

# Foreword

Zoltán Dörnyei

The shelf life of journal articles in the field of psychology and applied linguistics is relatively short – only in exceptional cases do we cite anything older than 20 years. There is, however, a small and elite group of seminal papers that keep being quoted long after this ‘best before’ date because they delivered something genuinely special, something that contributed to the field in a unique and powerful way. This type of contribution has most often been either the proposal of a new theoretical construct or the initiation of a novel research direction, and Gardner and Lambert (1959) actually offered both. Every contemporary scholar interested in language learning motivation would point to that paper as the ‘official’ starting point of modern scientific research on L2 motivation, and every contemporary scholar of L2 motivation is aware of the significance of the two notions of ‘integrativeness’ and ‘instrumentality’ introduced in the paper. No wonder, therefore, that this classic 1959 article has achieved something that, to my knowledge, hardly any other articles have: it inspired a whole anthology to remember it six decades after its publication.

As I have recently stated elsewhere (Dörnyei, *in press*), I am from a generation of L2 motivation researchers which grew up on Robert Gardner’s work. I became fascinated with the Gardnerian theory (Gardner, 1979, 1985, 2010) as a PhD student in the second half of the 1980s, because the socio-educational model provided confirmation to my intuitive belief that the psychological dimension of second language acquisition was a pronounced aspect of language learning success. I was also impressed by the rigorous scientific nature of Gardner’s motivation paradigm, and in fact, my later interest in questionnaires and more generally in research methodology goes back to this initial influence. My original purpose of embarking on PhD studies was to add a professional research layer to my evolving language teacher identity, and the world of L2 motivation that I discovered helped me to realise this desire fully. Therefore, in order to acknowledge my debt to Professor Gardner, I sent him a copy of my very first published English-language paper on L2 motivation (Dörnyei, 1990) with words of thanks, and although I am sure that Bob does not remember it, he did

answer me in a kind letter – at that time we were still writing letters! – and that correspondence was a great source of encouragement for me.

There was one marked difference between the motivation lab run by Professor Gardner and the new generation of researchers that I was a member of, namely, our academic background. Gardner and his associates were first and foremost psychologists who were interested in second language acquisition for various social reasons. I am one of a group of scholars (e.g. Crookes, Julkunen, Oxford, Schmidt, Skehan, Ushioda and Williams) who are second language acquisition specialists (and often also language teachers), interested in psychology because they realised its significance for understanding the life of language classrooms. This difference had obvious implications for the directions into which we tried to move the field, but quite remarkably, the ties with the original theoretical centre prevailed even after decades. As mentioned by several authors in this anthology, the current framework of my thinking about L2 motivation – the L2 Motivational Self System – directly evolved from Gardner’s theory of integrative motivation. In a recent special issue in the *Modern Language Journal* on motivation to learn languages other than English (LOTES), I found myself going back again to the foundations of Gardner’s theory. In a co-authored paper with one of the editors of the current anthology, Ali Al-Hoorie (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017), we argued that the concept of integrative motivation has lost some of its influence because its link to the learners’ attitudes towards the L2 community became problematic when it came to the learning of Global English, which is associated with ‘a non-specific global community of English language users’ (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009: 3). However, at the same time, we underlined the fact that this shift ‘also incurred costs’ (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017: 459). While the L2-community-independent perspective taken by the L2 Motivational Self System may have been useful for studying Global English, it ‘did not favour LOTES, as the latter *can* usually be associated with a specific community that speaks (or esteems) the L2 and can thus be considered the “owner” of that language’ (Dörnyei & Al-Hoorie, 2017: 459).

Thus, the type of identification adopted in the L2 Motivational Self System – identification with a projected future image within the person’s self-concept, rather than identification with an external reference group such as the L2 community as was the case with the notion integrativeness – can serve certain purposes well but it may not do equal justice to other areas. I am therefore in agreement with Jennifer Claro’s (this volume) evaluation:

Integrativeness (Gardner) and the ideal L2 self (Dörnyei) are complementary forms of identification that differ in locus of identification. Integrativeness represents identification with an external locus (role models and reference groups), while the ideal L2 self represents identification with an internal locus.

This being the case, it is appropriate also to cite Claro's conclusion immediately preceding the above quote, namely that 'the ideal L2 self cannot replace integrativeness' (Claro, this volume).

It is partly because of this recognition that I was glad to receive the invitation from Peter and Ali to write a Foreword to the current anthology. I wanted to pay tribute to the fact that Robert Gardner's work is not only important because it was a historical milestone and offered fertile ground in which subsequent research could grow, but also because it is still *relevant*. Gardner and Lambert (1959) put their finger on one of the core aspects of L2 motivation, the process of identification, and Gardner's notion of integrativeness represents one fundamental type of this process that simply cannot be ignored in contemporary theory building. This relevance explains the large amount of empirical evidence that has accumulated over the decades linking the integrative motive to various aspects of L2 learning behaviours and achievement. This relevance also explains why even 60 years after the introduction of the Gardnerian paradigm, a sterling group of scholars has been keen to bear witness in this anthology to the fact that Gardner's work can be related to a wide range of contemporary theoretical issues underlying the language psychology. In their introductory chapter, the editors write that 'there might be a need for anthologies at the 70th, 80th, 90th and even the 100th anniversary of Gardner and Lambert (1959)' (Al-Hoorie & MacIntyre, this volume), and I do indeed look forward to seeing how this seminal work will keep generating 'renewed vibrancy'.

## References

- Al-Hoorie, A. and MacIntyre, P.D. (this volume) Integrative motivation: Sixty years and counting. In A. Al-Hoorie and P.D. MacIntyre (eds) *Contemporary Language Motivation Theory: 60 Years Since Gardner and Lambert (1959)*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Claro, J. (this volume) Identification with external and internal referents: Integrativeness and the ideal L2 self. In A. Al-Hoorie and P.D. MacIntyre (eds) *Contemporary Language Motivation Theory: 60 Years Since Gardner and Lambert (1959)*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Dörnyei, Z. (1990) Conceptualizing motivation in foreign language learning. *Language Learning* 40, 46–78.
- Dörnyei, Z. (in press) From integrative motivation to directed motivational currents: The evolution of the understanding of L2 motivation over three decades. In M. Lamb, K. Csizér, A. Henry and S. Ryan (eds) *Palgrave Macmillan Handbook of Motivation for Language Learning*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Dörnyei, Z., and Al-Hoorie, A.H. (2017) The motivational foundation of learning languages other than global English: Theoretical issues and research directions. *Modern Language Journal* 101 (3), 455–468.
- Gardner, R.C. (1979) Social psychological aspects of second language acquisition. In H. Giles and R. St. Clair (eds) *Language and Social Psychology* (pp. 193–220). Oxford: Blackwell.

- Gardner, R.C. (1985) *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Gardner, R.C. (2010) *Motivation and Second Language Acquisition: The Socio-educational Model*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Gardner, R.C. and Lambert, W.E. (1959) Motivational variables in second language acquisition. *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 13, 266–272.
- Ushioda, E. and Dörnyei, Z. (2009) Motivation, language identities and the L2 self: A theoretical overview. In Z. Dörnyei and E. Ushioda (eds) *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self* (pp. 1–8). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.