental energy? inner force or power? attitudinal complex? set of beliefs? stimulus appraisal? behavioural response to stimuli? directional choice? abstraction? latent, aggregated concept? or simply the score of motivation test? Because there simply does not exist an absolute, straightforward and unequivocal concept of 'motivation', the current overview will start with the discussion of the basic issue of what motivation is, looking at various conceptualisations in mainstream psychology.

Motivation as a process

In a recent comprehensive volume on motivation in education, Pintrich and Schunk (1996) draw attention to a fundamental shift that has occurred in the field of motivation during the last two decades, namely the increasing tendency of motivational psychologists to incorporate cognitive concepts and variables in their theories. As Pintrich and Schunk (1996: v) conclude, 'Explanations of behaviour have moved away from stimuli and reinforcement contri-

gencies and instead emphasise learners' constructive interpretations of events and the role that their beliefs, cognitions, affects, and values play in achievement situations'. Motivation is no longer seen as a reflection of certain inner forces such as instincts, volition, will, and psychological energy; neither is it viewed in strictly behavioural terms as a function of stimuli and reinforcement. Rather, current cognitive approaches place the focus on the individual's thoughts and beliefs (and recently also emotions) that are transformed into action. Thus, in Pintrich and Schunk's view, motivation involves various mental processes that lead to the initiation and maintenance of action; as they define it, 'Motivation is the process whereby goal-directed activity is initiated and sustained' (1996: 4). From this process-oriented perspective, the main disagreements in motivation research concern what mental processes are involved in motivation, how these operate and affect learning and achievement, and by what means they can be enhanced and sustained at an optimal level.

Although this process-oriented view of motivation is convincing in many respects, we must note that it is at odds with the traditional usage of 'motivation' in everyday parlance, where 'motivation' is usually understood as a fairly static mental or emotional state (e.g. 'his motivation was so strong that nothing could discourage him'), or as a goal ('my main motivation to become a doctor is to be able to help people') but not as a process. Drawing on action control theory (e.g. Heckhausen, 1991; Kuhl, 1987, 1992), Dörnyei (1998) attempted to achieve a synthesis of the static and dynamic conceptions of motivation by defining it as a 'process whereby a certain amount of motivation force arises, initiates action, and persists as long as no other force comes into play to weaken it and thereby terminate action, or until the planned outcome has been reached'.

Conceptualisations of motivation in mainstream psychological research

In earlier papers (Dörnyei, 1994a, 1994b), I have argued that in psychology there have been two distinct traditions of explaining human behaviour: motivational psychology tended to look for the motor of human behaviour in the individual rather than in the social being, focusing primarily on internal factors (e.g. drive, arousal, cognitive self-appraisal); in contrast, social psychologists tended to see action as the function of the social context and the interpersonal/intergroup relational patterns, as measured by means of the individual's social attitudes. The relevant literature in both areas is extensive and therefore the current overview will need to be restricted to what I consider to be the most important current conceptualisations. First I will briefly cover the most influential social psychological approach, the theory of planned action and its exten-

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